Guangdong Culture and Identity

in the Late Qing and the early Republic

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THESIS

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(An abstract)

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This thesis examines the construction of Guangdong identity in the late Qing and the early Republic. It does that by examining five aspects that relate to provincial identities. They are, first, the drawing of ethnic boundaries within Guangdong as reflected in the local literature; second, the literati perception of Guangdong vernacular writings as represented by the Cantonese dialect; third, the people and institutions which substantiated the high culture of Guangdong; fourth, the Republican intellectual trends which possibly broadened the definition of Guangdong culture; and fifth, regional identity from a county's perspective in the 1940s. It argues that the formation of provincial identities in China was tied to the evolution of the Chinese state. It also argues that although local customs and popular customs were drawn into questions of provincial identity, the literati in the Qing dynasty and the educated elite in the Republic played a crucial role in deciding what counted as elements of the provincial identity. As a result, provincial identity is subsumed under the realm of a unified Chinese culture, and "regional particularities" become the exception rather than the rule in the context of the province.

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Romanization

Putonghua pinyin is used in the text for standard Chinese terms and names of places in China except the cases of Beijing Daxue and Qinghua Daxue, as the present authorities of both universities still maintain that their universities' names in English are Peking University and Tsinghua University respectively. Names of persons in Hong Kong are romanized according to individual preference, if known, and otherwise by the *putonghua pinyin*. Names of places in Hong Kong follow the common practices in Hong Kong nowadays. Cantonese terms and characters are romanized according to the Meyer-Wempe system.

Chapter One

A Cultural Exhibition

In 1940, more than 30,000 people attended an eight-day Guangdong Cultural Artefacts Exhibition held in Hong Kong. As they entered the Fung Ping-shan Library in the University of Hong Kong where the exhibition was held, they might have noticed the following couplet written in red:

> Wind and rain over the tall tower;
>
> Gowns and caps from the south sea.[1]

This couplet was written by Ye Gongchao (1881-1968), the chairman of the exhibition committee. It was hung at the two sides of a door at a colourful, tall tower which was specially erected for the exhibition. At the upper part of the door hung a vertical board with the title "Guangdong Cultural Artefacts Exhibition" (Guangdong *wenwu zhanlanhui*). Two large lanterns hung on either side of the board. At the left-hand side of the entrance, on a red wooden frame, were two long-legged tablets bearing the two lines that expressed the objective of the exhibition. They read:

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1 The Romanized characters in Chinese are "*gaolou fengyu; Nanhai yiguan*". "*Gaolou fengyu*", as explained by a member of the exhibition organizing committee, was an extract from a poem by the Tang dynasty poet Li Shangyin. (*Guangdong wenwu*, rep. 1990, p. 227). Li Shangyin' s line read "*gaolou fengyu gan siwen*", meaning literally, "standing at the tall tower, I have a special feeling about your essay ". These words express the author' s worries about the political situation of his time. See Liu and Yu (1988, pp. 875-8). "*Nanhai yiguan*" could have been quoted from Guo Pu, a scholar in the Jin dynasty, whose work was referred to in *Guangdong wenwu* (rep. 1990, p. 899). *Guangdong wenwu* was published as the exhibition commemorative volume.

Study the culture of the native place,

Extend the spirit of the nation.

According to a member of the exhibition organizing committee, these decorations demonstrated "one hundred per cent true local colour (*didao secai*) of Guangdong."[2]

Let us not stop at the entrance but walk in.

The 1940 Guangdong Cultural Artefacts Exhibition

Walking up the staircase of the Fung Ping-shan Library, housing the 1940 Guangdong Artefacts Exhibition, we would have arrived on the first floor of the main hall, in which could have been seen some rings made of jade and copper in the Shang and Zhou dynasties,[3] accompanied by a delicate crown studded with agate and a lute which belonged to Kuang Lu (1604-1650), a Ming literary man.[4] But perhaps the most remarkable item on display was the manuscript of a personal letter written by Kang Youwei (1858-1927) to the regent, Prince Chun (Zaifeng, 1883-1951), in which Kang asked for the dismissal of Yuan Shikai (1859-1916) for his betrayal of the

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2 *Guangdong wenwu* (rep. 1990, p. 211).
3 With reference to the archaeological findings on Lamma Island, the "jade" rings were probably made of jadeite stone or quartz. See Finn (1958, pp. 147-51).
4 It was said that Kuang Lu committed suicide, taking his lute with him, when he witnessed the downfall of the Ming dynasty.

Guangxu Emperor in the 1898 coup d' etat.[5] Guangdong was presented to visitors as having an ancient history, its own high culture, and its own patriotic figures.

If we had entered the second exhibition room, we would have found books, articles, calligraphy, and paintings by famous figures who were born in or who lived in Guangdong from the Tang to early Republican times. These were the works of Zhang Jiuling (673-740) of the Tang dynasty, Chen Baisha (1428-1500) and Zhan Ruoshui (1466-1560) of the Ming, Chen Li (1810-1882) and Lin Botong (1775-1845) in the Qing, Gao Jianfu (1879-1951), Gao Qifeng (1889-1933) and Chen Shuren (1883-1948) in the Republican period and many others.[6]

A series of provincial, prefectural and county gazetteers, as well as calligraphic specimens by prominent figures from Guangdong, were displayed in the third exhibition room. We might have wondered why the "wooden-fish books" (*muyu shu*) and other Cantonese songbooks, which could be easily bought from street hawkers, were also put there. Or we might have noticed the three copies of the Bible in the Cantonese and Hakka dialects which were part of the display.[7]

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5 For the background and details of Kang Youwei's letter, see Lo (1967, p. 214).

6 All these men were Guangdong natives. Zhang Jiuling was a Tang dynasty official from Guangdong credited with having built the road that linked Guangdong to Jiangxi. Chen Baisha was a neo-Confucian of considerable repute in the Ming dynasty and Zhan Ruoshui, his disciple, was a reputable philosopher in his own right. Chen Li and Lin Botong were the directors of the Xuehaitang, a famous academy in Guangzhou during the nineteenth century. Gao Jianfu, Gao Qifeng and Chen Shuren were regarded as the founders of the Lingnan school of painting in the early Republic.

7 The three copies of the Bible were listed in the exhibition catalogue. I can find no indications where they were displayed.

The items shown in the fourth room would probably have reminded us that this was not an ordinary exhibition of antiques. Here we would have found the books, documents, weapons and seals of the Taiping Heavenly Kingdom. Moreover, under the label "revolutionary documents", we would also have found a copy of the confession written by Shi Jianru (1879-1900), who attempted to assassinate the Governor-General of Guangdong in 1900. There were also letters written by Sun Yat-sen (1866-1925) as well as his medical tools and graduation certificate.

No one could ignore the large portrait of Sun Yat-sen placed on the wall of the main hall, flanked by the flags of the Republican government and the Guomindang Party, and by the portraits of four of the most famous Guangdong men from the Tang to the Ming periods, namely, Zhang Jiuling, Qiu Jun (1420-1495), Huang Zuo (1490-1566) and Chen Baisha.[8] We might have wondered whether we should pay our respect to them before we left.

This was Guangdong culture in 1940.

Exhibitions as means of presenting Guangdong culture

Exhibitions as means of presenting a national or regional culture had begun with the Great Exhibition in London in 1851.[9] In subsequent decades, numerous

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8 Both Qiu Jun and Huang Zuo were Ming officials.

9 Briggs (1988, Chapter 2). See also Zheng Guanying (1894-5), *Shengshi weiyan*, "*Saihui*" (Exhibitions), in Xia (1982, Vol. 1, pp. 730-4).

exhibitions were held in various capital cities in the world. As early as 1904, China participated in the St. Louis Exhibition held in the United States.[10] Guangdong had participated in some of these international exhibitions as well. In the 1905 Universal and International Exhibition held in Liege, Belgium, Guangdong was one of five provinces from China which attended.[11] Moreover, in the first national trade fair organised in China, which was held in Nanjing in 1910, Guangdong province, with donations raised from local merchants and overseas Chinese, built an exhibition pavilion which was larger than that of any other province, and equal in size to the national hall representing China as a whole.[12] A municipal exhibition was held in Guangzhou in 1933, which, according to the official records, was aimed at "evaluating the process of building municipal facilities and promoting [city] construction." In this exhibition, the achievements of Guangzhou city were demonstrated.[13] Most of these exhibitions were held for displaying manufactured products from various places for the sake of trade promotion, but national achievements were a marked feature of their content. However, because the 1940 Guangdong Cultural Artefacts Exhibition, which I have described, was held in Hong Kong when Guangzhou had already been occupied by the Japanese army, its political

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10 *Dongfang zazhi* (1905, Vol. 2, No. 9, "*Shangwu*" (business), p. 96). See also *The Illustrated London News*, (16 January 1904, p. 77; 16 April 1904, p. 577).

11 *Dongfang zazhi* (1906, Vol. 3, No. 6, *Shangwu*, pp. 45-50). *Times* (London) (23 January 1905, p. 6; 22 April 1905, p. 10; 27 April 1905, p. 10; and 28 April 1905, p. 3).

12 Godley (1978, pp. 517, 521).

13 In that exhibition, ten display halls for various subjects were built. These subjects were, specifically, municipal administration, industry and commerce, agriculture, education, arts, antiques, folklore, photography, armaments, and the commemoration of the 1911 revolution. See *Guangzhou shi zhengfu xinshu luocheng jinian zhuankan* (1934, p. 302). See also *Zhu Xizu xiansheng wenji* (1979, Vol. 6, pp. 3973, 3988, 3992-3, 4015, 4022).

implications outdid any commercial purpose. Such political implications are demonstrated by the fact that its organisers were all connected with the Republican provincial government in Guangdong in one way or another.

An exhibition involves selection, and selection implies bias, preference and discrimination. Behind any selection are criteria which may or may not be consistent, and which the people involved in the selection process may or may not agree about. If we wish to understand the principles that lay behind the selection of exhibits for the 1940 Guangdong Cultural Artefacts Exhibition, we can read an essay on "The analysis of Guangdong culture" (Guangdong *wenhua zhi yanjiu*) by Jian Youwen (1896-1978), one of the committee members who initiated and played a major part in organising the exhibition. In this article, Jian started the discussion by explaining the word "culture" (*wenhua*),

> Culture is crystallized from creations of the human mind and energy. Every epoch has its own culture. Every region has its own culture. Every nation has its own culture. Each carries its own special nuance, special nature, and special feature.[14]

Jian's words show us that the organisers of the exhibition were not simply presenting culture; they were also attempting to prove that such a thing as a "Guangdong culture" existed. The Chinese application of the term "*wenhua*" made it difficult to assign a "neutral" definition to the term. that is, one denoting any and all

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14 *Guangdong wenwu* (rep. 1990, p. 652).

human activities in general. In Chinese, "*wenhua*" is something that can be possessed. Somebody possesses "*wenhua*" (*you wenhua*) if he or she is educated and civilised. The term "*wenhua*" had been used in ancient Chinese texts.[15] However, it did not acquire its modern meaning until the mid-nineteenth century when Japanese scholars made use of the ancient Chinese term to translate the western concepts "civilization" and "culture". A pioneer in this use of the term was Fukuzawa Yukichi (1835-1901), who proposed the term "*bunmei kaika*" to refer to Western civilisation and enlightenment.[16] Together with many other Japanese translated terms, "*bunmei*" (civilization) and "*bunka*" (culture) were then transplanted into China and adopted interchangeably by such late Qing scholars as Tan Sitong (1865-1898), Huang Zunxian (1848-1905), Liang Qichao (1873-1929) and Yan Fu (1854-1921).[17] The term was vague. Many scholars, like Liang Qichao in the 1920s,[18] tried to assign a clearer definition to the term "*wenhua*" by restricting the scope, but it was not always clear how its scope should be restricted.

One way to restrict the scope in which the term *wenhua* might be used was to add to it a place-name as a qualifier, such as Guangdong *wenhua*. What difference would it make if the term "*wenhua*" is preceded by the geographic modifier

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15 According to Gong (1988, p. 21), one of the earliest uses of the term "*wenming*" can be found in the section entitled "*Shundian*" (The Canon of Shun) in the *Shangshu* (The Book of Historical Documents). James Legge translated the term "*wenming*" as "accomplished " and "intelligent". See Legge (rep. 1970, p. 29). The term "*wenhua*" can be found in the section entitled "*zhiwu*" in the *Shuoyuan* compiled by Liu Xiang in the Western Han dynasty, in which "*wen*" means literary virtues (*wende*, in contrast to military force), "*hua*" means teaching and transforming (*jiaohua*). See Liu Xiang (rep. 1987, p. 380).

16 See Lee (1970, p. 21) and Wang (1991, pp. 146-7).

17 See Gong (1988, pp. 22-3); also Wang (1991. pp. 146-7).

18 See, for example, Liang (1922).

"Guangdong"? The ambiguity of the term "Guangdong culture" is compounded because geographic boundaries may be no less arbitrary than the cultural attributes. "Guangdong", added to the term "*wenhua*" merely introduces an element of comparison with other parts of China. One the one hand, the restriction placed on the word by the introduction of the modifier might imply recognition that every province has its own unique culture; but on the other hand, because what counts as "culture" within the province must still be selective, it introduces the possibility that local beliefs and practices might still be graded in a way that mirrors universalist standards. The two meanings of "Guangdong culture" can be reflected in the arguments of Jian Youwen in his article written in conjunction with the Guangdong Cultural Artefacts Exhibition. On the one hand, Jian emphasized that "every region had its own culture", and on the other, he stated that the contributions of Guangdong culture were made to the nation as a whole, and not to Guangdong alone:

> For two thousand years Guangdong has been part of China. Guangdong people are all Chinese people. The culture of Guangdong has always been one with the culture of the whole nation within one single large system. It is not confined to one region nor separated from the Han tradition. Therefore, although we call it "Guangdong culture" for the sake of convenience, in reality, we should refer to it as "Chinese culture in Guangdong".[19]

We come back to the debate generated by the exhibition. Guangdong culture included much that was different from what might be thought of as Chinese culture,

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19 *Guangdong wenwu* (rep. 1990, p. 658).

and yet if it was part of Chinese culture, how could it be the local culture of Guangdong?

This is the paradox that lies at the heart of this thesis. One can open an atlas of China and see Guangdong as an administrative unit -- a province -- in the south of China. One can see in it the cities of Guangzhou and Hong Kong, and beyond to the south Hainan Island, or to the north-east the counties of Mei *xian* and Xingning, and to the east the city of Chaozhou. One does not see on the map the sense of superiority among the scholarly population of Guangzhou, Mei *xian* and Chaozhou as they vie for their Guangdong-ness. Even the word "Guangdong-ness" looks odd, for Westerners in the nineteenth century created the term "Cantonese" to represent the Guangdong people of Guangzhou City, who thought of themselves as the people of Guangdong. The people of the central and south-western parts of Guangdong speak Cantonese, the people of eastern Guangdong speak Hakka and the Chaozhou people speak Chaozhou and the map might seek to record the differences of these areas in terms of their dialect, but not even dialect makes a clear-cut distinction. One does not have to go very far from Guangzhou to find that the villagers in Kam Tin village in the New Territories of Hong Kong speak what they refer to as "*weitou*" (dialect of the walled villages) and the people of Xinhui county speak the dialects of Siyi (the four counties, that is, Xinhui, Xinning, Enping, Kaiping).[20] Ultimately, what counts as Guangdong culture is not merely a matter of literal or objective definition, but like the many

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20 For a study on *weitou* dialect, see Sargart (1982).

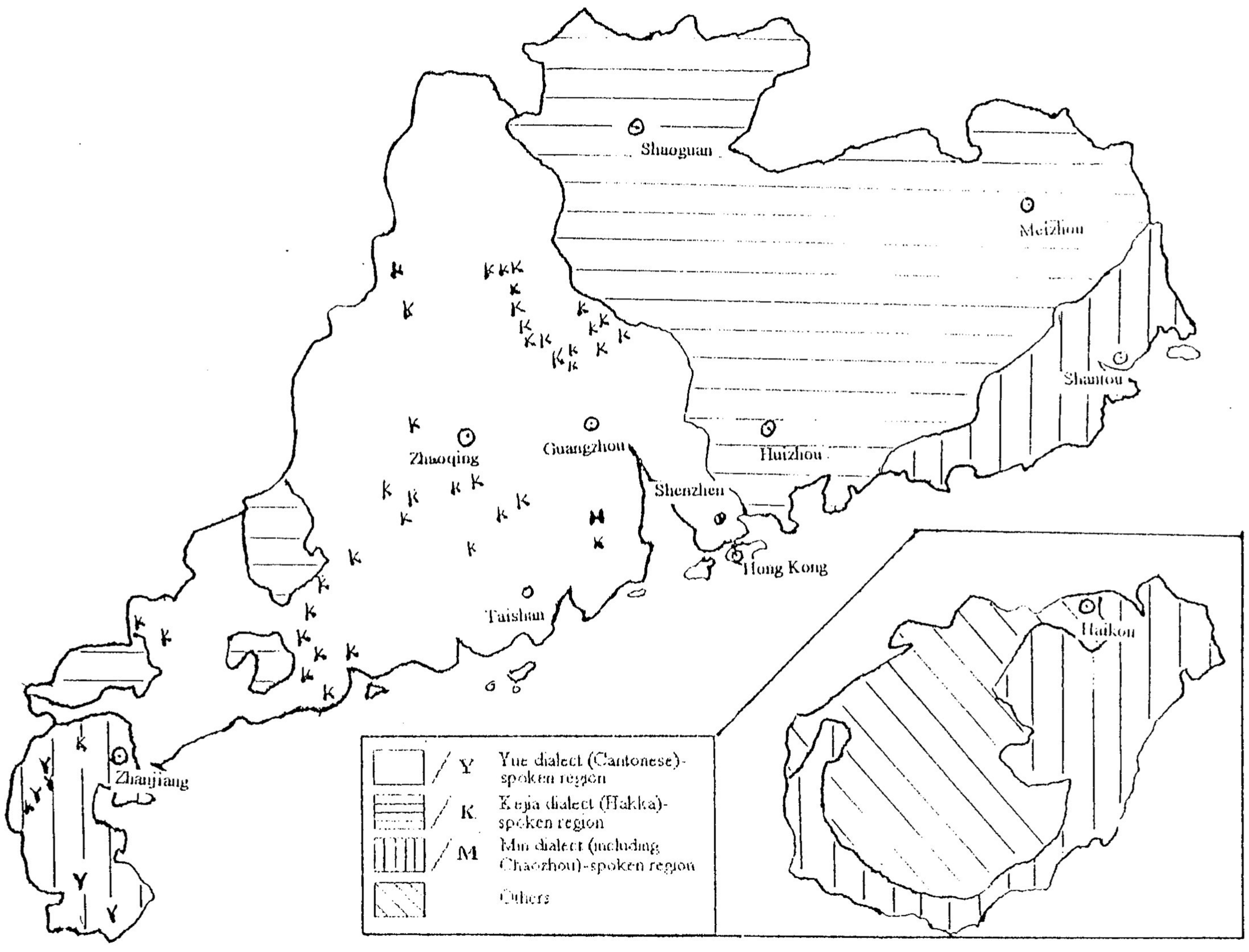
many dialects spoken in the province, a matter of usage and identity affiliation. (Figure 1. 1)

As an aspect of the Guangdong identity, what counts as Guangdong culture has to be a matter of construction, negotiation and compromise. The 1940 exhibition was one such construction made by a group of Guangdong scholars and politicians. This thesis argues that in Guangdong the underlying principles which define Guangdong culture had their historical roots much earlier, from at least the Daoguang period (1821-1850) of the Qing dynasty. It is the purpose of this thesis to show how the idea of a Guangdong culture was articulated in the process of definition during the late Qing and early Republic, and how the whole process of definition and redefinition was substantiated by knowledge, power and politics. It is, therefore, not my object in this thesis in any way to describe Guangdong culture as such. This thesis is about this process of the construction of cultural identity of Guangdong people as it occurred in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries up to the 1940s, that is, the time of the Hong Kong Guangdong Cultural Artefacts Exhibition.

Cultural identity as a literati concern

Closely related to this thesis is Joseph Levenson's observations on the late Qing and the Republic. In a paper published in 1967 on the dynamics of a provincial consciousness and a wider national identity in China, Levenson argued that the Confucian literati assertion of local pride. for instance in local academies, was the

Figure 1.1 A Geographical distribution of dialects spoken in Guangdong (adapted from Situ Shangji, *Guangdong wenhua dili*, Guangzhou, Guangdong renmin chubanshe,1993 .)



pride in those localities as centres of illumination for the state-wide intellectual world. Commenting on post-1949 China, he said of provincial culture that it was "patronized for central and modern, not provincial and pre-modern reasons".[21]

Levenson's division of traditional and modern China, central and provincial culture, rests on his perception of the difference between the traditional and modern Chinese world views. Levenson stated that when the traditional literati saw China as "*tianxia*" ("the empire", "under-Heaven"), they implied much more than that China was a political entity. The term included culture, morality, or even the whole world of values. The word "*guo*" that later came to be translated as "country" or "nation", also had a place in the traditional world view. "*Guo*" implied land, people, protection by military force, and, therefore, adherence of people to a political rather than a cultural or moral order. When the modern view adopted the word "*guo*", as in "*guojia*", for "country" or "nation", it acknowledged that China was a *guo* just like other countries or nations it had come into contact with. But, having identified China as a *guo*, the modern view had had to put back into it the culture, morality and values that had been associated with *tianxia*. The result was a transformation of political ideology. The primacy of culturalism in the traditional view gave way to the primacy of nationalism in the modern view, while a secondary position for the state in the traditional view was substituted by the new culture that had to be found for the nation state in the modern view.[22]

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21 Levenson (1967, pp. 279, 282).
22 Levenson (1965, Vol. 1, pp. 98-108).

Levenson cites Liang Qichao's well-known "On the New Citizen" (*Xinmin shuo*) in support of his argument. In this work, Liang Qichao suggested that what China understood as "*tianxia*" did not include the concept of China as a nation. "The teachings taught by Confucian sages and the heritage left by ancestors" linked the individual to the family, the village, the lineage, and ultimately the "*tianxia*", but not the nation.[23] Liang then argued that the idea of *tianxia* caused China to lack the concept of the nation. As a result of this, Chinese people lacked the characteristics of being modern citizens, that is, they lacked public morality, legal responsibility, and the determination to struggle for progress.

Levenson's view of Chinese society embodied an argument which gave the literati a central role in the process of diffusion of Chinese culture. In 1927, Liang Qichao wrote a challenging account that described in utopian terms how the lack of public morality, legal responsibility, and the determination to struggle for progress led to "self-government at the village level" (*xiang zizhi*) in the management of village affairs by village elders and degree-holders.[24] Fei Xiaotong in the 1940s agreed with Liang when, discovering the performance of the current Nationalist government unsatisfactory, he looked back on village society to find that in the traditional Chinese power structure, the central government operated in the local society according to a "do-nothing principle" (*wuwei zhuyi*), with the gentry class managing local affairs in the community.[25] For both Liang and Fei, the same village leaders who lacked public

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23 Liang (1902, p. 6).
24 Liang (1927, p. 52).
25 Fei (rep. 1953, pp. 83-4).

morality, legal responsibility and the determination to struggle for progress carried the teachings of the sages and the ancestors, and, presumably, Levenson's culture, morality and values of *tianxia*.

The view that a gentry from the villages carried the tradition of Chinese culture was perhaps best summarized by Franz Michael in the 1950s. According to Michael, China was held together by a stratum of educated elite, the literati, or the scholar-gentry, who played a middle role between the state and the local society. On the one hand, they managed vital local public functions complying with state policies, and on the other, they expressed the opinions of the local people to the state bureaucracy. Furthermore, it was also the gentry who studied, believed in, and preached the Confucianism accepted by the state as the official ideology, and gave it reality as the ultimate force of Chinese culture. The gentry also held the opinion that it should be they themselves who were responsible for all these functions.[26]

Western scholarship on China since the 1950s has built upon and added to views such as Michael's. In a treatise in 1964, William Skinner proposed a regional approach for studying the integration of China's economy and society. The trend since has shifted from the analysis of the underpinnings of regional economy and society to the construction of regional identity. Since the 1970s, the regional approach has been popularized in the interest of examining generalizations about China as a whole by reference to case studies. As a result, regional characteristics have attracted

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26 Michael (1955). See also Chang (1955); Hsiao (1960. p. 574, endnote 11 to chapter 3).

considerable attention. For example, Diana Lary, in her study of the Guangxi military clique from 1925 to 1937, paid special attention to the rise of regional consciousness. Moreover, starting from the late 1980s, the notion of ethnicity as a social and cultural construct has come into its own as a viable subject of research. Emily Honig's study on the Subeiren (literally, the people from the northern part of Jiangsu province) in Shanghai is one such example revealing that an ethnic identity is a socially constructed category. In fact, the idea that ethnicity was a cultural construction was an argument well-known in Chinese cultural history, for in as early as 1940, Chen Yinke had argued in a work on the Sui-Tang inheritance of the Northern dynasty's political systems, that the difference between the Hu and the Han people in the Northern Dynasty lay in their culture, and not in their race.[27]

My approach in this thesis is nearer Honig's than either Skinner's or Lary's. I agree with Honig that ethnicity is a social and cultural construct. However, if ethnicity is a construct, it must have behind it a history of its own construction. This would be a history in two senses of the term. One of the ways by which people express their ethnic identity is to narrate the history of their ethnic group. Such a narrative is always a selective mixture of fact and fiction, preferences and biases, and this history is designed to justify the claims of their ethnic identity. However, because the process of the construction of such a narrative must have its own history as well, the history of ethnic construction can be understood in a wider framework. The wider history asks why people seeking identity construct history, it finds out what they

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27 Chen (rep. 1994, particularly pp. 165-8).

construct, how they construct, and even more important, who constructs. In this thesis I will study the history of the construction of the history that substantiates a claim of a provincial identity and an ethnic meaning. If we can describe this history, we can begin to understand who the Guangdong people are and why they consider themselves the people of Guangdong.[28]

In this thesis, I shall argue that an agenda existed behind the inclination to standardize the discourse that was represented by the conscious construction of a history. This inclination was articulated by people from a social stratum who shared a similar perception of themselves and of China, and who expressed their sense of regional identity within the domain of a greater Chinese civilization. These people were traditional China's literati. As Myron Cohen points out, "China's traditional elites were cultural brokers, for their high status in society was based upon nationally accepted standards also validated by local culture."[29] This echoes with what Liang Qichao and Levenson have stated. In other words, it was the literati who were the major players in the construction of Guangdong culture.

Having referred to the people whom I am going to examine in this thesis as the "literati", I must spell out what I mean by the term. Similar to the concept of a Guangdongren, I apply the term "literati" in two senses. Firstly, it indicates a model,

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28 There is a huge Western literature on the issue of historicity, national identity, and ethnic consciousness. Examples of this are Zeldin (1977), Anderson (1983); Hobsbawm and Ranger (1983); Sollars (1989), Vail (1989), and Fox (1990).
29 Cohen (1991, p. 113).

a self-identity, rather than a definite person, while secondly it is also used for the people who had tried to live up to that model. In the Qing dynasty, it was widely believed that the literati (*shi*, *shidafu*) considered themselves the keepers of intellectual orthodoxy, the interpreters of Confucian canon, and the formulators of history and tradition. They might be scholar-officials who claimed to realize a commitment to statecraft by holding an official post, or professional scholars patronized by officials or wealthy men. Despite these variations in personal careers, their status and functions were institutionalized by the imperial examination system. However, the term might also be used for people who simply thought of themselves as members of the literati. Not all these people were necessarily keepers of intellectual orthodoxy, interpreters of the Confucian canon, or the formulators of history and tradition. The background of people who made such claims were varied, even as the ideal remained unchanged.

However, as Laurence Schneider points out, the abolition of the imperial examination system in effect signalled the fragmentation of the literati ideal. "China' s young, educated elite was then left to redefine itself, in response partially to evaluations of the traditional literati and partially to contemporary social pressures. Social functions, intellectual obligations, and political roles were all open to speculation."[30]

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30 Schneider (1971, p. 6).

As the old ideal of the Confucian literati continued, this young educated elite named themselves the "intelligentsia" (*zhishi jieji*). They constructed various features of their self-identity upon a reaction against the image of loyalty to the monarch espoused by the traditional literati. These features at least included an insistence upon intellectual autonomy, an identification with commoners, and a concern for the fate of the nation. Nevertheless, despite the self-identity the pioneers had attempted to construct, the criteria which defined the intelligentsia in the early Republic were neither clear nor objective. A mastery over new literature? Then Lu Xun' s (1881-1936) poems in classical Chinese should have been removed from his collection. A doctoral degree? Then Chen Yinke (1890-1969) should not have been appointed as professor at Tsinghua University in 1925. Moreover, as noted by Laurence Schneider, writers in the 1920s such as Xia Mianzun (1886-1946) were aware that the Republican intelligentsia were fragmented by their disparate employment and income. The category of "intelligentsia" might include people ranging from university professors, artists, and doctors, to elementary school teachers, newspapermen and students. Even though the intelligentsia came to fill the vacuum left by the literati, the term "intelligentsia", in effect, did not signify a homogenous stratum.[31]

Centreing on the leading position of the late Qing literati and the early Republican intelligentsia, and the construction of a local identity as the Qing literati gave way to the Republican intelligentsia, this thesis is designed to examine from five

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31 Schneider (1971, p. 114), quoting Xia Mianzun (1928), "Zhishi jieji de yunming" (The Fate of the Intelligentsia), *Yiban*, No. 5, Yeh (1990, p. 187).

subjects the construction of a Guangdong cultural identity. I do this by looking at, first, the drawing of ethnic boundaries within Guangdong as reflected in the literature on provincial and local geography and culture; second, the literati perception of Guangdong vernacular writings as represented by the Cantonese dialect; third, the people and institutions which substantiated the high culture of Guangdong; fourth, the Republican intellectual trends which possibly broadened the definition of Guangdong culture; and fifth, a county's perspective on regional identity in the 1940s as seen in its gazetteer. The questions to be answered here include the following: Who was included in and who was excluded from the category of Guangdong People? How colloquial or local could the Cantonese vernacular writing have been and how was it ranked by the literati who identified themselves with a high culture? Why were certain people regarded the spokesmen of Guangdong culture and what was the politics behind them? How might a provincial cultural identity have been redefined in the years of the triumph of nationalism?

A chronological sequence can roughly be applied throughout this thesis. Chapters two to four deal with the evolution of a Guangdong identity in the late Qing. They provide the documentation for the argument that the Republican definition of Guangdong culture had its root in the Daoguang period. Chapters five and six focus on the the period after Revolution of 1911, and hypothesise that the emergence of nationalism at the turn of nineteenth century was the major factor leading to a redefinition of provincial identity in the Republican period. In the conclusion, I shall try to reconstruct the chronological development of a Guangdong cultural identity

from the late Qing to the early Republic. I shall also argue that, ultimately, provincial identities in China were tied to the evolution of the Chinese state. "Local" or "regional" culture was understood by the Chinese literati or intelligentsia from the point of view of Chinese "culture". "Regional particularism" was never an appropriate term for the local societies of China.

Guangdong in the late Qing and the early Republic

Never in the history of China had the relationship between central and provincial leaderships been subjected to so much review and change as in the late Qing and the early Republic. The political identity of provinces was thus subjected to redefinition in accordance with the political changes that occurred in China as a whole.

As the southern-most region of China, the area that was called "Guangdong" from the Ming dynasty (1368-1643) on had been brought under the administration of the Chinese empire since the Qin dynasty (221-206 B.C.). However, the south was for a long time considered by the northerners as an exotic place. Occasionally, scholars and officials from the north sojourned in the south, but it was not until the Ming dynasty that long-distance trade and large-scale cultivation of sedimentary fields brought to the region economic prosperity. Only then did many local families possess enough economic backing to acquire the necessary cultural resources to identify with the orthodox culture promoted by the state.

Guangdong in the nineteenth century was an administrative term, a province, placed under the purview of a governor. The Governor of Guangdong came under the Governor-General of Guangdong and Guangxi, whose office was located in Guangzhou, the provincial capital. For all intents and purposes, the most powerful man in Guangdong was the Governor-General. According to the Qing law of avoidance, all officials appointed by the central government to Guangdong had to come from outside the province. Beneath the Governor were the officials of the local government. By 1821, Guangdong was divided into nine prefectures (*fu*), four independent departments (*zhilizhou*), seven departments (*zhou*), and two sub-prefectures (*ting*). Under these were seventy-eight counties.[32] However, these administrative divisions did not reflect the linguistic and cultural divisions of the province. Cantonese was spoken in the central and south-western parts of the province, Hakka in the eastern and northern parts, and the Chaozhou dialect was spoken in Chaozhou. Yet the variations of these three major dialects[33] as well as the dialects spoken by the Li, Miao, Yao, Zhuang and She people further complicated the linguistic map of the province.

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32 *Guangdong tongzhi* (1822, j. 3-5).

33 I am simply following convention in my use of the term "dialect" here. In the *Zhongguo dabaike quanshu: yuyan, wenzi* (1988, pp. 28, 137-149), the Chinese language (*Hanyu*) is defined as the "standard" language based on the Beijing dialect. The term so used would also include "standard" written Chinese. Chinese dialects (*Hanyu fangyan*) are variations of the Chinese language as spoken in different regions in China. Why the Beijing dialect is considered as "language" while the others are "dialects" is of course a question of political choice.

The nineteenth century was a time when China was suddenly exposed to Western culture and international politics. With its long coast-line and southern-most position, Guangdong became the front line where conflicts and interactions between China and the outside world took place. Guangdong also saw marked political changes as China's political history evolved, some of which amplified the tension between national and provincial interests.

Before the First Opium War broke out in 1840, Guangdong was the scene of prosperity.[34] After the Opium War, like many parts of China, Guangdong went through a period of social disorder. The Red Turbans Rebellion and the war between the Cantonese and the Hakka occupied the 1850s and 1860s. The Qing defeat in the Second Opium War resulted not only in the capture in 1857 of the current Guangdong-Guangxi Governor General, Ye Mingchen (1809-1859), but also in the occupation of Guangzhou city by an Anglo-French Allied Force from 1857 to 1861.[35] Defeat of the banner army paved the way for the founding of the Guangdong provincial militia. Reliance on the militia put local power in the hands of the local literati. However, the legitimacy of the militia was bestowed by the state and local interests were defended in the name of protecting national honour and integrity.[36]

The second half of the nineteenth century also brought changes to Guangdong in a different way. The opening up of other treaty ports, notably Shanghai, offered

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34 See Polachek (1992, pp. 137-75).
35 See Leibo (1988).
36 See He (1992).

business and career opportunities for Guangdong people. Merchants and others from Guangdong went to Shanghai to trade, and those who had accumulated an expertise for dealing with Westerners fitted into the new niches of Western trade and the reformed government programmes. Many Guangdong people also went to Hong Kong, Southeast Asia and North America. These connections beyond Guangdong were later to exert considerable influence upon both national and provincial politics.[37]

The social and cultural changes to which the Guangdong literati was subjected towards the end of the Qing brought about a redefinition of its political identity. A sense of provincial identity was articulated in different ways by different groups of people, including the revolutionaries, Qing officials and the provincial literati. Revolutionaries mobilized the sentiment of regional concern to encourage the provinces to separate themselves from the Manchu regime. For example, a 1902 essay entitled "New Guangdong" (*Xin Guangdong*) written by Ou Jujia (1870-1911), a student of Kang Youwei, addressed the provincial particularities of Guangdong and proposed a new political status for the province.[38] In this essay, Ou appealed to the long-standing resentment felt in Guangdong toward external control and advocated the overthrow of the Qing government by establishing Guangdong and all other provinces as autonomous countries (*duliguo*).[39] Despite his radical tone and his use of the term "autonomous countries", Ou did not advocate an independent Guangdong, but

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37 See Luo (1961); Smith (1985).
38 The essay appeared in a Chinese-language newspaper in San Francisco around 1901 and was later reprinted as a pamphlet by Liang Qichao's press in Yokohama in 1902. See Rhoads (1975, p. 47).
39 Ou (rep. 1960, p. 309).

only the autonomy of provinces which would come together to reconstitute a new Chinese nation. In other words, the establishment of an autonomous Guangdong was intended to facilitate the formation of a united China which thus would rid itself of Manchu rule.[40]

The Qing government's part in the redefinition of provincial identity was related to its loss of military and financial power to provincial governors and literati. One of the most important measures of the late Qing Reform period (1900-1911) was the implementation of a constitutional monarchy supported by representational assemblies at local level. The ruling regime consciously sought a re-justification of its legitimacy by handing out some administrative power, as had happened time and again in Chinese history. However, for the first time in the history of China, this was done by implementing elections at the national and local levels and by appealing to the elected representatives for support.

Encouraged by the constitutional reforms, the provincial literati articulated its own interests. In Guangdong, this was well illustrated in the Guangzhou-Hankou Railway incident that occurred between 1905 and 1906, when the Guangzhou merchants and literati allied with some officials of Guangdong origins serving in the capital to fight against the current Governor-General Cen Chunxuan (1861-1933) over the finance and management of the Guangdong section of the Guangzhou-Hankou

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40 Ou (rep. 1960). Rhoads (1975, pp. 47-9).

railroad concession.[41] The conflict between the Governor-General and the provincial leaders was portrayed in newspapers as a controversy between Guangdong and non-Guangdong people. Successive Guangdong-Guangxi Governor-Generals were criticised for their indifference to Guangdong people on the grounds that they were not Guangdong natives.[42] Subsequent suggestions that important official positions should be taken up by Guangdong natives appeared frequently in the newspapers.[43] The slogan "Guangdong people governing Guangdong" summarized the sentiments in Guangdong in the last years of the Qing dynasty. Provincial identity had, therefore, become a political resource.

In 1911, a military government was set up in Guangzhou. Guangdong people counted among the most prominent revolutionaries. When Yuan Shikai assumed the presidency in Beijing, Guangdong men also held major cabinet posts. However, a small incident in 1915 perhaps illustrates the continuation of traditional practice despite the change in government structure. In 1915 when Yuan Shikai decided to resume the sacrifices to the deities Guan Yu and Yue Fei, he called for recommendations for historical military heroes from each province to be sacrificed to at the side altars. Liang and his Guangdong colleagues actively mobilized Guangdong officials in Beijing to support their proposal that Yuan Conghuan (1584-1630), a Ming

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41 While the gentry and merchants wanted to finance and manage the railway on their own, Cen Chunxuan wanted to make it an official undertaking and to finance its construction by official means. See Rhoads (1975, pp. 91-2); Chen Yuhuan (rep. 1993).

42 *Huazi ribao* (19 January 1910).

43 For example, editorials in the *Huazi ribao* proposed that the Education Intendent and the policemen of Guangdong should be Guangdong natives. see *Huazi ribao* (4 May 1906; 30 November 1906).

official from Guangdong, should be sacrificed to in the Guan Yu-Yue Fei Temple. Even though Liang's proposal was rejected, the incident shows that the new nation embodied rituals and emotions that were carried on from days of old.[44]

From 1917 to 1927, Guangdong was the headquarters of Sun Yat-sen and his Guomindang colleagues. Sun set up a military government in Guangzhou, aiming at overthrowing the Beijing authority in the north. Although Sun claimed to be a national leader, he had to rely on regional military power to accomplish his endeavours. The enforcement of national interests in a provincial setting did not go without opposition. The most notable example of such was Chen Jiongming (1878-1933), who advocated the notion of "Guangdong people governing Guangdong" in the early 1920s. Holding strong military forces in Huizhou, Chen was willing to co-operate with Sun Yat-sen until 1922 when Sun's national ambitions were backed by the Comitern. Then in 1926 the Guomindang marched out of from Guangzhou on the Northern Expedition. In 1927 Guangdong was left with the honour of being a mere "model province" and a "revolutionary sacred site".

Guangdong's position as the site of the central government of the new Republic was taken over by Nanjing after the Northern Expedition. However, because Guangdong had been for a long time the headquarters of Guomindang authority, many Guangdong natives were given high positions in the Guomindang-

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44 For details of Liang and Zhang's proposal, see Zhang (1915). For an account on Guandi worship in the Qing and the early Republic, see Duara (1988).

dominated government. Claiming to be the orthodox successors of the Guomindang' s authority, Guangdong politicians such as Sun Ke (1891-1973), the son of Sun Yat-sen, and Zou Lu (1885-1954), a former Tongmeng Hui member, became the rivals of Jiang Jieshi (1887-1975) who led the Jiangsu-Zhejiang bloc in the Guomindang.

In the 1930s, Guangdong removed itself out of the Nanjing government' s control, as the actual military power over the province fell into the hands of Chen Jitang (1890-1954), the Hakka warlord who dominated Guangdong from 1929 to 1936.[45] Only when Chen Jitang was put down by Jiang Jieshi in 1936 could the Nanjing government reassert control over Guangdong. When the Second Sino-Japanese War broke out, Guangzhou was occupied by the Japanese army in October 1938. Most government officials and academic personnel either retreated to the temporary provincial government set up in Qujiang city or fled to Hong Kong. When the Japanese government surrendered in August 1945, the Guangdong government, now finally under the control of the Guomindang National Government, moved back to Guangzhou.

Into the Republic, therefore, the political status of Guangdong was subjected to continuous negotiation within a politically disintegrating China. Sometimes,

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45 Although the Guangdong Provincial Government was, at least nominally, under the control of the Nanjing government, its chairman from 1931 to 1936 was willing to co-operate with Chen Jitang. By 1934 the personnel in several important posts, including the heads of the Civil Administrative Department, the Finance Department, and the Education Department, were replaced by Chen' s subordinates. See Eastman (1991, pp. 11-52), *Nantian suiyue* (1987, p. 14).

Guangdong *was* China; at other times, Guangdong was nothing but a province. To exiled politicians who set up their headquarters in Guangdong, Guangdong was meant to govern China. With their departure from Guangdong, the government of Guangdong barely had authority over the province. By chance or by choice, many of the Republican politicians who participated actively in the venture of nation-building were of Guangdong origins. Their encounters in national politics exerted an influence on the provincial identity they might shape.

Starting from the Republican period on, therefore, Guangdong was for a long time not under the rule of a single administration, nor was it consistently submissive to the "central" government, if it ever was. Did several decades of political deviation lead to the emergence of regional particularism among the Guangdong self-acclaimed elites? I shall argue that it did not. In reality, the result was quite the opposite. The more deviant Guangdong was from the national authority and culture, the more eagerly the Guangdong politicians and literati claimed an orthodox position in Chinese culture for their province. This paradoxical relationship will be the main theme of this thesis.

Chapter Two

Drawing ethnic boundaries

One of the commonest means of describing the culture of a place is to describe its history. The history of China, therefore, may be described as the spread of an orthodox ideology emanating from the state. It follows from this account that local practices are depicted as being absorbed into a central culture. Guangdong, for instance, would have acquired culture by being absorbed into the Chinese state.

From the Song dynasty, the history of the absorption of local cultures into the state culture is typically described in the local gazetteers. By the end of the Qing, in addition to local gazetteers, other texts were published that sought to teach the provincial history in newly established primary and secondary schools. The gazetteers and school texts project the official view of local history. By reviewing a number of local gazetteers and some of these school texts on Guangdong, this chapter examines how, in the context of an orthodox ideology, ethnicity and local identities were defined. The question posed in these texts is crucial: who is the Guangdong person? This chapter will show how this question is answered in relation to the spread of an official ideology.

It should be pointed out that the sources for this history are written. No assumption need be made that the written history, as found in the gazetteers and the school texts, were necessarily similar to the history that might have been preserved in

oral traditions. Yet, the argument will be made that, whatever the oral traditions, the version of Guangdong' s history as recorded in the written texts found their way far into the thinking of Guangdong people. The written history was preserved not only in gazetteers and school texts, but also in the literature of popular entertainment.

Defining the "Yue"

The most typical definition of Guangdong culture in the nineteenth century may be found in the 1822 edition of the *Guangdong Provincial Gazetteer* (*Guangdong tongzhi*), which was compiled under the supervision of Ruan Yuan (1764-1849), who was the Guangdong-Guangxi Governor-General from 1817 to 1826. The compilation of the gazetteer involved a number of local degree holders and students, many of whom came from Cantonese-speaking counties, in addition to scholars brought to Guangdong by Ruan Yuan from Jiangnan. Some of these degree-holders and students were later made directors of the Xuehaitang Academy (The Sea of Learning Hall), the most reputable provincial academy in late Qing Guangdong which was founded by Ruan Yuan in 1821. Hence, the provincial gazetteer was a prestigious work, and the content of the gazetteer would have represented an "official" view of the province's history.

There had been other editions of the *Guangdong Provincial Gazetteer*. The first edition of this comprehensive account of the geography, history, personalities, and literature of the province was compiled in 1535. Between 1535 and 1822, there had been four other editions, published in 1561, 1602, 1697 and 1731.

The part of the provincial gazetteer where one might expect to find, if not a definition of Guangdong culture, then at least some descriptions unique to Guangdong, would be the chapter on local customs (*fengsu*). The frequent use in this chapter of the modifier "Yue", as in "Yueren " (Yue people), "Yuesu" (Yue customs) in this chapter gives its readers the impression that a unique provincial culture is referred to. A term like "*wu* Yue" (we the Yue) might even suggest the idea of a conscious group identity. At first glance, the presence of these terms in a provincial gazetteer might even suggest that the critical presence of the Yue was regarded as a criterion of local culture over a broad area, and this impression might even seem to be confirmed when Yingde county is noted as being occupied by people from Fujian and Jiangxi in the early Ming dynasty and thus possessing of ritual practices closer to their Fujian and Jiangxi home villages than the Yue's.[1] In fact, the word "Yue" is ambiguous. While it is used to refer to Guangdong as a culture, in the same breadth, it would also be used in a much narrower sense to refer onlyto the people and things of Guangzhou prefecture, or more precisely, the Cantonese-speaking region. In the 1822 edition of the *Guangdong Provincial Gazetteer*, the people of no other prefecture than Guangzhou are known as the Yueren, for the people of Shaozhou, Huizhou, Chaozhou are referred to respectively as the Shaoren, Huimin, and Chaoren.[2] When it is said that early Guangdong was peopled by the Yueren, although the impression is given that the people of Guangdong might be collectively linked to an early history, in actual fact, the application of the nomenclature singles out the culture of one part of

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1 *Guangdong tongzhi* (1822, j. 92; p. 1792 in the 1988 reprint).
2 *Guangdong tongzhi* (1822, j. 93; pp. 1791, 1793, 1795 respectively in the 1988 reprint).

Guangdong, that is, the Cantonese dialect region, as being inherently closer to the early history of the province.

The link to history suggests a grading that might come close to the idea of ethnic purity. The provincial gazetteer gives us the impression that among some regions in Guangdong, one might easily notice cultural characteristics infused from nearby provinces. Chaozhou prefecture is a typical example of this kind of regional variation and the distinction was well-known in the Qing dynasty. The *Chaozhou Prefectural Gazetteer*, and books on Guangdong published in the Qing, such as *New Account of Guangdong* (*Guangdong xinyu*), *Miscellaneous Record on Lingnan* (*Lingnan zaji*), *Gay lives in Chaozhou and Jiaying* (*Chaojia fengyue ji*) and particularly the *Brief Account on Travelling in Guangdong* (*Yueyou xiaozhi*), deliberately contrast the Yue customs and the Chaozhou customs. These records never identify the culture of Chaozhou with that of Yue but state that it came closer to Fujian's.[3]

The implication of the use of the word "Yue" can be further brought out if we examine how it is used in the county gazetteers within the Cantonese-speaking region of Guangdong. Among the local gazetteers of various counties in the Cantonese-speaking region, only in the *Nanhai County Gazetteer* (*Nanhai xianzhi*) would we see the label "Yue" used to describe local customs.[4] In the gazetteers of other counties,

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3 See, Wu (n.d., pp. 191a-b); Qu (1700, p. 361 in the 1974 reprint); Zhang (n.d., pp. 301b, 302b, 303b); Yu (n.d., pp. 3314-5).

4 *Nanhai xianzhi* (1911, j. 4, p. 20b).

the word "Yue" is not used as a qualifier of local customs. Nearby counties such as Panyu and Shunde, are only said to be similar to Nanhai, and the customs of Enping county are said to be similar to Guangzhou. It is as if Nanhai is the heart of the Yue connection. This interpretation is consistent with the history of Guangdong noted in the gazetteers, because the first commandery established in Guangdong -- before Guangdong existed even in name -- was the Nanhai Commandery, founded by the Qin dynasty in 214 B.C.

One reason why the Cantonese-speaking inhabitants of Guangdong, or more narrowly, of Guangzhou, were considered by the provincial gazetteer' s compilers as "Yue people" (Yueren) or "Guangdong people" (Guangdongren) was that many of the provincial gazetteer compilers were Cantonese. However, another reason would be the continuity of the historiographic tradition, for much of the content of the provincial gazetteer of 1822 had been inherited from the local literature compiled by Cantonese scholars in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries. From the sixteenth century, the domination of Guangdong province by Guangzhou and speakers of Cantonese was being accomplished as a result of the large-scale integration of the Cantonese literati into the state. The domination of the Cantonese literati in the compilation of earlier editions of the Guangdong provincial gazetteer has ensured that it incorporates a Cantonese-centred bias.[5]

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5 See Faure (1996).

The civilizing process

The theme of cultural unification and centralization is written into the chapter on local customs in practically every Guangdong gazetteer, whether it is a gazetteer of the province, a prefecture, or a county. In the chapter on local customs, identification with the "central plain" (*zhongyuan*) culture is often the only criterion for judging the cultural standard of any region. A discussion of local customs in the context of a unified standard suggests almost a conflict of interest. This contradictory theme of cultural unity and diversity has a historical origin. The *Guangdong Provincial Gazetteer* presents us with the idea that every part of Guangdong has gone through a similar historical process of gradual enlightenment and acculturation. According to it, the indigenous Yue culture was exotic, yet it was gradually transformed ("Yuesu *xianghua*").[6] That it was transformed into the "central plain" (*zhongyuan*) culture was clearly understood. The cultural transformation referred to as "*hua*" went in only one direction -- the word was almost synonymous with the English word "civilization". The customs of the Yue were acculturated by the state, absorbed more and more into civilization. The 1822 *Guangdong Provincial Gazetteer*, for instance, quotes the statement made by compiler Huang Zuo in the 1561 edition of the *Guangdong Provincial Gazetteer* to make this point:

> From the Jian' an reign (196-219 A.D.) of the end of the Han dynasty (Eastern Han, 25-220 A.D.) to the Yongjia reign (308-313 A.D.) of the Eastern Jin dynasty (317-420 A.D.), many of the people coming from the central part of the empire (Zhongguo *zhi ren*) fled to the region

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6 *Guangdong tongzhi* (1822, j. 92; p. 1779 in the 1988 reprint).

beyond the Five Ranges (*lingbiao*) in order to escape from [the chaos occurring in the north]. In most cases their descendants settled there. The cultivated styles they left behind and their gentrified manners gradually coloured [the people beyond the Five Ranges]. Subsequently, practices gradually changed and became closer to those of the central region (*zhongzhou*).[7] The acculturation process introduced from north China, therefore, brought about the integration of northerners with southerners, and the conversion of the southerners as a result.

The process of acculturation by the north may be thought of as the "civilizing" process. Because this process is invoked more and more commonly as time went on as an explanation for similarities and differences, it is not uncommon for the more recent editions of a local gazetteer to present a more positive picture of the customs of a locality than the earlier ones. The description of the customs of Xinhui county is an obvious example. In the 1561 edition of the *Guangdong Provincial Gazetteer*, the compilers noted the Xinhui people's "practices of moxibustion, of adopting Buddhist services in funeral and inclining to geomancy as well as practices of ghosts and gods".[8] However, in the 1741 edition of the *Xinhui County Gazetteer* (*Xinhui xianzhi*), it is said that "in Xinhui, marriage and funeral practices among the common people are done according to *Master Zhu's Family Rituals*".[9] Once the point has been made, it is quoted in the later 1822 *Guangdong Provincial Gazetteer* and the 1841 *Xinhui County*

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7 *Guangdong tongzhi* (1822, j. 92; p. 1780 in the 1988 reprint), quoted from the 1561 edition of *Guangdong tongzhi* (j. 20, p. 9b). The reign of Yongjia falls in the Western Jin dynasty, but for unknown reason, the 1822 *Guangdong tongzhi*'s compilers put it in the Eastern Jin dynasty.

8 *Guangdong tongzhi* (1561, j. 20, pp. 20b-21a).

9 *Xinhui xianzhi* (1741, j. 1, p. 21a).

Gazetteer.[10] For another example, the 1880 edition of the *Qingyuan County Gazetteer* even explicitly rejects the report made in an earlier edition of the gazetteer that cremation was a typical practice among the common people. Instead, it suggests that cremation was probably a practice adopted several hundred years earlier which had now been abandoned.[11] Similarly, descriptions of Qin Department note that the Qinzhou people "adopted the fashion of the central land (*zhongtu*) swiftly", and of Nanxiong prefecture, that it was "not different from that of the central region (*zhongzhou*)".[12]

A variation of the civilized-by-the-northerner theme was the introduction of learning by highly regarded scholars who had been sent for one reason or another from the north into Guangdong. Su Shi (1036-1101), the Song dynasty poet who was exiled to Huizhou from 1094 to 1097, wrote:

> In the beginning, the Chaozhou people were not educated. Han Yu appointed the metropolitan graduate Zhao De as their teacher and from then the Chaozhou people began to excel in literary pursuits.

The Chaozhou gazetteers have since been tireless in noting that Chaozhou culture had flourished only from the Tang dynasty, and Zhao De (year of birth and death unknown) and Han Yu (768-824) became the two literary figures whom the Chaozhou literati held in the highest esteem.[13]

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10 *Guangdong tongzhi* (1822, j. 92; p. 1790 in the 1988 reprint); *Xinhui xianzhi* (1841, j. 2, p. 62a).

11 *Qingyuan xianzhi* (1880, j. 2, p. 13b).

12 *Guangdong tongzhi* (1822, j. 93; pp. 1801, 1807 in the 1988 reprint).

13 *Chaozhou fuzhi* (1547, j. 5, pp. 1a-b); *Guangdong tongzhi* (1535, j. 18, p. 6b). *Guangdong tongzhi* (1731, j. 51, p. 14b); *Guangdong tongzhi* (1822, p. 1795); Qu (1700, pp. 322-3 in the

The first and most central theme about the culture of Guangdong which is revealed by the gazetteers is, therefore, that culture, as it was found in Guangdong, was derived from the "central region". To be a Guangdong person, one either has to be one of the descendants of the migrants from the "central region", or to have converted to the rites and customs of the "central region". In this sense, Guangdong may be said to possess culture only in so far as Guangdong has been acculturated. In the nineteenth century, such a point of view was continuously re-affirmed not only in the official gazetteers, but also in other local literature which might appeal to a wider readership.

Imitators from below

How far was the literati idea that Guangdong people were the inheritors of the "central region" culture shared by different strata of local society? Through what channels could ordinary people acquire any knowledge of the history of Guangdong as constituted in the gazetteers which might serve as the kernel of their self-identification? It seems likely that the circulation of official publications such as the *Guangdong Provincial Gazetteer* could only have been limited. To find out what the ordinary people might know of a written history of Guangdong, we turn to the less formal local literature.

1974 reprint). The text was extracted from a tablet written by Su Dongpo for a temple in Chaozhou which had been established for worshipping Han Yu. See *Chaozhou fuzhi* (1661, j. 12, p. 13b). *Su Dongpo xuanji* (1984, pp. 407-9).

The *Collective Descriptions on Lingnan* (*Lingnan congshu*) published in 1830 by putting together the notes and materials previously gathered for compiling the 1822 *Guangdong Provincial Gazetteer* is one such example of a less formal literature. Entries in the *Collective Descriptions on Lingnan* are arranged in short paragraphs in note (*biji*) form. To differentiate the *Collective Descriptions on Lingnan* from the *Guangdong Provincial Gazetteer*, the compiler, who was also one of the compilers of the 1822 *Guangdong Provincial Gazetteer*, stated that the *Collective Descriptions on Lingnan* collected both elegant and vulgar materials. However, he also spoke on behalf of the authority of the *Collective Descriptions on Lingnan* by saying that all the information he selected could be attributed to written sources.

The *Collective Descriptions on Lingnan* repeated the civilized-by-the-northerner ideas set forth in the 1822 edition of the *Guangdong Provincial Gazetteer* concerning when and how Guangdong culture commenced. In detail, it took a slightly different form. The compiler stated in the preface of the *Collective Descriptions on Lingnan* that,

> Prior to the Five Dynasties, although there were extraordinary men and distinguished scholars [emerging in Lingnan], in most places the Yue[14] people lived scattered among various barbarians. Subsequently, they were not without barbarian practices.

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14 Written as "越".

> After the Song court moved southward, more and more scholars and gentry migrated from the central region to the south. The culture of Lingnan became more and more enlightened.[15]

Three familiar themes can be derived from the above quotation. They are, first, that the indigenous people of Guangdong, who were named the "Yue" people, were barbarous; second, that the civilization of Guangdong was brought by the migrants from the central region; and third, that the civilization of Guangdong commenced in the Song dynasty. The timing of the infusion of northern culture might vary, but the conclusion derived from these themes was the same as that given in the official gazetteers in that contemporary Guangdong people were civilised because they were the descendants of the migrants coming from the north. The legendary statement about the origins of Guangdong culture in the *Collective Descriptions on Lingnan* was compatible with the foundation myth given in many genealogies compiled by the lineages of the Pearl River delta. Many of these genealogies claimed that the ancestors of the lineage were descendants of aristocrats or senior officials in the Song who had come south to settle.[16]

Another example of local literature that attempted to present a view of Guangdong culture is the *Stories of Distinguished People of Guangdong* (*Guangdong*

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15 Deng Chun (1830, "*fanli*" (general rules), p. 1a).

16 See Faure (1989) on the Zhuji *xiang* legend commonly found in the beginning chapters of genealogies of lineages that settled in the Pearl River delta. In a poorly-printed little story book, entitled *Fuke Sufei xinwen, Nanxiong Zhuji xiang laili gushi* (An attachment: a revised essay on the imperial concubine, Madam Su, the story of the origin of the Zhuji *xiang* in the Nanxiong prefecture), a similar legend is recorded. This book, with no publication date stated, is held in the British Library.

mingren gushi), published probably in the Guangxu period (1875-1908).[17] A glance at its table of contents might suggest that it would best be considered a mini-gazetteer. In the upper column of each page of the book, a list of successful graduates from the Ming to Qing Guangxu periods was entered. The lower column includes sections on different subject matters similar to that of a provincial gazetteer, starting with a "General discussion on Guangdong", and continuing with "Taxation in the prefectures, sub-prefectures and counties of Guangdong", "Local products and ancient relics of Guangdong", and finally, "Record of happenings of former dynasties". The book was wood-block printed in poor quality, with an outlook and size similar to song books sold by peddlers. Judging from these characteristics, we may assume that the *Stories of Distinguished People of Guangdong* was designed to appeal to the popular market.

Among the various subjects represented in the *Stories of Distinguished People of Guangdong*, as the title implies, the section that stands out is the one that records stories of well-known Guangdong people. In the *Stories of Distinguished People of Guangdong*, to be well-known the hero had to have a connection with the state. A common theme shared by most of the stories is that the success of well-known Guangdong people is the combined consequences of personal talent, fortune, and even mystical force. For example, one of the stories in the *Stories of Distinguished People of Guangdong* states that, Liang Chu (1451-1527), a grand secretary of the Ming

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17 No publication date is found in the book. The only indication for a publication date is that on p. 17b the record of Guangdong *zhuangyuan* (the metropolitan graduate who ranked the first) stops in 1895. Thus, the book would have been published after 1895.

Dynasty, was able to compose proficient poems at the age of seven.[18] Another describes how the rebel Huang Xiaoyang, who caused much disturbance in the Shunde area in 1449, was rescued from prison by his colleagues by having a rat acting as his messenger. A third example of these stories says that the prosperity of Zhan Ruoshui, a Ming official and reputable philosopher, was a result of the fact that Zhan had buried his parents at a propitious site. Stories of child prodigies, letter-bearing rats and propitious burial plots are common in folklore traditions, of which more will be said in chapter five. These stories would have been very likely circulated via the oral channel, even though they might also be written down and published.

The connection between the oral and the written traditions will have to be further explored in the next chapter, but for the time being it may be noted the *Stories of Distinguished People of Guangdong* bridges the oral and the written traditions. The existence of similar stories in both the printed and oral traditions with a strong emphasis on an official connection demonstrates that a focus on the state was not only to be found in the gazetteers, and was not restricted only to the educated elite.

The voice of the Hakka

The gazetteers, therefore, tell us that cultural diversities between regions are a result of differences in the degree of acculturation. The presence of a popular literature that echoes this argument suggests, moreover, that the belief went beyond

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18 *Guangdong mingren gushi* (n.d. , pp. 11a-13b; 14b-15a).

the elite. In this, the argument of cultural diversity resembles an ethnic rather than a class theory. The ethnic argument emphasizes cultural purity. Culture, in this argument, is acquired through conversion, membership and descent. It distinguishes between speech groups and customs. The Chaozhou and Hakka people, the Yao, the Lang, the Li, the Dan and the Zhuang, therefore, are set apart from the Yue.[19]

The acculturation argument as the source of an ethnic identity, however, is not identical to a racist argument on identity. The claim made about conversion suggests that membership and descent relate to the transmission of culture, and that was something that might be acquired, rather than something that would be in-born, such as a physical characteristic or blood tie. Occasionally, we come across references in gazetteers that might be racist, but ultimately, the Chinese literati applied the acculturation argument.[20] The Yue, after all, were only converts. And if the Yue could be converted to Han culture, what was there to prevent the Chaozhou and the Hakka people, the Yao, the Lang, the Li, the Dan, and the Zhuang, from the same conversion?

The conversion argument, however, left a loophole in the ordering of cultural purity. History it is that decides the priority of conversion. That history is constructed, and no ethnic group need accept without question the history of

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19 The ethnic others were either addressed in the miscellaneous section of various local records, or, recordeed in individual gazetteers. An example of such a monograph on the Yao is the *Lianshan suiyao tingzhi* (1837).

20 For a discussion on the acculturation process in south China via diffusion of Confucianism, see Hisayaki (1960).

conversion as constructed by another ethnic group. It is interesting, therefore, to see that the Hakka version of the history of conversion in Guangdong did not acquiesce in the Yue version that put Guangzhou at the centre of this history.

Literally, the term "Hakka" means "guest people". The earliest record of the term we know so far may be found in the 1586 edition of the *Yongan County Gazetteer* (*Yongan xianzhi*). When the county was founded in 1567, its initial migrant settlers had come from Jiangxi and Fujian; settlers from Jiangxi designated themselves as "Shuiyuan" (source of the river), and the ones from Fujian "Kejia".[21] The various editions of the county gazetteers of Yongan compiled from the sixteenth to the nineteeth century gave the Hakka a positive image. In these gazetteers, the Hakka people were appreciated for their earnestness in studying, their diligence in farm-work and their thrifty manner in their daily lives.[22]

Nevertheless, in many other local gazetteers, the Hakka people were often described as aliens or even barbarians, in a way reminiscent of how the Guangdong people were portrayed by northerners. In the 1639 edition of the *Dongguan County Gazetteer* (*Dongguan xianzhi*), the Hakka immigrants were described as "Ailiao", that is, the Ai-barbarians.[23] The 1822 *Guangdong Provincial Gazetteer* which recorded a variant of this term, *aizi*, explained that it originated from the fact that the Hakka

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21 Leong (1985, p. 301). The source of information that S.T. Leong cites from is the 1586 edition of *Yongan xianzhi*.

22 *Yongan xianzhi* (1687, j. 14, pp. 1b-2a); *Yongan xian san zhi* (1822, j. 1, pp. 34b-35a), quoted from the 1586 edition of *Yongan xianzhi*.

23 *Dongguan xianzhi* (1639, j. 8, pp. 992-3 in the 1995 reprint).

pronounced the word "*wo*" (I, me) as "*ai*".[24] Admitting that the coming of the hard-working Hakka people was to some extent favourable to local agricultural labour, the compilers of the 1754 edition of the *Zengcheng County Gazetteer* (*Zengcheng xianzhi*) still found the Hakka people threatening as they were afraid that the Hakka people were occupying more and more of their land.[25]

More severe accusations come from those regions where the Hakka people and the Cantonese fought with each other in the nineteenth century over land rights. In the section recording these feuds, those Hakka people who were involved were labelled as bandits (*fei*) in the county gazetteers of Gaoyao (1863), Xinhui (1871), Xinning (1893), and Gaoming (1894).[26]

The negative assessment of the Hakka people by the Cantonese in the mid-nineteenth century was provocative enough to induce a strong reaction from the Hakka. From the mid-nineteenth century on several Hakka scholars applied the acculturation argument to speak for their own ethnic integrity. Books and gazetteers compiled by Hakka scholars strongly articulated the argument that they were people who had originated from the "central plain".

Hakka scholars argued that the Hakka dialect was in many ways identical to the "ancient speech" spoken in the "central plain". They also argued that unlike

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24 *Guangdong tongzhi* (1822, j. 92; p. 1781 in the 1988 reprint).
25 *Zengcheng xianzhi* (1754, j. 3, pp. 9b-11a).
26 Leong (1985, p. 306). See *Gaoyao xianzhi* (1863, j. 2, p. 30a); *Xinhui xianzhi* (1871, j. 10, p. 7b); *Xinning xianzhi* (1893, j. 14, pp. 22a-37b); *Gaoming xianzhi* (1894, j. 15, pp. 17a-27b).

many other regional dialects which were confined to the regions where they had originated from, Hakka people could comprehend the Hakka dialect spoken in different regions even though the accents varied.[27] Such arguments can be found in an essay entitled "On the Hakka" (*Keshuo*) written by Lin Daquan (? - 1878) in the Xianfeng period (1851-1861), and in *A Record of Shiku* (*Shiku yizhen*) written by Huang Zhao (1787-1853), which was published in 1862.[28] Both Lin and Huang were noted Hakka scholars of the time. While Lin was a provincial graduate from Dapu county who organized a militia in his native county in 1864, Huang came from Zhenping county of Jiaying Department and once taught at the Hanshan Academy, one of the most prestigious academies in Chaozhou.[29]

Towards the end of the nineteenth century, similar arguments were incorporated into the gazetteers. Arguing for the "central plain" origins of the Hakka people, the 1898 edition of the *Jiaying Departmental Gazetteer* (*Jiaying zhouzhi*) was probably the first official gazetteer of a Hakka-spoken region making its defence for a Hakka tradition. Its chief compiler, Wen Zhonghe (1849-1904), was a 1889 metropolitan graduate and a student of the Xuehaitang Academy, the most reputable provincial academy in the nineteenth century Guangdong.[30] In the *Jiaying Departmental Gazetteer*, Wen Zhonghe quoted the works of Lin Daquan and Huang Zhao as his major references for verifying the "central plain" origin of the Hakka

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27 *Jiaying zhouzhi* (1898, j. 7, pp. 86b-87a).
28 Lin Daquan, "Keshuo", in Wen (1910, j. 4, pp. 2b-3a); Huang (1862, j. 7, pp. 1a-17b in the 1970 reprint).
29 See Wen (1910) and Huang (1862). For a history of the Hanshan Academy, see Lin Yingyi (1986).
30 Rong (1934, p. 76).

dialect. On top of that, Wen further included an extensive chapter entitled "Rituals and Customs" (*lisu*) to prove that Hakka rituals were not out of the ordinary.[31] Wen argued that Hakka customs followed orthodox traditions and any deviation could be accounted for by their having followed erroneous interpretations of such customs. To substantiate this argument, Wen Zhonghe denounced Qiu Jun, the Ming scholar-official who compiled a popular version *of Master Zhu's Family Rituals* (*Zhuzi jiali*) for his distortion of ancient practices, even though Qiu Jun's version of this ritual manual was praised in the provincial gazetteer for having improved upon local customs.[32] It is very unusual for a gazetteer to denounce the commentary of a ritual text, and it reflects a strategy employed by the Hakka literati in claiming orthodoxy. Both the Cantonese and the Hakka literati spoke for their own ethnic integrity by identifying with the state and its culture, yet identifying with the state did not preclude ethnic or regional uniqueness.

The concern of race

The controversy between the Hakka people and the Cantonese over their cultural orthodoxy reached a climax by the early 1900s when a new concept was introduced into textbooks prepared for the late Qing reformed curriculum. That new concept was the concept of race. The textbooks into which the concept was introduced belonged to a category known as "native land textbooks" (*xiangtu*

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31 *Jiaying zhouzhi* (1898, j. 8, p. 53b).

32 *Jiaying zhouzhi* (1898, j. 8, p. 14a), *Guangdong tongzhi* (1731, j. 51, p. 8b). For the evolution and variation of the text of *Master Zhu's Family Ritual*, see Ebrey (1991).

jiaokeshu). These textbooks were introduced into the newly designed primary school curriculum as a supplement to the constitutional reform initiated by the Qing government from about 1900. Textbooks on local history were promoted by the Qing court as a means of implementing local self-government. The policy was based on the assumption that the younger generation should have a better understanding of their own native places if they were expected to elect their own local assemblies. The implication is significant: for the first time, in addition to the standard texts of "three-four-five characters classics", students of one province were required to learn something different from those in other provinces. However, the Qing government' s measure was never meant to promote regionalism in any extreme sense. Rather, it was the Qing government' s assumption that people' s affection for their native places could be promoted through spreading to them more knowledge about their region, and that the patriotic spirit could be projected from people' s love for their own locality to the country as a whole.

In response to the government policy, several textbooks on the history of Guangdong were published. In 1906, Huang Yingkui (1855-1929), a student of the Xuehaitang Academy, the most reputable academy of the late Qing Guangdong, and his son, Huang Foyi (1886-1946), a gazetteer compiler working for the Guangdong Provincial Gazetteer Compilation Office, compiled the *Textbook on Guangdong Local History* (*Guangdong xiangtushi jiaokeshu*). In 1907, a nation-wide effort on publishing textbooks on local history and geography was made by the Society for the Protection of National Studies (Guoxue Baocun Hui) in Shanghai for the provinces of

Zhili, Jiangsu, Anhui, Jiangxi, Hubei and Guangdong. The Guangdong edition of this series, entitled the *Textbook on Guangdong Local History* (*Guangdong xiangtu lishi jiaokeshu*, published in 1907), the *Textbook on the Investigation of the Natural Produces of Guangdong* (*Guangdong xiangtu gezhi jiaokeshu*, published in 1908), and the *Textbook on Local Geography of Guangdong* (*Guangdong xiangtu dili jiaokeshu*, two editions, published in 1907 and 1908 respectively), were compiled by Huang Jie (1874-1935), a Guangdong member of the Society for the Protection of National Studies. According to Huang Jie, the book was compiled to nurture students' love towards their native land (*xiangtu*) and furthermore, their country (*guo*).[33] In 1908, another *Textbook on Local Geography of Guangdong* (*Guangdong xiangtu dili jiaokeshu*), compiled by Huang Peikun and Cen Xixiang (year of birth and death unknown), was also published in Guangzhou.

Like the traditional gazetteers, these local history textbooks offer a definition of Guangdong identity through a categorization and gradation of different ethnic groups within the province. However, what is newly added to the old discourse of cultural definition was a concern for racial purity. Having been introduced from Japan towards the end of the nineteenth century, the concept of race (*zhongzu*) became a major concern of many members of the literati as a reaction against the challenge from the West as well as against the authority of the Manchu regime. Speaking in terms relative to other races of the world, some members of the literati identified the people of China as a whole with the category of "Yellow race", which was conceived

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33 Huang Huiwen (1907a, preface p. 1b).

of as an enduring biological unit engendered by a mythological ancestor, namely, the Yellow Emperor. There were also some anti-Manchu literati who emphasized the cultural superiority, the purity and integrity of the Han race as the rationale for overthrowing the Manchus and putting the Hans as the orthodox inheritor of China. These literati were particularly evident among the members of the Society for the Protection of National Studies.[34]

Founded in 1905 by a group of poets, scholars and educators, the Society for the Protection of National Studies advocated the preservation of "national essence" (*guocui*), which was realized by means of the orthodox Chinese scholarship, literature and paintings. It was indicative of the mission of the Society that its members consciously considered the Han-Chinese culture as an intact entity which could be "preserved". However, because the Manchu regime was also keeping alive an orthodox Chinese culture, i.e. the Confucian culture, the anti-Manchuists had to distinguish their task from that of the Manchu regime by claiming that the orthodoxy of the Chinese culture they were attempting to preserve lay in its Han (in opposition to Manchu) root.[35]

In a broad sense, the focus on the racial theme was applied also in the textbook on local history. The concept of a Han race was brought to bear on the old

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34 For a discussion on the utilization of the concept of race in the last years of the nineteenth century, see Crossley (1990); Dikötter (1992, Chapter 3 and 4); Han and Li (1984).

35 Despite the fact that the Society consisted of some members who displayed a strong anti-Manchu sentiment, much of its task was devoted to scholarly and educational ends directed not at the subversion of the Manchu regime but at keeping alive orthodox Chinese culture. See Schneider (1976, pp. 60-7). For a history of the "National essence" school in late Qing, see Zheng (1992).

acculturation argument applied to classify different ethnic groups within the province. In the *Textbook on Guangdong Local History* compiled by Huang Yingkui and Huang Foyi, a chapter entitled "The types of Guangdong people" (Guangdongren *zhi zhongbie*) expresses the authors' opinions about who could be regarded as Chinese in Guangdong:

> During the Southern Song dynasty, in order to escape from the turmoil [in the north], many people from the central plain (*zhongyuanren*) moved to the Zhuji *xiang* in Nanxiong and took residence there. Thus many Yue people (Yueren) are of the same stock as the people of the central region of the empire (Zhongguo *zhong*). The peoples of the hills and the caves such as Yao, Lang, Li, Qi, Dan are true Yue people (*zhen* Yueren).[36]

In the *Textbook on Local Geography of Guangdong* compiled by Huang Peikun and Cen Xixiang, the authors introduced the concept of "Han" to substitute for the "Zhongguo *zhong*" and made a clearer differentiation between the Yue and the Han Chinese. In a chapter entitled "Races of Guangdong people" (Guangdongren *zhi zhongzu*), the authors say,

> Guangdong in ancient times was a place inhabited by barbarians. These barbarians were of different types (*geyou zhongxing*). For example, the Liao of Huizhou, the Li of Lianzhou, the Li and Qi of Leizhou and Qiongzhou, the Yao and Zhuang of Shaozhou, Lianzhou,

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36 Huang Yingkui and Huang Foyi (1906, p. 1b). The original words used in the text for Chinese race are "Zhongguo *zhong*". According to Frank Dikötter, "*zhong*" meant "seed", "breed", or "biological species", and was used in association with "*lei*", "type", "category", in *zhonglei* at the discursive level or race as type. See Dikötter (1992, pp. 70-1).

Gaozhou, Qinzhou, Zhaoqing, Luoding *zhou*, were remnants of the Yue stock (Yue *zhong*). The Dan *zu* who lived in boats were also of Yue stock (Yue *zhong*). As for other inhabitants like the surnames of lineages from various regions, all their initial ancestors came from outside Guangdong. Since the Qin dynasty moved its people [from the north] into Guangdong, people of the Han stock (Han *zhong*) had started to extend to Guangdong. During the Tang and Song, in order to escape from the turmoil [in the north], many people from the central region moved to the region beyond the Five Ranges (*lingbiao*). Since then, the Han race has prospered [in Guangdong]. While the Han race has prospered, the Yue race has declined.[37]

Despite the modern tone conveyed in the above literature, similar ideas had in fact been expressed in an earlier text. The 1700 *New Account of Guangdong* includes an entry that distinguishes in racial terms between two Yue peoples designed by two different ways of writing the character: The Yue (粵) had come to Guangdong from the centre (referred to as *zhongguo*) and bore the "spirit of clearness and brightness" (*qingshu zhi qi*) of the central region. The other Yue (越) people cut short their hair and tattooed their bodies. They were the aborigines of the south, and their descendants were the Yao, Zhuang, Pingzong, Lang, Li, Qi and Dan people.[38]

These texts do not agree on the meaning of the words Yue (粵) and Yue (越), but the ideas conveyed by both the *New Account of Guangdong* and the late Qing local history textbooks are similar. These texts argue that a small minority of

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37 Huang Peikun and Cen Xixiang (1908, Vol. 1, p. 19a). For all the characters "Yue" appearing in this citation is Yue (a), see glossary.

38 Qu (1700, p. 232 in the 1974 reprint). Barbara Ward notes that the Dan people also stressed the Chinese identity of their customs and manners. See Ward (rep. 1989).

Guangdong inhabitants were descended from the aborigines and had remained aboriginal, while the majority were of central plain origin. Whether the Hakka people belonged to the majority of central-plain descendants or the minority of aborigines was a matter that was not settled, and this became an issue in the late Qing. In a chapter that dealt with the racial composition and origins of different groups, Huang Jie's *Textbook on Local Geography of Guangdong* published in 1907 stated,

> The Yue region has had a pure Han race from the Qin dynasty when the people were exiled from the north and settled in the Yue region. Before the Qin dynasty, the Hundred Yue peoples (Baiyue) were each a race. They once had their own rulers, who submitted themselves to the Yue Kingdom. The King of Yue [that is, Gou Jian] was the descendant of Wu Yu, the son born of a concubine of Shaokang, the Emperor of the Xia dynasty.[39] Therefore, those descendants of Shaokang who moved to the region south of Five Ranges (Lingnan) were of Han race. Those [of this race] who mixed with the Hundred Yue races were called Zhuang. Now, the Zhuang, Yao, Lang, Li (also known as the Li, a variation of which is known as the Qi), the Dan, Kejia [Hakka], Fulao [Hoklo] races are still found scattered in different areas [of the Yue region].[40]

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39 For a record of the legendary ancestors of Gou Jian. see *Shiji* (rep. 1975, Vol. 5, p. 1739). It is also stated in the *Shiji* that the emperors of the Xia dynasty were the descendants of the Yellow Emperor. See *Shiji* (rep. 1975, Vol. 1, p. 49).

40 Huang Huiwen (1907b, Chapter 12, pp. 6a-7a).

Following the above paragraph, Huang attached a table which indicated an even clearer distinction and classification among the different ethnic groups of Guangdong:[41]

Han race	a) Zhuang (the descendants of the Yue who mixed with the Hundred Yue). b) The people exiled by the Qin dynasty and settled in the Yue region.
Hundred Yue races	a) Liao b) Li c) Yao
Races coming from outside	a) Kejia [Hakka] b) Fulao [Hoklo] c) Dan race

The table clearly shows that, according to Huang Jie, the Liao, Li, Yao, Hakka, Hoklo and Dan were not of the Han race, whereas the Zhuang people were a less pure Han race. Without mentioning the Cantonese by name, Huang Jie's table implies that the Cantonese were equivalent to the people who had come from the north, because it was well-known that the exiles moved to Nanhai county when Guangzhou city was founded. By implication, the Cantonese were pure Han.

Huang Jie's controversial statement was a reflection of his dual role as an anti-Manchu promoter and as a Cantonese native. Coming from Shunde county,

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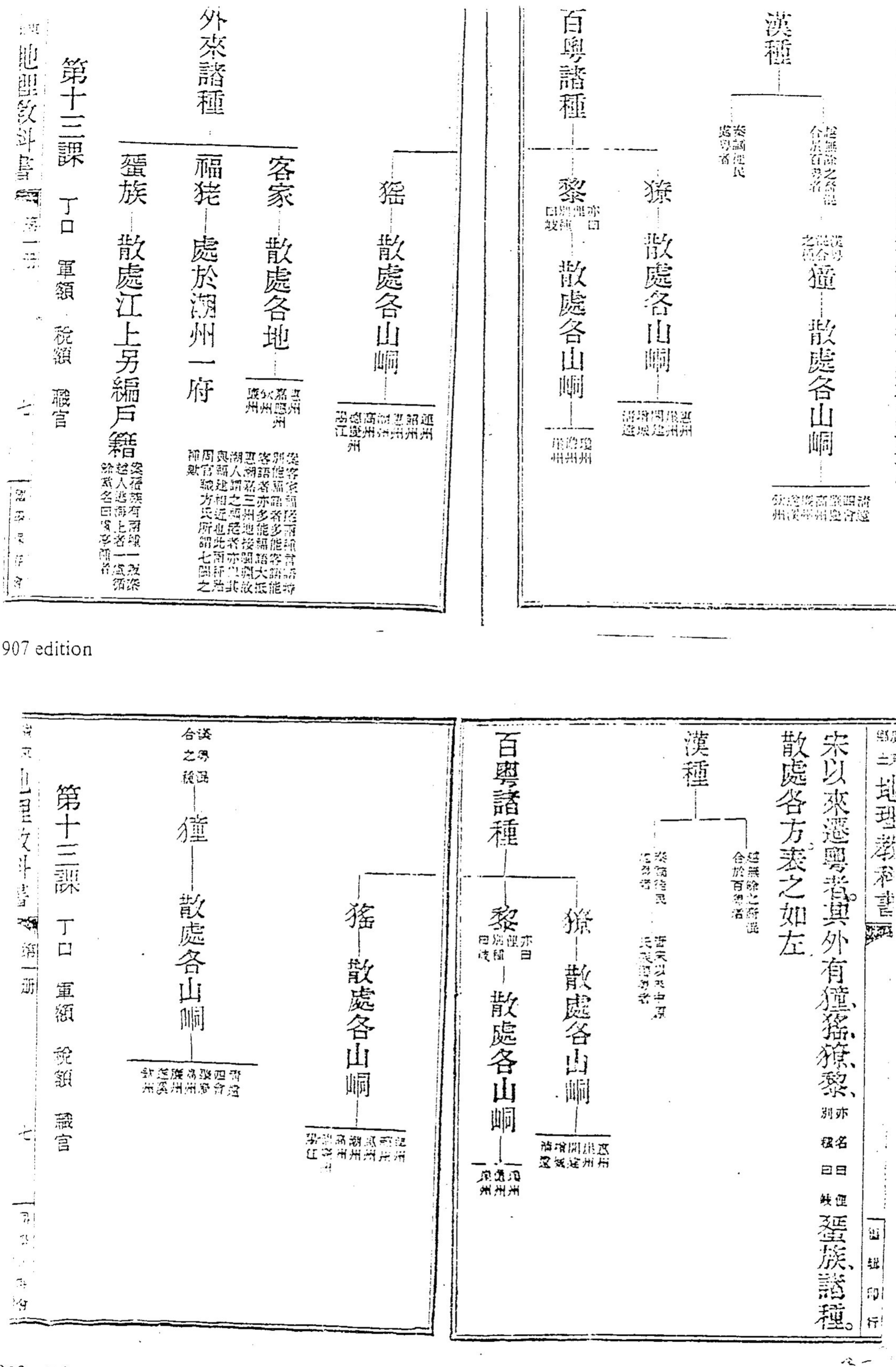
41 I have simplified the original table, which lists also the regions inhabited by these ethnic groups.



1907 edition

1908 edition

Illustration 2.1
Comparison of the chapters on "Types of People" (*renzhong*) of the two editions of the *Guangdong xiangtu dili jiaokeshu*.
(Notice the omission of the whole section on Hakka, Hoklo and the Dan in the 1908 edition.)

Huang Jie studied for a few years with Jian Chaoliang (1851-1933), a senior Shunde scholar who studied with Kang Youwei under Zhu Ciqi (1807-1881), one of the most celebrated Guangdong scholars in late Qing of whom more will be said. Huang was a co-founder and one of the few radical anti-Manchu members of the Society for the Protection of National Studies.[42] In 1905, Huang Jie published a series of articles under the title "Yellow History" (*Huang shi*) in the *Journal of National Essence* (*Guocui xuebao*), in which he expressed blatantly his anti-Manchu sentiment.[43] In the "Yellow History", Huang argued that under the rule of the Manchus in the Qing, just as under the rule of the Mongols in the Yuan or the Tartars in the Northern Wei, China lost its character as a "nation" (*Zhongguo zhi bu guo ye*). This character as a "nation" Huang sought to rediscover by an analysis of Chinese sources, and he found it in a racial theory. He asserted that the race which was legitimate to rule China was a race that had come from the Kunlun Mountain. It consisted of people who were led by the Yellow Emperor into the land that became China. The descendants of the Yellow Emperor were Han. The argument that linked the emergence of the Cantonese to migration from the north would imply that the Han race had spread to south China. As a Han-chauvinist, Huang Jie surely viewed the Manchus as his enemy. However, being also Cantonese, Huang perceived the Hakka and the Hoklo people no less barbarous than the Manchus. Concern for race was not only an expression of a wider

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42 However, having mistrusted party politics, Huang refused to join the Revolutionary Alliance (Tongmeng Hui), and his anti-Manchu sentiment could also have been expressed subtly enough to not irritate the Qing government. This is indicated by the fact that the native land textbooks he compiled were issued with the approval of the provincial educational authorities for use in the new schools being set up under the imperial reforms. See Leong (1985, p. 308) and Schneider (1976, p. 66).

43 Huang Jie (1905).

nationalist movement, but was also an expression of the pride of a dominating ethnic group over what it considered subordinate groups.

The implication that Hakka people were not of the Han racial stock immediately provoked a storm of protest among the Hakka literati in Guangdong. Writers who opposed this argument included Huang Zunxian (1848-1905), Qiu Fengjia (1864-1912) and Zou Lu (1885-1954), all of whom were at the time actively involved in either reform or revolutionary affairs. A "Society for the Investigation of the Origin of the Hakka People" was formed among the Hakka people from Jiaying, and further actions were threatened. Eventually the provincial educational authorities compromised by removing the whole paragraph on the Hakka and the Hoklo from Huang's *Guangdong xiangtu dili jiaokeshu*.[44] (Illustration 2. 1)

The local history textbooks show that by the early twentieth century, cultural affinity was giving way to racial purity. The Guangdong identity had now to be substantiated not only by cultural orthodoxy but also by biologically descent. Towards the twentieth century, the proof of Han-racial purity continued to serve as one of the means by which Hakka scholars claimed a share in the Han-Chinese culture for the Hakka people. All this while, with China's defeat at the hands of foreigners, Chinese civilization itself appeared impotent and incompetent. As we shall see, into the twentieth century, traditional culture would come under attack and attempts would

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44 See the 1908 edition of the *Guangdong xiangtu dili jiaokeshu*, Huang Huiwen (1908, Chapter 12, pp. 6a-7a). See Luo (1933, pp. 5-6; 27-8) and Leong (1985, p. 308).

be made to replace it with a new Chinese culture. Eventually, a provincial identity would need to be re-adjusted.

A Cantonese domination?

We have seen from the above discussion that the acculturation argument articulated at least from the Ming was continued in the Qing dynasty as the most important ground for defining a Guangdong identity. In other words, because Guangdong was civilized by the culture of the central regions, to be a Guangdong person, one needed at least to be adept to the culture of the central region. However, among the Guangdong people, because acculturation was a historical process, some people were acculturated earlier than others. From the first half of the nineteenth century, speakers of Cantonese, claiming descent as Yue people, made the acculturation claim. By the second half of the nineteenth century, such a claim was objected to by the Hakka people who then applied the same central plain acculturation to speak for themselves. Into the early twentieth century, the racial bond was added to the acculturation principle by both the Cantonese and the Hakka people to reaffirm their Han-Chinese identity.

Chapter Three

Writing Cantonese

The Cantonese dialect is like its speaker, neither takes easily to written Chinese. The Cantonese dialect includes sounds which are not transcribed in any standard Chinese dictionary, and many more which may be transcribed but which are used in senses foreign to non-Cantonese speakers. The Cantonese speaker, writing Chinese, wrote in the classical style when that was popular, or from the 1920s on, increasingly in the plain style (*baihua*) which was a variation of the northern speech. Neither classical Chinese or plain style came close to spoken Cantonese. Nevetheless, written Cantonese came to be developed and several reasons may be cited for the development. One reason was the need to transmit an oral literature. Examples of written Cantonese include, therefore, religious texts and songs. Another reason was the literary use of Cantonese to capture particular local contexts. In the nineteenth century, a genre of literature developed in Guangzhou for precisely this reason. Yet a third reason for developing a written form of Cantonese was didactic, for it was recognized that the gap between the learner's mother tongue and the formal style of writing could be bridged by primers that incorporate Cantonese words. None of these reasons allowed Cantonese in its written form to develop into a full-fletched literature, for in the use of Cantonese the Cantonese-speaking literati faced a particular dilemma. To be literati was to hold a status that was not only recognized in the vicinity of

Guangzhou, where Cantonese was spoken, but to hold a status that was rocognizable throughout China. As the literati, they had to distinguish themselves by their writing, and they would only be read if they wrote in a style that was acceptable to the rest of China. There was little reason, therefore, for the Cantonese literati to want to write in a formal Cantonese. As this chapter will show, Cantonese was put to writing more by default than by design, and it never stood a chance of becoming a literature in its own right.

A gradation of languages

Since at least the sixteenth century, the Guangdong literati had been conscious of the peculiarities of spoken languages in Guangdong.

Most indicative of their awareness of the peculiarities of their languages is their ranking of Guangdong dialects: Cantonese dialect was the lingua franca in Guangzhou, the provincial capital, and subordinate to it were Chaozhou and Hakka dialects. The 1535 edition of the *Guangdong Provincial Gazetteer* (*Guangdong tongzhi*) states that the Chaozhou dialect was "barbarian", and that "not every spoken word of the Chaozhou speech can be written."[1] The 1762 edition of the *Chaozhou Prefectural Gazetteer* (*Chaozhou fuzhi*), says of the Chaozhou dialect that, like Fujianese dialects, its barbaric pronunciation may be uttered but not written down.[2]

The 1754 edition of the *Zengcheng County Gazetteer* (*Zengcheng xianzhi*) states that

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1 *Guangdong tongzhi* (1535, j. 18, p. 7a).
2 *Chaozhou fuzhi* (1762, j. 12, p. 11a).

"Zengcheng speech (*yuyin*) is similar to that of Panyu" and "scholars despised the use of the local dialect (*fangyan*)."[3] The 1820 edition of the *Zengcheng County Gazetteer* adds to this comment that scholars in the county speak in "standard pronunciation (*zhengyin*) to their visitors."[4] With regard to the Hakka dialect, both the 1754 and 1820 editions of the *Zengcheng County Gazetteer* state that the Hakka "have not changed their village dialect, which is so noisy that you can tell without asking them that these people have come from other places."[5]

Nevertheless, the Guangdong literati must also have known that Cantonese was suspect in the empire-wide context. In 1728, the Yongzheng Emperor decreed that Guangdong officials should improve their ability to speak the official *guanhua* and be rid of their "native accent".[6] For a long time, the phrase "*nanman niaojue*" (literally, southern barbarians chattering like birds) was applied by the northerners to describe the incomprehensible tongue of the southerners.[7] As late as 1884, Zhang Xintai, a traveller from Jiangsu, found Cantonese and other dialects spoken in Guangdong "barbarous and difficult to understand."[8]

From time to time compilers of Guangdong local gazetteers defended their local dialects in response to the outsiders' charges. Early in 1759, the compiler of the

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3 *Zengcheng xianzhi* (1754, j. 2, p. 29a).

4 *Zengcheng xianzhi* (1820, j. 1, p. 28a). In this case, "standard pronunciation" probably refers to the Cantonese spoken by the people in Panyu.

5 *Zengcheng xianzhi* (1754, j. 2, p. 29a). The 1820 edition copies the same comments. See *Zengcheng xianzhi* (1820, j. 1, p. 28a).

6 *Xin'an xianzhi* (1820, j. 1, pp. 15-6).

7 The term "*nanman niaojue*" originates from *Mengzi*, see *Mengzi zhengyi* (1987, p. 396).

8 Zhang Xintai (1884, p. 308b).

Gaozhou Prefectural Gazetteer (*Gaozhou fuzhi*), probably a Cantonese-speaker, objected to isolating Cantonese from other southern dialects. He alleged that "the so-called 'bird's tongue' in the ancient times referred only to [the speeches of] the various races of the southern barbarians, the Qi, and the Yao. If the term was interpreted in a wider sense, then nowhere in the Wu-Yue region was it not spoken."[9]

The 1774 edition of the *Panyu County Gazetteer* (*Panyu xianzhi*) also maintained that the presence of local accents and local characters was universal in China and that the case of Guangdong was not peculiar at all.[10] The compilers of the 1833 edition of the *Zhaoqing Prefectural Gazetteer* (*Zhaoqing fuzhi*) asserted that many local pronunciations had their origins in and were in compliance with ancient speech.[11] Finally an oft-quoted masterpiece arguing for the orthodoxy of Cantonese was written by Chen Li (1810-1882), one of the most prominent directors of the Xuehaitang Academy. He argued in his essay that, compared with the dialects of many other provinces, Cantonese was in accord with Sui and Tang pronunciation. He cited Zhu Xi as saying "The pronunciations in the four quarters are full of inaccuracies. It is the people of Guangdong whose pronunciation is passable."[12]

It is possible to detect, therefore, a sense of defiance in Cantonese literati writings about Cantonese. To say that their spoken dialect was close to early Sui-

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9 *Gaozhou fuzhi* (1759, j. 4, pp. 86b-87a).
10 *Panyu xianzhi* (1774, j. 17, pp. 17b-18a).
11 *Zhaoqing fuzhi* (1833, j. 3, pp. 32b-33a).
12 Chen Li (n.d. j. 1, p. 28b). Chen was quoting from the *Zhuzi yulei* in which Zhu Xi said, "it is the people of Guangzhong whose pronunciation is passable." It is unclear if by "Guangzhong *ren*" Zhu Xi was referring to the Cantonese, but Chen Li's argument has been quoted in gazetteers and other scholarly works as an authoritative reference on the Han-Chinese origin of Cantonese. See for example, *Panyu xianzhi* (1911, j. 2, pp. 47b-49a.)

Tang pronunciation is to claim for it an orthodox status. Yet despite this sort of argument the debate on the orthodoxy of Cantonese speech was extraneous to an assessment of Guangdong' s status as a place of culture. The status of the literati was defined not by the pronunciation of its members but by their ability to write in a style that might be read and understood by other members of the literati, whether or not they came from the same dialect group, province, or indeed country. This style in which they wrote might, in a loose sense, be thought of as "classical Chinese" . However, classical Chinese was not a single style, but a wide range of styles that found favour with the literati at different times. The acceptability of some of these styles was often a matter of considerable dispute among different schools of thought. The introduction of a new style of writing was a risky undertaking, in so far as it had to be justified on broad principles that went beyond local usage. It was no threat to their literati status for the Cantonese literati to read classical Chinese in Cantonese pronunciation, as they certainly did.[13] However, it could put their literati status into question if they wrote in a style that would be found unacceptable to the literati of the rest of China.

From oral to written

Part of the history of written Cantonese is the history of the ambivalence shown to writing, taken as a tool of communication of knowledge, and as a marker of

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13 It should be noted that for many regional dialects including Cantonese and Chaozhou, there existed a distinction between "*dushuyin*" (reading pronunciation, the pronunciation for reading books, in most cases. the classical texts) and the "*yuyin*" (colloquial pronunciation, the pronunciation applied in daily speech). See Li (1994. pp. 312-4), Li (1995, pp. 65-7).

social or ethnic status. Cantonese was put into writing as the opportunity or occasion for doing so arose. Whether Cantonese put to writing could be acceptable as a common written language depended on how, in its written form, it might find acceptance among a body of users, and whether in that form it might be ranked by its users and others as equivalent to existing written languages. The development of the written language, therefore, related as much to practical application as to perception. The following pages will attempt to do justice to both these aspects in the development of Cantonese in a written form.

Fragmented evidence indicates that Cantonese vernacular first appeared in writing not as independent compositions but as isolated lines blended into classical texts. Such texts would have been read aloud on social and ritual occasions, and colloquial speech would have complemented what would have been considered the classical text. As much of this early literature would have appeared only in manuscript, extant examples are, necessarily, hard to date.

A typical occasion on which classical texts would have been read out with adaptations to the Cantonese dialect would have been a village ceremony in which priestly service would be required. Village priests were not considered scholars, by the literati, villagers, or even the priests themselves, but chanting religious texts and writing religious pronouncements was an integral part of their practice.

The hand-copied ritual texts still used by village priests in the New Territories of Hong Kong may offer us some insights as to how Cantonese vernacular might have

been applied. Among this religious literature, for instance, are texts used in exorcism, in weddings, and in funerals.[14] Many of the extant copies of these texts were copied by hand between the 1940s and 60s. However, indications found in the texts suggest that they were probably compiled at an earlier date. For example, the compilation date of 1886 appears in one text, the *Shidian ke*, with the comment that the existing version had been compiled from an earlier edition.[15] In an exorcism text, the titles of Qing emperors are included up to Xianfeng, and the pirate Zhang Bao raiding the market town Xinzao in Panyu county in 1809 is mentioned.[16] The originals from which the extant texts were copied, therefore, must have been used in an earlier era than the 1940's, and these isolated references to earlier events probably give us reasons to be confident that they could have been used from at least as early as the Xianfeng period.

Our earliest reference to ceremonies conducted by village priests in the Pearl River area remains Qu Dajun's descriptions in his *New Account of Guangdong*

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14 The *Shihuan ke* (Unloosing the string which is for tying sleeves) and the *Tuohe* (Removing the rough clothing) were used in a ceremony that took place before the wedding; the *Jige* (Song of the cockerel) was used for pacifying the spirits (*tiaogui*), that is, exorcism; and the *Zhongren chan ke* (The liturgy of paper figurines) and the *Shidian ke* (Ten palaces) were used in funerals. These texts were collected by the Oral History Project at the Chinese University of Hong Kong in the 1980s. They have remained unpublished and may be found in United College Library, Chinese University of Hong Kong, in bound volumes under the title *The Historical Literature of Fan Ling*. A microfilmed collection may be found in the Hung On To Memorial Collection at Hong Kong University. A bibliography may be found in Peter Yeung, "Bibliography of New Territories Historical Literature", in the *Journal of the Hong Kong Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society* (1985). For more information see Faure (1986, p. 201, note 8).

15 The *Shidian ke* may be found in *The Historical Literature of Fan Ling* (n.d., Vol. 7).

16 For the exorcism text entitled "*tiaogui*" in which Zhang Bao was mentioned, see *The Historical Literature of Fan Ling* (n.d., Vol. 9). For the incident in which Zhang Bao and other pirates burnt the market town Xinzao, see Murray (1987, p. 128).

(*Guangdong xinyu*) in the Kangxi period. In Dongguan county, the sorcerers blewtheir horns by night, and in Yongan county, they sang the "song of the cockerel" and conducted ordination ceremonies.[17] However, the use of texts is not mentioned by Qu. We can be quite certain, therefore, that the exorcist tradition was common in the Pearl River area from at least the seventeenth century, even though the question of what might have been the earliest date by which ritual texts written in Cantonese were adopted remains a puzzle.

As we look back, there is a gap in our record between the nineteenth century and the seventeenth which may be partly filled by the internal evidence of style. The above-mentioned ritual texts were written in seven-character lines, and usually sung according to the melodies of *nanyin* (southern tune). Their language is colloquial, and incorporates obvious mnemonic devices. For example, the twelve months of the year provide a structure for describing the activities of women in the *Mage* (Hemp song), and the ten "palaces" for the scenes of the underworld in the *Shidian ke*. Another device links the content of the song to different parts of an object in a sequence: in the *Jige*, the priest sings about the different parts of the cockerel from head to tail, describing events related to village life as he goes along. These texts have borrowed from written traditions that had been gaining ground outside the ritual contexts, but

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17 Qu (1700, pp. 216, 302 in the 1974 reprint).

the heavy colloquialism and the mnemonic devices suggest that they grew from an oral tradition.[18]

Another category of Cantonese vernacular texts in which colloquial language appears is the *muyu shu* (wooden-fish book). Similar to the priestly texts in the villages, the *muyu shu* is written in a classical style in seven-character lines, into which Cantonese usage and characters are frequently incorporated (Illustration 3. 1). The stories of *muyu shu* are usually exceedingly long, with a story line being divided into several sections. The contents of these stories vary from historical narratives and romance to descriptions of local rituals and customs.

The *muyu shu* reproduce many themes that found their way into Yuan dynasty drama, and their occurrences in Shantou, Fujian and Zhejiang have also been established.[19] The long-term existence of the custom of chanting *muyu shu* can be revealed by both textual and circumstantial evidence. The first edition of one of the earliest extant *muyu shu* song texts, the *Story of the Decorated Letter Paper* (*Huajian ji*), dates back to 1713.[20] In the *Story of the Decorated Letter Paper*, Cantonese usage such as "*kom*" (such, so), "' *m*" (no/ not), "*tim*" (how), "*t'ai*" (see) and even "*tsoi-hong*" (skilful at, familiar with), "*tik-sik*" (tiny and cute) and "*maai-tui*" (group together), occur frequently.

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18 For the use of various mnemonic devices and formulas in oral culture, see Ong (1982, pp. 33-68). For how the process of oral literature transmission is subjected to continuous composition and creation, see Goody (1977, pp. 19-35).

19 See the discussions on *tanci* of south China in Zheng (rep. 1959, Vol. 2, pp. 348-83).

20 Zheng (rep. 1961, pp. 1275-1313), Tan and Tan (1987, pp. 5-6).

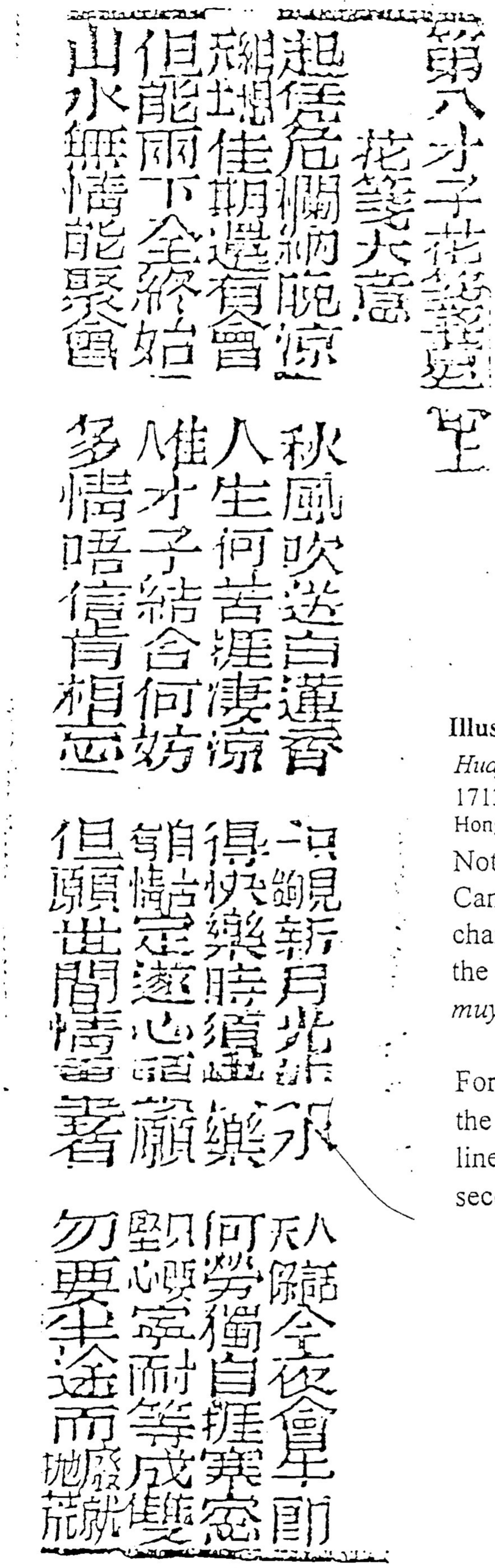
第八才子花箋記
花箋大意
趙信危欄納晚涼
紈扇佳期選有會
但能雨下全終始
山水無情能聚會
秋風吹送白蓮香
人生何苦運淒涼
惟才子結合何妨
多情唔信青相遠
一見新月光非小
得快樂時須趁早
銷魂定遠心話與
但願世間情者著
天隔金夜會星期
何勞獨自握筆寫
堅心要守耐等成雙
勿要半途而廢就荒地

Illustration 3.1

Huajian ji 花箋記, earliest edition 1713, a Republican reprint. (Guangzhou and Hong Kong, Wugui tang).

Notice how isolated Cantonese usages and characters are incorporated in the seven-character lines of a *muyu shu*.

For example, the character 係 in the fourth sentence of the first line; the character 唔 in the second sentence of the fourth line.

Circumstantial evidence also indicates that *muyu shu* might have been in existence at least since the late Ming. Two writers in the late Ming and early Qing, Kuang Lu (1604-1650) and Wang Shizhen (1634-1711), mentioned in their poems the practice of singing *muyu* in Guangdong.[21] In his *New Account of Guangdong*, Qu Dajun has a lengthy discussion of the song culture of Guangdong. In the singing contests taking place in Guangzhou, *muyu* songs occupied two-fifths of the songs the participants sang.[22] On other occasions, women appeared prominently not only as singers of popular songs, but also as audience of the "*moyu ge*" (touching-fish songs) sung by blind musicians during their gatherings.[23] Among the limited number of songs that Qu recorded, only one character was obviously a Cantonese usage, namely, "*kom*" (this, such), although it is possible that the lack of Cantonese usage in the songs that Qu recorded may be due to his own refinement of the colloquial versions.[24]

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21 Tan and Tan (1982, p. 2); Wang (preface dated 1684, j. 2, 3b); Kuang Lu (rep. 1990, p. 99). Kuang's poem was probably written in 1634 when he met the friend to whom he sent this poem.

22 The rest of the songs sung in the singing contests were "Jinren *duqu*" (literally, Jin people reciting song) and "Tangren *zhuzhi diao*" (literally, the bamboo melody of the Tang people). See Qu (1700, pp. 298-9 in the 1974 reprint).

23 Qu (1700, pp. 358-61 in the 1974 reprint). I have purposely left out Li Tiaoyuan's *Yuefeng* from this discussion. The songs which Li recorded were collected in Guangxi. These songs might be sung in the Cantonese spoken in Guangxi or even the "Guilin *guanhua*", as suggested by Shang Bi (1985, pp. 1-3). Moreover, under the category of "*yuege*", Li denoted that the character "*chong*" meant "*jian*" (see) for the "natives" ("*turen*", that is, inhabitants of Guangdong or Guangxi. See Li Tiaoyuan (rep. 1936, p. 2). To the best of my knowledge, the word "*chong*"in the sense of "to see", is not a Cantonese usage.

24 The character "*kom*" (*gan* in *putonghua pinyin*) appearing in the 1974 reprint of the *Guangdong xinyu* (p. 360) is the one without the radical "*kou*", whereas the "*kom*" appearing in the 1700 Shuitian ge edition (j. 12, p. 16a) contains the radical *kou*, indicating that the character is a made-up Cantonese character. See glossary for the difference between the two.

While the ritual texts possessed by village priests are hand-written, the *muyu shu* are crude woodblock-printed books. While the priests' song books circulated in limited numbers among the priests themselves, the *muyu* song books reached a large readership in the Pearl River region. Leung Pui-chee documented fifty publishers of *muyu shu* from the Kangxi period to the early Republic. Their geographical locations throughout this period spread from Guangzhou, Foshan, Shunde, Dongguan, Taishan, Hong Kong, to San Francisco.[25] Leung also related that his great-uncle, who was born in 1900, recalled how prevalent the fashion of singing *muyu shu* was, and how easy it was to buy a *muyu shu* in market towns or from hawkers going from alley to alley.[26]

Variations of the *muyu* may be found in the *nanyin* and *longzhou* (dragon boat). Some scholars assign a clear definition to these three words, distinguishing one from the other according to the performers associated with each. For example, *longzhou* singers were said to be street players who were on a par with beggars, and *nanyin* players were usually blind men.[27] However, it seems to me that the three terms *muyu*, *nanyin* and *longzhou* often appear interchangeably in the texts.[28] While the term *longzhou* always appears in those texts which are of only three to four pages in length, the terms *muyu* and *nanyin* are used almost equivalently to refer to longer pieces. On some occasions, the term *nanyin* refers to a melody rather than a text, but

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25 Leung (1978, pp. 247-56) For the spread of *muyu shu* in North America, see Zheng (1992, pp. 165-205).
26 Leung (1978, pp. 224-7).
27 Yung (1987, p. 17).
28 See Yung (1987) and Tan and Tan (1982). Yung and Tan and Tan distinguish the musical styles of *muyu*, *nanyin* and *longzhou* from one another.

texts in which the *nanyin* melody is fitted to words may be found that are usually shorter than the *muyu shu*.[29] The degree of colloquialism of *nanyin* and *longzhou* texts varies. In some *nanyin* texts, Cantonese characters appear in a restricted manner similar to that of the *muyu shu*. Whereas in many extant *longzhou* texts, a large amount of highly colloquial Cantonese usage can be found.[30]

Another category of Cantonese songs was the "*xianshuige*" (salt-water songs) and "*danshuige*" (fresh-water songs), which are in most cases short love songs sung among the boat people.[31] The earliest reference about the singing of salt water songs I have seen is found in the *Guangzhou Bamboo Ballad* (*Yangcheng zhuzhici*). Published in 1877, the *Guangzhou Bamboo Ballad* includes a verse saying

> The girls now sing the salt water melody;
> Every line ends with "brother, brother".[32]

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29 Yung (1987, p. 17).

30 I have examined for this argument the following titles: *Tiao xian gui* (Carrying the board for selling threads), *Mengzheng zhaoqin* ([Lü] Mengzheng marries into his wife's home), *Yingtai huixiang* ([Zhu] Yingtai going back to her native village), *Wen jiuqing* (Reviving the old relation), and *Shanbo fangyou* ([Liang] Shanbo visiting his friends). I am grateful to Professor Piet van der Loon for showing me items from his own personal collection and for advice on this subject.

31 *Walter Schofield's Collection of Cantonese Songs*, microfilmed and collected at the Hung On To Memorial Collection at Hong Kong University Library. For a detailed table of contents of this collection, see Peter Yeung (1985, p. 198).

32 *Yangcheng zhuzhici* (1877, j. 2, p. 41b).

This verse vividly demonstrates the romantic characteristic of the salt-water and fresh-water songs.[33] (Illustration 3. 2)

It is significant that the composers, performers, and consumers of Cantonese vernacular literature were village priests, women, blind men, beggars, or boat people whose social positions were marginal. Cantonese vernacular did not ever shake off this marginal character, even though, without doubt, the literati enjoyed Cantonese songs just as most other Cantonese people did.

Literati involvement

A case that shows some literati involvement in composing Cantonese literature appeared in the Daoguang period: Zhao Ziyong compiled short pieces in Cantonese to which in 1828 he gave the title the *Cantonese Songs* (*Yueou*). Their contents concentrated mostly on the grievances of unsuccessful examination candidates and the sense of helplessness of prostitutes over their lives and love. As distinct from the *muyu shu*, the texts of *Cantonese Songs* are not confined to a seven-character sentence pattern. This allows more Cantonese exclamations such as "*lok*", "*loh*", "*che*", "*le*" to be inserted.

Zhao Ziyong was a degree-holder from Nanhai county, who served as the magistrate of various counties between the years 1820 and 1837. When Zhao was

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33 See *Walter Schofield's Collection of Cantonese Songs*, and also Liu and Li (rep. 1973, p. 182). The "bamboo ballads" (*zhuzhici*) are seven-character poems which are not confined to strict rules of rhythm and parallelism.

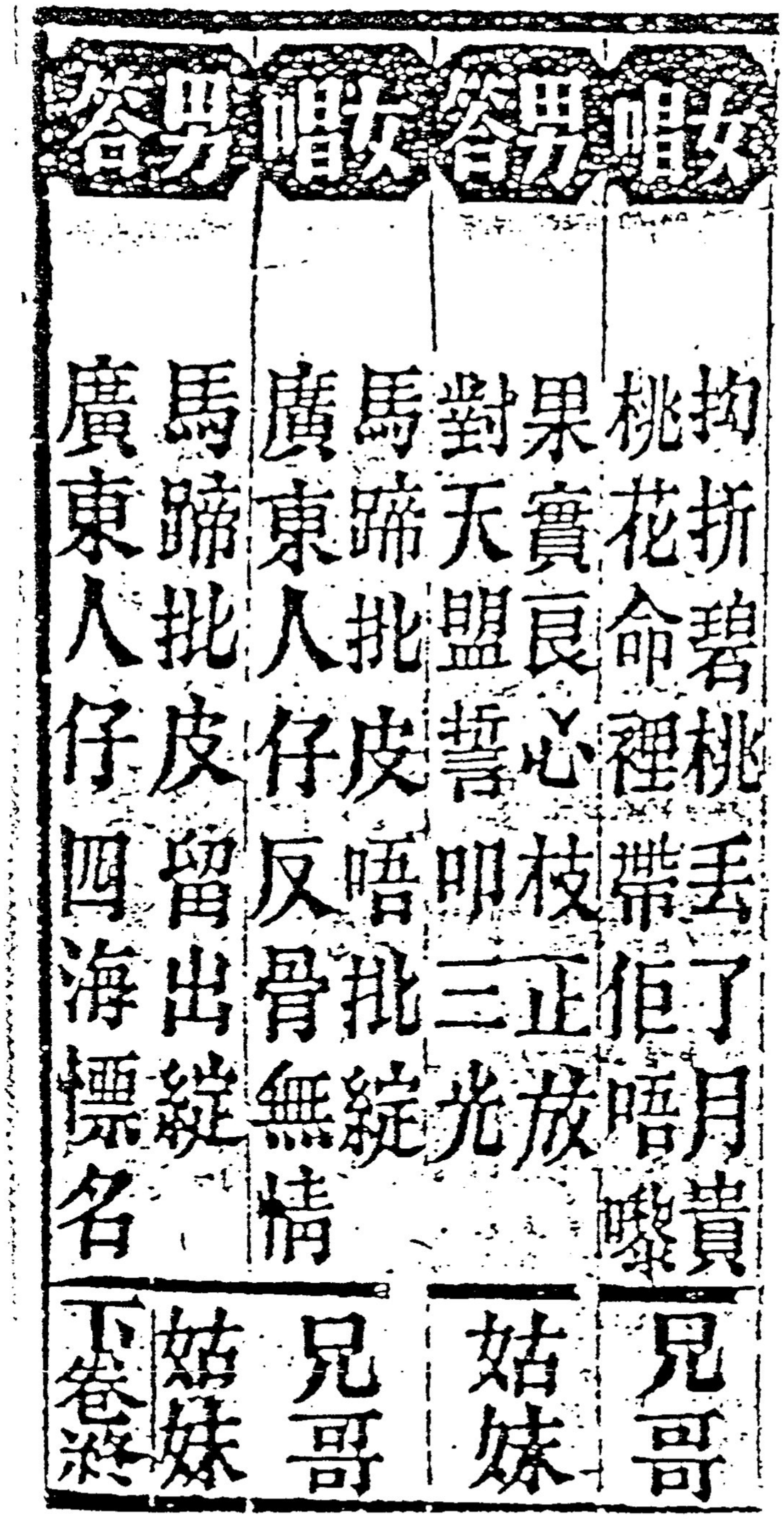

Illustration 3.2
*Xinchu nannü duida danshui ge*新出男女對答淡水歌, n.d., probably a Republican reprint.

One of the features of the salt water and fresh water songs is that the words "my brother" and "my sister" are present at the end of every sentence.

young, he studied with famous provincial scholars such as Zhang Weiping and Xu Rong. He also participated in many literary gatherings in which reputable scholars took part. Zhao and his *Cantonese Songs* won much acclaim from his contemporary Guangdong literati. The prefaces of the *Cantonese Songs* were written by a number of Xuehaitang directors, though all of them were published under their pen-names or courtesy names.[34] Zhao's reputation continued beyond his life time. The 1872 edition of the *Nanhai County Gazetteer* categorized Cantonese songs as "music of the vulgar (*baren xiali*)", but regarded Zhao's verse, with its particular refinement, as "rich in affection and taste" (*raooyou qingyun*).[35] It was said that when Zhao Ziyong compiled the *Cantonese Songs*, he "examined the local usage and special characters used in Guangdong" so that "one did not find it difficult to read and pronounce them."[36]

However, Zhao Ziyong's work was obviously an exception. Many other songs of the *yueou* genre composed afterwards never earned the respect accorded to Zhao. Only a certain Xiangmizi (a pseudonym) who imitated the efforts of Zhao and compiled the *More Cantonese Songs* (*Zai Yueou*) in 1890, received some attention from recent scholars, yet his works were still considered inferior to those of Zhao Ziyong.[37] Most of the songs published after Zhao's time were written as jokes and erotica, examples of which may be found in the *Current Things Happening in*

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34 Xian (1947, pp. 70-1, 97). *Nanhai xianzhi* (1872, j. 20, p. 3b).

35 *Nanhai xianzhi* (1872, j. 20, pp. 3a-3b).

36 *Nanhai xianzhi* (1872, j. 20, pp. 3a-3b). Zhao's rules on local usage are found in the "*fangyan fanli*" (general rules on regional dialect), which is included in the 1828 edition of *Yueou*.

37 Xiangmizi (1890). See Leung (1988, p. 184).

Lingnan (*Lingnan jishi*), a collection of miscellanea related to Guangdong. Because the songs aimed at a wider audience, the Cantonese vernacular used in the *Current Things Happening in Lingnan* is less refined. Women and sex are the two major themes among its songs. To some extent, the *Current Things Happening in Lingnan* consists of pornographic texts written from a masculine point of view in which women appear in various roles for men not only to appreciate, but also to ridicule, to flirt with, and even to sexually harass.[38] Hypocritically the *Current Things Happening in Lingnan* also contains essays warning people against various deleterious addictions such as visiting prostitutes, lust for sex,[39] opium-taking,[40] and gambling.[41]

The popularity of *Current Things Happening in Lingnan* can also be demonstrated by the fact that essays from it were copied or imitated by other

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38 *Zengguang Lingnan jishi zazhuan*, "Xiguan *ma*" ("mother" in Xiguan); "*Danjia mei*" (the boat girl), "*Shuiji ting*" (prostitute boat), etc. (n.d., j. 3, pp. 3b-4a, 6b, 7a respectively). Also *Xinzeng houxu gailiang Lingnan jishi congkan* "*Yin danjia mei bing daihui gong zuofei*" (poem on the boat girl, bringing her to the palace as a consort), (n.d., p. 61). Other examples are the "*Xinhun fu*" (prose on a new marriage) and "*Meiren xiaobian*" (a beautiful lady urinating), see *Xinzeng houxu gailiang Lingnan jishi congkan* (n.d., pp. 12-13, 61 respectively).

39 *Zengguang Lingnan jishi zazhuan*, "Chen Baisha *xiansheng jie zidi shi*" (Poem by Mr Chen Baisha warning his disciples), (n.d., j. 3, p. 2a); "*Jiezhi zaise fu*" (Prose on abstaining from sex), (j. 4, the page before 1a to 1a, page number misprinted) "*Jieyin shimo*" (Current essay on abstaining from sex), (j. 4, pp. 3b-4b); "*Jie nanse wen*" (Essay on abstaining from having sex with men), (j. 6, pp. 5a-5b); and "*Jieyin ge*" (Song on abstaining from sex), (j. 6, p. 5b); "*Yuanse fu*" (Prose on distancing from sex), (j. 6, pp. 6a-6b). Also *Xinzeng houxu gailiang Lingnan jishi congkan*, "*Jiepiao jiexin*" (A Cantonese song on abstaining from visiting prostitutes), (pp. 33-4); "*Quan jiepiao ge*" (Song dissuading people from visiting prostitutes) (pp. 53-4); and "*Jiepiao wen*" (Essay on abstaining from visiting prostitutes), (pp. 64-6).

40 *Zengguang Lingnan jishi zazhuan*, "*Chao shi yangyan*" (To ridicule the smoking of foreign opium), (n.d., j. 4, pp. 1b-2a). *Xinzeng houxu gailiang Lingnan jishi congkan*, "*Yapianyan fu*" (prose on opium), (n.d., pp. 63-4).

41 *Zengguang Lingnan jishi zazhuan*, "*Jie mai baigepiao wen*" (Essay on refrain from buying the "pigeon ticket"), (j. 6, pp. 6b-7a); "*Fu jie duqian shuo*" (Attachment: on abstaining from gambling), (j. 6, p. 7a). *Xinzeng houxu gailiang Lingnan jishi congkan*, "*Jie dubo wen*" (Essay on abstaining from gambling), (pp. 66-7).

publications or individuals. The *Spring and Autumn in Guangdong, a combined edition* (*Heding Yuehai chunqiu*), which claims to be specially tailored for overseas Chinese labourers, contains several chapters identical to those of the *Current Things Happening in Lingnan.*[42] Among the poems copied by a local village teacher, Weng Shichao (1874-1944), from a remote village in Tai Po (Dapu) District in the New Territories of Hong Kong, there is the poem of the "beautiful lady urinating" which was obviously copied from *Current Things Happening in Lingnan.*

The tradition of writing poems and essays in the vernacular for amusement can likewise be traced to the first half of the nineteenth century. In Guangdong, a Qing compilation of such literature is the *Essays for Amusement* (*Wenzhang youxi*). Published between 1816 and 1824 in Guangzhou, the *Essays for Amusement* brings together jokes, essays for fun and poems, especially ballads in the style of the bamboo lyrics (*zhuzhici*).[43] The collection was composed by a group of literati mainly from Guangdong, with the participation of a Hangzhou native, Miao Lianxian, who served as compiler. Miao was a licentiate from Hangzhou, who spent nearly ten years in Guangdong and befriended some famous scholars there such as Yi Kezhong and Wu Lanxiu, two Xuehaitang directors, and Liu Huadong, a provincial candidate from Panyu, who was famous for his humorous personality. Obviously members of the literati who were well-versed in high and low culture participated simultaneously in creating and revelling in a vernacular literature of jokes and pornography.

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42 See *Heding Yuehai chunqiu* (n.d).

43 There is an 1825 edition of the *Wenzhang youxi* held at the Academia Sinica, Taibei. According to Shi Jun (rep. 1973, Vol. 3, pp. 217-20), it was reprinted in 1929 in Shanghai.

Among numerous lyrics in the *Essays for Amusement* which describe the business of a brothel, one includes Cantonese colloquial terms such as "*pong-ch'an*" (come to buy goods or services) and "*lo-seung*" ("old companion", an appellation which prostitutes and customers used to address one another).[44] Classical Chinese is used in all other essays in the collection, but it does not lessen the sense of humour. This is especially true in the case of essays which take the format of official documents but are in fact mere jokes. Titles such as "A petition against the mosquito" (*Gaowen shu*), "A notice on the new incumbent of the Door God in the New Year" (*Suidan he menshen xinren qi*) and "A verse to cast out spirits" (*Zhugui fu*) are examples of how formal writing styles were employed to intensify the sense of irony.[45]

As vernacular literature must have mainly attracted a readership amongst speakers of the particular vernacular, the market for such texts was obviously limited to a particular dialectic region. However, this must be seen against the perspective of an expanding market for printed books using the Cantonese vernacular from the late nineteenth century. From the last few decades of the nineteenth century, commercial expansion in Guangzhou, and the emigration of Cantonese people to Shanghai, Hong Kong, south east Asia, and north America, provided outlets for more books. Meanwhile, the number of printing houses in Guangzhou, Foshan, Dongguan and Hong Kong increased, while some also branched into lithographic reprints of woodblock editions. Decreasing costs and an expanding market helped to promote a

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44 See *Wenzhang youxi* (1816, j. 1, p. 42b).
45 *Wenzhang youxi* (1818, j. 8, pp. 17a-18b; 25a-26b); (1821, j. 1, pp. 46a-48b).

popular literature,[46] but it was not necessarily a literature that would have found favour among the literati.

The Cantonese-ness of Cantonese opera

Another major source of writing in which Cantonese vernacular would appear is Cantonese opera scripts. However, the history of the Cantonese opera is so unclear that it is difficult to discover when the term "*yueju*" or "Guangdong *daxi*" was first adopted to denote the opera performed in the Cantonese dialect.[47]

Since the mid-Ming dynasty, several types of tunes (*qiang*) from other provinces, including the "Yiyang *qiang*", "Kun *qiang*", and "Qin *qiang*", had been popular in Guangdong. In the early Qing dynasty, the term "Guang *qiang*", particularly denoting the tunes sung by the troupes from Guangzhou, was adopted.[48] Then a further distinction was made in Guangzhou between local troupes (*bendiban*) and troupes from other provinces (*waijiangban*). However, as Xian Yuqing noted, the nomenclatural difference did not imply a distinction between the tunes adopted by the Cantonese and non-Cantonese singing troupes. The local troupes still sang in tunes acquired from other provinces, and the term "*bendiban*" merely denoted that they

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46 See Leung (1978, pp. 245-7). See also Rawski (1985, p. 27).

47 Liang Wei suggested that the term "*yueju*" appeared probably in the Guangxu period when the opera troupes from Guangdong went abroad to perform. According to Liang, a Qing official who stayed in Singapore applied the term "*yueju*" in his travelling account written in 1887. It is very likely that the term is simply a translation of the English term "Cantonese Opera" -- the way that the foreigners named the opera troupes coming from Guangdong. See Liang Wei (1990, p. 8).

48 Lai (1988, pp. 8-10).

were excluded by the powerful guilds of the "*waijiangban*" from performing "official opera" (*guanxi*).[49]

The few eye-witness accounts we have of these opera troupes in Guangdong are not decisive in determining the nature of the opera performed. In the eyes of a Jiangsu native during the Kangxi period, the "*bendiban*" performed in the "Guang *qiang*". As he described it, "one singer would lead and other people would respond, barbarous sounds in motley array." (*yichang zhonghe, manyin zachen*)[50] Another account which refers to operatic singing was made by Yang Enshou, a Hunan native, after watching the performance of "Six States Appointing a Minister" (*Liuguo da fengxiang*) performed by a Guangdong opera troupe in Wuzhou in 1865. He found the opera "adopting native pronunciation, which was noisy, confused and incomprehensible." (*tuyin shicao, zhouza mobian*)[51] These comments suggest that Cantonese may have been used in the stage performance.

Extant opera scripts give us a sense of the extent to which Cantonese could have been applied. Some opera scripts include no Cantonese usage but only plain classical Chinese.[52] Some are composed in northern vernacular.[53] In one script,

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49 Xian (1963), drawing on tablet inscriptions recovered from the Waijiang Liyuan Huiguan (a guild formed by the opera troupes coming from provinces outside Guangdong) in the 1950s, supplemented by some other contemporary written sources.

50 Wang (1995, pp. 23), quoting from Lü Tian (1723), *Yueyou jicheng*.

51 Liang Wei (1990, p. 4), quoted from Yang (rep. 1983, p. 114).

52 Examples I have examined are the *Heshou fengxiang quben* (The eight immortals celebrating the birthday and the Six states designating a ministership), *Mai yanzhi* (Selling rouge and powder), the *Hangong quxiao* (Capturing a smile at the cold palace), the *Huangniang wenbu* (The Empress consulting divination) and the *Dadong jiebei* (Rescuing a girl from a cave and marrying her). None of them is marked with a publication date but Riftin (1994) notes that a copy of *Huangniang wenbu* held in Russia is dated 1840 and that of

namely, *A Painting of Hibiscus* (*Furongping*) published in 1871, the majority of the verses and dialogues are written in a mixture of classical Chinese and northern vernacular. However, a one-line soliloquy delivered by the villain is written in quite colloquial Cantonese vernacular.[54] Yet other scripts are written mainly in northern vernacular with occasional insertion of Cantonese usage. A typical example may be illustrated by the opera script *Wandering Around in a Garden* (*You Huayuan*), in which the Cantonese character "*hai*" is used side by side with the northern vernacular expression "*shi*" to denote the same meaning as "is".[55] A higher degree of colloquial Cantonese can be found in some other opera scripts such as the *Mr Ertie* (*Ertie xiansheng*) and *An Aged Uncle Meets His Prospective Bride* (*Bofu xiangdi*). Almost every sentence of these two opera scripts includes Cantonese usage such as "*tim-kaai*" (why), "*m-pei*" (not let), "*toh-tak*" (thanks to), "*faan-t'au-p'oh*" (a woman who remairries), and "*sz-tsoh*" (already died).[56]

However, a high degree of colloquialism appearing in Cantonese opera script did not imply that stage performance was necessarily delivered in Cantonese.

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the *Dadong jiebai* 1843. Wang (1995, p. 29) cites *Huanhun ji* (An account on the return of a soul) as an example to indicate the earliest appearance of Cantonese vernacular among the Guangdong opera scripts, but he does not state the exact publication date of the text.

53 Examples are the *Yangfei zuijiu* (Concubine Yang getting drunk) published by the Yiwen tang in Guangzhou. The whole script is written in northern vernacular and contains no Cantonese usage. Moreover, it is marked on the first page of this script that the accompanying music applied is "*zheng waijiang qindiao*" (proper lute tune from provinces outside of Guangdong). See *Yangfei zuijiu* (n.d., pp. 1a-2b).

54 *Furongping* (1871, j. 2, p. 16a).

55 *You huayuan* (n.d., pp. 1a-1b).

56 *Ertie xiansheng*, incorporated in the *Zhen haochang* (n.d., Vol. 2). *Bofu xiangdi*, incorporated in the *Chu xu baihua suijin* (A miscellaneous collection of vernaculars, first supplement), (n.d., p. 1a).

Although the content of the opera script *An Aged Uncle Meets His Prospective Bride* is written in very colloquial Cantonese, yet on the first page, the author particularly instructs the singer in the following terms:

> Sing in vernacular. Read the characters. Do not use standard pronunciation (*zhengyin*). This will fit the *gunhua* melody and gong and drum.[57]

Such an instruction clearly shows that performing in Cantonese on the stage was something that needed reminding.

By the end of the Qing dynasty more and more short Cantonese songs including *nanyin*, *longzhou* and *yueou* were inserted into extended Cantonese opera scripts. The *Three Pairs of Male and Female Phoenixes* (*San fengluan*), published in 1915, includes a large amount of highly colloquial Cantonese. Cantonese usage such as *k'ui* (he or she), "*m-ts'z*" (does not look like), and sentences in Cantonese grammar such as "*nei shik in m shik*?" (Do you smoke?) are commonly applied throughout the script.[58] By the early Republic, Cantonese vernacular had become commonplace in opera scripts.

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57 *Bofu xiangdi*, incorporated in the *Chu xu baihua suijin* (A miscellaneous collection of vernaculars, first supplement), (n.d., 1a). "*Gunhua*" literally means "rolling flower", referring to a kind of opera melody. See Bell Yung (1989, pp. 78-9).
58 See *San fengluan* (1915).

Maximizing colloquialism

In its published form, the use of Cantonese by the Chinese authors in the nineteenth century was confined only to being a complement to classical Chinese in song texts and opera scripts. If one were to search for its use as the main body of a text in this period, one would find its appearance not in essays written by the Cantonese writers themselves, but in translations made by foreign missionaries. Realizing the limitations of using the official language to preach to the uneducated Cantonese, Chaozhou and Hakka-speaking people in Guangdong, the missionaries published tracts in these vernaculars. One of the earliest missionary texts translated into Cantonese vernacular was probably the *Sacred Teachings Explained in Vernacular* (*Shengxun sujie*) published in 1847 in Hong Kong. From then on to the early Republic, numerous editions of the Bible and missionary pamphlets in Cantonese vernacular were published in Hong Kong, Guangzhou, Jiangmen and Shanghai.[59]

It is very unlikely that the translations of missionary tracts into Cantonese vernacular was done without the assistance of Cantonese-speaking natives, but it is not clear who exactly these helpers were. Although no Cantonese names are mentioned in the published missionary pamphlets of James Legge' s translations, it is

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59 See *Nihon genson etsugo kenkyu shomoku* (1952. p. 38). Another example is the *Langzi huigai* (The Parable of the Prodigal Son in Canton dialect) published in 1859, translated by James Legge; the *Luolu bushao* (Dropping into the fireplace without being burnt) published in Cantonese in 1861; and a Cantonese translation of the *Gospel by St. Mark* published in 1882. For a history of missionary tracts published in Chinese vernacular, see Yoshida (1993).

clear that his missionary activities in Hong Kong from 1843 on were assisted by such Cantonese men as Ho Fuk-tong (He Futang), Wong Shing (Huang Sheng), and Lo Cheung (Luo Xiang).[60] The Cantonese used in these missionary texts is the most colloquial Cantonese literature I have seen. The high degree of colloquialism is probably due to the fact that the texts were neither confined to a fixed sentence structure like the songs and poems, nor intended to be used by the Cantonese themselves. Moreover, these translations of the Bible served a dual purpose: they were a language-learning kit for the foreign missionaries and texts used for preaching, by both foreign missionaries and their Chinese helpers.

Occasionally, the degree of colloquialism in the missionary tracts goes to the extent of using expressions specific to particular regions. An example of this is in a Christian textbook published in 1873, entitled the *Translations from the English Primer of Enlightenment* (*You yinghua qianxue qimengshu yi*). The cover of the book states specifically that the language used in translation is "the local language of the four counties in Guangdong" (*Yuedong siyi tuhua*), the "four counties" referring to Xinhui, Xinning (Taishan), Enping and Kaiping, where the Cantonese spoken is different from that spoken in Guangzhou in terms of phonetics and phraseology. A Cantonese who does not come from these four counties would find many expressions in this text unrecognizable. This example shows how sophisticated the missionary's strategies were: to achieve the most effective way of communication, they sought the language most familiar to their audience. This example also raises the question of

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60 Smith (1985, pp. 130, 134). Luo (1961, pp. 17, 40).

how "local" a "local culture" could have been. If Cantonese vernacular was already regarded as a major attribute of a "local" culture, the very existence of this "four-county Cantonese" further complicates the picture and pushes us to reconsider different levels of "local culture".

The adoption of vernacular for the purpose of preaching was not a missionary invention. In China, moral literature conveying literati and religious virtue written in vernacular had had earlier origins. Some of the *bianwen* (literally, "transformed texts") of the Tang dynasty were Buddhist stories written in unrefined vernacular.[61] During the Yuan dynasty, a variety of classical texts intended to reach the uneducated majority was published in colloquial versions.[62] The vast *baojuan* (precious rolls) literature, much of which was written in vernacular, can be dated at least to the Ming.[63] During the early Qing period, the *Sacred Edict* (*Shengyu*) of the Kangxi emperor was modified into a variety of colloquial versions by local officials, especially those who encountered language barriers in the regions they oversaw. In Guangdong, however, it does not seem that a fully colloquial Cantonese version of the *Sacred Edict* was ever adopted. Evidence shows that native instructors were employed by government or benevolent societies (*shanshe/ shantang*) to read aloud either the official or the colloquial version of *Sacred Edict* in Cantonese, which need not have been rewritten in fully colloquial Cantonese.[64]

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61 Zheng (rep. 1959, p. 194).
62 Mair (1985, pp. 326-7).
63 Overmyer (1985, pp. 220-1).
64 Mair (1985, pp. 341-2). For the application of vernacular in other morality texts, see Brokaw (1991, pp. 223-4), and *Ganying pian zhijiang* (1839, j. 1, p. 4a).

It was around the Tongzhi period (1862-1874) that more colloquial vernacular was adopted by some of the Cantonese literati in the morality texts they composed. However, compared to foreign missionary texts, morality books (*shanshu*) in vernacular written by the Cantonese themselves were more a mixture of classical Chinese, northern vernacular and Cantonese vernacular than purely Cantonese. Examples of these are the *Conversation in Vernacular* (*Suhua qingtan*) and *Vernacular which Cools our Hearts* (*Suhua shuangxin*) compiled by Shao Binru, a distinguished morality instructor who was employed by various benevolent societies in Guangzhou, Foshan, and Sanshui to lecture on the *Sacred Edict* and other morality books during the Tongzhi period.[65] Published in 1870 and 1877 respectively for the first time in Guangzhou, the *Conversation in Vernacular* and *Vernacular which Cools our Hearts* include various stories with a background in Ming and Qing in Guangdong, Zhejiang, Shanxi and Sichuan. They convey moral messages to tell people not to do evil so as to enjoy a better after-life.[66] In the *Conversation in Vernacular*, while the narratives are written in Cantonese, northern vernaculars and classical Chinese, the dialogues are usually a mixture of Cantonese and northern

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65 *Sihui xianzhi* (1896, j. 7b, *liezhuan* (biographies), p. 107b). Shao and some other literati in Guangzhou also established their own benevolent society in 1875 to persuade people to give up opium addiction. See *Quanjie she huixuan* (1876). Shao was probably a very distinguished moral instructor of his time. An advertisement issued by the Liangyue Guangren Shantang (The Society for Extending Merits in Guangdong and Guangxi) published in an 1895 issue of *Huazi ribao* specially mentioned the name of Shao in order to recruit new moral instructors. See *Huazi ribao* (16 October 1895).

66 The *Nihon genson etsugo kenkyu shomoku* (1952. p. 1), records that editions of *Suhua qingtan* were published in 1870, 1871, 1876, 1880. 1903, 1904, 1908 and 1915 in Guangzhou, and that the *Suhua qingtan* was published in 1877 and reprinted in 1919. I have examined the 1870, 1871 and 1903 editions of the *Suhua qingtan* and an undated, reprint of the *Suhua shuangxin* in the British Library and Cambridge University. The *Suhua shuangxin* I examined carries a cover showing a man dressed in Western suit and a tie, and is therefore possibly a Republican reprint.

vernaculars. In addition, a "third voice" in colloquial Cantonese is often inserted to make moral judgement on the stories and the characters involved (Illustration 3. 3).

Shao' s books were probably published for his own or other moral instructors' use, but other morality pamphlets in the vernacular were printed and distributed for wider circulation. By circulating these pamphlets, distributors hoped to "accumulate merit". Examples of these are the *Newly Printed "One Hundred and Eighty Chimes"* (*Xinke baibazhong*) which was reprinted in 1889 in Guangzhou, and *Precious Teachings for Transmitting in a Family* (*Chuanjia baoxun*), which was published in Hong Kong probably during the early Republican period. Both pamphlets convey the message of the importance of the virtues of filial piety, and of dissuading people from taking opium. Composed of both long and short sentences in seven-character pattern, Cantonese usage again appear in a restricted manner. In the *Newly Printed "One Hundred and Eighty Chimes"*, Cantonese characters such as "*t'ai*" (look), "*k'ui*"(third singular pronoun), "*shi-ha*" (try) and "*m-ts'ang*" (not yet) appear from one sentence to another. The *Precious Teachings for Transmitting in a Family* also contains a large proportion of modern standard vernacular (i.e. the Beijing vernacular) and on only two occasions is Cantonese used, namely, the word "*t'ai*" (look) and "*chong*" (crash).[67]

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67 *Chuanjia baoxun* (n.d., pp. 7. 12).

唔中意。又惱錢趙二人誰不知俊德見個樣情形、聽此等說話、心德不在家、俊德不甚招常來搅擾、俱是無益之談、漸漸生出怒氣。有時錢趙二人來探、值克接。

佢、就見了我好似唔中意。個龜蛋、想起來眞可惡咯。」漸漸火起咯。姓錢曰、「睇佢心事、好似思疑你佢又冇打嗎。」姓錢曰、「佢唔係思疑你個啲、必定思疑你吞騙錢財、慌你着了落荷包、個樣是眞。」姓錢佮咁講。

克德曰、「唔知點樣解、我又冇罵做亞哥、瞞騙于佢。」克德曰、「有點瞞騙佢呢。不過有好朋友來、姓錢共趙。飲多啲食多啲、咁樣之白日、誰知咁晏。

Illustration 3.3
Shao Binru 邵彬儒, *Suhua qingtan*俗話傾談, 1870.

Notice how northern vernaculars, plain classical Chinese and Cantonese are blended together in this text.

Towards standardization

In order to write Cantonese, writers had often either to draw on an existing Chinese character with similar pronunciation or to make up a new character in order to denote a certain Cantonese pronunciation. Where the Cantonese word did not have an exact equivalent in the standard Chinese vocabulary, the choice of character to denote it was necessarily makeshift. Only in the compilation of dictionaries were the uses of such Cantonese characters standardized. The history of Cantonese dictionaries is obscure. Chinese scholars themselves had compiled lists of Cantonese words and usages, an example being again Qu Dajun, who had specially entered a long list of Cantonese usage in his *New Account of Guangdong*. Qu's list became a major reference for the section of "native dialects" (*tuyan*) in various provincial and county gazetteers of Guangdong.[68] Nevertheless, it was a list without explication, more a record of local custom than an attempt at standardization, far less a dictionary.

The earliest example of a Chinese compilation which I have come across so far that is similar to a dictionary is the *Comprehensive Compilation of Official Language of the North and the South Pronunciation* (*Nanbei guanhua zuanbian daquan*) published in 1790. This is a vocabulary list for learning the official language. Compiled by Zhang Yucheng, a native from Dongguan county,[69] the *Comprehensive*

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68 Qu (1700, pp. 336-7 in the 1974 reprint).

69 On the cover page of the *Comprehensive Compilation of Official Language of the North and the South Pronunciation*, Zhang wrote "Baoan" as his native place. "Baoan" was a county of Guangdong from the Jin to the Tang dynasty. From the Tang dynasty on, it was renamed as "Dongguan". Therefore, if a Qing dynasty man said that his native place was "Baoan", it actually meant that his native place was Dongguan.

Compilation of Official Language of the North and the South Pronunciation contains terms under classified topics such as "weather", "human body", "food", "titles", "governmental offices", "ghost and gods" in official language in both southern and northern styles. Cantonese appears on this list only for the function of explaining the official language.[70] Another compilation in Cantonese that might have functioned like a dictionary would be the phonetic lists, which probably appeared before the Daoguang period. The dating can be proved by the fact that the *Essential Rhymer* (*Fenyun cuoyao*), a phonetic list arranged according to Cantonese pronunciation and published in 1833 was said to be a re-compilation.[71] These rhyming lists were compiled as aids for writing poetry, and thus they made no record of Cantonese terms as such. Other vocabulary lists were published in the style of the *Comprehensive Compilation of Official Language of the North and South Pronunciation.* Examples are the *Distinguishing the Minutiae of Standard Pronunciation* (*Zhengyin bianwei*) and the *Chewing the Essence of Standard Pronunciation* (*Zhengyin zuihua*), compiled by a Manchu, Sha Yizun, and published in Guangzhou in 1837 and 1853

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70 According to an untitled editorial published in *Huazi ribao* 31 December 1895, "southern pronunciation" referred to the official language spoken in Nanjing during the early Ming when the capital was at Nanjing; and "northern pronunciation" was the official language spoken in Beijing when the Ming regime moved its capital to there. See also Uchida (1993).

71 See Wen (n.d.), and Wen and Yu (1833). According to the *Nihon genson etsugo kenkyu shomoku* (1952), there was another *Fenyun cuoyao* compiled by Zhou Guanshan, published in Guangzhou around the 1850s. When Ernest John Eitel compiled his *Chinese Dictionary in the Cantonese Dialect*, which was published in Hong Kong in 1877, he found that there was a *Tonic Dictionary of the Chinese Language in the Canton Dialect* compiled by S. Wells William published in 1856, which had the "Native Dictionary Fan Wan" (*Fenyun cuoyao*) as its major reference. It is unclear which *Fenyun cuoyao* Eitel was referring to. Eitel also noted that the *Fenyun cuoyao* was not a very reliable reference because its author "did not profess to give either the correct tones or correct sounds of the Canton city dialect but those of the Nan-hai (Nanhai) dialects". See John Eitel (1877. Introduction, pp. vii-viii).

respectively,[72] and the *Concise Standard Pronunciation* (*Zhengyin cuoyao*) compiled by Gao Jingting, a native from Nanhai, in 1867.[73] (Illustration 3. 4)

It was again the foreign missionaries who first compiled full-scale dictionaries in Cantonese. At around the same time that foreigners produced the Bible and missionary pamphlets in Cantonese vernacular, they also produced Cantonese dictionaries, vocabulary lists and textbooks.[74] One of the earliest examples is the *Chinese Chrestomathy in the Canton dialect*, compiled by E.C. Bridgman in Macau in 1841. Around the same time, S. Wells Williams produced a *Tonic Dictionary of the Chinese Language in the Canton dialect* in 1856. Another well-known example was the *Chinese Dictionary in the Cantonese Dialect* compiled by Ernest John Eitel, published in Hong Kong in 1877.[75] Moreover, various editions of the Four Books were also translated into Cantonese by some missionaries. They probably served the

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72 According to a preface written by Liang Zuoyi in the *Zhengyin zuihua*, Sha had previously compiled five books on the official language. See Sha Yizun (1853).

73 Gao Jingting (1867, pp. 1b, 15a).

74 The first Protestant missions to China began with Robert Morrison of the London Missionary Society who arrived at Guangzhou in 1807. See MacGillivray (rep. 1979, pp. 1-2).

75 Other examples include *the Questions and Answers to Things Chinese* published in Guangzhou in 1850, the *Chuxue Yueyin qieyao* (Chinese Phonetic Vocabulary), published by the London Missionary Society Press in Hong Kong in 1855, the *English and Cantonese Pocket Dictionary*, compiled by John Chalmers, published in 1873, the *Yueyin zhinan* (Guide to Cantonese speech) published possibly after 1881. No publication date is marked on the *Yueyin zhinan*, but it is obviously an imitation of the *Guanhua zhinan* (Guide to official language), and the earliest edition of the *Guanhua zhinan* that I have seen was published in 1881. A more elaborate series of books for learning Cantonese was compiled by James Dyer Ball, a civil servant in Hong Kong in the late nineteenth century. Examples are *Cantonese Made Easy*, *How to Speak Cantonese* and the *Shun-Tak Dialect* published during the period from 1880's to 1890's.

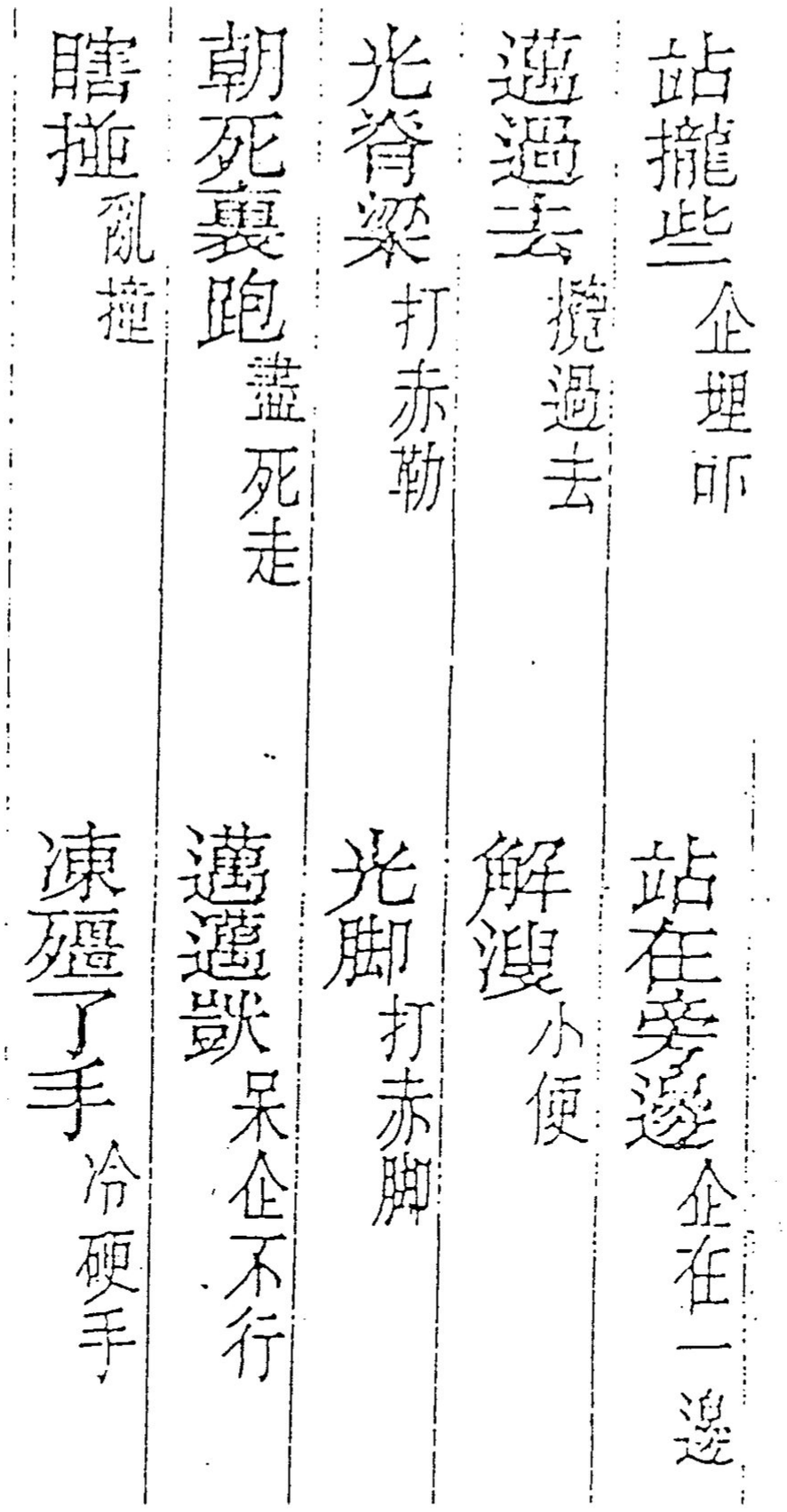

Illustration 3.4
Sha Yizun莎彝尊　, *Zhengyin zuihua*正音咀華, 1853.

Cantonese usages appearing in this vocabulary list serve only the functions of explaining the official language terms.

dual purpose of helping the missionaries to learn Cantonese and master Chinese philosophy at the same time.[76]

The design and content of these vocabulary lists vary because of the different purposes and readers they aimed at. Some were designed to teach conversational Chinese. For example, the *Chinese Chrestomathy in the Canton dialect* included a considerable amount of Cantonese speech mixed up with samples of legal and administrative terms, extracts from the classics and other standard works in classical Chinese.[77] The *Questions and Answers to Things Chinese* was probably designed as a teach-yourself textbook, as English translations and romanization were printed side by side with the Cantonese characters,[78] whereas books such as the *Guide to Cantonese Speech* (*Yueyin zhinan*) were probably designed to give a focus on Guangdong commerce. For example, in the chapter of the *Guide to Cantonese Speech* on "*guanshang tushu*" (Usage of officials and merchants), there are paragraphs on how a Cantonese expressed his grievances at being treated unfairly by two Zhejiang men in a government office in Suzhou. In the chapter on "*shiling tonghua*" (Conversation for making and obeying orders), there are dialogues between a servant and a master, who could either be a foreigner or a Chinese hong merchant familiar with Western

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76 The *Nihon genson etsugo kenkyu shomoku* (1952. p. 39), includes the entry *Sishu baihua zhujie* (An annotated Four Books in vernacular). Other similar publications are the *Lunyu sujie* (Interpreting the Confucian Analects in vernacular) published in Hong Kong in 1847, the *Guangzhouyu shujing jieyi* (Interpreting the meaning of the Book of Historical Documents in Guangzhou dialect) published in Guangzhou in 1856, and the *Guangdongyu yizhu Sishu* (A translation and annotation of the Four Books in Guangdong vernacular) published in 1856.

77 Bridgman (1841, Introduction, p. i).

78 *Questions and Answers to Things Chinese* (1850. Introductory Remarks).

etiquette.[79] The *Shun-Tak Dialect* compiled by James Dyer Ball is more a scholarly analytical work than a language learning-kit, as it was stated to be "a comparative syllabary of the Shun-Tak [Shunde county] and Cantonese pronunciations, with observations on the variations in the use of the classifiers, finals and other words, and a description of the tones."[80]

Unlike a vocabulary list, a dictionary is designed to include as many characters as possible. The 1855 edition of the *Essential Guide for Beginners Learning Cantonese* (*Chuxue yueyin qieyao*) claims to contain "the most common characters with their sounds in the Canton dialect."[81] Another major concern of the dictionary compilers is to choose a standardized way of writing Cantonese characters. The foreign compilers noticed that, in some cases, the use of existing Chinese characters to represent a Cantonese pronunciation was very often made possible by adding the radical "*kou*" (a mouth) on the left hand side. For example, the compiler of the *Chrestomathy in the Canton Dialect* remarked that,

> The characters preserve an unvarying form in all parts of the empire, a partial exception to this, however, is occasioned by the use of well-known characters, slightly changed to express new local phrases; in all such cases, regard is had only to the sound of the characters; while the addition, usually that of hau 口 (a mouth) to the left side, indicates that the character is changed. For instance, the three characters 喊嗙吟used to express the sound of the word hampalang (all), have no meaning in

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79 *Yueyin zhinan* (n.d., j. 2, pp. 34b-35a; j. 3, p. 2a).
80 Ball (1901).
81 *Chuxue yueyin qieyao* (1855).

> themselves when used in this collocation, their united sound being alone attended to and recognized.[82]

Some compilers were quite reserved in entering invented Cantonese characters. For example, John Chalmers stated in his *English and Cantonese Pocket Dictionary* that,

> The common characters 唔 '*m*, 嘅 *ke*, and 冇 *mo*, which are unauthorized and local, have been in most cases replaced by their classic equivalents, 不[*bu*], 之 [*zhi*] and 無 [*wu*], while the colloquial sounds have been retained.[83]

It is interesting to compare the foreign missionaries and the Cantonese themselves in terms of their attitude towards written Cantonese. In order to achieve the most effective way of communication for their missionary purpose, the foreign missionaries were keen on learning and using a local vernacular wherever they went. They were thus more open-handed in composing essays in full Cantonese or even in Cantonese with regional variations. Presumably, they read aloud the essays word by word, or expected their readers to read the essays by themselves. They were also enthusiastic in compiling Cantonese dictionaries in order to facilitate their language-learning, although the influence of these dictionaries was probably confined to the foreigners' community. By contrast, the Cantonese themselves could not eradicate the phantom of classical Chinese and Beijing vernacular in their writings, nor did they need to. Cantonese moral-instructors such as Shao Binru could read in Cantonese any

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82 Bridgman (1841, Introduction, p. ii).
83 Chalmers (1873, note to the fourth edition), my italics.

characters written in classical Chinese, and thus he did not need to write in full Cantonese to facilitate his Cantonese colleagues or his own readings. The Cantonese used in his moral books was probably for the purpose of adding a sense of vividness and local colour in order to appeal to his audience. The concern of the *muyu shu* writers and publishers was simply commercial. The *muyu* texts were crudely printed, indicating that readers were not concerned with editorial attention. Under such circumstance, the Cantonese themselves simply did not bother with the standardization of the written form of their own language. The comparison shows that different concerns and purposes produced different degrees of colloquialism in writing a vernacular, even though neither the missionaries nor the Cantonese themselves had written in Cantonese in order to promote writing in Cantonese as an end in itself.

The vernacular movement

The end of the nineteenth century was a time when writing in vernacular was regarded, among other measures advocated by the late Qing reformers, as an important means for promoting popular education. The first newspaper written in regional vernacular was published in Wuxi early in 1898. From then on newspapers in various regional vernacular blossomed in Shanghai, Anhui, Changsha, Jiangxi, Beijing, Hangzhou, Suzhou, Chaozhou, and even Mongolia. Textbooks in vernacular published by the Biaomeng Bookstore in Shanghai since 1903 were so widespread that the Qing government took measures to ban their publication because using the

vernacular to translate the sacred words of the classics was regarded as sacrilege.[84] At the same time, the Qing government also initiated the use of the Beijing vernacular in some documents circulating among the lower ranks in the bureaucracy, especially the soldiers.[85]

Two well-known Guangdong scholars who advocated writing in the vernacular were Huang Zunxian and Liang Qichao. Huang Zunxian was a Hakka native who held high official posts in the Zongli Yamen (the equivalent of a foreign ministry) in the 1880s. In the late 1890s, he was actively involved in the reform programme in Hunan.[86] Huang suggested that unifying a spoken and written language would help to raise literacy among farmers, artisans, merchants, women and children.[87] His famous statement, "[Using] my hand to write [what is said by] my mouth" (*wo shou xie wo kou*), was demonstrated by his own practice in writing poems and nursery rhymes in a mixture of Hakka dialect and classical Chinese.[88] Liang Qichao, who believed that fiction written in vernacular was a powerful instrument for influencing the masses, experimented with the "literary style of new citizens" (*xinmin ti*). Although Liang encouraged the insertion of local usage in his "*xinmin ti*" writing, his writings resulted in a combination of plain classical Chinese prose, Japanese and

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84 Ni (1959, pp. 69, 168-9).

85 Tan Bi'an (1956, p. 22). For more examples of vernacular publications that emerged in the late Qing, see Li Xiaodi (1991, pp. 11-42).

86 For a detailed account of Huang's life-time, see Hummel (1943, Vol. 1, pp. 350-1).

87 Huang Zunxian (1898, j. 33, p. 15b).

88 The statement was written by Huang between the years from 1864 to 1873, see Huang Zunxian (rep. 1981, p. 42). For the nursery rhymes written by Huang, see Huang Zunxian (1904) "*Xiaoxue xinchang ge*", (A new song for primary schools to sing), in A Ying (1960, Vol. 1, pp. 15-17).

other foreign-loan words.[89] Despite the fact that Liang was a Cantonese, no Cantonese slang could be found in his "*xinmin ti*" writings. Nor did he make any attempt to refine Cantonese so that it could become an acceptable literature for a public beyond Guangzhou.

It was Chen Zibao (1862-1922) who went one step further than Liang in putting Cantonese into textbooks. Chen Zibao was, like Liang, a Xinhui scholar who had enrolled as Kang Youwei' s student in the Wanmu School in Guangdong in 1895, but he was not in the forefront of any political movement. After the Hundred Day Reforms, for fear of being implicated with the reformers, Chen fled to Japan where he had the opportunity to observe the innovative schooling systems, especially those promoted by Fukuzawa Yukichi. After returning to China, he set up his private school (*sishu*) in Macau in 1903, which was then moved to Hong Kong in 1918.[90]

Chen suggested that classical Chinese was useless for practical purposes and advocated the use of vernacular in newspapers. He proposed that just as people should know Chinese before they learnt a foreign language they should be familiar with their own native dialect before they learnt Beijing speech. In an essay "Newspapers should be published in an easier language" (*Lun baozhang yi gaiyong qianshuo*) which he wrote in 1899, Chen further blamed China' s weakness on the use

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89 Gunn (1991, pp. 34-5).
90 Luk (1984, p. 127).

of classical Chinese and said in definite terms that classical Chinese should be reformed in order to widen the knowledge of the common people.[91]

Chen Zibao also showed his confidence in the elegance possessed by vernacular languages. In an essay entitled "On vernacular language" (*Suhua shuo*) written in 1897, Chen reminded his readers that ancient people must have originally made up written characters from a local dialect. He then stated,

> It does not matter whether a person speaks an elegant (*ya*) language or in a vulgar way (*su*). The language that everybody knows is vulgar language. The language that nobody knows is said to be elegant language. The language known only to one or two out of ten persons is also said to be elegant. The language that is regarded as extremely elegant today was regarded as vulgar by the people in the past. The language that is regarded as extremely vulgar today will be regarded as elegant a hundred or a thousand years later.[92]

Chen Zibao was probably not the first Cantonese who compiled textbooks in Cantonese. Prior to Chen, a certain Mai Shizhi, a customs officer from Nanhai, translated the whole text of the *Book of Historical Documents* (*Shujing*) and the *Book of Poetry* (*Shijing*) into Cantonese in 1893 and 1894.[93] Nevertheless, what made Chen Zibao different was that he replaced the classics and the traditional primers,

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91 Chen Zibao (1899, rep. 1952, pp. 5b-9a).
92 Chen Zibao (1897, rep. 1952, p. 1a).
93 Mai (n.d.). The same endeavour of translating the Classics into Cantonese was continued by members of Confucian societies in Hong Kong. For example, the *Yuedong baihua liangmeng qianjie* (A simplified interpretation of Mencius translated in Guangdong vernacular) compiled by Liang Yinglin in Hong Kong in 1916.

namely, the "three-four-five character books", with new primers in vernacular conveying new ideas.

Imitating the style of the traditional three-four-five character primers, not only did Chen Zibao employ Cantonese usage to teach children and women basic characters, he also intended to enlighten them with knowledge useful for daily life and the idea of patriotism. Examples of his textbooks include the *Things Women and Children Should Know* (*Furu xuzhi*) published in 1893, and the *Three-four-five Character Book for Women and Children* (*Furu san-si-wu zi shu*) published in 1900 (Illustration 3. 5). Moreover, he compiled books for explaining terms in both the national language (*guoyu*) and Cantonese, namely, the *Terms Explained in National Language and Cantonese for Primary School* (*Xiaoxue shici guoyu yueyu jie*) published in 1900 and 1907. After the 1911 Revolution, his textbooks were modified to suit the new political situation, and different editions were published in Guangzhou, Hong Kong and even in Shanghai. The Oral History Project of the Chinese University of Hong Kong found that villagers in the New Territories remembered chapters learnt from his text.[94] The books for recognizing characters (*zike*) that he compiled were also popular in Hong Kong, Macau, and various places in the Pearl River Delta.[95]

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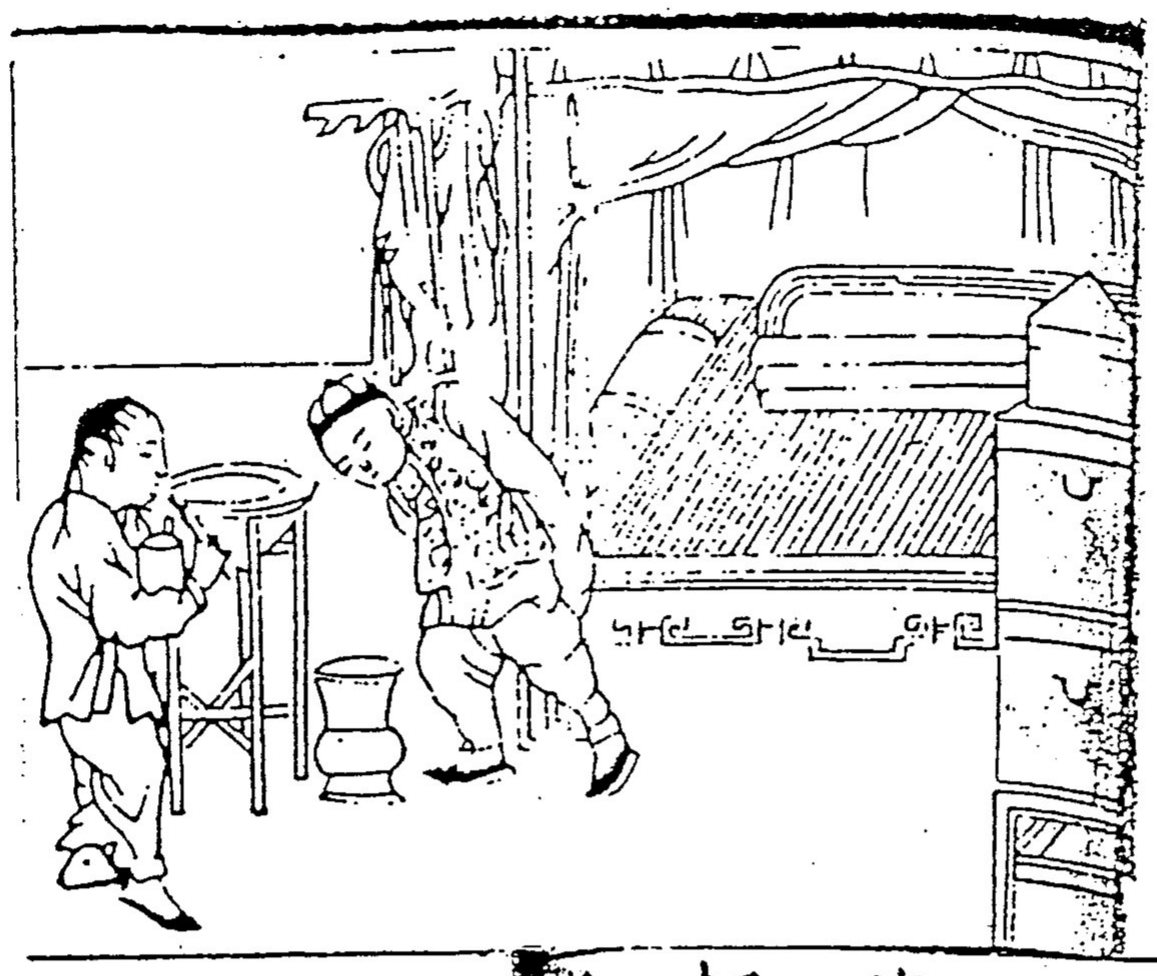
94 Luk (1984, p. 128).
95 Wang Qile (1983, p. 220).



幼儀第四

衫須勤洗鞋莫棄腳

臨睡之時換過衣裳

朝早起身刷牙洗面

後洗前陰本係污濁

人之口水吐在痰壺

勿吐在地吐在痰壺

若無痰壺恐而勿吐

有時吐出以鞋擦之

Illustration 3.5
Chen Zibao陳子褒 , *Furu san-si-wu zi shu*婦孺三四五字書, 1900.

Notice how Chen Zibao adopted Cantonese usages within the writing style of a four-character primer.

Like dictionary compilers, Chen Zibao was aware of the need to set criteria for employing Cantonese characters. In the *Philology for Children* (*Youya*), another textbook he wrote in 1897, he explained,

> It is difficult to know all the dialects of different provinces. The only thing I can do is to use the standard pronunciation (*zhengyin*) to interpret the ancient usage. However, for dialect [words] used in Guangdong, I shall use Guangdong characters to distinguish them.
>
> There are no fewer than a thousand dialects in Guangdong. I am only using the one spoken in Guangzhou, so as [to adhere to] one standard.[96]

With regard to the selection of characters, Chen Zibao would check whether a character existed in standard philological texts (*zishu*) such as *Extension of the Erya* (*Guangya*) before using it.[97] For example, he found the character "*na*" (in Cantonese, meaning "female", pronounced as "*jie*" in Mandarin) acceptable because it could be found in the *Extension of the Erya*, despite the fact that the character was regarded by the literati as "*vulgar*". However, Chen did not employ in his textbooks those characters such as "*ak*" (in Cantonese, meaning bracelet) with the radical "*jin*" which could not be found in philology books or dictionaries,[98] even if they were widely used.[99] Chen Zibao was probably an exceptional advocate of written

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96 Chen Zibao (1897, preface).
97 The *Extension of the Erya* (*Guangya*) was compiled by Zhang Yi in the Wei dynatsy. It is an extension of the philology book *Erya* which was compiled in the Han dynasty.
98 The character "*ak*" with the radical "*jin*" (gold) is a corruption of the one without. Please refer to the glossary.
99 Chen Zibao (1897, preface, *liyan*, p. 5b).

vernacular, who not only voiced his ideas, but also put them into practice with careful consideration and examination.

Reformist and revolutionary markers

The revolutionary propaganda that emerged by the end of the Qing dynasty probably made the maximum use of almost all the above-mentioned types of Cantonese literature. Vernacular, as a marker of reform and revolution vis-à-vis the classical Chinese of the establishment, was regarded as the best means of promoting people' s concern for their country. *Yueou*, *nanyin*, *longzhou*, poems, essays, stories and Cantonese operas - all kinds of Cantonese vernacular literature -- were made use of by the revolutionaries to propagate their ideas.[100]

As an anti-establishment marker, the use of Cantonese and even foreign languages in the opera performed as revolutionary propaganda was more deliberate. For example, the main body of the opera script, *Ban Chao Pacifying the Western Region* (Ban Dingyuan *ping xiyu*) published in 1903, was a mixture of classical Chinese and Cantonese vernacular.[101] From 1904 to the end of the Qing dynasty, some revolutionaries such as Chen Shaobai (1869-1934) and Huang Luyi (1869-1926) set up their own opera troupes called "*zhishiban*" (troupe formed by the determined men) which performed plays criticizing the Qing government.[102] It was said that

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100 See A Ying (1960, pp. 400-508); and (1962, pp. 675-86).
101 A Ying (1960, pp. 410-432).
102 Feng (rep. 1969, Vol. 2, pp. 237-42).

when the troupe organized by Huang Luyi performed a Cantonese opera as revolutionary propaganda, the *zhongzhouyin* (the speech employed in the "central region") previously spoken on the stage was totally replaced by Cantonese vernacular.[103]

Since 1904, a revolutionary newspaper, *China Daily* (*Zhongguo ribao*), also published many short verses and songs written in Cantonese vernacular literary form to ridicule the Qing government.[104] The same practice was very common among newspapers and periodicals in late Qing Guangdong. This can be illustrated by the *How Easy are [the Songs] to Sing* (*Zhen haochang*) which was distributed in Guangzhou and Shanghai in 1904. The *How Easy are [the Songs] to Sing* was a collection of anti-Qing government Cantonese songs currently published in various newspapers in Guangdong, Hong Kong and Shanghai.[105] The *Newspaper Rejecting the American Exclusion Treaty which Prohibited the Entry of Chinese Labourers* (*Meijin huagong juyue bao*) published in 1905, the *Pictorial on Current Affairs* (*Shishi huabao*), a pro-revolutionary pictorial published in Guangzhou and Hong Kong from 1905 to 1912, and the *Waking Up One's Mind with Vernacular* (*Baihua*

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103 Lai (1988, p. 27). Huang Luyi was one of the founders of the *Zhongguo ribao*, a revolutionary newspaper.

104 The *Zhongguo ribao* was established in 1900, but extant copies are available only from 1904 to 1907. See Ding (1982, Vol. 2, pp. 1-33).

105 See *Zhen haochang* (1904, preface). Examples of such newspapers are *Guangdong bao*, *Tandang bao*, *Yangcheng bao*, *Shimin bao*, *Shanghai bao* and *Weiyi qu bao*. The *Shimin bao* was established in Guangzhou in 1903. See Ding (1987, Vol. 4, pp. 685-6). The history of other newspapers is unknown. There was a *Yangcheng ribao* established in Guangzhou and a *Guangdong ribao* in Hong Kong in the 1900s, but it is not clear whether they were *Yangcheng bao* and *Guangdong bao* mentioned in the *Zhen haochang* or not. See Feng Aiqun (1967, pp. 116, 120).

xing naojin) published in Hong Kong in 1910, also contained essays and songs in Cantonese to advocate revolutionary ideas.[106]

Apart from using Cantonese vernacular, in order to appeal to their readers, revolutionary propagandists in Guangdong paid special attention to the grievances of Guangdong people under the rule of the Qing government. For example, in the *How Easy are [the Songs] to Sing*, there is a Cantonese song, entitled "Thinking about the Previous Events" (*Si wangshi*), which describes how the Guangdong people suffered from the Manchu siege of Guangzhou at the end of the Ming. Another piece, namely, "A Case of Injustice at [the place named] Jichunshi" (Jichunshi *yuanqing*), which records an unfair court case, includes such sentences as "Our Guangdong is so unlucky, everywhere we see the ruthlessness of soldiers and the cruelty of officials".[107]

The revolutionary fervour that made use of Cantonese literature as propaganda did not go beyond the revolution. In early Republican Guangdong, classical Chinese occupied a central position. By 1920, the Ministry of Education adopted standard vernacular Chinese based on the Beijing dialect for classroom instruction in elementary schools, and by 1922, textbooks in standard vernacular were required. Despite the fact that the textbooks written by Chen Zibao were used as supplementary

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106 The publication date of the *Baihua xing naojin* was stated as "the 4608th year of the Yellow Emperor". The standard of using the Yellow Emperor chronology was once controversial, but many revolutionaries adopted the practice set by Song Jiaoren of equating the year 1905 of the Western calendar with the 4603th year of the Yellow Emperor. See Chen, Fang, and Wei (1982, p. 636). If the *Baihua xing naojin* also followed Song's practice, then it must have been published in 1910.

107 See *Zhen haochang* (n.d., j. 3, pp. 2b-4a, 12b-13b respectively).

teaching materials in the schools in the Pearl River Delta region at least until his death in 1922, and even among the Cantonese-speaking population in Shanghai at least until 1911, they could not compete with those published by the nation-wide bookstores such as the Commercial Press (Shangwu yinshu guan).

A literati language

Given the vast area and population of China, the market that might support vernacular publication in Cantonese was quite substantial. A Cantonese vernacular would have been understood by possibly 18 million people in 1911.[108] But numbers did not weigh heavily in literary development in China. Written Cantonese did not serve a wider range of purposes than popular entertainment, religious proselytization by foreigners, and the teaching of the uneducated, and even though such purposes might have appeared quite central in the family or the village, or in the daily social life of the city, they would have been considered quite peripheral by the Chinese, including the Cantonese, literati. In a country with the linguistic diversity of China, an administrative vocabulary would have developed that was not derived from any particular dialect, and the administrative vocabulary would have found its way into the spoken and written languages of the administrators, that is, the literati.

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108 According to *Qing shi gao*, the population of Guangdong and Guangxi in 1911 were 28,010,564 and 8,746,747 respectively, see Zhao (1928. pp. 9109, 9111 in the 1986 reprint). If half of these were Cantonese speakers, there would have been 18 million Cantonese speakers at the time. According to Oi-kan Yue Hashimoto (1972, p. 9), the number of Cantonese speakers in China amounted to 27 million in 1960. Hashimoto' s figure was based on the census of 1953 and amounted to 5% of the total population of China at that time. According to Li Xinkui (1994, pp. 26-7), the number of Cantonese speakers in China and overseas in the first half of the 1990s amounts to 70 million.

Almost a century beyond the late Qing, Cantonese is still written for purposes of entertainment and religious proselytization. It has all but disappeared as a didactic device. The Chinese intelligentsia no longer writes in classical Chinese, but "plain style" (*baihua*) -- and "common speech" (*putonghua*) -- make no concession to the Cantonese vernacular. Yet one would not argue that written Cantonese has not developed. It is debatable if what is written in Cantonese is a literature, but it is beyond debate that the vast amount written in Cantonese has become its own culture. The failure of an elite writing style that does not take account of a vernacular paves the way for a division between an official and a colloquial style of writing. This division had its roots in the Qing dynasty, and we have not yet seen it run its course.

Chapter Four

Guangdong scholarship

The Guangdong literati, like the literati of the rest of China, constructed local histories and literary collections to present their collective provincial achievements. It was this local literature which made famous earlier Guangdong literati, whose reputation then paved the tradition for their successors' road to fame. By picking and choosing who might or might not be included in the local histories, the literati set themselves up as spokesmen of Guangdong culture. The Guangdong culture they record then legitimizes their status as its spokesmen. The relationship between the recorders of tradition and its authority is circular and has to be understood if we are to see how scholarship related to questions in the construction of Guangdong identity.

In this chapter, I shall first identify those people who were the spokesmen of late Qing Guangdong culture. Then, by illustrating their personal backgrounds and also their social-political circumstances, I attempt to find out why these people might be considered to be spokesmen for Guangdong culture. Finally, I shall illustrate how socio-political changes occurring at the end of the Qing dynasty, at both national and local levels, might have challenged the authority of the late Qing Guangdong literati.

A literary register

One way to approach this question of who the spokesmen of Guangdong culture were is to look at the names of those who were considered the most celebrated late Qing Guangdong scholars. The authority for a list of these names was the *Collection of Essays from Guangdong* (*Guangdong wenzheng*) compiled by Wu Daorong (1875-1936) in the early Republic.[1] In this Collection, of the 183 authors from the Jiaqing period (1796-1820) to the end of the Qing dynasty, more than one-third were former graduates or directors of the Xuehaitang Academy (The Sea of Learning Hall), the most prestigious academy in Guangdong in the late Qing. Alternatively, if we look at the numbers from the point of view of the Xuehaitang Academy, out of the fifty-five directors of the academy from its establishment to its closure in 1903, forty-four were included as representative Guangdong scholars in Wu's collection. In fact, Wu Daorong, a scholar from Panyu county, was himself one of the men appointed to the directorship of the Xuehaitang Academy by the end of Qing dynasty.

Another source of information on the major figures in late Qing Guangdong scholarship is Liang Qichao, one of the most distinguished Republican scholars from Guangdong, who specially wrote an essay on the academic fashion of late Qing China. In Liang's opinion the two most important masters of Confucian studies in Guangdong

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1 The *Guangdong wenzheng* existed in at least nine separate manuscript in 1948. They were distributed to different libraries in Guangzhou and Hong Kong by Ye Gongchao. For details about the compilation and spread of the *Guangdong wenzheng*, see Wu Daorong (1915, p. 1 in the 1972 reprint, preface written by Zhang Xuehua).

during the Xianfeng-Tongzhi period were Chen Li (1810-1882) and Zhu Ciqi (1807-1881). Chen Li was one of the most renowned directors of the Xuehaitang Academy. Zhu Ciqi, who established his own private academy in Jiujiang Village, Nanhai county, was the teacher of Kang Youwei. As a student both of the Xuehaitang Academy and of Kang Youwei, Liang Qichao claimed to be the heir of both Chen Li and Zhu Ciqi.[2] Chen Li and Zhu Ciqi were also two of the few Guangdong scholars who had their biographies compiled by their students and published during the late Qing and the early Republic.[3]

A more disinterested listing of major figures may be found in national records. Zhu Ciqi and Chen Li are among only a few late Qing Guangdong scholars who are included in the section of "biographies of scholars" (*rulin zhuan*) in the official *Qing History* (*Qing shi gao*). In the *Studies of Qing Dynasty Confucian Scholars* (*Qingru xuean*) compiled by Xu Shichang (1855-1939), the three entries on Confucian scholars from Guangdong again include Chen Li, side by side with his senior colleague at the Xuehaitang Academy, Lin Botong (1775-1845), while the remaining place was again taken by Zhu Ciqi.[4]

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2 Liang (1924a, pp. 78-9).

3 Chen Li's biography was compiled by Wang Zongyan (date of birth and death unknown, late Qing and early Republic), a scholar from Panyu, whose father was a student of the Xuehaitang Academy. Zhu Ciqi's biography was compiled by his student, Jian Chaoliang (1851-1933), a scholar from Shunde county. For an account of the Zhu Ciqi's lineage in Nanhai, see Nishikawa (1991, p. 229).

4 Xu (rep. 1979, j. 132, j. 171, j. 174-5).

The names of Chen Li and Zhu Ciqi were probably also well known among people who were not active in academic circles. In a private letter to his son-in-law, a little-known Taishan man in the early Republic mentioned how distinguished Chen Li and Zhu Ciqi were, and how he himself had eagerly sought a copy of the collected works of Zhu Ciqi in the bookstores in Guangzhou.[5] As late as 1940, the question of whether the Xuehaitang Academy tradition or Zhu Ciqi's scholarship should be regarded as the ultimate orthodoxy of Confucian studies in Guangdong was still the focus of the debate among the Guangdong scholars who took part in organizing the Guangdong Cultural Artefacts Exhibition.[6]

The Xuehaitang Academy, Chen Li and Zhu Ciqi were obviously central to the literary history of late Qing Guangdong. How did this come about? To answer this question, we need to understand the cultural environment of Guangdong prior to the pre-nineteenth century, and then evaluate the position of the Xuehaitang Academy and these individuals in nineteenth century Guangdong history.

An intellectual backwater

Prior to the Daoguang period, Guangdong had for a long time been regarded as an intellectual backwater. Although such Guangdong natives as Chen Baisha had been known for Confucian scholarship, the performance of Guangdong students in the

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5 Chen Qishou (1927, p. 31b).
6 *Guangdong wenwu* (rep. 1990, p. 896).

imperial examinations in the Ming and early Qing was unimpressive. When in 1739 the Qianlong Emperor noticed that the metropolitan graduate who ranked first (*zhuangyuan*) was a Guangdong native, he was delighted and exclaimed in surprise that such a remote province as Guangdong could produce a *zhuangyuan*.[7] The number of degree-holders in Guangdong did not increase much until after the nineteenth century even though numerous examination-oriented academies were established in the province. In Guangzhou, the three most famous academies were the Yangcheng, established in 1683, the Yuexiu, established in 1710 and the Yuehua, established in 1760.[8] Students were admitted into these academies as licentiates (*jiansheng*) or apprentices (*tongsheng*). They were taught according to a syllabus which would prepare them for the imperial examinations. This was especially true after 1744 when the old philosophical curriculum had been replaced by a standardised course designed to prepare the student for the examination system' s eight-legged essays. Since that year the academies were incorporated into the official system as preparatory schools, and gradually lost the status of as independent centres of Confucian learning.[9]

However, the increase in the number of degree-holders in the nineteenth century was not enough to earn Guangdong a reputation for cultural achievements. Except for a few individual cases, Guangdong scholars were, on the whole, still not academically

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7 *Qing Gaozong Cun huangdi shilu* (1739, j.90, p. 7a). I would like to thank Mr Cheung Sui-wei for pointing this out to me.

8 For the history of these three academies, see *Guangzhou jinbainian jiaoyu shiliao* (1983, pp. 15-9); *Guangzhou fuzhi* (1878, j. 72, pp. 12a-14b); Ôkubo (1976, pp. 329-53).

9 Liu Boji (1958) and Wakeman (1966, p. 182).

distinguished enough to be compared to the Jiangnan scholars.[10] It was not until the establishment of the Xuehaitang Academy in 1824 that Guangdong scholars started to gain a position in the national arena of Confucian scholarship and Guangdong started to get rid of its image of being an intellectual backwater. To paraphrase the words of Liang Qichao, the founding of the Xuehaitang Academy propelled Guangdong scholarship (Yuexue) in classical studies into the national limelight.[11]

The Xuehaitang Academy

The Xuehaitang Academy was founded in 1824 in Guangzhou by Ruan Yuan, who was Governor-General of Guangdong and Guangxi from 1817 to 1826.[12] This was a time when Guangzhou was still benefiting from Sino-Western trade, and thus was one of the most prosperous international trading centres of the world. The wealth and luxury of the Guangzhou Co-hong merchants, like the Pan and the Wu families, was amazing to contemporary Western observers.[13] In fact, a considerable amount of the funds for the Xuehaitang Academy came from one of these Co-hong merchants, Wu Bingjian (1769-1843).[14]

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10 For the centrality of Jiangnan in Qing academies. see Elman (1981).
11 Liang (1924a, pp. 78-9).
12 The classes of Xuehaitang Academy had been started in 1821, but the construction of the building for the academy was not finished until 1824. Rong (1934, p. 14).
13 See Liang Jiabin (1937); Huang and Deng (1987).
14 Elman (1979, p. 76, note 29). Wu Bingjian was known to Westerners as Howqua.

The founding of the Xuehaitang Academy did not only add one more research institute to Guangdong, but more importantly, it also earned Guangdong the academic respectability of being able to join the mainstream of current classical studies. Ruan Yuan, a reputable scholar of the classics in his own right, was in favour of the Han-Learning and the scholarship of evidential research (*kaozheng*), both of which were well respected forms of scholarship since the eighteenth century, and he established the Xuehaitang Academy as an institution of Han-Learning to counteract the popularity of the Song-Ming Neo-Confucian themes which were still popular in Guangzhou.[15] When Ruan arrived in Guangdong to assume his governor-generalship, he brought with him several Jiangnan scholars, who two years later supervised the compilation of the *Guangdong Provincial Gazetteer*. The impact of Jiangnan scholars on academic life in Guangzhou was thus already felt prior to the establishment of the Xuehaitang Academy.

With the establishment of the Xuehaitang Academy, Guangdong became one of the centres of compiling and publishing classical texts which aimed at a state-wide intellectual market. In 1825, Ruan Yuan initiated a project to compile the *Imperial Qing Exegesis of the Classics* (*Huangchao jingjie*) which was then published in Guangzhou in 1829. Representing a major tribute to the research carried out by the Han-Learning scholars in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. the *Imperial Qing Exegesis of the*

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15 Elman (1979, p. 56). Benjamin Elman offers a number of interpretations for the term "Han-Learning". The most conventional explanation he offers is that it is "usually taken to represent a type of scholarship that, opposed to the Neo-Confucian philosophies associated with the Song and Ming dynasties. returned to a study of the Han interpretations of the Classics." See Elman (1979. p. 74, note 10).

Classics was designed as a follow-up to the long admired *Commentaries and Annotations to the Thirteen Classics* (*Shisanjing zhushu*), which covered pre-Song Confucian scholarship, and as a reaction against texts which were considered biased in favour of Song-Ming Neo-Confucian classicism. Its publication was widely welcomed by students in Guangdong and elsewhere.[16]

Nonetheless, the intellectual fashion at the Xuehaitang Academy did not lean only towards the Han-Learning. Benjamin Elman points out that Ruan Yuan himself was also influenced by the ideas of several Gongyang scholars who were concerned more with moral philosophy, as well as with the Song-Learning and New Text studies.[17]

One of the eight directors appointed in 1826, Lin Botong (1775-1845), also made attempts to synthesise the Han-Learning methods with the political and moral concerns of Song-Learning. This was also true of Chen Li, another Xuehaitang Academy director appointed in 1840.[18] Ruan Yuan's achievement became so well known that other academies devoted to classical and evidential education began to spring up elsewhere in

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16 Elman (1979, p. 62), Wakeman (1966, p. 182).

17 The "Gongyang scholarship" refers to the study of the *Gongyang zhuan*'s interpretation of the *Chunqiu*. The *Gongyang zhuan* was said to be compiled during the period of Warring States (403-211 B.C.) and was one of the most important text of the New Text School of Confucian scholarship. The New Text School believed that the classical texts written in the "*lishu*" style (the square plain style) of Chinese writings, used in the Qin and early Western Han dynasty, were the most original version of Confucian texts.

18 Elman (1979, p. 67; 1984, pp. 234-5; 246). *Guangdong wenwu* (rep. 1990, p. 898). Xu (rep. 1979, j. 132; 174-175). Qian Mu (1937, pp. 506-632). For further details about the early history and philosophical aspects of Xuehaitang Academy, see Elman (1979), (1984), and (1990).

Guangdong.[19] The Jupo Learning-Premise (Jupo Jingshe) founded in 1867 in Guangzhou city was an example of this.[20]

The Xuehaitang directors were also notable for their efforts to collect and compile local literature. Directors such as Wu Lanxiu (1789-1873) and Liang Tingnan (1796-1861) were distinguished for their studies on the Southern Han and Southern Yue Kingdoms,[21] while others like Zeng Zhao (1793-1854) took charge of the re-publication of works written about the south by both Guangdong natives and others in the Han, Jin and Song dynasties.[22] A fourth director, Tan Ying (1800-1871), was responsible for a huge project to publish local scholarly works sponsored by Wu Chongyao (1810-1863), the son of Wu Bingjian, and currently one of the most prosperous hong merchants in Guangzhou. Interested in collecting rare books, manuscripts, paintings and calligraphy, Wu Chongyao sponsored several projects that covered a wide range of literary and historical works by Guangdong writers from the Song to the Qing.[23] The nineteenth century enthusiasm for the publication of compilations of the work of local literati was

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19 Elman (1984, p. 128).

20 *Guangzhou jinbainian jiaoyu shiliao* (1983, pp. 8-9).

21 Wu Lanxiu compiled the *Nan-Han ji* (An Account of the Southern Han), *Nan-Han dili zhi* (An Account of the Geography of the Southern Han) and the *Nan-Han jinshi zhi* (An Account of the Stone and Metal Inscriptions of the Southern Han), and Liang Tingnan compiled six volumes studying the Southern Han and Southern Yue Kingdoms. See Rong (1934, pp. 26-7, 39).

22 Rong (1934, pp. 27-8).

23 These include the *Yue shisanjia ji* printed in 1840, a literary collection of thirteen Guangdong writers of the Song, Ming, and Qing periods, the *Chuting qijiu yishi* printed in the 1849, a collection of poems written by contemporary Guangdong poets, the *Lingnan yishu*, printed in six instalments during the years 1831-63, comprising 55 works on Guangdong by Ming and Qing scholars, and six by scholars of an earlier period. See Rong (1934, pp. 34-5). Hummel (1944, pp. 867-8).

not accidental. Scholarly publication during the Qing was for the most part not a commercial venture, and the market for local literature was limited. The technical works that scholars produced had to be published at their own expense if not at the expense of a patron.[24] The sponsorship offered by officials and hong merchants was thus of great importance.[25]

Despite its reputation, it is somewhat of an anomaly that the Xuehaitang Academy should be accorded such a high position in the history of Guangdong scholarship. It is true that the Xuehaitang Academy was distinguished from other academies in Guangdong in the requirements it demanded before students were admitted. As a minimum requirement, students were expected to have attained licentiate status (*gongsheng*) before beginning their studies at the Xuehaitang Academy as "regular students" (*zhuankesheng*) or "adjunct students" (*fukesheng*). Apprentices (*tongsheng*) were not accepted. As a result, the students admitted by the Xuehaitang Academy were men who had either previously studied at other academies and had already mastered the eight-legged essay, or obtained a licentiate (*gongsheng*) degree by purchase. It is also true that the most notable feature of the Xuehaitang Academy was its devotion to the reading and exegesis of the Confucian classics rather than preparation for the examinations. Basing his new academy on the model of the Gujing Learning-

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24 Elman (1984, pp. 111-2).

25 Pan Shicheng, a descendant of another hong merchant, Pan Zhencheng (1714-1788), also offered sponsorship for the publication of a collectanea, entitled *Haishan xianguan congshu.* This collectanea was edited on the basis of the books in Pan's own library by Tan Ying, a Xuehaitang Academy director. See Hummel (1944, Vol. 2, pp. 605-6).

Premise (Gujing Jingshe) that he had founded in Zhejiang while Governor there from 1800 to 1807, Ruan Yuan introduced into the curriculum of the Xuehaitang Academy classical and historical studies, supplemented by applied studies such as astronomy and mathematics. To sustain a variety of specialities in the academy, he established eight directors (*xuezhang*) for the academy, instead of having a single principal (*shanzhang*) as was the usual practice in other academies.[26] These directors were responsible for managing fiscal affairs, and setting topics for examinations and essays, as well as grading and evaluating students.[27]

Although the Xuehaitang Academy was supported by the Governor-General, its directors did not receive a salary better than the salaries of other academies. The tuition salary (*xiujin*) of Xuehaitang directors was only thirty-six taels a year during the Daoguang period.[28] By contrast, the tuition salary of the directors of the Yuexiu Academy was 500 taels in 1809, and for those of the Yuehua, 320 taels in 1828; while the annual salary (tuition salary plus other subsidiary incomes) of a Yangcheng director was 400 taels in 1820.[29] It is however highly unlikely that the income of the Xuehaitang Academy directors could be so much lower than that of other academies'. The tuition salary of the Xuehaitang Academy directors was probably nominal. With the prestigious

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26 Elman (1984, p. 126).
27 Rong (1934, p. 20).
28 Rong (1934, p. 20), quoted from *Xuehaitang zhi* (rep. 1964, p. 15a).
29 Liu Boji (1958, pp. 296-301). Chung-li Chang estimates that a yearly income of some 350 taels of silver represented the average income one could expect from teaching in the nineteenth century. See Benjamin Elman (1984, p. 135). Chang (1962, pp. 7-42, 94, 111, 113-4).

status of the academy, the directors of the Xuehaitang Academy were also able to earn additional income by engaging in compiling county, prefectural and provincial gazetteers, by editing collectanea sponsored by local wealthy people, and by taking part in various local projects such as supervising water works, and establishing and managing granaries. Scholars who wanted to further their studies in the classics would have found the Xuehaitang Academy a very attractive place to which to be attached.

As Ruan Yuan intended to upgrade the scholarly achievement of Guangdong, we would expect him to have applied strict criteria in the appointment of directors to the Xuehaitang. However, the background of the first eight directors appointed by Ruan Yuan himself in 1826 was not particularly impressive. Only two of the eight were metropolitan graduates, while two of the others were licentiates of lower rank. Similarly, the majority of later directors attained merely the provincial graduate degree and only a few were metropolitan graduates. In contrast, all the directors of the Yangcheng, Yuexiu and Yuehua academies from 1798 to 1897 were either metropolitan graduates or Hanlin academicians.[30] Although the lack of a senior degree did not deter the Xuehaitang Academy directors from attaining distinguished academic reputations, it probably precluded them from climbing the official hierarchy -- especially at a time when there was a surplus of qualified candidates.[31] Among the eight earliest directors, only Xu Rong (1792-1855) had served in official posts higher than local educational

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30 Liu Boji (1958, pp. 224-84).
31 For the problem of insufficient official posts to match the demand of surplus qualified candidates during the Qing dynasty, see Benjamin Elman (1984, p. 130-1).

offices, and he was a Han bannerman whose career was spent partly in military service.[32] Without a visible qualification, what qualified a person to be appointed the director of the most reputable academy in the province? The answer probably lies in their involvement in current provincial politics.

The 1820s coincided with the controversy over the policy on opium trade inside the Qing court and the provinces including Guangdong. In 1821, Ruan Yuan adopted what seemed at the time a strict policy towards the opium trade. He memorialized to the emperor to ban the opium trade as well as opium smoking. However, in reality, the prohibitions meant very little. Opium trading continued uninterrupted and in fact increased. It is not clear if Ruan Yuan himself turned a blind eye to this. After he left Guangdong, Ruan was said to have led the movement in the capital for the legalization of the opium trade.[33] However, the history of anti-opium sentiments in Guangzhou was complex. Before the arrival in 1839 of Lin Zexu (1785-1850), the Imperial Commissioner to ban the opium trade in Guangdong, many Xuehaitang Academy directors sided with the Governor-Generals, including Lu Kun (1772-1835, governor-general 1832-1835) and Deng Tingzhen (1776-1846, governor-general 1835-1839) in arguing for a policy for relaxing control. Whether such inclinations can be attributed to

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32 Mann and Kuhn (1978, p. 159).

33 A sizeable part of the funding for the Xuehaitang Academy came from Co-hong merchants, especially the Wu family. Profits from opium trade largely seem to have been the basis for the Wu family' s prodigious wealth. See Elman (1979, p. 76, note 29); and (1984, p. 244), Hsin-pao Chang (1964, p. 88); and Leung Man-kam (1977, pp. 234-6). Both Chang and Leung base their arguments on the report of George Elliot, the British commander in the Opium War, in which he praised Ruan Yuan and Xu Naiji as good men in the midst of hostility.

the sizeable investment made to Xuehaitang Academy by the Co-hong merchant Wu Bingjian, who was also an opium trader, can never be known. However that may be, a Xuehaitang Academy director, Wu Lanxiu (1789-1873), wrote an essay entitled the "Ending of the Evils [of Opium]", suggesting as a measure for ending the evil its legalisation for all except officials, scholars and soldiers. This essay then became the major reference of the famous 1836 memorial by Xu Naiji (1777-1839), recommending a similar policy.[34] After the imperial court had reached its decision to ban the opium traffic and Lin Zexu was appointed Imperial Commissioner, Deng Tingzhen seems to have undergone a change of heart, and his appointees to the Xuehaitang Academy directorship, Huang Peifang (1778-1859) and Liang Tingnan immediately became Lin's staunch supporters in banning the opium trade. Upon his assumption of the Governor-Generalship, Lin confirmed their appointment to the Xuehaitang Academy directorship,[35] and the directorship held by Zhang Weiping (1780-1859), another of Lin's close allies in Guangdong, was at the same time secured.[36] A trusted student of Zhang Weiping, Chen Li, who then became one of the most celebrated scholars of late

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34 Xu Naiji was Vice-Minister of the Court of Imperial Sacrifices at that time. For affiliations between Wu and Xu, see Liang Tingnan (rep. 1937, pp. 5-7), Elman (1979, p. 76, note 29) and Murao (1985). Compare Wu's essay, collected in *Guangzhou fuzhi* (1878, j. 163, pp. 19a-22a), and Xu's memorial, collected in Yao (1984, pp. 20-1).

35 For Deng Tingzhen's changes in attitudes towards the opium trade, see Hsin-pao Chang (1964, p. 88). For Lin's meeting with Liang Tingnan and Huang Peifang in 1839, see *Lin Zexu ji, riji* (rep. 1962, p. 363).

36 Much evidence shows that Zhang Weiping had a close coalition with Lin Zexu. Zhang and Lin met each other in 1830 at a poetry gathering. On that occasion, Huang Juezi (1793-1853), who later presented the famous memorial recommending a bar on the legalization of opium trade in 1838, was also present. When Lin arrived at Guangzhou in the first month of 1839, Zhang was the only provincial scholar whom Lin visited immediately upon his arrival. Zhang was then recruited by Lin to found and

Qing Guangdong, was also appointed a Xuehaitang Academy directorship by Lin Zexu in 1840.[37] Policy decisions seem also to be reflected in the styles of scholarship: Huang Peifang, with his White Cloud Mountain School, had been in some tension with the Han-Learning, and Lin Zexu, establishing himself as an anti-Han-Learning revivalist, thus appeared to have placed himself in Huang' s intellectual camp.[38] Thus if there was any deliberate shift in the academic fashion seen in Guangdong at that time, it was to some extent a result of Lin' s deliberate effort which could not be separated from his political motivation.

If before the Opium War, politics was mixed up with appointments to the Xuehaitang Academy directorship, in the second half of the nineteenth century, blatant patronage became the criterion. In the 1850s and 1860s, the turmoil caused by the Red Turbans, the Taiping Rebellion and the Second Opium War dominated the agenda of the Governor-Generals of Guangdong. Local leaders such as Chen Pu (1820-1887) and Li

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manage an opium control operation headquartered in the Dafo Temple (Dafo Si) compound in the city. See Yang (1989, p. 143).

37 Chen Li' s personal viewpoint towards the opium trade was, though obscure, not totally hidden. It is clear that Chen Li was one of the twenty-five Guangdong gentry men, including Zhang Weiping, who sent eight matched hanging scrolls to glorify in public the merits of Lin Zexu upon Lin' s departure in October 1840. See *Lin Zexu ji, riji* (rep. 1962, p. 373-4). Unlike some Xuehaitang Academy scholars such as Wu Lanxiu, who had written an essay that clearly illustrated his support for a relaxation of the opium trade, Chen wrote no treatises expressing his viewpoints towards the issue. However, his poems expressing his anxiety about the Opium War, together with those written by Zhang Weiping, can be found in a poetry collection, entitled the *Sheyinglou shihua* published in 1851, which was compiled by Lin Changyi, a fellow native of Lin Zexu. Lin Changyi' s proposals for prohibiting opium-addiction and ousting all English people from the ports were well received by Lin Zexu. See Lin Changyi (rep. 1988, pp. 2, 28-9, 301-5) and Yang (1981, p. 283).

38 Polachek (1992, pp. 144-9).

Guangting (1812-1880) who provided financial relief to the provincial government and organised militia for maintaining local security were later appointed to be directors of Xuehaitang Academy.[39] Those directors appointed in the 1880s and 1890s were active in assisting Zhang Zhidong (1837-1909), the Guangdong and Guangxi Governor-General from 1884 to 1889, in establishing the Guangya Academy. One of them, Liao Tingxiang (1844-1898), became the head of the Guangya Academy in 1894.[40]

Thus we see that the Xuehaitang Academy was more than an academic institution. It was the political centre of the province throughout the late Qing. The offering, acceptance, or rejection of a position at the Xuehaitang Academy signified not only one' s academic inclinations, but more importantly, one' s manifest political stand. Whereas state-wide intellectual trend might lay down the fundamental criteria for determining who would gain the chance of being promoted to be the spokesmen of Guangdong culture, the internal politics of Guangdong certainly also played a crucial part.

Outside the Xuehaitang hegemony

As well as its political dimension, the Xuehaitang Academy was also significant to nineteenth century Guangdong literati in an intellectual and a pragmatic sense. Intellectually, the Xuehaitang Academy trained Guangdong scholars to participate in the

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39 *Panyu xianzhi* (1911, j. 20, pp. 16b-18b; 19a-20a). Rong (1934, pp. 47-8).
40 Rong (1934, pp. 52-60).

state-wide mainstream Confucian discourse. Pragmatically, the Xuehaitang Academy provided excellent career prospects for Guangdong students especially those who failed to attain a higher degree. However, it was also during the nineteenth century that Western learning gradually emerged as an alternative to traditional scholarship, to widen the career choices of Guangdong students. The changes came slowly, but the intellectual atmosphere before the 1880s was clearly different from the 1880s and after. The loss of the intellectual and occupational significance of Confucian scholarship gradually came to threaten the hegemony of the Xuehaitang Academy and of all other traditional academies.

Prior to the 1880s, Western learning did not arouse much attention among high officials and mainstream literati in Guangdong. Guangzhou, the only place at which foreign trade was allowed to take place from 1759 until the signing of the Treaty of Nanjing in 1842, encountered various aspects of Western presence before many other Chinese cities. Given their deep involvement in provincial politics during the First Opium War, the Xuehaitang Academy directors must only have been too well aware of foreign invasions. In fact, one of the early Xuehaitang Academy directors, Liang Tingnan, had compiled the *Four Accounts of the Maritime Nations* (*Haiguo sishuo*) right after the First Opium War, presenting the geography, history and religion of the United States, England and a number of European countries.[41] However, Liang Tingnan was one of the few among the Xuehaitang directors who had such an interest

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41 Liang Tingnan (1846). Xiong (1994, pp. 226-239).

and vision. During the Second Opium War, the Xuehaitang Academy was bombarded. From January 1858 to October 1861, Guangzhou was occupied by the Anglo-French allied forces, and the Xuehaitang Academy directors were forced to stop teaching and to flee in the suburb areas. The experience was devastating. Chen Li moved to stay at a friend' s house outside Guangzhou, and did not return to the city until 1860. In a letter to his friend, he expressed his sorrow over the destruction to their homes and their country brought about by foreign invasion.[42]

However, Chen Li' s anxiety did not lead him to pay much more attention to Western learning than to read the *Illustrated Gazetteer of Maritime Nations* (*Haiguo tuzhi*) by Wei Yuan (1794-1857), the renowned advocate of New Text Confucianism who sided with Lin Zexu during the first Opium War.[43] Nevertheless, Chen Li was open-minded enough to try out some Western technology, or he would not have had a portrait taken by means of "Western photography" (*taixi sheying*) in 1866. Nor did other Xuehaitang Academy scholars admit that they were left behind by Western scientific discovery. Zou Boqi (1819-1869), another Xuehaitang Academy director, was mentioned by many late Qing and early Republican scholars as an example of how

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42 Wang Zongyan (rep. 1970, p. 66).

43 The *Haiguo tuzhi* was considered by contemporaries one of the most important and updated Chinese works for understanding the outside world. It was said that when Wei Yuan visited Guangzhou in 1849, Chen Li showed Wei his review on the *Haiguo tuzhi.* His comments and critiques were well appreciated by Wei, leading to Wei' s further amendment of his book. The *Haiguo tuzhi* was first published in 1842 and re-published in 1844 and 1847. The fourth revised edition was published in 1852 with Guangzhou as one of its publication places. See Wang Zongyan (rep. 1970, pp. 43-4) and Huang Liyong (1985, p. 227).

advanced the scientific knowledge of Qing scholars was. Interested in astronomy and mathematics, Zou was remembered for a pin-hole camera that he made.[44] However, Zou's interpretation of Western scientific knowledge did not go beyond the cognition model of the early Chinese philosopher Mozi, as he shared the opinion of many of his contemporaries that Western science could always be attributed to a Chinese origin.[45]

Zhu Ciqi, another Guangdong scholar who earned a reputation in classical studies equivalent to that of Chen Li, did sense the need for change in view of current political and social disorders. Nonetheless, he did not feel any need for direct contact with the Western world and even considered the Qing government's sending an emissary in 1875 to Britain to be a humiliating act.[46]

In the Xianfeng-Tongzhi period, studying abroad and learning Western languages brought no particular glory to an individual. Rong Hong (1828-1912), the first Chinese student to study in America, came from a relatively poor family in Xiangshan county in Guangdong. The bachelor degree which Rong obtained in the Yale University in 1854, according to his own explanation to his mother, was only equivalent to a licentiate degree (*xiucai*) in China. The overseas degree only earned

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44 See Chen Li's 1873 preface to "*Geshu bu*" (On Science and Technology, a supplement), an essay written by Zou Boqi on photography, collected in *Zou Zhengjun yishu* published in 1874, five years after Zou's death. For later comments, see Liang Qichao (1924b, pp. 345-6). Xian (1965, pp. 44-5).

45 Zou Boqi (first preface 1844), "*Lun Xifa jie gu suoyou*", (On the fact that all kinds of Western technology can be found in ancient China) in *Xueji yide* (j. 2, pp. 20a-22b), collected in *Zou Zhengjun yishu*. For a discussion on Chinese scholars' perception and reception of Western science in the nineteenth century, see Reynolds (1991).

46 Jian Chaoliang (1897, p. 39a in the 1973 reprint, item of the year 1876).

Rong Hong a position as an interpreter in Shanghai.[47] Nor did institutions for Western learning established by the government gain much respect among Guangdong students during this period. The Tongwen Guan (School for Training Interpreters) and the Xixue Guan (School of Western Learning) established in Guangzhou in 1864 and 1876 respectively proved to be mere gestures.[48] According to the reports made by the Guangdong-Guangxi Governor-General, the Han-Chinese students who enrolled into the Tongwen Guan aimed only at obtaining their monthly stipend and paid attention merely to studying Chinese for the purpose of attending provincial examinations,[49] whereas the Xixue Guan spent more time teaching the eight-legged essays than English.[50]

It is generally assumed that Guangdong, with its forefront position, was particularly opened to Western learning. It is also easy to compose a long list of pioneers of Western-learning who were of Guangdong origins. However, whether these pioneers were recognised and accepted at the time was another matter. To most Chinese students and literati, Western studies implied only a career possibility secondary to officialdom but was no match for traditional Chinese scholarship transmitted through the long-established institutions. Borrowing Zhang Zhidong's dichotomy of the "*ti*" and the "*yong*", we may say, in the eyes of most late Qing Chinese scholars and officials, the

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47 Wu Xiangxiang (1971, Vol. 1, pp. 317-33). Yung Wing (1909, pp. 49-50, 63).
48 The Xixue Guan (School of Western Learning) was then renamed as Shixue Guan (School of Substantial Learning) in 1882.
49 Zhu (1983, Vol. 1, pp. 268-9).
50 Zhu (1983, Vol. 1, p. 475).

Western learning was merely "*yong*" (function), while the Chinese learning remained to be the "*ti*" (substance); and that the "*ti*" was always superior to the "*yong*". On discussing Zhang Zhidong' s dichotomy, Joseph Levenson suggested that, the "*ti*" of the Chinese learning had its own "*yong*" as well. That is to say, Confucian learning was the substances ("*ti*") of the imperial examinations which selected students to function ("*yong*") well in the bureaucracy.[51] Until the 1880s, the Xuehaitang Academy continued to represent both the "*ti*" and the "*yong*" of traditional Chinese learning. It was the cultural hegemony of the province, the means of social-upgrading for an individual, and more importantly, the icon of ideological orthodoxy, despite the ongoing socio-political changes. For scholars, Confucian wisdom continued to be the ultimate solution for restoring social and political order. This was true not only for Guangdong, but also for the whole of China.[52]

Nevertheless, after the 1880s, while the Xuehaitang Academy might currently be the political centre of the province, its status in Guangdong intellectual life gradually faded. This is indicated by the fact that after the death of Chen Li in 1881, no subsequent Xuehaitang Academy scholars gained an equivalent reputation in Guangdong Confucian scholarship. By contrast, Zhu Ciqi, the Nanhai scholar who refused to assume the directorship offered by Xuehaitang Academy, seemed to have left

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51 Levenson (1965a, Vol. 1, Chapter 4, pp. 59-78: 1964, Vol. 2, pp. 8, 114-5).

52 Sang Bing has discussed the lack of interests in Western learning among the scholar-gentry in between the years of the 1840s and the 1860s. He suggests that it was not until the mid-eighties that an obvious change in attitude towards Western learning was witnessed among the scholars both in Beijing and many other parts of China. See Sang Bing (1991, pp. 25-40).

a line of scholarship inherited by Kang Youwei. This was not necessarily because Chen Li's successors were not as talented as he was, or because Kang Youwei was particularly excellent. Rather, it was the case that Western learning had gradually come to take a dominant role in both academic pursuits and other occupations. Kang Youwei, who himself claimed to be a Confucian, based his scholarship on traditional Chinese scholarship, in a period before Chinese intellectuals completely accepted Western scholarship.

During the 1880s, a change in attitude towards Western learning was seen even among the officials and literati. As an intellectual fashion, Western learning was added into traditional Chinese learning in order to strengthen the country. In 1887, Western learning was even included in the syllabus of the imperial examination.[53] In practical terms, people educated with Western learning were recruited to assume prominent official positions. The three late Qing Guangdong men, namely, Wu Tingfang (1842-1922), Zhan Tianyou (1861-1919), and Tang Shaoyi (1862-1938), went through an education and career path in a similar pattern and time sequence. Having been the first Chinese barrister practising law in Hong Kong since 1876, Wu Tingfang was recruited to join the secretariat of Li Hongzhang in 1882. In 1897, he was appointed minister to the United States, Spain and Peru.[54] Zhan Tianyou. one of the initial group of the thirty

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53 In 1887, the Zongli Yamen (the equivalent of a foreign ministry) announced that mathematics, science, engineering, world history and current affairs were added to the syllabus of the imperial examination. See Gao Shiliang (1992, pp. 645-7).

54 For a personal history of Wu Tingfang, see Pomerantz-Zhang (1992); Ding and Yu (1993).

students sent by the Qing government to study in the United States, served in several military schools and on railway projects after returning to China in 1881. In 1905, he was appointed the chief engineer of the Beijing-Kalgan Railway project and in 1909 he was granted the title of an honorary metropolitan graduate.[55] Similar to Zhan Tianyou, Tang Shaoyi was among the first group of Chinese students sent to the United States to study in 1873 by the government. He came back to China in 1881 and was appointed assistant to the new imperial customs inspector in Korea. By 1907 he had already attained the position of Senior Vice-President in the Board of Communication.[56]

Unlike their previous counterparts, the School of Western Learning after the 1880s admitted only students who performed well in the imperial examinations and were no longer a dumping ground for the incompetent. Before the education reforms initiated by the Qing government in 1901, some local gentry and officials had already admitted the necessity of Western style universities. When the United States Presbyterian Church considered establishing a higher college in China in the mid-1880s, more than four hundred officials and gentry from Guangdong jointly petitioned that the college should be situated in Guangzhou. However, the petition also indicated that the Guangdong literati did not want the college to be a competitor for regular instruction in the classics nor a model for future reorganization of Chinese education.[57]

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55 For a personal history of Zhan Tianyou, see Ling and Gao (1977).
56 For a personal history of Tang Shaoyi, see *Tang Shaoyi yanjiu lunwenji* (1989).
57 Lutz (1971, pp. 34-5). This college was in fact what was later known as the Canton Christian College (Lingnan Xuetang), see *Lingnan xuexiao daguan* (1917, No. 14, p. 2).

Recognition of Western learning among the officials and literati did not immediately imply that they had totally turned away from Confucian scholarship. Rather, an integration of Western learning with Confucian scholarship was considered to be the best outlet by those who had received a traditional education yet were no less enthusiastic in absorbing Western learning. Such an integration also invoked reactions among established scholars, whether of criticism or support. This is how Kang Youwei came to be involved in the discourse of late Qing Confucian scholarship and how he came to be included among the late Qing Guangdong scholarship.[58]

Claiming to be a New Text (*jinwen*) school Confucian, Kang blamed the Old Text (*guwen*) school for distorting the "genuine" Chinese tradition. According to Kang, the solutions to reform China were sought by revealing the true words of the Confucian sages. Kang' s participation in the debate on Confucian studies and Western values did stir up controversy strong enough to attract criticism among contemporary scholars. When his book *An Inquiry into the Classics forged during the Xin period* (*Xinxue weijing kao*) was first published in Guangzhou in 1891, Zhu Yixin (1846-1894), the director of Guangya Academy in Guangzhou appointed in 1890, wrote Kang a letter to express his disagreement.[59] As a political reformer based on the principles of the New Text school, Kang Youwei sought justification for his Western-oriented reforms within Confucian scholarly discourse. In his 1902 *Doctrine of the Means Annotated*

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58 Wu Daorong (rep. 1971, pp. 274-5). Liang (1921, pp. 126-7 in the 1981 reprint). Qian (1937, pp. 633-709).

59 Kwong (1984, pp. 88-9), Kang (1891a, pp. 570-1017 in the 1987 reprint; 1891b, pp. 1018-59 in the 1987 reprint).

(*Zhongyong zhu*), he applied the Confucian Gongyang school' s doctrine of the "three ages" (*sanshi*), namely, the Age of Disorder, the Age of Approaching Peace and the Age of Universal Peace, to argue that the political system of China should progress from absolute monarchy, to constitutional monarchy, and finally to republican government.[60]

Kang might probably have been unwelcome to the established Guangdong scholars of his time, but by stressing his teacher-disciple relationship with Zhu Ciqi, it became possible for him to trace an orthodox origin for his scholarship. While Kang might be in opposition to the established Guangdong literati, and even to the mainstream scholarship dominating the Xuehaitang Academy, he probably did not oppose the idea that an institute for continuing Confucian learning was needed. He asserted with pride in his autobiography that in 1886 he was invited by Zhang Zhidong to run the Xuehaitang and that he established his own school to perpetuate his own style of Confucian teaching.[61]

Therefore, if Chen Li marked the end of the glory of Xuehaitang Academy, then Kang Youwei was the last Confucian in the late Qing Guangdong, no matter how much he deviated from the orthodox Confucians or how many Western ideas he might have introduced.

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60 For Kang Youwei' s adaptation of western ideas into the Confucian scholarship to justify the needs of political reforms, see Kang (1902, pp. 39a-40b in the 1966 reprint), also Chang (1971, pp. 51-7), Levenson (1965, pp. 79-85), and Ding Baolan (1985, pp. 336-49).

61 Kang (around 1898, pp. 16, 22-38 in the 1972 reprint).

The end of Xuehaitang

The threat to the Xuehaitang Academy did not come from Kang Youwei. Rather, it was caused by the final break-down of the long-established association between bureaucracy and the mastery of Confucian learning. And this break-down was a result of the combined pressure exerted by the trend of Western-oriented modernisation and its concomitant, Chinese nationalism.[62]

In view of successive military defeats by Western countries, the Chinese literati, both the pro-Manchu and the anti-Manchu ones, held the opinion that establishing a Chinese culture equivalent to that of the West should be given priority. The ruling regime declared its abandonment of the supremacy of the Confucian culture as the only component of Chinese culture when it implemented a new schooling system at the end of the nineteenth century. With the establishment of the Imperial University in Beijing in 1898, the old-style academies were destined to come to an end. Unlike the traditional academies where classical studies were the only type of scholarship to be pursued, a university was composed of faculties and departments which implied that different students were exposed to different realms of knowledge and were to be qualified for different professions. In this way, Confucian and classical studies became only one subject among many other subjects, they no longer dominated the school curriculum and imperial examination qualifications.

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62 Levenson (1965a) offers an articulate discussion on the cultural dimension of twentieth century Chinese nationalism.

As a result of this, all teaching at the Xuehaitang Academy was ordered to terminate in 1903. The recognition of a new system of measuring scholarship supported by a new schooling system meant that the provincial literati were out of fashion and lacking in qualifications. The downfall of the Manchu regime in 1911 followed by a replacement of government personnel further removed them from the power structure of provincial politics.[63] Rejected by the new regime, the late Qing Guangdong scholars moved to Hong Kong.[64] Claiming to be the "surviving elders of the late Qing dynasty" (*wanqing yilao*), these late Qing scholars continued their classical scholarship, often with reference to their previous institutional connections. Having given up a lifetime' s engagement in provincial politics, and now looking to culture as a substitute for power, they necessarily held a view of Guangdong culture that was backward-looking. In the subsequent decades, the Xuehaitang Academy served merely as a brand-name covering the ostensible revival of Confucian scholarship.[65]

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63 The closure of the Xuehaitang Academy in 1903 did not mark the end of the Xuehaitang Academy directors' influence in Guangdong political and cultural affairs. In the last years of the Qing dynasty, some of the Xuehaitang Academy directors still participated actively in provincial politics. See *Huazi ribao* (29 December 1906; 6 April 1907; 1 May 1907); also Rhoads (1975, p. 155).

64 This included Ding Renchang (1861-1926), Wu Daorong (1853-1936), Chen Botao (1855-1930) from the Xuehaitang Academy, and Lai Jixi (1865-1937) from the Guangya Academy. It was a time when the Hong Kong government needed to co-opt the established Chinese elite of the colony to support the policy of preserving a traditional Chinese culture, counterbalancing the revolutionary ethos of early Republican China. See Luk (1991, pp. 650-61).

65 The Xuehaitang Academy was revived for a short while in Guangzhou by some Guangzhou gentry in 1920. See *Huazi ribao* (23 January 1920). Its name was used on several occasions by institutions established for teaching classics. In 1923, a Xuehai Library (Xuehai Shulou) was established in Hong Kong by Lai Jixi for preserving classical texts and offering lectures on classical studies. See Deng Youtong (1993). In

In search of a new Chinese culture

The passing of the Xuehaitang Academy signified the passing of two generations of classical scholarship in Guangdong. The Xuehaitang was founded in the heyday of classical studies in Guangdong; the imagination that classical scholarship might stimulate had faded out before it was closed. With the collapse of the late Qing provincial power structure, the Xuehaitang scholars became antiquated. Throughout the early Republic, the name "Xuehai" was used by at least three institutions set up at different times for the purpose of teaching classical studies. Nevertheless, by the Republic, classical scholarship was at best a memory. As the essence of Chinese culture to some people who feared that China might be completely Westernised, it lingered on. But its appeal to many was failing. Replacing it was a sense of nationalism. As I shall argue in the next chapter, having rejected classical scholarship, and having accepted the Western culture as their own high culture, twentieth-century Chinese scholars began to search for their identity from a different source. They turned to the rural population which they called the masses.[66] In this process of seeking for their national identity, the modern intelligentsia came into contact once again with local culture, and this contact of nationalism and local culture re-defined what made up Guangdong and the Guangdong people.

1935, a Xuehai College was established by the Mingde She, a society chaired by Chen Weizhou, the elder brother of Chen Jitang. See "Minde she zhuban Xuehai shuyuan jianzhang" (1935).

66 Hung (1985, pp. 10-17).

Chapter Five

People' s culture and local culture

Taking seriously the responsibility of reforming Chinese culture, the Republican intelligentsia condemned Confucianism and superstition as major hindrances to the development of China. To reform the Chinese national character (*guomin xing*), the Republican intelligentsia proposed, if not a single model of culture to replace Chinese culture,at least a single criterion for reforming the Chinese culture. That criterion was, Western scientific thought. To spread their cultural concern, they simultaneously advocated a revolution in the Chinese language. Only by replacing the classical Chinese (*wenyan*) with the plain vernacular (*baihua*), they thought, could the thousand-year-old Confucian ideology be rid of. However, the proposition of applying a single criterion for measuring cultural development and the adoption of one single written vernacular for the whole of China implied that regional culture and other vernacular writings than the Beijing vernacular would be subordinated. This became particularly obvious when cultural reform was backed up ideologically by the idea of nationalism and institutionally by the education authorities. The Republican intelligentsia were caught in a dilemma in that, on the one hand, they viewed themselves as the leaders of mass enlightenment; while on the other, they knew very well that they were different from the masses. To bridge the gulf, they felt the need to go down to the masses to achieve a better understanding of them. They even

attempted to explore insights from the masses to enrich the literary language which they expected plain enough to be comprehensible by all Chinese people.[1] It was with this intention of "going to the people" that the "region" or "countryside" became a focus for the interests of the Republican intelligentsia. In the 1920s, such an interest was institutionalized in the university as an academic subject termed "folklore".

Therefore, if one were to look in Republican Guangdong for a self-expression of a sense of identity, the recording and study of folklore should be among its most prominent features. Of course there had always been folklore among the Guangdong people; one might as well observe that the Guangdong people had always spoken Guangdong dialects (or perhaps languages) of one type or another, but this is not to say that the stories that had been passed on by word of mouth or the practices that came to be viewed as "folk" practices, had necessarily been thought of as part of culture. Lest it is thought that collecting and studying folklore was an "intellectual" activity, it should be pointed out Republican Guangdong publications of all varieties were full of it. Folklore study was never a movement, but it was advocated and it changed, almost overnight, into what appeared to many a long-accepted feature of daily reading material. The Guangdong people's self-awareness of their folklore as "folklore" was the recognition in writing of a long-continued tradition.

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1 For a history of the pro-May Fourth intellectuals and their thoughts, see Hung (1985) and Schwartz (1986).

Folklore studies in China

The rise of an interest in folklore in early Republican China was closely associated with an upsurge of nationalistic sentiment among Chinese intellectuals. Attributing the causes of China's weakness to the bad effect of Confucian high culture, the new Chinese intellectuals considered the low culture, especially folk literature, among commoners a rich resource for conveying new ideas to rebuild Chinese culture and thus rescue the nation.

Enthusiasm in folklore studies in China was initiated as the folk-literature movement promoted by a few new literature advocates notably Hu Shi (1891-1962), Zhou Zuoren (1884-1968), Liu Bannong (1891-1934) and Gu Jiegang (1893-1980) from Peking University on the eve of the May-Fourth movement. They established a Folksong Collection Office in 1918 and the folksongs collected began to appear regularly in the *Peking University Daily* (*Beijing daxue rikan*). In 1920, the office was renamed the Folk-Song Research Society, which was then brought under the Institute of Sinology at the university in 1922. A journal entitled *Folk-Song Weekly* (*Geyao zhoukan*) was established in the same year. Subsequently, a Society for Investigating Local Customs (Fengsu Diaocha Hui) was set up in Peking University in 1924.

The Republican folklorists attempted to distinguish themselves from the traditional literati in dealing with folklore in a number of ways, both in terms of attitude and methodology. Many stories that were derived from folklore found their

way into publication in collections of miscellanea (*biji xiaoshuo*) and even in gazetteers. In these traditional sources, some of the accounts were versions of genuine events. For this reason, they might take the form of "unofficial history" (*yeshi*) or biographical notes (*renwu zhuan*). The Republican folklorists played down the historical element of the content of these stories. What mattered to them was the existence of the story, rather than its content, as historical material. And for this reason, even though in traditional sources elements of folklore had entered as curiosities (*zhiyi*), the modern folklorist would have been interested not because the story was beyond credence, but because it represented evidence for a state of mind or an aspect of society. The focus of the folklorist was on the "folk" element of the story. Circulation among the masses was not sufficient to make a story folklore, as Zhou Zuoren noted, the masses had to have contributed to its creation.[2] Folklore was, in this sense, the lore by and of the masses.

Among the Republican folklorists, Gu Jiegang was one of the few who were able to articulate more sophisticated yet no less romantic ideas about folklore. As an intellectual who was anxious about the fate of China, Gu felt that the understanding and awakening of the masses was crucial for strengthening the nation. Unlike the traditional literati who looked down upon folk practices, Gu advocated that the Chinese intelligentsia should abandon their contempt of the masses and appreciate and acknowledge their intelligence and sincerity.[3] Like the traditional literati, Gu hoped

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2 Hung (1985, pp. 5-6).
3 Gu (1926, pp. 19, 38 in the 1988 reprint); Hung (1985. pp. 167-8).

for an improvement in the thought and practice of the masses; for example, he admitted there were superstitious elements in folklore. Yet he proposed a more sympathetic way of looking at it and maintained that the superstition of the masses had its own rationale. Moreover, he distinguished scholarship from statesmanship and suggested that folklorists should not be bothered with practical policy but should only concentrate on their academic studies on the masses.

As an historian famous for applying critical textual analysis to the study of ancient history,[4] Gu Jiegang advocated that folklore should be investigated from a scientific and objective point of view.[5] In his famous 1924 study of the folk story of "Lady Meng Jiang" (Meng Jiang nü), the legendary woman who brought down the Great Wall by mourning the death of her husband, Gu Jiegang collated thousands of versions appearing in classics, historical documents, drama, stone inscriptions and folksongs to trace the evolution and distribution of the story.[6] Gu Jiegang's use of a broad range of sources and his interpretation of an historical story as folklore impressed many contemporary folklore enthusiasts and established a model for them. Many later studies on folk stories imitated his methodology.

Gu Jiegang's many followers recorded and collected folklore, classified stories and worked out their stereotypes. They believed that these stereotypes carried a

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4 For the contribution made by Gu Jiegang towards the Chinese historical studies, see Schneider (1971).
5 Hung (1985, p. 167).
6 Hung (1985, pp. 93-9).

certain degree of universality that was common among the folk stories throughout the world, and thus revealed the universal psychological characters of the masses. They realized that in order to understand the meaning of folksongs, they had to understand the regional vernaculars in which the songs were composed, the proverbs and riddles the songs incorporated, and the customs and religions the songs mentioned.[7] The folksong-collecting movement was thus widened to become a folklore-collecting movement which involved the use of the methodology of other disciplines such as history and anthropology, rather then merely of literature studies.

From 1918 to 1926, the centre of folklore studies was in Peking University. Around 1927, the National Sun Yat-sen University (hereafter Zhongshan University) in Guangzhou became a major national centre with the establishment of a Folklore Society there. The folklorists in the south basically inherited the definition of folklore and the methodology of collecting and studying masses held by their northern counterparts.

Folklore and folklore studies of Guangdong

To the Republican intellectuals, what came to be thought of "folklore" fell into three categories. These were, religious beliefs and practices; customs; and stories, songs and folk sayings.[8] What brought these different elements together under

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7 Gu (1926, p. 38 in the 1988 reprint).

8 This is basically the classification scheme put forward by Charlotte S. Burne, a British folklorist in the early 1910s. Burne believed that the topics she listed covered "everything

the same head was that they were all considered to be practices of the masses of common people, the "folk".

As long as the folklore movement involved mainly the collection -- rather than the analysis -- of folklore, whether or not stories were recorded because they were curiosities or elements of history need be of little consequence. Traditional texts such as the *Guangdong Provincial Gazetteer* would have included into the "customs" (*fengsu*) chapter such practices as divination with egg and cock bone, the son "buying water" for washing the corpse of his parent, the singing of marriage laments, or quail-fighting and cricket-fighting.[9] Most folklorists' accounts of these customs written in the 1920s and 1930s in Guangdong added little more than the rather dry comment that they were recorded as material for future folklore analysis. As well as the articles in university journals, newspapers also established columns focusing on customs and rituals of Guangdong, and the lives of the so-called ethnic minorities within the province.[10] These revealed nothing more than a sense of the exotic to appeal to the newspaper reader. The early Qing Guangdong writer, Qu Dajun, who through his

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which makes part of the mental equipment of the folk as distinguished from their technical skill." With a "scientific" study of all the masses of the backward people the current folklorists identified, Burne expected to work out a mental history of early men which was to some extent common to all human societies. Burne held that such a history reflected the initial stage of a civilized society, and would help to understand the factors accounted for the difference in the degree of civilization among different societies. Although Burne stated first that her book was "not written for the use of members of anthropological expeditions", but for the use of amateurs, her proposed classification dominated the concept of folklore and the working scheme of most of the Chinese folklorists in the 1920s and 30s. See Hung (1985, pp. 20-1). Burne (1914, preface, p. iii; pp. 1-3).

9 *Guangdong tongzhi* (1822, j. 92, p. 1790 in the 1988 reprint) and *Nanhai xianzhi* (1911, j.4, p. 20b).

10 Examples of such newspapers were *Guangzhou Minguo ribao* and *Yuehua bao*.

jottings in the *New Account of Guangdong* went into the history, legends, geography and botany of Guangdong was more of a folklorist than many Guangdong folklorists of the Republican era, for it is clear from the *New Account of Guangdong* that Qu, like the folklorists, was interested in legends and customs that had been created among Guangdong people, and that by thinking he was writing history, he maintained a truthful account of what he himself encountered.

The Republican Guangdong intelligentsia who were interested in folklore wanted to distinguish themselves from their earlier counterparts by their attempt to establish folklore studies as a serious subject for scholarship. The *Folk Literature and Art* (*Minjian wenyi*), a journal founded in the Zhongshan University in 1927, (renamed *Folklore Weekly*, *Minsu zhoukan*, in 1928), became a forum in the academic community for assembling a variety of materials on the local customs and literature mainly of Guangdong, although it had intended to incorporate those of all China.

Numerous collections of folksongs were contributed by a variety of people to the *Folklore Weekly*. Cantonese vernacular songs were included and the *Cantonese Songs* (*Yueou*) compiled by Zhao Ziyong in the Daoguang period was even promoted as one of the master pieces of vernacular literature in the journal. From the late 1920s to mid-1930s, three essays written on the *Cantonese Songs* by scholars from Guangdong appeared in the *Folk Literature and Art*, *Folklore Weekly* and the *Folk-Song Weekly*.[11] The late Qing publications *Cantonese Songs* and *More Cantonese*

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11 These include Wang Zongyan (1927); Zhao Mianzhi (1928); and Rong Zhaozu, (1936).

Songs (*Zai Yueou*) were also reprinted in the *Folklore Weekly*, together with an essay entitled "The status of Yueou in literature" written in 1922 by Xu Dishan (1893-1941), the renowned new literature writer.[12] Equally there were Hakka contributors who were eager to illustrate the fecundity of their vernacular folksongs. The most elaborate example was a book entitled *Folk-songs of Eastern Guangdong* (*Yuedong zhi feng*) by Luo Xianglin, a Hakka student who later became an authority on Hakka studies. This book included a collection of Hakka folksongs and a brief analysis and was published in the *Folklore Weekly* in 1928.

Reports on investigations of folk songs and local customs were published on a frequent basis in the *Folklore Weekly*. Daily and ritual utensils used by common people also became favourite objects for the collections of university scholars. In January 1929, the Institute of Philology and History of Zhongshan University held an exhibition in which a considerable amount of folk literature and of folklore objects were on display. Two tablets, one bearing the characters "*yingqin*" (welcoming the bride), another "*chubin*" (escorting a funeral), together with two pairs of large lantern, were hung separately at the entrance and the exit of the exhibition hall.[13] Never had the culture and rituals of common people been paid so much respect, but probably

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12 See *Minsu congshu* (rep. 1971, Vol. 56), supplement. Xu's essay was first published in 1922 in the *Min-Toh Monthly* (*Minduo zazhi*). Xu Dishan wrote the essay from the perspective of a new literature advocate. In this essay, Xu categorised the *Yueou* as "regional literature" (*difang wenxue*), and showed his appreciation of the *Yueou* by citing Cecil Clementi's analysis which compared the themes and philosophy behind the *Yueou* with European poetry. Cecil Clementi was a civil servant of the Hong Kong government when he translated the *Yueou* into English in 1904. He later became the Hong Kong governor from 1925 to 1930. See Xian Yuqing (1947, pp. 95, 99).

13 *Guangzhou Minguo ribao* (4 January 1929).

never before had anyone in Guangdong hung a funeral notice on a door unless there was a death to mourn. As urban intellectuals without intimate affiliations with their native villages, these Republican folklorists not only studied the folklore objects they collected, they also played with them, or utilized them in their own unconventional ways. Half a century before, all these actions would have been simply unimaginable. The cosmos of Chinese intellectuals had changed.

Nevertheless, folklore study was not necessarily all that different from traditional scholarship. The contributors to the *Folklore Weekly* were of many sorts. The university scholars and students who proclaimed that they were "going to the people" to collect the "true voices of the masses", came back with collections without any further analysis. Examples of such was the *First Collection of Children Songs from Guangzhou* (*Guangzhou erge jiaji*), and the *Songs of Taishan* (*Taishan geyao ji*). Other contributors recorded the songs of their own native places out of nostalgia. Most of these contributors used pen-names and their backgrounds are unclear. Fragmented information reveals that they shared a similar background and assumption: having left their native villages for a long time, most were urban-dwellers with a post-1911 educational background. Many of these people were amateurs of folklore studying or teaching at schools in most cases at town and county level.[14] For example, a contributor could only record the "*hanjing*" customs (a mystical practice which helps to rid children from illness by reciting some specific words) of Dongguan

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14 On a few occasions, there were businessmen and factory workers who contributed essays to the journal. See Situ You (1929, pp. 12-3), Qinpei (1929. pp. 46-50), Yu Fei (1930, pp. 47-52), and Liu Wanzhang (1933, pp. 8-9).

according to his (or her) own childhood memory, as he (or she) had studied in Guangzhou since childhood and seldom went back the native village.[15] Some other contributors to the *Folklore Weekly* had left their native places for several generations and knew very little about their village customs.[16] Many of the songs or stories they compiled were either their childhood memories or collected from the elders of their native places.[17] Some might even mistake the songs which they heard where they were residing for the songs of their own native village, since they were not sensitive enough to notice the subtle difference between the variations of the same dialect spoken in different counties.[18]

Yet some contributors were self-acclaimed progressives who did not forget to add a note of distaste for the "superstitious" and "feudal" elements to their reports on local customs and literature. One author stated that customs in Dongguan county were "very superstitious", another criticised the practice of singing bridal laments as "more foolish than possible", a third said the Chaozhou people were "infatuated" by ideas of geomancy.[19]

These people might not mean to make use of the *Folklore Weekly* as an arena to declare an anti-superstitious stand, but their casual comments probably echoed the

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15 Xu Sidao (1929, p. 23).
16 Xu Jiawei (1929, p. 21).
17 Examples of these can be found in Gu Xuancun (1929, p. 28); Xu Jiawei (1929, p. 21), Xu Sidao (1929, p. 23), Yuan Hongming (1929, p. 56), Meishan (1929, p. 29), Qingshui (1929, p. 56).
18 Qingshui (1929, p. 56).
19 See Li Chunrong (1928, pp. 25-7), Wei Chengzu (1928, p. 62), Peizhi (1928, p. 5), respectively.

reforms in native customs (*fengsu gaige*) launched by the Guomindang government in many provinces including Guangdong after 1927. During the 1920s, the Guomindang government portrayed itself as the inheritor of the iconoclastic May Fourth Movement. In 1928 and 29, the party organization launched a vigorous "anti-superstition" drive in the provinces of Jiangsu, Zhejiang, and Anhui. In 1928, a number of regulations or ordinances were announced to suppress a variety of activities or businesses which the government considered superstitious and indecent such as worship of gods in temples, keeping maid servants, spending extravagantly on funerals and marriages, and occupations of divination, astrology, physiognomy and palmistry, sorcery and geomancy.[20] In Guangdong, a "Committee for Reforming Customs" (Fengsu Gaige Weiyuanhui) was set up by the Guomindang branch in July 1929, and a *Journal on Reform in Customs* (*Fengsu gaige congkan*) was published as a supplementary page to the *Guangzhou Minguo ribao*, a Guomindang organ in Guangdong.

In many ways, the policy-makers' ideas were shared by the folklorists, but the government suppression of local customs probably disturbed some folklorists to such an extent that they declared that folklore studies should be separated from government policies as much as possible. For example, Zhang Qingshui, a primary school teacher from Wengyuan county who contributed regularly to the *Folklore Weekly*, said that folklorists were not "humanists or revolutionaries who guided women". Zhong

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20 For a brief understanding of the anti-superstition campaigns launched by the Guomindang government after 1927, see Duara (1991), see also, Fengsu gaige weiyuanhui (1930).

(1903-), one of the founders of the Folklore Society of the Zhongshan University, emphasised that folklore studies was "a purely academic activity.... whether it had practical significance or not was a different matter". More articulated treatises were written by Rong Zhaozu (1897-?), another founder of Zhongshan University' s Folklore Society, who declared that folklorists were "adopting an honest attitude to describe and illustrate some items of custom", and that the folklorists agreed that the social-reformers should implement social reforms with reference to the materials collected by folklorists, but social reforms were none of the business of the academics. In another essay, Rong, ridiculing those self-acclaimed reformers, noted: "When we risk our lives to shout to overthrow a certain superstition, very often we ourselves are promoting another kind of superstition!"[21]

The pioneers of the folklore movement in Guangdong commenced the movement in a subdued tone but ended up defending their positions assertively. Following their Beijing counterparts, the leading Guangdong folklorists studied traditional customs not because they intended to preserve the old but because they wanted to construct a new culture. They studied a locality not because they wanted to accentuate regional particularities but to explore national or even trans-national universality. They became defensive when they were accused of preserving superstition and promoting separatism.

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21 See Qingshui (1928, p. 24), "*Benkan tongxun*" (editorial letters), in *Minsu zhoukan* (1929, No. 52, p. 29), Rong (1929a, p. 2) and Rong (1929b, p. 1), respectively.

To appreciate the undertones of the discourse on local identity, we have to understand the politics of Guangdong in the few years from the Northern Expedition (1927) to the rise of Chen Jitang (1931). In particular, we have to appreciate the position of the members of Guangdong folklore movement, people who probably had little intent to be involved in politics, but who were implicated by simply living at the wrong time and in the wrong place. The question of intention is probably out of place with reference to these people, for what was more natural than that Guangdong folklorists should have written about the folklore of some part of Guangdong, and given the opportunity to do so, should have published their journal in Guangdong. But of course it was precisely in Guangdong that a provincial identity that sought a cultural basis must clash with the national identity and the extreme nationalists would have found the discourse objectionable.

Academics and politics

The leadership of the folklore movement in Guangdong between 1927 and 1933 was provided by Gu Jiegang and two young Guangdong scholars, Rong Zhaozu and Zhong Jingwen. Like most contemporary scholars of folklore, Rong and Zhao did not start their venture on folklore studies by receiving a training on the subject, nor even a training in history and anthropology. Receiving modern education in the heyday of May-Fourth sentiment, both of them identified themselves as nationalists. Rong Zhaozu was born in Dongguan county and received primary and secondary education there until 1916. He then studied in the English Department of the

Guangdong Higher Normal School from 1917 to 1921. Rong Zhaozu was also exposed to traditional education as his father was a graduate of the late Qing Guangya Academy and his uncle, Deng Erya (1884-1954), was a local scholar distinguished for his knowledge on stone inscriptions. Rong Zhaozu was then admitted as a student of philosophy at the Peking University from 1922 to 1926. In 1923, he came under the influence of the folklore movement in Beijing and registered as a member of the Folk-Song Research Society.[22] In 1926, Rong Zhaozu taught at the Xiamen University, where he came under the influence of Gu Jiegang when Gu served as the professor of history there.

Rong's first contribution to the *Folk-Song Weekly*, an essay entitled "My opinions on Collecting Local Dialects" (*Zhengji fangyan zhi wojian*), reflected his nationalistic ideal. In this essay, Rong argued that the purpose of collecting and studying local dialects was to reform and modify the national language.[23] This probably echoed Hu Shi's idea that folklore literature was a rich source of insights for the new Chinese literature. As a new literature advocate, an educationalist, and at the same time a nationalist and a politician, Hu Shi never stated whether the national language and regional dialects should be ranked as a hierarchy, or which one should come first if such a hierarchy was designed. However, in actual effect, the educational policy which defended a single national language policy put regional dialects into an disadvantageous position. As a Dongguan native, it is understandable

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22 *Geyao zhoukan* (1923, No. 45, p. 6), Rong (1929b, p. 4).
23 Rong (1923, p. 1).

that all the folk-songs Rong contributed to the subsequent issues of *Folk-Song Weekly* were of Dongguan origin.[24] Yet to relate his opinions towards national language with his folksong-collecting activities, one might say that Rong' s interest in the Dongguan dialect folksongs was intended to serve his ultimate aim of perfecting a national language rather than manifesting his fondness of his own dialect.

Zhong Jingwen lacked a proper university training, but was equally nationalistic and progressive in his outlook. Zhong started as a school teacher at the small towns in his native county, Haifeng. In his early twenties, Zhong was captivated first by the May-Fourth literature and then the translated works of the English folklorists and French sociologists, which he later realized had already passed their heyday in Europe.[25] From time to time, Zhong contributed some local idioms and folk-songs he collected in Haifeng to the *Folk-Song Weekly*.[26] Using the journal as a means of correspondence, Zhong was among the many readers who wrote to Gu Jiegang frequently, showing his appreciation of Gu' s study on the Lady Meng Jiang story and his enthusiasm for folklore studies.[27]

The centre of folklore studies shifted southward when political turmoil in the north occurring between the years 1926 to 1931 drove a large number of renowned

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24 See *Geyao zhoukan* (23 December 1923, No. 38, pp. 2-8).

25 According to Zhong' s recent account, many Chinese folklorists and he himself, in the 1920s and early 1930s, were particularly influenced by the English anthropologists' theory of "cultural survivals", and realised only later that this theory at that time had already passed its heyday in Europe. See Zhong (1994, p. 2).

26 See *Geyao zhoukan* (1925, No. 78, pp. 7-8; No. 81. pp. 7-8; No. 85, pp. 7-8; and No. 92, , pp. 1-2).

27 *Geyao zhoukan* (1925, No. 79, pp. 1-2; No. 90, pp. 9-10; and No. 96, p. 3).

scholars to head south.[28] Guangdong University had been established in Guangzhou for only two years. Co-operating with the Communist party, the Guomindang government in Guangzhou was launching the Northern Expedition to fight against the military powers in the north in the name of achieving national unification. Claiming to be the only legitimate government of all China, the Guomindang authorities founded Guangdong University (Zhongshan University) in 1924, not to serve regional interests, but as an affirmation of national prominence vis-à-vis the government in the north.[29] As a new university in comparison to the long-established Peking and Tsinghua Universities in the north, Zhongshan University was, as presented by the Guomindang government in Guangzhou, distinguished as "a sacred place in commemoration of the Premier"; "the highest academic institution of the Revolution"; and "the cultural centre of South-west".[30] Having been assigned a new name and the new mission of "developing the intelligence of nation's citizen (*guomin*)" with "the spirit of national revolution",[31] Zhongshan University appeared

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28 In June 1927, Beijing was captured by Zhang Zuolin (1875-1928). Zhang appointed Liu Zhe (1880-1954) as the Minister of Education. Liu merged together nine higher institutions, including Peking University, and renamed the compound as Jingshi Daxuexiao. Liu also revised the teaching of classics. Moreover, the salaries of the staff at Peking University were not paid on a regular basis as the military government failed to provide adequate finances to the education sector. See Dong Nai (1981, pp. 8-9).

29 Guangdong University was renamed National Sun Yat-sen University (Guoli Zhongshan Daxue) in 1926.

30 Yu Yixin (1941, p. 3).

31 Huang Fuqing (1988, p. 40). In a public speech made at Zhongshan University in January 1930, Dai Jitao, then the chancellor of the university, even said that it was the responsibility of Zhongshan University, as a cultural centre in the revolutionary south, to bring a new civilization to the north, which had been culturally ruined for too long a time. See *Dai Jitao xiansheng wencun* (1959, Vol. 2, pp. 638-40).

to be fresh and energetic enough to attract new style scholars coming from the north who refused to submit to the Beijing government.

Yet behind the united motto of the university was a complicated picture of university and Guangdong politics, which evolved around an interplay of national and provincial identities, and which directly and indirectly posed a threat to the folklore movement in Guangdong.

When Gu Jiegang assumed the professorship and the head of the History Department of the Zhongshan University in October 1927, the university leadership had already undergone a transformation. On its founding in 1924, the Guangdong University was under the chancellorship of Zou Lu, who was a prominent member in Sun Yat-sen's government in Guangzhou as well as a member of the Central Executive Committee of the Guomindang. However, in 1925 Zou Lu was dismissed from the university chancellorship when he and some other Guomindang members launched an anti-Communist programme within the party. This was against the policy of the Guomindang at a time when the Guomindang was co-operating with the Chinese Communist Party to fight against the military powers in the north.

In 1926, a five-man board was appointed by the Guangzhou government to assume collective leadership of the university. Among the five members, Zhu Jiahua (1893-1963), who had previously served in Peking University and was currently a professor of geology at Zhongshan University, was the only man actually concerned with the affairs of the university. Zhu was soon assigned prominent position in the

Guangdong provincial government when it was re-organized under the chairmanship of Li Jishen (1886-1959) in 1927. He was named to a number of important positions including Acting Chairman of the Provincial Government Standing Committee and Commissioner of Civil Affairs. Three months later, Zhu was named Commissioner of Education and Vice Chancellor of Zhongshan University, of which Dai Jitao (1891-1949), previously an active member in the Sun Yat-sen's government and then a staunch follower of Jiang Jieshi, had been re-appointed Chancellor. In fact, Dai Jitao was one of those who supported Zou Lu's anti-Communist campaign, and it was said that he was saved from Guomindang's disciplinary action and was re-elected to the Central Executive Committee because he was backed by Jiang Jieshi. Although Dai was appointed Chancellor, he was frequently absent from Guangzhou and most of the university administration was left to Zhu Jiahua.

It was during the presence of Zhu Jiahua at Zhongshan University in that Gu Jiegang, Rong Zhaozu and Zhong Jingwen established in November 1927 the Folklore Society in Zhongshan University, and began a new journal, *Folk Literature and Art* (*Minjian wenyi*, which was then renamed *Folklore Weekly*, *Minsu zhoukan*, in March 1928). Although Zhu was obliged to leave the university by the end of 1927 and to assume some other official posts, as the university campus suffered extensive physical damage in an insurrection led by the Communists, he retained his vice-chancellorship of Zhongshan University and offered substantial support to Gu Jiegang and his folklore studies. According to Gu Jiegang's memoir, none of the requests he

made for buying facilities and for publications was rejected by Zhu Jiahua.[32] On a number of occasions, the publication of the "Collectanea on Folklore" (*Minsu congshu*) was hindered by some other lecturers who were hostile to Gu Jiegang and the folklore movement. With Zhu Jiahua's support, the publication of the "Collectanea on Folklore" and *Folklore Weekly* was able to continue.[33]

Though seldom concerned with the university affairs, Dai Jitao was invited by those who were hostile to Gu Jiegang and his group to intervene in the publication of books on folklore. When the Second Collection of Wu Songs, (*Wuge yiji*) compiled by Gu Jiegang was about to be published in May 1928, Zhong Jingwen, who had assisted Gu to edit the book was dismissed by Dai Jitao on the ground that it contained obscene and indecent songs. Zhong left the Zhongshan University in August 1928. Concurrently preparing for the establishment of the Central Party Affairs Institute, Dai always stressed the need for building a strong and orthodox party ideology based upon the Three People's Principles and traditional Chinese moral values.[34] Moreover, he also found Gu's opinion that Emperor Yu of the Xia dynasty was a mere legendary figure unacceptable, and proposed that the Chinese history textbooks compiled by Gu Jiegang, which were also adopted in the current curriculum, should be abolished.[35] Dai might not have stated clearly his stand

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32 In his autobiography, Gu Jiegang mentions without explanation that Zhu Jiahua was particularly kind to him. See Gu (1994, pp. 13-4). See also Wang Xuhua (forthcoming).
33 Wang Xuhua (forthcoming).
34 For a brief discussion on the life and political thought of Dai Jitao, see Mast III and Saywell (1974).
35 Zhong (1974, p. 82).

towards folklore studies, but was certainly someone who could be made use of by those who wanted to suppress folklore studies in the name of preventing the spread of vulgar customs and indecent literature.

Probably in view of the threats he faced, Gu Jiegang left Zhongshan University in February 1929. Rong Zhaozu remained as the person at the head of folklore studies in the university. In January 1930, in the name of abolishing superstition, the Social Bureau of Guangzhou Municipality confiscated more than five hundred statues of gods from various temples in the city. At that time, Rong Zhaozu was about to resign from Zhongshan University, but he managed to negotiate with the Social Bureau and obtained its permission to select more than two hundred statues of gods to be preserved in the university' s "exhibition room of objects of local customs" (*fengsupin chenlieshi*) as research materials for folklore studies. However, as Rong noted, because "of the words said by a certain faculty head to Dai Chuanxian [Dai Jitao]," that preserving the gods was equivalent to "preserving folk superstitions," "all the gods were ordered to be removed from the campus." Rong was so angry that he made up his mind to resign from the university. Who this "certain faculty head" was unknown.[36] What is clear is that three months later, the publication of the *Folklore Weekly* was also suspended. Liu Wanzhang (year of birth and death unknown), one of the regular contributors to the *Folklore Weekly*, stated in anger in the last issue of the *Folklore Weekly* that there was "a group of old and young ' antiques' , who fed upon ancient traditions were impossible to convert, who looked

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36 See Rong (1933, p. 18).

down upon and were hostile to folklore studies."[37] Zhu Jiahua, who officially succeeded Dai Jitao as the chancellor of the university in September 1930, was unable to do anything to help the folklorists. He was in fact about to leave Guangdong probably because, as a supporter of Jiang Jieshi, he was not being accepted by Chen Jitang's incoming regime, which was in opposition to Jiang. He nonetheless expressed sympathy towards the folklorists upon his leaving the Zhongshan University three months later. In a speech given to the students and staff in Zhongshan University for his departure, Zhu Jiahua said, "the *Folklore Weekly* published by the Folklore Society in the past was a worthwhile publication. Its publication should be revitalised by every possible means."[38]

The coming of Chen Jitang's regime headed by Guangdong politicians did not bring about better prospects for the development of folklore studies. Willing to co-operate with Chen Jitang in opposition to the Nanjing government, Zou Lu served on the standing committee of the Southwest Political Council in 1931 and regained the Zhongshan University chancellorship in 1932. After working in the Lingnan University for two and a half years, Rong Zhaozu returned to serve in the Department of Chinese in Zhongshan University in autumn 1932. However, in October 1932 Rong Zhaozu was transferred from the Department of Chinese to the Department of History because he opposed the idea of putting back classical studies into the university curriculum. This idea was suggested by Gu Zhi (1895-1959), formerly a

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37 See Liu Wanzhang (1930, p. 58).
38 Liang, Li and Zhang (1983, pp. 39-40). See *Guoli Zhongshan daxue ribao* (13 December 1930).

Tongmeng Hui member and currently a professor in Chinese at Zhongshan University, and was in turn an echo of the policy implemented by Zou Lu to appease Chen Jitang. Chen Jitang was at that time promoting a revival of classical studies in the name of supporting a similar policy launched by the Nanjing government.[39]

In fact, Confucian studies in Guangdong never quite suffered the destruction sought by the supporters of the May-Fourth Movement in Beijing and Shanghai.[40] In 1928, the University Council (Daxueyuan), a central administrative organ which replaced the Ministry of Education of the Nanjing Government briefly from 1927 to 1928, issued an order to suspend the twice-yearly ritual at the shrines of Confucius.[41] However, the University Council's order was immediately opposed by many provincial and local governments including those of Guangdong. In December 1928, the Guangdong Provincial Government ordered all schools to commemorate Confucius' birthday. By 1929 the mood of the national government towards ceremonies venerating Confucius had changed. From that year, the Ministry of

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39 Zhu Xizu (rep. 1979, Vol. 6, p. 3864). Rong Zhaozu expressed his complaints in a preface he wrote to the *Stories of Seven Men of Virtue from Chaozhou* (*Chaozhou qixian gushi*), one of the items of the "Collectanea on Folklore" published in 1933. See Lin Peilu (1933, preface, p. 6.)

40 During the early Republican period, the policies of the central government over the cult of Confucius were also controversial. In 1912, the celebration of Confucius' birthday was proclaimed. During the reign of Yuan Shikai (1913-16), the Minister of Internal Affairs ordered the restoration of the spring sacrifice to Confucius, and Confucian classics were put back into the curriculum. However, Confucianism was never established as a state religion, and even Yuan Shikai himself rejected such an idea. After the downfall of Yuan in 1916, the Parliament and the administration were inclined to abolish the provision for Confucian principles in the draft Constitution. When Cai Yuanpei became the principal of Peking University in 1916, he put an end to the privileged status of studying Confucian classics by placing it into the philosophy department side by side with various schools of western philosophy. See Young (1977, pp. 197, 203) and Wright (1960, p. 293).

41 Choi (1987, p. 266).

Education issued yearly schedules of ceremonies and holidays to be observed by all people, and these again included Confucius' birthday. [42]

Excluded from the Chinese Department, Rong Zhaozu probably gained some support from Zu Xizu (1879-1944), a professor on history who directed the Institute of Literature and History Studies (Wenshi Yanjiusuo) from November 1932 to January 1934. Rong chaired the Folklore Society again and the *Folklore Weekly* were revived in March 1933.[43] However, in about three months' time, the publication of the *Folklore Weekly* was terminated again and Rong Zhaozu eventually determined to leave Zhongshan University. "Having heard about [the news of Rong], I felt uncomfortable," Zhu Xizu noted on his diary. He then asked for details about Rong' s resignation from Zhu Qianzhi (1899-1972), the History Department head. The answer given by Zhu Qianzhi to Zhu Xizu was that "a certain director (*zhuren*) stated explicitly that he was opposed to the *Folklore Weekly*." Zhu concluded, Rong Zhaozu had been ousted by "those who were jealous of him," and that his resignation indicated "a confrontation between new and old, and the possibility that a revenge was taken by somebody in his personal interest."[44]

Rong Zhaozu, Zhu Xizu and Zhu Qianzhi never stated in their writings who exactly this "certain director" exactly was. It is not unreasonable to speculate that it might have been Gu Zhi, who currently served as the head of the Chinese Department

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42 Choi (1987, p. 266).
43 Zhu Xizu (1933, p. 1).
44 Zhu Xizu xiansheng wenji (1979, Vol. 6, p. 4156).

and was a staunch supporter of the revival of classical Chinese teaching. What is clear is that both Zhu Xizu and Zhu Qianzhi, as the heads of the Institute of Literature and History Studies and History Department respectively, were powerless to defend their colleagues. In fact, Zhu Xizu left Zhongshan University when he was offered another position by the Central University in Nanjing in January 1934. With the departure of Gu Jiegang, Zhong Jingwen and Rong Zhaozu, folklore studies in Guangdong promptly came to a halt.

According to Wolfram Eberhard, a German sociologist who was on good terms with the Chinese folklorists from the early 1930's, the Nationalist regime by 1929 had come to regard folklore "as a dangerous field," and the folklorists were accused of "violating the official dogma of a unified Chinese culture," because in the course of their field work in various parts of the country they "tended to emphasize local differences, even to isolate local subcultures."[45] From the government's point of view, nationalism always implied unification and standardisation, and regional particularism was to be suppressed. In the 1930s, these policies extended to the use of local dialects in cinema, and for a short time it seemed that Cantonese cinema was driven out of existence.[46]

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45 Schneider (1971, p. 149). Eberhard (1965, Introduction, p. xxxiv).

46 In the summer of 1936, the most threatening measure against the use of Cantonese vernacular came from the Central Committee for Film-Investigation (Zhongyang Dianying Jiancha Weiyuanhui) at Nanjing which announced that, for the purpose of further promoting national language, no regional dialectic films would be allowed to be produced any more. Cantonese films, even produced in Hong Kong or somewhere outside of Guangdong, were forbidden to be shown in Guangdong and Guangxi. This would have been a serious blow to the Hong Kong film-making business as it made much money from the Mainland markets. Petition delegates of the Films Association of South China (Hua' nan Dianying Xiehui) went to Nanjing

Nevertheless, the government officials had probably mistaken the sentiment of the Chinese intellectuals. It was never their intention to promote superstition, nor did they accentuate regional particularities. Rather, national unification was their foremost concern. It was nationalism, based on the concept of a more or less united "Chinese nation" (Zhonghua *minzu*), which dictated the concerns and rhetoric of the early twentieth century intellectuals and politicians of China.[47] In the process of seeking a new identity for their nation and themselves, the early Republican intellectuals found folklore a rich resources and even a basis for building up a new culture for a unified Chinese nation. In the process of pursuing their academic interests and political careers, consciously or unconsciously, they assigned a definition to the culture of Guangdong by means of including popular culture within the concept of culture. However, the hierarchical relationship between national and local identities remained unchanged. To the new Chinese intelligentsia, Chinese culture was more than the sum of all local cultures, indeed it was something superior, for deep in the core, local culture was of interest only as a nationalistic concern.[48] "Locality" was

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for negotiations. With the mediation of some Guangdong officials, the Central Committee for Film-Investigation decided in July 1937 to delay putting the directive into effect for another six years. According to the *Yuehua bao*, the ban was to last for six years while Wu Chufan, currently a Cantonese film star, recalled that it was for three years. In fact, the ban was never put into effect because the Sino-Japanese War broke out. See *Yuehua bao* (20 June 1937), Du (rep. 1986, Vol. 2, p. 33), Wu Chufan (1956, p. 81), and a short biography on Wu Chufan in *Zhuanji wenxue* (1933, Vol. 63, No. 1, p. 141).

47 For an early twentieth century discussion on the concept of "Zhonghua *minzu*" by Sun Yat-sen, see Sun (1924, p. 6 in the 1994 reprint). Sun almost equated the Chinese race to the Han race. He argued that in China, the total sum of the Mongols, the Manchus, the Tibetans, and the Turks is less than one million. Thus "for the most part, the four billion Chinese people can be said to be of the Han race with common blood, common language, common religion, and common customs. It is a single race."

48 The opinion that there was a "people's culture" was particularly evident among the writings of Gu Jiegang. See Gu (1928a, pp. 1-7; 1928b, p. 14).

the space within which they could investigate the common people and in them discover the essence of Chinese culture. A particular local identity was seldom what the Chinese intellectuals intended to emphasize, although they might have noticed some local particularities in their process of studying folk culture.

In fact, an assertion of a particular cultural identity does not necessarily attach to a territorial bond, although it rests very much on the support of local politics. In Guangdong, the most illustrative example of this is the Hakka people. We have already seen in Chapter two of this thesis that since the second half of the nineteenth century, an assertion of Hakka identity was simultaneously an affirmation of Han-Chinese identity. We will see in the following section how such a double affirmation grew out of an interest in folklore studies and was substantiated by academic interest and politics in the early Republic.

Hakka scholars and politicians

In 1930s' Guangdong, one of the most notable Hakka scholars who attempted to arrive at an academic proof of the Han-Chinese identity of the Hakka people was Luo Xianglin (1906-1978). Trained as a historian at the Tsinghua University from 1926 to 1932, Luo Xianglin was attracted by enthusiasm of the time for folklore studies and from that he built up his interest in Hakka folksongs and in the Hakka history. At the age of twenty-five, Luo published his earliest study of the ethnic composition of Hakka, entitled "A General Discussion on the Ethnic Groups in Guangdong" (*Guangdong minzu gailun*), in Zhongshan University's *Folklore*

Weekly. In the late 1930s, Luo became more and more involved in government affairs in Guangdong. An interest in the Hakka and a commitment to the Republican regime may have come together in his research on the Hakka origin of Sun Yat-sen. In 1933, he published a book entitled *An Introduction to the Study of Hakka* (*Kejia yanjiu daolun*), in which he asserted the Hakka origin of Sun Yat-sen.[49]

Despite the fact that the "A General Discussion on the Ethnic Groups in Guangdong" was one of his earliest works, it established Luo' s opinions about ethnic classification in Guangdong, and his subsequent works basically elaborated similar themes. In this essay, Luo categorised the ethnic groups in Guangdong into two major types, namely, Han and non-Han. He argued that the extant sub-groups within the Han included the Cantonese, the Chaozhou, and the Hakka. In terms of blood purity, the Cantonese people were least pure, for they inherited the blood of many non-Han groups including at least the Miao, Yao, Baiyi, Dan, but also Negroes, Persians, and Arabs. The blood of the Chaozhou was purer than that of the Cantonese, but even that was still mixed substantially with that of the She and the Dan minorities. Among the three Han ethnic groups, Luo asserted, the blood of the Hakka was comparatively the purest, although it might possibly have been mixed with the

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49 The same idea was further elaborated in another works of Luo, the *Investigation of the Genealogy of National Father* (*Guofu jiashi yuanliu kao*), published in 1942. Recent studies shows that Luo' s essay contains a lot of details which conflict with his own argument that Sun Yat-sen was a Hakka. See Qiu (1987) and (1990).

blood of the She.[50] The conclusion was, therefore, that in Guangdong the Hakka were closest to the Han.

Luo' s Han-chauvinism seems to us tautological, and his argument superficial. However, his way of reasoning emphasizing the importance of blood purity as a criterion for measuring the proportion of Han-ness of an ethnic group reflected the impact of the current academic fashion of physical anthropology and an interest in race as a research focus. However, it does not seem that Luo Xianglin had received any formal training in anthropology and ethnology. Like many other folklore enthusiasts of his time, his interest in studying the Hakka began with his interest in collecting and studying Hakka folk songs.[51] During his post-graduate study in history at Tsinghua University, there was no formal anthropology department or curriculum.[52] His supervisor, Chen Yinke, the Tang historian, might have guided him to pay attention to the ethnicity issue from a historical and cultural perspective, but his impressionistic knowledge of physical anthropology must have been taken from other sources which offered to him concepts and terms to express his proof of the Hakka's Han identity.

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50 Luo Xianglin (1929).

51 In 1928, Luo Xianglin organised a Hakka Folksong Research Society (Kejia Geyao Yanjiuhui) which Luo subsequently described as a not very vigorous group. See *Minsu zhoukan* (1928, No. 23-4, pp. 72-80; 1929, No. 77, pp. 52-5). During this period he was keen on collecting and analysing Hakka folksongs. He produced an essay on Hakka folksongs entitled "What is the [singing] fashion of Eastern Guangdong?" (*Shenme shi Yuedong zhi feng*?), which was then elaborated and published in 1928 as an individual volume entitled the *Folk-songs of Eastern Guangdong* (*Yuedong zhi feng*). See *Shou Luo Xianglin jiaoshou lunwen ji* (1970, p. 2).

52 Qinghua daxue xiaoshi bianxie zu (1981, pp. 172-80).

In the years of the 1910s and 1920s, theories of evolution dominated the academic community; they offered an explanation of the development of society. Preserving original physical purity was considered by some natural and social scientists as one of the ways to guarantee the best development of an ethnic group. Searching for original purity revolving around the concept of blood and other physical features of human beings thus emerged. In 1926, Liang Boqiang, a medical student graduated from Germany, published an essay in the *Oriental Magazine* (*Dongfang zazhi*), arguing that the Han race was "purer" in the south, and the purest of all in Guangdong province, as the people there had never intermarried with barbarians.[53] Whether Luo Xianglin had read articles as such is unknown, but it is not unreasonable to speculate that his concern for blood purity originated from similar assumptions.

Western studies on the Hakka people probably served as another source of insight for Luo Xianglin. "The Hakkas are the cream of Chinese people" -- a statement put forward by George Campbell, a missionary who had lived among the Hakka people for some time, and then quoted by Ellsworth Huntington (1876-1947) in his *Character of Races*, became a favourite citation used by Luo Xianglin from time to time.[54] Huntington, an American geographer who spent one and a half years

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53 Dikötter (1992, p. 135). See Liang Boqiang (1926). In this essay, Liang equated the "Chinese nation" with the "Han race".

54 This sentence was cited by Luo in one of his early letter to the *Minsu zhoukan* published in 1928. See *Minsu zhoukan* (1928, No. 33, pp. 5-25). It was again quoted in his essay entitled "A General Discussion on the Ethnic Groups in Guangdong" (*Guangdong minzu gailun*) published in the same journal in 1929; and than in another article of his, "An Investigation of the Origins of the Hakka" (*Kejia yuanliu kao*), published in 1950. Huntington's book was published in 1924.

in India, China and Siberia in the middle of the year 1900,[55] believed in a triadic causation for human progress operating among three factors, namely, climate, the quality of people, and culture. He sought to reveal that physical environment, such as climatic circumstances, brought about migration and facilitated or obstructed the advance of culture.[56] How far Luo Xianglin understood Huntington' s idea is unclear, but Huntington' s book was certainly one of his major references for Hakka studies and his positive comments on the Hakkas were Luo' s favourite cited evidence from a foreigner's point of view.

Luo' s studies on the Hakka, backed up by academic "objectivity", became an authority arguing for Hakka ethnic purity.[57] Luo Xianglin' s contribution in exploring the history of the Hakka and other racial groups in south China is undeniable, but his motivation and viewpoints were also shaped by his own identity and the academic paradigm of his time. Luo' s dual positions in political and cultural fields reflect their complementary role: while political participation helped in fighting for the interests of a certain group, the academic pursuit, which was supposedly "neutral and scientific" in the eyes of most scholars at the turn of the twentieth century, helped to fix the reality in a written form.

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55 *Who was who in American* (1950, Vol. 2, p. 272).
56 *Dictionary of American Biography, Supplement Four 1946-50* (1974, pp. 412-4).
57 For Hakka scholars who preceded Luo in asserting the Han origin of Hakka ethnicity and Hakka dialect, see Gu Zhi (1929).

Side by side with Luo's academic pursuits was the rise of both the organisational strength of Hakka associations and of the political influence of some Hakka individuals. Associations allying the Hakka people flourished in the early Republic. Branches of the United Association of the Hakka People (Keshu Datonghui) were established in Beijing, Shanghai and Guangzhou by 1920. In 1921, the Tsung Tsin Association (Chongzheng Zonghui) was founded in Hong Kong to organise and co-ordinate activities for Hakka people in Hong Kong and Guangdong. From 1921 to 1932, Lai Jixi (1865-1937), the late Qing elder who headed the classical education of Hong Kong University, was continuously elected the chairman of the Tsung Tsin Association.[58] Having been involved in the compilation of 1920 edition of *Chixi County Gazetteer* and the 1921 edition of *Zengcheng County Gazetteer*, Lai took part in re-writing the history of the Hakka people by consciously asserting their Han-origins or the northern root of the Hakka language, and by speaking against the anti-Hakka opinions that had appeared in previous local gazetteers.[59]

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58 Yitang (Luo Xianglin) (1950, pp. 28-39).

59 In the 1920 edition of *Chixi County Gazetteer*, the Hakka people who died in the 1854 Red Turban Revolt and in the battles fought between the Hakka and the natives afterwards were described as martyrs and brave men ("*keyong*"). This was almost impossible to find in the other gazetteers of the Cantonese-speaking regions compiled in the Qing dynasty. See *Chixi xianzhi* (1920, j. 8). The account in the *Chixi County Gazetteer* may be read in contrast to the 1893 edition of the *Xinning County Gazetteer*, which described the Hakka people who participated in the battle as bandits ("*kefei*", "*kezei*"). See *Xinning xianzhi* (1893, j. 14, pp. 22a-37b). The contrast is due to the fact that Chixi county was part of Xinning county before 1867. It was then established in order to separae the Hakka people from the natives (*bendi*) in Xinning county after the battles fought between the two hostile groups had ceased. In the 1921 edition of *Zengcheng County Gazetteer* compiled, again, by Lai Jixi, the negative comments on the Hakka language which appeared in previous editions were removed. See *Zengcheng xianzhi* (1921, j. 1, p. 43b). I have already quoted the negative comments on the Hakka language in chapter three from the 1754 and 1820 editions of *Zengcheng xianzhi*. In 1925, Lai compiled a *Genealogy of the People of the Tsung Tsin Association* (*Chongzheng tongren xipu*) which,

From time to time, Hakka associations co-operated with prominent Hakka politicians in making protests whenever their ethnic dignity was offended. For example, in 1920, a textbook entitled *Geography of the World* compiled by R. D. Wolcott provoked many attacks from the Hakka people, as the author stated in the book that the Hakka people were a barbarian tribe. The publisher of this geography textbook, the Commercial Press (Shangwu Yinshu Guan), later agreed to amend the contents and terminate the sale of all those copies which contained the original defamatory wordings.[60] In July 1929, two essays printed in the *Construction Weekly* (*Jianshe zhoubao*), an official journal published by the Construction Office (Jianshe Ting) of the Guangdong Provincial Government, contained elements which the Hakka people found insulting. After bargaining in which the Tsung Tsin Association and some prominent Hakka men such as Chen Jitang and Zou Lu were involved, Chen Mingshu (1889-1965), who himself was a Hakka and currently the chairman of the Provincial government, agreed to degrade the editor of the journal and have him apologise for the fault. After the incident, Gu Zhi, who was the head of the Department of Chinese at Zhongshan University and who was himself a Hakka, wrote an essay called "Answering the queries about the Hakka People" (*Keren dui*), criticising the natives (*bendiren*, i.e., the Cantonese) for applying bizarre ethnic labels to the Hakka people.[61]

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following more or less the format of a local gazetteer, records the customs, languages, lineages, literature, performance in imperial examinations and the biographies of the Hakka people in Guangdong.

60 See Yitang (Luo Xianglin) (1950, pp. 2-3, 11-12).

61 See *Chongzheng gongshang zonghui yi'an bu* (No. 5, dated 4, 14, 22, 26 August; 10 September, 1930). See Yitang (Luo Xianglin) (1950, pp. 11-12). Gu Zhi (1930).

The involvement of individual Hakka people in politics since the 1911 Revolution was equally impressive. When the Republican government was established in 1912, Qiu Fengjia, a Hakka born in Taiwan, became the Education Minister of the military government of Guangdong and concurrently Guangdong's representative to the Shanghai conference for the establishment of a central government.[62] From the 1920's to 1940's, prominent political figures of Guangdong such as Chen Jiongming, Guangdong Civil Governor and Commander-in-Chief of Guangdong Forces in 1921 and 22; Zou Lu, a member of the Guomindang Central Executive Committee in 1924, the Chancellor of Zhongshan University at various times, and a member of the South-western Political Council; Chen Mingshu, the chairman of the Guangdong Provincial Government from 1928 to 1931, and Chen Jitang, the chairman of South-west Political Council which dominated the politics, economics and military of Guangdong from 1931 to 1935, were all Hakka people.

If we take Hakka affiliation into consideration as one of the factors in the appointment of institutional personnel, we may not be too surprised to find that during the chancellorship of Zou Lu, many of the staff and lecturers appointed to Zhongshan University, like Luo Xianglin, were Hakka people. It was also said that Zou gained the chancellorship of the Zhongshan University and simultaneously the membership of the South-western Political Council because of his ethnic affiliation with Chen Jitang. However, it was also said that Zou Lu was not on good terms with Chen Jitang

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62 For details about Hakka involvement in the 1911 Revolution and early Republican politics, see Leong (1985, pp. 309-17).

and the first chancellor appointed to the Zhongshan University during the rule of Chen Jitang was Xu Chongqing (1888-1969), who had long been involved in the provincial educational affairs and was said to be more controllable. Such speculations would be hard to prove. Yet the fact that Chen Jitang established a Rangqin University in 1934 and a Xuehai Academy in 1935, and that he attempted to put the secondary school attached to the Zhongshan University under the direct control of the Guangdong government in 1936, suggest Chen's suspicion of Zou Lu. [63]

Anthropology provides an academic and scientific language for such Hakka scholars as Luo Xianglin to continue the late Qing assertion of the Han-Chinese identity of Hakka. Although the Hakka politicians might or might not find asserting their Hakka identity the best strategy for pursuing their political careers, their support was crucial for mobilizing resources to defend Hakka dignity. Luo Xianglin himself, as a scholar and as a politician, was a good demonstration of how academic studies and politics co-operated with each other to affirm the ethnic dignity of his own dialect group.

The triumph of nationalism

Both the Republican politicians and intelligentsia shared a similar concern in searching for relevant substance to sustain the new Chinese national identity they perceived. Whereas the central and regional politicians looked into the antiquity and

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63 See Zeng Jiwei (1965), Qiu Ping (1964), and Zhu Qianzhi (1993, p. 31).

found their solution in the high Confucian culture; the university scholars went down to the rural areas to find stimulation out of the low culture. However, the pro-Republican politicians were not exactly revivalists because they no longer considered Confucianism as an end on its own right; nor were the university scholars regionalists as they never studied local culture for its own sake. In a sense, both the antiquated high culture and the regional low culture were similarly utilized for the purpose of serving the national goal.

Having been utilised to serve a national goal, regional culture was never used to constitute a cultural strategy accompanying the political strategy of grasping regional autonomy and claiming ethnic superiority. To maintain their provincial autonomy, the Guangdong politicians did not need to emphasize their provincial cultural uniqueness. They simply followed Nanjing's policy of asserting that Confucian culture was part of the Chinese culture and that their province must adhere to the central government policy of holding Confucianism with the highest esteem. Similarly, to assert their ethnic integrity, the Hakka leaders did not need to emphasize their cultural particularities. They asserted their ethnic integrity by stressing their Han-identity and their linkage to the national father, Sun Yat-sen. National identity, political loyalty, regional sovereignty, as well as ethnic integrity, were secured in the same process. The nation had become the ultimate end to serve. If the importance of a national identity overwhelmed all the other identities in the Republican China, would local identity still survive? This is the major question to be asked in the following chapter.

Chapter Six

Regional identity
from a county' s perspective

During the Republic, gazetteers continued to be places where local cultural identity was revealed. However, at this time, the contemporary intelligentsia tended to emphasize the supremacy of nationalism. This affected the language and content of the Republican gazetteers. This chapter looks at the 1948 edition of *Gaoyao County Gazetteer* (*Gaoyao xianzhi*) as a case study to examine the impact of the nationalist movement on the expression of regional consciousness from a county' s perspective.[1]

In this chapter, I shall first describe a Republican county gazetteer and how it differed from its previous counterparts. Then, through an analysis of the compilers, I attempt to explain why a Republican gazetteer was presented in this way. I shall argue that, notwithstanding the triumph of nationalism, the expression of a local identity was well incorporated in the articulation of the Chinese national identity.

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1 According to the *Zhongguo difangzhi lianhe mulu* (1985, pp. 709-10), the various editions of the *Gaoyao County Gazetteer* preceding the Republican one include the 1673, 1826, 1863 and the 1938 editions. The details recorded in the 1938 edition were up until 1911.

Gaoyao county -- its position in Guangdong

Gaoyao county is situated to the west of Guangzhou city. Its total area is approximately 2,800 square kilometres.[2] In 1947, its total population was estimated at 460,000,[3] the majority of which was Cantonese-speaking. With the Xijiang River flowing across its centre from west to east, Gaoyao lies on the meeting point of the main Guangdong-Guangxi route. Military action, first among the warlords (from 1922 to 1923), then with Japanese troops (from 1938 to 1945), took place there and caused heavy casualties.

Zhaoqing has always been the most important city in the county. In the Qing dynasty, it was the site of both the county and the prefectural governments. During the early Republic, Zhaoqing retained its administrative importance and had under its purview various counties in addition to Gaoyao. In 1936, the Nanjing government divided Guangdong into nine administrative districts. Zhaoqing was the site of the government of the Third Administrative District, governing Gaoyao and eleven other counties. From 1936 to 1938, the Administrative Supervisor (Xingzheng Ducha

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2 *Guangdong jingji nianjian* (1941, p. A114).
3 *Gaoyao xianzhi* (1948, p. 38); according to report of county government.

Zhuanyuan) of the Third Administrative District acted as the magistrate of Gaoyao county as well.

Because of the unstable political situation of the province, the operation of local self-government in Gaoyao was unlikely to go smoothly. Local assemblies were set up and abolished as the warlords rose and fell. From 1914 to 1921 and occasionally in 1925, the duties of self-government were taken up by the Binxing Bureau,[4] which was established in the late Qing and functioned as a meeting place for local leaders. The bureau' s income came from various sources, including land rents, shop rents, and charges from the pig-market. By sponsoring local education, the members of the bureau were able to gain official patronage and their interests were therefore protected against government interference.[5] In 1923, the leadership of local administration was so confused that two magistrates served concurrently in Gaoyao when both the Guangdong and Guangxi warlords separately appointed their subordinates to the county. The dispute was finally settled by force between the

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4 Literally, "*bin*" means guest, "*xing*" means promote. "*Binxing*" means raising the virtuous people and entertaining them as guests at banquets. The term is borrowed from the *Rites of Zhou* (*Zhou li*) referring to the ceremony by which local officials entertained the imperial examination candidates of a locality as guests at banquets. Therefore, "Binxing Bureau" here refers to the organization run by the gentry. See Chang (1955, p. 41, note 166).

5 For the relationship between schools and communal gentry activities, see Wakeman (1966), part three; Siu (1989, pp. 67-71) .

warlords. Dual-leadership appeared again when Zhaoqing was occupied by Japanese troops from 1944 to 1945. The county government was forced to move away from Zhaoqing to the market towns in the county; and Japanese troops established the Committee for Public Order (*weichi weiyuanhui*) and appointed collaborators to facilitate their rule.

The compilation of the 1948 edition of *Gaoyao County Gazetteer* started in 1935 and the completed version was published around 1948.[6] This was the period when Guangdong was under the control of the Nanjing government. The standpoint of the Nanjing government was inevitably an important reference point for any gazetteer compiler of the time.

Language and Contents

The 1948 *Gaoyao County Gazetteer* is, in many ways, an attempt to present a modern view of the county in a traditional format. The compilers clearly had some ideas of the direction in which they would have liked to see their county move, but the

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6 There is no date of publication stated in the gazetteer, but its epilogue was written in 1948. See *Gaoyao xianzhi* (1948, p. 937).

tension between tradition and the acceptable mode of society is apparent in the presentation of the county record.

The organization of the county gazetteer provides an example of this. Table 6. 1 lists the titles of all the chapters of three editions of Gaoyao County Gazetteer, of 1826, 1938 and 1948 respectively. The contents of the Republican edition shown in the table do not differ substantially from the previous editions, but the difference in terminology is unmistakable. The 1948 *Gaoyao County Gazetteer* contains a number of chapters which are not present in the former two editions, and the titles of some chapters have also been changed. For instance, the chapter on the local economy is entitled "finance" (*caiji*) instead of the old term, "food and commodities" (*shihuo*). While in the 1826 and 1938 editions, the section on local customs only occupies a few pages in the chapter on geography, in the 1948 edition it has become a whole chapter and occupies more than fifty pages. Unlike previous editions, the chapter on local people in the 1948 edition contains only a table of graduates and officials, instead of numerous biographies.

Table 6. 1 Comparison of the table of contents of the 1948, 1938 and 1826 editions of the *Gaoyao County Gazetteer*

1948	1938	1826
1. Major events	Past events	Past events
2. Geography	Geography	Geography
3-5. Surnames and lineages	-----	-----
6. Political system	Administration	Administration
7-9. Financial planning	Food and commodities (tax, official salaries, salt, granaries)	Administration (tax official salaries, salt, granaries)
10. Production	Food and commodities (industries and local produce)	Geography (local produce)
11. Dyke-building and Flood Control	Geography (dyke-building and flood-control)	Flood-control
12. Education	Schools	Construction (schools) Administration (education system)
13. Rituals and local customs	Geography (local customs)	Geography (local customs)
14. Party affairs	-----	-----
15. Societies and associations	-----	-----
16. Religion	-----	-----
17. Construction	Construction	Construction
18. Transport and Communication	Administration (postal services)	-----
19. Relief	Administration (relief)	Administration (relief)
20. People (table of graduates and officials)	People, Imperial examination results, Eminent officials	People, Imperial examination results, Eminent officials
21. Art and literature	Art and literature	-----
22. Record of military affairs	-----	-----
23. Origins of former county gazetteer and the compilation of the Republican edition	An account of the compilation of the county gazetteer (*shimoji*, from beginning to end)	-----

The use of the new terminology is also found in various chapters of the gazetteer, as is the citing of Chinese and foreign references. However, using new terminology does not necessarily imply that the users themselves understood the

meaning of the terms in their original contexts, or that the users adopted the terms on a habitual basis. In the chapter on the economy, the compilers discuss the meaning of economics and mention Adam Smith, although none of his works is cited. However, they interpret the term "economics" (*jingji*) by drawing a parallel between the Western understanding of economics and the ancient Chinese concept of "*jingji*".[7] To describe the agricultural sector, the term "*nongmin*" (peasant) is also newly adopted. The rural population is divided into such categories as "landlords" (*tianzhu*), "owner-cultivators" (*zigengnong*), "part-owners" (*ban zigengnong*), "tenants" (*diannong*).[8] Such terms originated from socialist ideas for analyzing society and were commonly used by Chinese sociologists from the 1920s.[9] However, these terms were not consistently applied in the gazetteer. They can only be found in the chapters on the economy the information for which comes mainly from government reports. Whereas in other chapters, "*xianren*" (county people), "*xiangmin*" (villagers) and "*yiren*" (county people) are more commonly used to describe the anonymous masses.

In the chapter on religion, to argue that ancestor-worship fell into the category of religion, the compilers cited a 1902 Chinese translation of a Japanese work, in

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7 *Gaoyao xianzhi* (1948, p. 277). The compilers held the opinion that two characters "*jingji*" were customarily used in China to refer separately to "*jingguo*" and "*jishi*". (literally, to govern the country and to fulfil the needs of the time).

8 *Gaoyao xianzhi* (1948, pp. 447-8).

9 For example, the economic survey conducted by John Lossing Buck in the 1920s, (published in 1930); and the social survey conducted by Sidney Gamble and Li Jinghan in Ding county, Hebei, from 1926 to 1933, (published in separate volumes in the 1930s), in which they had adopted the socialist terminology to classify land ownership. For an overall review of social surveys conducted in China in the early Republic, including the works of Buck, Gamble and Li, see Fried (1954).

which the term "*zuxianjiao*" (ancestor cult) was coined to describe ancestor-worship.[10] To distinguish popular Daoism (Daojiao) from the philosophical school of Daoism (Daojia), they employed the following terms to criticize the popular Daojiao practice:

> The Daoism practised by later generations is mixed with *polytheist* (*duoshen de*) *magic* (*moshu*) and *demonology* (*moerxue*).... This is the reason for the rise of evil temples and worship.... In the modern period, with the decline of *divine right* (*shenquan*), more of these temples have been demolished day by day and Daoism has gradually declined.... When education has not been popularized, scientific knowledge has not been widely extended, the intelligence of the people has not been opened up, custom has not been reformed, moral rule has not been accomplished, and legal rule has not been established, it is natural that *the divine way* (*shendao*) continues to exist and fulfils its functions. (My italics)[11]

Employing an orthodox-heterodox dichotomy to distinguish those beliefs and practices they found acceptable from those they found distasteful had been a long-established practice among the traditional literati. The 1948 *Gaoyao County Gazetteer* compilers expressed the same dichotomy in the terms imported into China by the end of the nineteenth century. In the first place, the term "*zongjiao*" was already the Chinese pronunciation of the *kanji* neologism originally invented by Japanese

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10 See *Gaoyao xianzhi* (1948, p. 674). The book they cited, entitled, *A Discussion on the History of Chinese Civilization* (*Shina bummeishi ron*), was written by a Japanese scholar, Nakanishi Ushiro. It was translated into Chinese and published by the Putongxue Shushi in Shanghai 1902. See Tan Ruqian (1980, p. 452).

11 *Gaoyao xianzhi* (1948, pp. 754-5).

Westernizers to translate the term "religion".[12] Other terms, like "*duoshen de*", "*moerxue*" and "*shenquan*" were also very likely terms transplanted from Japan around the same time. However, the compilers probably had to rely on a mixture of the terms they found modern and those they learnt from their old school texts, though they might not have a profound understanding of either. It is thus no wonder that the term "*shendao*", a term that appeared in as early a text as the *Book of Change* (*Yijing*), and which may be interpreted to mean the "natural order", was also applied to describe superstition.[13]

In fact, most of the reference books cited in the 1948 *Gaoyao County Gazetteer* which apparently gave it a "new" look were late nineteenth or early twentieth century publications. Examples are the 1900 *Local Record of Shenzhou* (*Shenzhou fengtuji*), written by a late Qing education reformer, Wu Rulun (1840-1903); and the 1904 *A General Interpretation of the Society* (*Shehui tongquan*), a work translated by Yan Fu (1854-1921), the noted translator and promoter of Western learning in the late Qing, based on the English book *A History of Politics*.[14] Citing these books in the late Qing probably might be a matter of fashion. Continuing to use

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12 Cohen (1991, p. 129).

13 According to Huang and Zhang (1990, p. 173), the term "*shendao*" appearing in the *Yijing* means natural order. James Legge translated the term similarly as "the spirit-like way of Heaven" and explained that it meant "the invisible and unfathomable agency ever operating by general laws, and with invariable regularity, in what we call nature". See Legge (1899, p. 230 in the 1963 reprint).

14 *A History of Politics* was originally written by an English scholar, Edward Jenks (1861-1939).

them almost half a century later only indicated that the users themselves were already out of fashion.

The compilers certainly wished to present their understanding of their society in terms which had become fashionable in the Republic, but the contents of the gazetteer reveal that their ideology was more similar to that of the late Qing or even earlier. Obviously, changes in terminology do not necessarily imply changes in thought. To understand why there is such a tension existing between modernity and tradition the county gazetteer compilers, we have to distinguish what kind of modern intellectual model the compilers were dealing with, and what kind of traditional background they came from.

The Gaoyao intelligentsia

The gazetteer' s chapter on local people provides an opportunity to understand the compilers' image of a successful Republican person. In that chapter, the compilers affirmed that the university "cultivated talents for the nation" and "educational qualifications were the most important criteria for appointment to ordinary posts and designating official positions".[15] This statement is then followed by a table of graduates and officials. Among the 613 people in the table, 513 were listed with their educational background, with more than half of them having a university education. This suggests that forty-three years after the abolition of the

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15 *Gaoyao xianzhi* (1948, p. 791).

imperial examination, a Western-style university and college education background had replaced an imperial examination degree as the new yardstick for assessing personal achievement in China.

Nonetheless, there was a gap between the educational background of the new elite of the county and that of the compilers themselves. Table 6. 2 summarizes the information available in the county gazetteer about the education levels and careers of the compilers. As indicated in the table, all the compilers were degree-holders during the Qing dynasty. Moreover, all but one obtained only a junior title -- two were senior licentiates (*gongsheng*), two were stipendiary students (*linsheng*) and one was a supplementary student (*fusheng*). The latter two types of student had been given only the preliminary status for participating in the provincial examination and did not even have their names recorded in the state examination result in the 1938 edition of *Gaoyao County Gazetteer*.[16] The only provincial graduate (*juren*) was the head of the county gazetteer compilation office. One of the Qing degree-holders among the staff was also a graduate of the modern school set up during the late Qing education reform.

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16 Although both the licentiates (*shengyuan*) and the senior licentiates (*gongsheng*) were eligible for entering the provincial examination, the senior licentiates were usually those chosen among the licentiates with noteworthy achievements at the regular examinations or with other qualities such as age or virtuous character. In other words, the requirements for being a senior licentiate were supposedly higher than those for being a licentiate. This is possibly why the table of imperial examination results in the 1938 edition of *Gaoyao County Gazetteer* does not include the names of licentiates.

Table 6. 2 Education and career background of the compilers

Education/ Careers	Compilers (Total = 6)	Reporters/ Staff (Total = 18)
Qing degree-holders	6	5
Graduates of modern schools	0	7
Principals or teachers	3	4
Government officials	5	4
County assemblymen	6	4
Other public posts	3	7

With regard to their careers, three of the compilers and one reporter were the principals of the four most important schools in Gaoyao, including two secondary schools and two normal schools. Two of them had teaching experience in a translation school for overseas Chinese in Japan.[17] Two of them had been the heads of the Education Bureau of Gaoyao and Yingde county. Some of them had also been the magistrates of other counties or chiefs or secretaries in various government departments or offices. Furthermore, all the compilers were at one time or another local assembly members. Some of them also occupied such public positions as village heads, or served on the various committees for managing local cultural and financial affairs.

The careers of Chen Debin (year of birth and death unknown) and Liang Zanshen (1874-1961) provide an illustration of the close involvement of the compilers in local affairs. Chen Debin wrote most of the chapters of the gazetteer concerning current politics, that is, the chapters on major events, on the political system, and on military affairs, while Liang was responsible for the chapters on geography, rituals

17 Whether they were teaching translation or subjects in Chinese in a translation school was unknown.

and local customs, local produce and people. Chen was a stipendiary student in the late Qing. Early in 1915, he was already involved in the compilation work for the 1938 edition of the *Gaoyao County Gazetteer*. In addition to being the principal of Zhaoqing Provincial Secondary School, he was also the head of the Education Bureau of Gaoyao and a member of the financial management committee of the Board of the Binxing Association (Binxing Guan Dongshihui).[18] He also took charge of setting up the Mass Education Association (*minzhong jiaoyu guan*). In addition to his own involvement in educational affairs, one of his sons was the secretary of the Guangdong Education Department. Besides being a member of the county assembly, he had also served outside the county as the Intendent of Lingnan circuit, an administrative position between the provincial and county governments, and as magistrate of Nanxiong county.

Chen Debin was the principal of Zhaoqing Provincial Secondary School when the May-Fourth Movement was at its climax and his students had allied with other secondary or normal school students to form the United Student Union of Zhaoqing. The students organized a series of demonstrations. and two of them were dismissed by Chen because, on record at least, they complained that lunches were no longer

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18 The Binxing Guan Dongshihui was established in 1935 to take the place of the Binxing Ju, and it took over the management of the properties formally held by the Binxing Ju and Binxing Guan. Although both the Binxing Ju and Binxing Guan served a similar purpose of being a meeting place for local leaders to settle their conflicts over economic interests, it should be noted that they were two separate bodies. The Binxing Guan was established in 1854 and gradually declined during the early Republic, while the Binxing Ju was established in 1885. It was subsequently abolished and then re-established between the years 1912 and 1935. See *Gaoyao xianzhi* (1948, pp. 657-60).

provided when they returned to school from demonstrations.[19] This incident suggests that an antagonistic relationship existed between Chen Debin and his students during the May-Fourth Movement. At that time, both the Beijing and the Guangdong governments were hostile to the student activities. On 31st May, 1919, the Governor of Guangdong Province issued a telegram requiring principals to stop all anti-Japanese movements in schools so as to avoid any damage to Sino-Japanese relations.[20] Chen's decision to dismiss the students was probably a result of his conformity with such directives.

Liang Zanshen was a late Qing provincial graduate. He taught history and ethics in the Zhaoqing Prefectural Secondary School which was created from the Duanxi (Duan River) Academy during the late Qing educational reforms. He had also experience in teaching at various modern vocational schools at the provincial level. From 1920 on, Liang became the principal of the Guangzhou-Zhaoqing-Luoding Agricultural School (Guang-Zhao-Luo Jiazhong Nongye Xuetang), which was renamed the Fourth Provincial Normal School (Shengli Disi Shifan) in 1923. Liang remained its principal until 1945.[21] During this period, Liang attempted to affect educational affairs at a provincial level. In December 1928, he submitted a proposal to the current Ministry of Education of Guangdong to ban the practice of Cantonese

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19 Zheng and He (1979).

20 See "Guangdong dujun Mo Rongxin, shengzhang Zhai Wang, shenghui jingchating tingzhang Wei Bangping deng zhenya Guangdong Wusi yundong de baogao, handian" (1979).

21 Liang Xu (1985, pp. 43-53). Interview with Mr Liang Xu, the son of Liang Zanshen, dated 19 August 1992.

music and opera in schools because they were vulgar and obscene. On the same occasion, he suggested that co-education and having boys and girls performing drama on the same stage should be prohibited.[22]

As managers of local educational affairs, the compilers showed a particular interest in the culture and education of the county people. Having lamented the decay of local culture, they suggested that the solution for reforming local customs was to construct a new ritual order from the selective adoption of both Chinese and Western knowledge. For the Chinese part, Confucianism remained the major guideline. Quotations from Confucian works can be found throughout the county gazetteer. Despite the fact that science and mathematics textbooks were included in the "Miscellaneous" section of the chapter on art and literature, demonstrating the scientific and modern aspects of Gaoyao culture, classics and history (*jingshi*) was still placed at the top of the list in the same chapter. Confucian classics were, of course, given the first priority.

Despite the decline in the status of Confucianism in the Republic, the compilers explicitly expressed their adherence to Confucianism in the county gazetteer, which fitted well with the Nanjing government's policy. The Nanjing government never totally disapproved of Confucianism. After the downfall of Chen Jitang, the military leader who dominated the military and administration of Guangdong from 1929 to 1936, the Nanjing government abolished the spring and

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22 See *Guangdong jiaoyu gongbao* (1928, Vol. 1, No. 6. pp. 88-9)

autumn sacrifices but retained the commemoration on Confucius' birthday. In 1948, it even revived the cult of Confucius once again.[23]

Also important to the attitude expressed in the county gazetteer was the New Life Movement (*xin shenghuo yundong*), the ideas promoted in which were flexible enough to fit in with the traditional ideas held by the compilers. This national campaign initiated by the Nanjing government in 1934 became an authoritative reference for reforming society. The compilers elaborated the significance of the movement in the following terms:

> Since the regime has been established, [the country] is recovering from destruction, and civilization is advancing day by day. Gradually, social customs have been transformed and the people's livelihood has become more prosperous.... But [some people] are extravagant beyond control, some are too frugal without balance, some do not adapt to the hygienic [habits] and some do not follow the regulations and order. [All these are] frequent occurrences. In recent years the government has promoted the "New Life Movement".... *In realistic terms, [the movement is aimed at] the rationalization of the lives of our nationals (guomin), based on the established virtues of the Republic of China, which are propriety, righteousness, modesty and a sense of shame....* Our county has set up the Society for Promoting the New Life Movement in the 25th year of the Republic [1936] to implement [the

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23 See Choi (1987, p. 267). I have already discussed in chapter five the government's attitude towards Confucian worship in the early Republic.

> movement]. Since then, many people recognize the importance of "new life".[24] (My italics)

The words in italics in the above paragraph were written by Jiang Jieshi in an official document issued during the New Life Movement.[25] In the document, Jiang Jieshi explained that the content of New Life Movement actually did not embody anything new, it only required people to "rationalize" their daily lives according to the established virtues of China -- traditional Confucian values were being reinterpreted by the Guomindang authorities for contemporary political purposes and usage. As Arif Dirlik points out, the New Life Movement was not a reaffirmation of tradition. Its "conservatism was the conservatism of modern counterrevolution."[26]

According to Jiang, the "rationalization" of the lives of the Chinese nationals was directed against the weakness of the character of Chinese people which resulted in their bad customs and habits and accounted for the underdevelopment of China. Under the rule of the Republican government, people were required by the state to take up the role of "nationals" (*guomin*). Anything described as "national" (*guo*) implied a universal concern. This term was used to rationalize the lives of people so that they could be governed as a collective body rather than as individuals. Jiang pointed out that the "rationalization" of the lives of nationals should be achieved by transforming lives from at least three perspectives, namely, "aestheticization",

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24 *Gaoyao xianzhi* (1948, p. 683).
25 See Jiang (1935, p. 87); it is obvious that the compilers copied the whole paragraph from his speech.
26 Dirlik (1975, p. 968).

"productivization", and "militarization". Being himself a military man, Jiang Jieshi stressed that the militarization aspect was the most fundamental. He affirmed that the New Life Movement was a militarization movement which aimed at standardizing people' s spirit and behaviour, so that they would be prepared to sacrifice themselves for the nation.[27] In short, the best way to run the country, according to the Guomindang government, was to run it like an army, and soldiers were the most suitable models for the Chinese nationals.

The emphasis on the military was a product of the elevation of the status of military men that had been building up from the late Qing into the Republic.[28] Thus it is not surprising that the most noticeable feature of the chapter on local people in the 1948 *Gaoyao County Gazetteer* is that, out of the 513 people who were listed with their educational background, one-fifth had had military training. Out of the 230 people who were listed with their official positions, more than three quarters were military men. By contrast, in the earlier county gazetteers, only military degree-holders (*wu juren*) were listed and ordinary military men were seldom referred to by name. Military men were also paid high respect as local figures to be sacrificed to. In the 1920s, the "Hall for the Martyrs of Zhaoqing Army" (Zhaojun Zhonglie Ci) was established by the former commander of Zhaoqing Army. In 1939, it was renamed as

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27 Jiang (1935, pp. 42-3).
28 See Tien (1972, p. 178).

the "Hall for the Martyrs of Gaoyao" (Gaoyao Zhonglie Ci) to commemorate those soldiers who were killed in the Sino-Japanese War.[29]

As one of the major aspects of the New Life Movement, art and music occupied a larger section of the 1948 *Gaoyao County Gazetteer* than they had in previous gazetteers. It is unsurprising that the kind of music and songs which the compilers found suitable were what they called "national music" (*guoyue*). However, they did not suggest exactly which kind of music could be regarded as "national music". Stating that Western music was superior to the Cantonese opera, they severely criticised the Cantonese opera, saying that it was "evil, decaying, lewd, vulgar" (*yin, mi, wa, su*) and could not enter the Hall of Great Elegance (*daya zhitang*).[30] In addition, the few Cantonese vernacular songs the compilers entered in the chapter on arts and literature were categorized under the items of "miscellaneous lyrics" (*zayao*) rather than "songs" (*gequ*). Thus it is clear that Cantonese opera and Cantonese vernacular songs were excluded from the category of "national music". For songs to be described as "national", they were probably sung to the accompaniment of Western music, but what should the verse be like? Perhaps we can find some hints from the songs the compilers register under the items of "songs". Glancing at the verse of these songs, we can feel a strong sense of comradeship . One of them reads:

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29 It is not stated clearly in the county gazetteer whether the application was made to the provincial or central government. *Gaoyao xianzhi* (1948, p. 761).
30 *Gaoyao xianzhi* (1948, p. 883).

The world does not tolerate the selfish man.

Our work demands we co-operate with one another.

How can a nation be as loose as sand?

How can a revolution be accustomed to freedom?

....

Comrades! At the office as at school.

We must take our meals together.

We must work together.

----- Song of the Spare-time Service Society[31]

This song was written for the Spare-time Service Society (*gongyu fuwutuan*) which was established by the Chief Secretary of the Guangdong Provincial Government during the early years of the Sino-Japanese War when the provincial government had been moved from Guangzhou to Qujiang county. The aim of the society was to "run government departments in the way a school might be run" (*jiguan xuexiaohua*) and to promote a collective life among government officials during their spare time. The music of the song was composed by Huang Youdi (year of birth and death unknown), a professor at Zhongshan University and the head of the Department of Music of the School of Art and Technology in Guangdong, a man who was originally a Nanhai native but was brought up in Gaoyao. The words of the song were written by Liang Hancao (1899-1975), a Gaoyao native, who was the head of the Central Propaganda Department of the Guomindang. If school life seems a strange model for running government institutions, it should be remembered that the county compilers were closely involved in the running of schools. The image of people at a

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31 *Gaoyao xianzhi* (1948, p. 879).

government office or a school taking meals and working together suggests that the writer of the song would have favoured a regimented society.

The songs also typically blend descriptions of Gaoyao geography with communal life and national purpose. The following is one of such examples:

Splendidly our school
Is situated at the north of the West River.
The river water rushes
From its marshy source,
Fills up every hole, and then advances,
Flowing on to the four seas.[32]
Only those people who care about their origin
accumulate fortune and exude brilliance.

With education as our axle,
Practice our carriage,
We advance day by day without limits.
As models for the people,
We are the best among the teachers.
As the elite of society,
We are the glories of the nation.

The five virtues and ten standards,[33]

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32 This sentence "*yingke er houjin, fanghu sihai*" was actually taken from the chapter of "*Lilou*" in *The Works of Mencius*. The character "*ke*" was misprinted as "*liao*" in the county gazetteer. The translation of this line is cited from Legge (rep. 1960), p. 324.

33 The "five virtues" (*wuyu*) probably refer to the moral excellence (*de*), wisdom (*zhi*), physical strength (*ti*), gregariousness (*qun*) and a sense of aesthetic (*mei*). The exact contents of the "ten standards" (*shizhun*) are unknown. They were probably a list of school regulations proclaimed by the Republican educational authority.

We encourage one another not to forget
Through difficulties and a hundred setbacks,
We day by day progress into prosperity.

The education we are steeped in we enjoy,
It runs on unceasing,
For as long as the river flows.

----- Song of Zhaoqing Normal School[34]

The analogy with nation, crude but effective, incorporates a local identity into a national identity. However, just as a river would come from its natural source, the Gaoyao people who sang their school songs were made to think that their education linked them to national standards.

Elsewhere, struggling with the term *zhongzu* -- kind and tribe, or clan -- that in the late Qing had often been used as a translation for the English word "race", the Gaoyao gazetteer compilers retreated into the argument that each village, locality, surname, lineage, as well as society (*shetuan*) could be its own "*zhongzu*", again kind and tribe, or clan. Their use of the term suggests that they were seeking a word to describe the sense of community. Quoting Yan Fu and Wu Rulun, late Qing educationalists, in an incredibly garbled fusion of modern terminology and traditional thought, where they concluded "the way of literati" (*rudao*) is what is now called culture (*wenhua*), as demonstrated by the evidence of the wealth and power of Europe and America, and proven by the words of Yan [Fu] and Wu [Rulun]," they argued that

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34 *Gaoyao xianzhi* (1948, p. 878).

education must be revived. The revival of education was an end in itself. It was not to be questioned that the new Gaoyao educated people was one steeped in Confucian values dressed in modern garb.[35]

The county and the state

Relating a Gaoyao identity to a Chinese national identity might not be too difficult in a literal sense. However, when at practical level the interests of the county, the province and of the central government clashed, the county gazetteer compilers had to express their loyalty in a subtler way. This is reflected in their treatment of the political personnel who came into conflict with one another in national and local politics, as well as in their discussion of the local economic decline which they considered to be a result of national economic policy.

Paying respect to local military men appears to fit the abstract principle of honouring military figures promoted by the state. Nevertheless, it happened in the case of Gaoyao that by doing this the compilers ran the risk of challenging state leadership. The treatment of Yu Hanmou was one such example.

Yu Hanmou (1897-1981), a Gaoyao native, was an influential figure in Guangdong politics from the 1930s onward. In 1925, he became one of the commanders (*junzhang*) of the Guangdong army under Chen Jitang. In 1936, he

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35 *Gaoyao xianzhi* (1948, p. 660).

turned against Chen and co-operated with Jiang Jieshi to put down Chen' s revolt. After the downfall of Chen, Jiang promoted Yu Hanmou to the position of Chief Commander of the Fourth Route Army of Guangdong. During the Sino-Japanese War, he was the Chief Commander of the Seventh War Zone in Guangdong. From then on he took over from Chen and dominated the military forces in Guangdong. According to an official document of the New Life Movement, in 1936, he was also an instructor in the New Life Movement Association.[36]

At the same time, Yu Hanmou was a prominent figure in Gaoyao. He sponsored the construction and maintenance of various monasteries and tourist attractions.[37] He also donated money to build a "Yu Hanmou Library" for Gaoyao County Secondary School.[38] In 1935, he was even commemorated in the "Hall for Five Gentlemen" (Wujun Ci).[39] In accordance with the compilers' stated practice of not writing biographies of living people, Yu was not given a separate biography. However, details about Yu can be found in the chapter on local people ("The Table of Graduates and Official") in which his name, education and official titles are listed,

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36 Xiao Jizong (1975, p. 210).
37 *Gaoyao xianzhi* (1948, pp. 78, 88).
38 *Gaoyao xianzhi* (1948, p. 652).
39 "The Hall for Five Gentlemen" was originally named "The Hall for Three Gentlemen" (Sanjun Ci) which was built in 1922 to commemorate three men who had made much contribution towards flood relief. In 1935, it was renamed "The Hall for Five Gentlemen" to commemorate the contributions made towards the construction projects of Gaoyao county by Yu Hanmou and Liang Zugao, the "*canyi*" (advisor) of Guangdong Provincial Finance Office. See *Gaoyao xianzhi* (1948, p. 761).

and in the chapter on military affairs, where it was said that he had behaved bravely in the Sino-Japanese War.[40]

It seems that current public opinion was unfavourable to Yu as a result of his failure to save Guangzhou city from Japanese occupation in October, 1938. It was believed that he was implicated in liaison with Japanese secret agents.[41] In this context, the following note added by the compilers in the chapter on military affairs would seem to serve as a defence for his reputation:

> After Guangzhou had fallen [to Japanese troops], Hanmou was criticized severely by the press.... Later when Commissioner Jiang arrived in Qujiang, he said to Hanmou, "I understand best the complex situation of Guangdong. [However], considering the public criticism, I intend to remove your title but retain you in office." Hanmou regarded the punishment as being too lenient and asked to be punished more severely. He also said that in the interest of nation, he was totally willing to sacrifice himself. The Commissioner would not permit it, saying that he was needed for much to come. He spoke to him about loyalty, responsibility, peace, and reliability to encourage him.[42]

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40 *Gaoyao xianzhi* (1948, p. 907).

41 According to He, Liu and Zhou (1980), a Japanese secret agent revealed that Yu had sent representatives to meet with Japanese agents and promised that he was willing to adopt a policy of non-resistance and abandon Guangzhou to Japanese troops. In 1941, the Guomindang secret intelligence in the postal service discovered a letter in which Yu had listed the conditions for surrendering to Japanese troops.

42 *Gaoyao xianzhi* (1948, p. 908). "Commissioner" (*weiyuanzhang*) refers to the position of "President of the Military Affairs Commission" held by Jiang Jieshi from 1932.

The compilers also cited the telegram issued by Jiang Jieshi to the Central Committee in Guangdong in which Jiang blamed himself for the loss of Guangzhou to Japanese troops. They concluded that Yu Hanmou' s character had won Jiang Jieshi' s trust. In this way, the compilers were trying to give first hand evidence to demonstrate an intimate relationship between Yu and Jiang. Jiang' s words were no doubt the best defence for Yu Hanmou.

Because the compilation of the county gazetteer was finished only in 1948, the defence of Yu was probably not only a reaction against unfavourable public opinion in the years around 1938, but was possibly also an affirmation that Yu and Jiang Jieshi were on good terms by the end of the 1940s. In fact, having once been an associate of Chen Jitang, it seems most unlikely that Yu Hanmou was a staunch supporter of Jiang Jieshi. In 1942 in the midst of the Second Sino-Japanese War, some regional militarists were prepared to challenge the authority of the central government because of the successive military failures. On this occasion, Yu Hanmou was reported to be one of the commanders who had reached formal agreements with Li Jishen (1886-1959), a military leader from Guangxi, to work together if the Chongqing government collapsed.[43] It was also said that around 1944, Yu Hanmou was one of the regional military commanders who came together to agree that they would put up no further resistance to the Japanese army and let them destroy Jiang Jieshi' s armies.[44] Whether or not defeating the Japanese was the ultimate aim of

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43 Ch'i (1982, pp. 113-4).
44 Eastman (1991, p. 176).

these regional military men might be debatable, it is very unlikely that defending the central government was their immediate concern. Considering the deterioration of central-regional relation towards the end of the War, it is doubtful that Yu Hanmou and Jiang Jieshi were on good terms.

Given Yu Hanmou's benefaction, the compilers probably decided that Yu Hanmou was too close to the county for them to not glorify. The glorification was made by saying that Yu Hanmou was an asset of Gaoyao precisely because he was the glory of the nation. In any case, Jiang Jieshi was too distant to be able to object to having his words quoted in the defence of his potential enemy. Nevertheless, when a local figure clashed with national interest, it was not always easy for the gazetteer's compilers to rise in his defence. There were times when national concerns would take precedence, as is demonstrated in the case of Chen Jitang.

The influence of Chen Jitang who dominated Guangdong politically, militarily and financially from 1931 to 1936 could not be ignored. The Gaoyao-Sanshui road and the Gaoyao-Deqing road, both of which linked Gaoyao to other major towns and places outside of the county, were built during this period. However, with the exception of his policy of reviving the sacrifices to Confucius and a mention in the chapter on the political system, his name does not appear in the *Gaoyao County Gazetteer*.[45] The chapter on military affairs played down Chen's revolt against Jiang

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45 In the paragraphs on Confucian worship, the compilers referred to Chen Jitang as the "member of the standing committee of the South-Western Political Affairs Committee". The chapter on the political system states that ".... Afterwards, Chen Jitang dominated the politics

Jieshi as well as the inability of the Nanjing government to control Guangdong. This was all that was said:

> From that time, the people gradually returned to some peace. However, the Central [Government] and the south-western provinces could still not be in communication on official matters. While the Southwest held its people in abeyance, the Central [Government] waited patiently for the situation to change. Finally in August, the 25th year of the Republic [1936], the administration of Guangdong was returned to the Central [Government] and the nation was united from then on.[46]

It was difficult for the compilers to comment on Chen Jitang. On the one hand, the relationship between Yu Hanmou and Chen Jitang was an antagonistic one even before 1930s and Yu had finally turned against Chen during his revolt.[47] Taking account of this, it was impossible for the compilers to praise Chen for any of his contributions in Guangdong or in Gaoyao. On the other hand, it was also inappropriate to denounce Chen for his betrayal of Jiang Jieshi. Although Chen had betrayed Jiang, Jiang had never excluded him totally from the bureaucracy. He was appointed to the Supreme National Defence Council and he became Minister of Agriculture and Forestry during the years of the Sino-Japanese War. Considering these facts, the compilers were probably not in a position to make any comment about

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of Guangdong" and that "In August, 1936, Chen Jitang left Guangdong..." without mentioning his official titles. See *Gaoyao xianzhi* (1948, pp. 666, 252), respectively.

46 *Gaoyao xianzhi* (1948, p. 906).

47 *Nantian Suiyue* (1987, pp. 504-13, 514-6).

Chen Jitang but could only play his importance down whenever mentioning him was unavoidable.

There were also economic tension between the county and the state. The chapters on the county economy demonstrate the ambivalent feeling of the compilers towards the state in this respect. In many aspects, they wanted to tie Gaoyao to the nation, but they also realized that this linkage had its price. Gaoyao people had to bear the responsibility for sponsoring national finances. The county was from time to time strained by the financial demands of the provincial and national governments.

The content of the chapter on financial planning was divided into three parts: national revenue, provincial revenue and county revenue. The compilers said that earlier county records did not usually include national finances, and they introduced changes for the following reasons:

> In the turbulent times, many kinds of taxes have been imposed. Some are levied under special supervision [*jizheng*] and some levied as normal dues [*jingzheng*].[48] [The rights to collect these taxes] are sometimes divided and sometimes unified. With many government institutions located in the county, all the local people have to contribute fully, directly or indirectly in maintaining personal relationships, their daily necessities, or drawing from the profits of industry and commerce to the national treasury. Although [the levies] are only like water

48 The terms "*jizhen*" and "*jingzheng*" are not clearly explained in the county gazetteer. According to the usage in the chapter on economy, "*jizheng*" probably referred to those taxes that were collected by a special agent such as a bureau or the Customs while "*jingzheng*" referred to the taxes, for example, the land tax, collected by the county government.

> seeping through the soil, they are sufficient to be a burden to a region.[49]

A long list of taxes was recorded, most of which were imposed by the national government.[50] The burden of tax and the loopholes in tax-collection are apparent from the list.[51] For example, with regard to the fund-raising programme for reorganising the police forces, the compilers commented:

> The above types of [tax] programmes were usually decided after discussion by committees formed [for the purpose], and then contracted by merchants who bid [for the privilege] or undertaken by appointees. [The system] had many loopholes. People paid the money painfully but the amount of money that was really spent in a proper way or accountable to the public was less than 20 or 30 per cent of the total.[52]

In the chapter on economy, the compilers tried to relate the fate of Gaoyao to the national or even to the world market. They expected the state to guarantee the market for local produce against competition from foreign goods. However, they also

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49 *Gaoyao xianzhi* (1948, p. 304). The clumsy statement probably implies the indirect taxes and profit taxes impose by the national government on individuals and business sectors respectively.

50 According to the county gazetteer, the Nanjing government had revised the national finances and demanded many kinds of taxes formerly collected by the provincial governments in 1941. See *Gaoyao xianzhi* (1948, p. 304).

51 According to Chen Qihui (rep. 1977, pp. 25674-5), the land tax in Gaoyao ranked the highest in Guangdong in the 1930s. The tax for every *mu* of land was originally only 0.38 dollar, but with the addition of various surcharges, it was increased to 11 dollars.

52 *Gaoyao xianzhi* (1948, p. 387).

implied that the state should be responsible for the economic distress suffered by the county.

In contrast to their suggestions for cultural affairs, the compilers were unable to make many suggestions for improving the county economy. Neither their Confucian ideas nor the national principle they claimed to believe in were able to provide solutions to the economic distress of the county. Thus most explicitly expressed in the chapter on financial planning are the grievances of the compilers about the poor economic situation of Gaoyao, coloured by the long list of tax items. Here, the county itself was the centre of concern, the nation and the province implied nothing but a heavy and unavoidable burden.

Guangdong -- its position in Gaoyao

Living up to a model of a modern intelligentsia, the 1948 *Gaoyao County Gazetteer* compilers attempted to present a modern, nationalistic view of their county. However, limits in their education and in their exposure to the outside world prevented them from doing so. They were, in fact, half a century behind the leading Chinese intelligentsia of the time. It was the Guomindang government which offered to these members of the county intelligentsia a set of terms that they found familiar enough to facilitate their expression of a national (*guomin*) identity. The Guomindang concept of "*guomin*" (nation) in the 1930s was subtly different from the idea of the

"*guomin*" (new citizen) promoted by Liang Qichao during the early 1900s.[53] Whereas Liang emphasized the moral improvement of individual, urging the Chinese people to learn to adopt such ideas as freedom, self-government, self-esteem and public morals; the Guomindang authority stressed the instrumental function of the "*guomin*", viewing individuals as a collective body and proposing that each *guomin* should work to serve the nation. Here, the nation is the aim, whereas individual morals are only the instrument. In this way, the nation as a unit of organization overwhelmed any geographical or administrative unit. County and province, as administrative units, should of course be subordinated to the nation.

Moreover, if as the Guomindang held, the weakness of Chinese people had always been evident in their customs and habits, and customs and habits were always realized with variations ("heterodox" from the official point of view) in localities, it could be logically deduced that local characteristics should be suppressed. The *Gaoyao County Gazetteer* compilers did join the government in condemning local customs and vernacular culture, but they did not pass over the particularities of their county. Rather, they incorporated their county identity well within the new national ideology. By contrast, a provincial identity, without any practical or emotional significance, became obscure from the county's point of view. What else could Guangdong mean to the county intelligentsia if they, as Cantonese speakers themselves, denied that the Cantonese opera, or Cantonese language meant much to a

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53 Liang Qichao had written a series of essays in the *New Citizen's Magazine* (*Xinmin congbao*) on the "new citizen" during the years from 1902 to 1905.

Guangdong identity? If this is the case, where in did a Guangdong identity lie? On what grounds could the 1940 Guangdong Cultural Artefacts Exhibition stand?

Chapter Seven

Beyond the Exhibition

Perhaps it is the time for us to go back to the 1940 Guangdong Cultural Artefacts Exhibition.

Six days after the opening of the exhibition, in an article published in the newspaper, *Xunhuan Daily* (*Xunhuan ribao*), a writer disagreed with one committee member' s opinion that the large lanterns and the long-legged tablets hung at the entrance of the exhibition hall had demonstrated "one hundred per cent the genuine tone (*didao secai*) of Guangdong". He said,

> [That these decorations] are really national goods (*guohuo*) is undeniable. However, if they are regarded as one hundred per cent local products from Guangdong, this is in fact an exaggeration. Towers, long-legged tablets and couplets are in fact *not* unique products of Guangdong.[1]

Perhaps both commentators had missed the point. The exhibition committee member should not have highlighted the uniqueness of Guangdong because the exhibition was never intended to do so. Nor should the newspaper article writer have distinguished the Guangdong products from the national ones, because paradoxically enough, the most noteworthy "uniqueness" of Guangdong culture was its strong

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1 *Guangdong wenwu* (rep. 1990, p. 279).

identification with a national culture. We find this paradox operating from the 1820s to the 1940s period of Guangdong' s history. We also find this paradox being realized by the late Qing literati and the Republican intelligentsia who concerned themselves with the definition of Guangdong culture. The organizers of the 1940 Exhibition were members of the Republican intelligentsia, whose personal histories and self-identity cannot be understood apart from the late Qing literati. To perceive how the 1940 Exhibition came about in such a way, we first have to understand the background of its organizers. After having reviewed the history of the construction of Guangdong cultural identity in the last few chapters, we are now in a better position to understand these people within their own historical context.

Positioning the provincial intelligentsia

If the 1940 Exhibition had anything in common with any provincial gazetteer of Guangdong -- both presenting a Guangdong identity -- it is first and foremost the structure of the organizers behind the event. Like the list of compilers of a provincial gazetteer, the organization of the 1940 Exhibition consisted of prominent provincial officials who provided financial sponsorship and political patronage, of the scholar-official who acted as chairman dealing with public relations work, and of the scholar-officials and scholars who dealt with the actual operation and management of the exhibition.

Among the main sponsors of the exhibition. familiar faces could easily be found. The two most notable of these were Chen Jitang. the then Head of the Agriculture and

Forestry Department, and Yu Hanmou, in 1940 still the Chief Commander of the Seventh War Zone in Guangdong. In addition to Chen and Yu, there were also Li Hanhun (1896-1987), the Chairman of the Guangdong Provincial Government, Gu Jigao (year of birth and death unknown), the Head of the Guangdong Provincial Department of Finance, and Yun Zhaokun (year of birth and death unknown), the President of the Guangdong Provincial Bank.

The man in the organization committee who was able to gather all these sponsors from different sources was probably the chairman of the committee, Ye Gongchao (1881-1968). Having graduated from the late Qing Imperial University in Beijing (Jingshi Daxuetang), Ye was one of the few who obtained appointments and promotion in different regimes including the Manchu regime, the governments of Yuan Shikai, of Duan Qirui (1865-1936) and then, of Sun Yat-sen. From 1906 to 1908, he served as director-general and commissioner in the Ministry of Communications. From 1911 to 1925, he served, from time to time, as the Minister of Communications. In 1931, he became the Minister of Railways and, then, from 1932 on he resigned from all official positions.[2] With his network built up by utilizing different governments' personnel, and with his apparently neutral position due to having retired from all official posts, Ye was probably senior, respectable, and well-rounded enough to rally sponsors from different sources for the Exhibition.

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2 See *Guangdong wenwu* (rep. 1990, p. 1002). Also *Who's Who in China* (1932, p. 275).

Despite the fact that the chairmanship of the committee was held by Ye Gongchao, the leading organiser was in fact Jian Youwen. Co-ordinating committee members to plan and arrange the exhibition, Jian was the one who contributed the article entitled, "The Analysis of Guangdong Culture", to the commemorating volume *Guangdong Cultural Artefacts* (*Guangdong wenwu*) specially published for the exhibition. In that essay, of which I have already discussed in chapter one, Jian put forward his opinion about the definition of Guangdong culture. A review of Jian's personal background would give us more hints with which to understand the multi-dimensional characteristics of a 1940s' Guangdong intelligentsia.

Jian Youwen, who became notable for his studies of the Taiping Rebellion beginning in the 1940s, was a native of Xinhui county. Jian's father, Jian Yinchu (year of birth and death unknown), was a member of the Tongmeng Hui and was appointed by Sun Yat-sen to collect money from Nanyang (Southeast Asia) to support the revolution. Jian Yinchu later became a director of the Nanyang Brothers' Tobacco Company.[3] After his graduation from Canton Christian College (i.e., Lingnan College) in 1917, where he converted to Christianity, Jian Youwen went to the United States to study at the University of Chicago and later in a New York theology seminary. In 1922, he worked as a priest in the Chinese Christian Youth Association (Zhonghua Jidujiao Qingnianhui Quanguo Xiehui). Two years later, he worked at the Yanjing University as an associate professor in theology and philosophy. Despite his Western education, Jian,

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3 For Jian Yinchu's affiliation with the 1911 Revolution, see Jian Youwen (1982, p. 149). He became one of the directors of the Nanyang Brothers' Tobacco Company when the company was reorganized in 1918. However, he sold his shares to another man and withdrew from the company a year later. See *Nanyang xiongdi yancao gongsi shiliao* (1958, pp. 9-13; 139).

in his later writings, claimed to be an inheritor of Song-Ming Confucian scholarship and attributed the origin of his scholarships to Jian Chaoliang and, thus, to Zhu Ciqi, the two late Qing Guangdong scholars whom I have discussed in chapter four.[4]

Jian's political career commenced when he became a member of the Guomindang in 1926. He was then appointed by the Guomindang as a "political work committee member" (*zhengzhi gongzuo weiyuan*) to work in the army of Feng Yuxiang (1882-1948). Feng, a warlord, was willing to co-operate with the Guomindang army during the Northern Expedition.[5] In 1928, after the Northern Expedition, Jian was appointed by the Guomindang government as Salt Commissioner in Shandong, but he left the post half a year later.

Jian then developed his political career by attaching himself to Sun Ke, who, leading the Guangdong bloc with some other Guangdong members within the Guomindang party, opposed Jiang Jieshi and his Jiangsu-Zhejiang bloc towards the end of the 1920s. In 1930, Jian was appointed advisor (*canshi*) of Sun Ke, who had been the Ministry of Railways since 1928.[6] From 1931 to 1936, Jian was appointed member of the Guangdong Provincial Government; he simultaneously became the head of the Guangzhou Social Bureau.[7] This was the time when the

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4 Jian Youwen (1955, no pagination).

5 Jian had already knew Feng since 1924. It was Sun Ke, the Head of the Department of Transport of the Guomindang government who recommended Jian to take up the duty. Sun Ke and Jian also known each other before when Jian took a part in assisting Sun Yat-sen to fight against Chen Jiongming. Jian also used to be the private tutor of the son of Sun Ke. See Jian Youwen (1982, pp. 1, 10, 150).

6 Jian explained what he had done as "*canshi*" similar to the duties of the chief secretary for the ministry. See Jian (1982), p. 169.

7 Wang Meijia (1987-89, Vol. 11, p. 269).

chairman of the Guangdong Provincial Government was willing to co-operate with Chen Jitang, the chairman of the South-west Political Council who dominated the politics and military of Guangdong from 1931 to 1936. From 1933 to 1946, when Sun Ke was the chairman of the Legislative Council in Nanjing, Jian was appointed as Legislative councillor. When the Sino-Japanese War broke out in 1937, he fled to Hong Kong where he published the *Strong Wind Journal* (*Dafeng*) as an anti-Japanese organ. When Guangzhou city was occupied by the Japanese army in October of 1938, the Guomindang branch office in Hong Kong was re-organised and Jian was one of the executive members. In 1939, Jian and Xu Dishan (1893-1941), a Professor of Chinese at the University of Hong Kong, Li Yinglin (1892-1954), the chancellor of Lingnan University, and some other people, established the Association for Promoting Chinese Culture, the major organization responsible for holding the 1940 Exhibition.

Jian Youwen' s credentials as a scholar are beyond doubt: the wealth of his publications since 1949 speaks for itself. However, the questions which must be asked about him are: Why scholarship might have mattered to someone who until his late twenties was associated with academic institutions, but who throughout his thirties had been involved more closely with administration and politics. One may also wonder why a Republican man, with a Western and Christian education, would shift to Chinese Confucian scholarship in his later years. Such a background was by no means an exceptional case among the Republican scholars. It shows how deeply a scholar could be involved in politics and how his political inclination and religious beliefs might influence his academic pursuits. It also shows how unwilling the Chinese intelligentsia,

having been exposed to the May-Fourth anti-Confucian fever, was to cut themselves off from the Chinese academic tradition. Luo Xianglin, already discussed in chapter five, was thirty-four years of age in 1940. He was to embark on a career similar to Jian' s in 1945. These men were no doubt scholarly, but the word "scholars" falls short of a comprehensive label for their interests and activities. These were members of a younger generation, well educated, committed to a career devoted to the nationalist cause, and associated with the provincial as well as the national government. These men were no doubt "modern" and "Westernized", but the words "modern" and "Westernized" tend to cover up their eagerness to link themselves to traditional Chinese academic discourse. They were the products of a history which had been germinating since the 1820s, and they consciously linked themselves to the world of the 1820s. They were history-makers in the 1940s, and now they have become historical figures to be studied in order to understand the history of the meaning of Guangdong culture as it was expressed in the 1940s.

Jian' s and Luo' s encounters remind us of the late Qing Xuehaitang scholars such as Chen Li. Having spent most of their time in the provincial capital, both the late Qing literati and the early Republican intelligentsia from Guangdong might not have had very close attachments to their native village. To the very "local" locality, they were cultural outsiders both by upbringing and by education. The province, or the provincial capital, was the only arena in which they could place themselves to articulate the idea of a regional culture of their own. As politicians, officials and scholars at a provincial level, they were caught somewhere in between the nation and their own

native place. When they failed to advance further in national politics, they retreated back to Guangdong. When they lost their hold on provincial politics, they fell back on manipulating culture and cultural affairs to attempt to maintain their social status. When they lost their say in defining up-to-date Guangdong culture, they finally retreated to the past to seek a retrospective definition of Guangdong culture. Having failed to grasp power in actuality, the provincial literati or intelligentsia could only seek an imaginative position for themselves from the past.

Historicising the term "culture"

Jian Youwen and Chen Li might share the same territorial boundaries within which they could shape the version of Guangdong culture with which they identified. However, the time period between the two men's lives can be said to delimit a continuum of different understandings of the concept of "culture". This continuum in turn led to different definitions of Chinese culture and thus of Guangdong culture throughout the late Qing and the early Republic. To understand the differences between the worlds of Jian Youwen and Chen Li, let us integrate the five subjects which have already been discussed in this thesis by placing them on the same chronological line stretching from the 1820s to the 1940s. Weaving through this more than one-century-long history is one question: what did the concept "culture" mean in a Chinese historical context?

During the time of Chen Li, or up until the turn of the nineteenth century, the concept of "culture" (*wenhua* in Chinese), as an adjective rather than a noun, had been

conceived of but was not as yet in use in speaking and writing.[8] The Qing literati did not speak of the term "*wenhua*", but they certainly concerned themselves with whether a person or a place was "acculturated" (*jiaohua*). To be an acculturated person, one has to be educated ("*jiao*") to transform ("*hua*"). The idea of acculturation continued to be applied in the local historical literature as an indicator of assessing the culture of a place. Until the first decade of the twentieth century, the major substance utilized to educate and transform local people was the Confucian ideology taught and expressed in classical Chinese. Yet, the Confucian ideology had more than one voice. Which school of Confucianism was able to dominate the academic discourse of a time depended on the preferences of the people who controlled the institutional resources. In the first half of the nineteenth century, it was the Han-learning school which represented the orthodox position. During this period, the late Qing literati viewed themselves as the inheritor and transmitter of the Han-Learning Confucian tradition. Guangdong was "acculturated" because it contained an academic institution which facilitated the pursuit of the school of Confucianism acceptable to the provincial officials who acted on behalf of the state. High culture as expressed in classical Chinese was supreme. Low culture as expressed in regional vernacular did not count. In the traditional Chinese linguistic context, the implication of the Chinese term *jiaohua*, or of the concept of *wenhua*, made a "vernacular culture" necessarily "low" or even necessarily not a "culture". Applying the English expression "low culture" or "vernacular culture" to a Chinese context is

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8 My discussion of the historical application of the concept and the word "culture" owes much to reading Fernand Braudel' s "The History of Civilization: The Past Explains the Present", in which Braudel explains how the word "culture" should be interpreted differently when it is applied as an adjective (cultural), a noun in the singular (culture) and a noun in the plural (cultures) within a European context. Braudel also distinguishes the historical understandings of the word "culture" from the word "civilization". See Braudel (1980).

misleading, as in traditional Chinese discourse, something "low" and "vernacular" is by definition something not "cultural".

In the first decade of the 1900s, "*wenhua*" became a noun. The late Qing literati, who were more inclined to a reformats beat, spoke of the term "*wenhua*" -- the Chinese pronunciation of the *kanji* neologism invented by Japanese Westernizers to translate the Western term "culture". Applying the term "*wenhua*" as a noun implied that the users considered "*wenhua*" an entity, which could be protected, improved, overthrown or even totally replaced. The emergence of the awareness of the concept of "*wenhua*" coincided with the awareness of the concept of "*minzu*" (race) which emerged in the heyday of the anti-Manchu movement. This notion of "*minzu*" was based on the Western theory that a nation should be built and ruled by the race which legitimately owned and ruled a given territory. The anti-Manchu literati, like the pro-establishment ones, still upheld the acculturation principle; however, to distinguish their political stand, they had to add to the acculturation principle the racial concern in order to argue that the traditional Chinese high culture was worth preserving because of its Han roots. To those Guangdong literati who had such racial concerns, Guangdong was a place of culture not only because it inherited and transmitted the high Confucian culture, but also because it contained people who were of the Han race. During this period, for the purpose of either overthrowing the Manchu regime or strengthening the country, regional vernaculars were utilized to educate the masses. However, vernacular culture was still not culture, as vernacular writings were only an instrument but not an end in their own right.

After the 1911 Revolution, with the collapse of the Manchu regime, racial concerns became more or less futile. The construction of the concept of "Zhonghua *minzu*" offered sufficient justification for the government of the Republic of China to build the Chinese state upon an apparently united nation (*minzu*), though it might not be sufficient to settle the possible racial conflicts within the state. In the twentieth century, constructing the new nation-state became the ultimate political aim of the Republican politicians. At the same time, filling the nation-state with a new Chinese culture became the ultimate cultural mission of the Republican intelligentsia. The rejection of Confucian culture among the Republican intelligentsia meant that they had to replace the high culture of China with something anti-traditional. With their Western educational background, the new substance also needed to be something Western. However, the Republican intelligentsia perceived themselves not only as culturalists but also as nationalists and to some extent socialists. Being nationalists meant that they could not just search for any culture to substantiate the nation-state, they needed the culture which bore a Chinese identity. Being more or less socialists meant that the Republican intelligentsia condemned the very existence of high culture and tended to adopt a more universal and inclusive view of the concept of culture. By "going to the people", they had almost come to a point where they could recognise that "culture" as a noun could be plural. Having moved down to the locality, they should have realized the possibility of having many cultures within China. In this way, "culture" was no longer equivalent to "cultural", or to "being acculturated". It was not a criteria, nor a value judgement. It should have been a term for embodying facts and phenomenon. If "culture" is neutral and holistic, the fact that Guangdong culture was different from

other provincial cultures, or that regional cultures within Guangdong were different from one another, should only be a fact and should not denote any sense of superiority or inferiority.

Nevertheless, the Republican intelligentsia' s belief in the existence of a Chinese culture (Zhongguo *wenhua*) defeated their efforts of trying to interpret the term "*wenhua*" in a neutral and holistic sense. Theoretically speaking, a politically united country does not necessarily need to be sustained by a united race and a united culture. The Republican intelligentsia might probably also realize that China was in fact politically, culturally, and racially diverse. Nevertheless, having held the political unification of China as their ultimate goal, they tended to mix these three concepts together through their conceptualization of both a Chinese race (Zhonghua *minzu*) and a Chinese culture (Zhongguo *wenhua*). The triumph of nationalism pushed the Republican intelligentsia to construct a new Chinese culture which was trans-regional, superior, and unified at its essential core. By contrast, what was regional culture in reality became subordinated to what was the new Chinese culture in imagination. Guangdong culture, or any regional cultures within Guangdong, could only be perceived to occupy a marginal position in comparison to the Chinese culture being placed in a central position which was merely an imaginary.

Acting as the spokesmen of the new Chinese culture, the Republican intelligentsia participated in the national discourse on cultural issues by expressing themselves in a modern literati language, that is. the standard vernacular which

originated from the Beijing dialect but became more or less Europeanized in the hands of the Western-educated intelligentsia. With Beijing vernacular having become the national language (both spoken and written), the Guangdong intelligentsia were put into a handicapped position. As Edward Gunn notices, "writers from other regions [than Beijing] were virtually required to run a critical gauntlet, demonstrating their control of Mandarin before they were given credit for regional features as aesthetically valued inventions."[9] If Cantonese writers could never have written in the new national language as well as their northern counterparts, how would they have dared to introduce any Cantonese usage into formal or literary writings, as this might have implied that they had made a "mistake" from incompetence in mastering the new national language?

Until the time of Jian Youwen, that is, by the midst of the twentieth century, because the regional vernacular did not gain a status equivalent to the national language, Guangdong did not see the chance of producing any Cantonese literature giant and the Qing Zhao Ziyong remained a memorial figure in history. Because high culture was now expressed in the national language which Guangdong people found deviant, Guangdong was unable to produce one or two national new literature figures as acclaimed as Lu Xun or Lao She. The regional particularities of Guangdong were not highly appreciated; the new national culture' s ways were not, as fully realized in such places as Guangdong as they were in Shanghai and Beijing. Guangdong culture, in the Republic, was caught somewhere in between high and low, between the very local and the very national. It was simply bypassed by the county intelligentsia, like the Gaoyao

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9 Gunn (1991, p. 116).

county gazetteer' s compilers, who concerned more in relating their county identity with the national identity by utilizing new terms which served the new nationalist cause to articulate their old concepts which spoke for a traditional Chinese culture.

Locating Guangdong culture

But what does it mean that Guangdong culture was caught somewhere in between? If Guangdong culture was overlooked by the national intelligentsia, if Guangdong culture was bypassed by the county leaders, where was a provincial culture located in the Republic?

My answer is that its traces were to be found in the past, its particularities were placed on the periphery, its actual contents were the result of struggles and compromises among different power groups within the province, and its eminence was articulated, paradoxically, in relation to the new national culture as a construct.

In many ways, the Chinese culture perceived by the Chinese intelligentsia was located in its history, and Guangdong culture was no exception. Because the Republican intelligentsia used Western culture as a criteria for assessing culture, Chinese culture in the present will necessarily score badly, and anything Chinese could only be attributed to the past. Similarly, because Guangdong scores badly in the present national cultural arena, the provincial intelligentsia could only speak of Guangdong culture by talking about the past of Guangdong. It is no wonder then that the 1940 Exhibition was to a large extent an exhibition of antiques.

As long as the Chinese literati or intelligentsia defined what counted as China' s culture, and as long as a regional vernacular could not become their common language, the regional vernacular, which was one of the most obvious expressions of the particularities of a region, would remain, by definition, peripheral. Hence, it is no surprise that a few Cantonese *muyu shu* were placed side by side with the piles of classical literature in the 1940 Exhibition. Such an arrangement expressed no more than a sympathetic, scholarly curiosity as viewed from the top down in society.

To better locate a regional culture in a Chinese historical context, we may compare the case of Guangdong with that of other regions of China. For this purpose, the Wu dialect culture, with its centre located in Shanghai, might serve as a case for comparison. There is so far no similar study on the history of Wu culture, yet an extant bibliographical study of the Wu dialect may give us a rough idea about the development of Wu literature. According to this study, opera script with a considerable amount of Wu dialect appeared as early as in the Ming Wanli (1573-1619) period, whereas the earliest *tanci* written in Wu dialect can be traced back to the Qing Jiaqing (1796-1820) period. Dictionaries emerged as early as in the late Ming, but again it was the missionaries who published the Bible in the Wu dialect and contributed much to the compilation and publication of Wu dialect dictionaries in the Qing. Essays studying the Wu dialect appeared as early as 1841, but the central theme of these essays was similar to that of the studies on Cantonese and Hakka dialects. That is to say, it argues the ancient origins of the Wu dialect. Novels in Wu dialect did not appear until the end of nineteenth century when the famous *Biographies of the Prostitutes of Shanghai*

(*Haishang hua liezhuan*) written by Han Bangqing (1856-1894), who was a licentiate from Shanghai and used to be an editor of the major Shanghai newspaper, *Shen bao*, was published consecutively in current popular magazine in 1892.[10] However, the number of novels composed in Wu dialect in equal colloquialism to the one composed by Han was few and most of them were no more than pornography. A literary collection of Wu songs was pioneered in the Ming by Feng Menglong (1547-1646), a famous Ming playwright and fiction writer who compiled the *Mountain Songs* (*Shan' ge*) in which a large number of Wu songs was collected.[11] Feng' s effort was appreciated and succeeded by the folklorists in the early Republic.[12] In short, during the Republic, the Wu literature survived for no more than the purpose of entertainment and attracted only an academic curiosity. Such a history of Wu-dialect literature does not differ much from that of the Cantonese literature which I have already discussed in detail in chapter three. Despite its reputation, the status of the Wu dialect literature in the Republican national literary arena was still peripheral.

Having been incompetent in building a modern Guangdong cultural identity upon achievement in the new national culture; having given up their advantages of developing an adaptation of Cantonese vernacular in the popular literature, the Guangdong intelligentsia was pushed to found a Guangdong cultural identity upon a territorial base. It was power that determined what should be included into and excluded from this territorial boundary. Political compromise and a self-perception of

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10 *Haishanghua liezhuan* (rep. 1990, preface, pp. 1-2).
11 See Hung (1985, pp. 25-30).
12 See Sakamutu Ichiro (1953).

being a national elite made the Cantonese intelligentsia eventually losers in creating Guangdong culture: they gave up their own Cantonese vernacular and submitted to a Guangdong culture that included the Hakka and Chaozhou. It is thus understandable that the 1940 Exhibition committee members felt obliged to regret that the exhibition had collected mainly articles from Guangzhou but had only a few from other prefectures due to the inconvenience of war time transportation.[13] They compensated for the shortcoming by exhibiting the Bible translated into Hakka, and including an essay on Chaozhou opera in the commemorating volume *Guangdong Cultural Artefacts* (*Guangdong wenwu*). It is clear that, by the 1940s, a balance was already being struck among the three dominant groups to claim a share in the definition of the culture of Guangdong.

Having been assigned a peripheral position, regional particularities in China, however, did not need to be covered up or severely suppressed. Having its uniqueness being asserted, a Hakka identity did not necessarily outweigh its Han-Chinese identity. Rather, it is the case that acceptable regional and ethnic particularities were incorporated into Chinese cosmopolitanism. Therefore, throughout the thesis, we find that the most noteworthy "uniqueness" of Guangdong culture and of any regional or ethnic culture within Guangdong was its strong identification to a national culture. It is a fact that the Cantonese and the Hakka dialects were unique, but the Cantonese and the Hakka scholars spoke of their dialects' uniqueness by identifying them with an ancient and central origins. It is a fact that the regional and ethnic cultures of China are both

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13 *Guangdong wenwu* (rep. 1990, p. 2).

diversified and united, but the local scholars incorporated well the diversity into the unity of the Chinese culture in ideal. Jian Youwen' s remark that "' Guangdong culture' should be referred to as ' Chinese culture in Guangdong' " is crucial for understanding the Chinese intelligentsia' s point of view of regional cultures in China. Jian' s statement fully demonstrates that "local" or "regional" culture was understood by the Chinese literati or intelligentsia from the point of view of Chinese "culture". If the English expression "regionalism" or "regional particularism" implies separatism and resisting centralization, they were never appropriate terms for describing the local societies of China from an insider' s point of view; as provincial identities in China were, ultimately, tied to the evolution of the Chinese state.

Sun Yat-sen was not a Guangdongren?

To close the thesis, perhaps the following statement made by Chen Gongbo (1892-1946), a Cantonese scholar-politician who organized Communist activities in Guangzhou in the 1920' s, is worth quoting to illustrate again the hierarchy of national and regional identities in China:

> Mr Sun (Yat-sen) is, after all, a Chinese. (Zhongguoren) Chen Jiongming, however brilliant he may be, is merely an individual from Guangdong (Guangdong *yi ge ren*).[14]

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14 Chen Gongbo (1971, p. 38). Chen Gongbo made this statement in answer to Chen Duxiu' s (1879-1942) inquiry in 1922 . Chen Duxiu was at that time about to leave Guangzhou and was asking Chen Gongbo with whom, Sun Yat-sen or Chen Jiongming, he should ally.

Does the statement imply that Sun Yat-sen was not a Guangdong person, or Chen Jiongming was not a Chinese? Why was their Hakka identity -- if they really were Hakka -- not stressed? This is not a matter of fact. This is a matter of positioning: a Guangdong identity always came after a Chinese identity; and a Hakka identity, for a long time, was not emphasized unless it suffered offence.

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Glossary

(Characters printed in Courier New are pronounced in Cantonese, while those in Times New Roman are pronounced in Mandarin.)

ai 哎
ai 狘
Ailiao 狘獠
aizi 哎子
ak 厄 / 鈪
Anhui 安徽

baihua 白話
Baiyi 擺夷
Baiyue 百粵
Ban Chao 班超
Ban Dingyuan ping xiyu 班定遠平西域
ban zigengnong 半自耕農
bao guocui, bao wenhua 保國粹, 保文化
Baoan 寶安
baojuan 寶卷
baren xiali 巴人下里
Beijing 北京
Beijing daxue rikan 北京大學日刊
bendi 本地
bendiban 本地班
bendiren 本地人
bianwen 變文
Biaomeng 彪蒙
biji 筆記
biji xiaoshuo 筆記小說
bin 賓
Binxing Guan Dongshihui 賓興館董事會
Binxing Guan 賓興館
Binxing Ju 賓興局
binxing 賓興
bu 不
bu, zhi, wu 不, 知, 無
bunka (Japanese) 文化
bunmei kaika (Japanese) 文明開化
bunmei (Japanese) 文明

Cai Yuanpei 蔡元培
caifang 採訪
caiji 財計
canshi 參事
canyi 參議
Cen Chunxuan 岑春煊
Cen Xixiang 岑錫祥
Changsha 長沙
Chao shi yangyan 嘲食洋烟
Chaojia fengyue ji 潮嘉風月記
Chaoren 潮人
Chaozhou 潮州
che 啫
chen 醇
Chen Baisha 陳白沙
Chen Baisha xiansheng jie zidi shi 陳白沙先生誡子弟詩
Chen Debin 陳德彬
Chen Duxiu 陳獨秀
Chen Gongbo 陳公博
Chen Jiongming 陳炯明
Chen Jitang 陳濟棠
Chen Li 陳澧
Chen Mingshu 陳銘樞
Chen Pu 陳璞
Chen Shaobai 陳少白
Chen Shuren 陳樹人
Chen Weizhou 陳維周
Chen Yinke 陳寅恪
Chen Zibao 陳子褒
Chixi 赤溪
chong 冲
chong 撞
Chongqing 重慶
Chongzheng tongren xipu 崇正同人系譜
Chongzheng Zonghui (Tsung Tsin Association) 崇正總會
chubin 出殯
Chunqiu 春秋
Chuting qijiu yishi 楚庭耆舊遺詩

Dafeng 大風
Dafo Si 大佛寺
Dai Chuanxian 戴傳賢
Dai Jitao 戴季陶
Dan 蛋
danjia mei 蛋家妹
Danjia mei ting shi 蛋家妹艇詩
danshuige 淡水歌
Danzu 蛋族
Daoguang 道光
Daojia 道家
Daojiao 道教
Dapu 大埔 (county)
daxi 大戲
Daxueyuan 大學院
daya zhitang 大雅之堂
de 德
De Shou 德壽
Deng Erya 鄧爾雅
Deng Tingzhen 鄧廷楨
Deqing 德慶
diannong 佃農
didao secai 地道色彩

difang wenxue 地方文學
Ding 定 (county)
Ding Renchang 丁仁長
Dongguan 東莞
Duan 端
Duan Qirui 段琪瑞
Duanxi 端溪
duliguo 獨立國
duoshen de 多神的
dushuyin 讀書音

Enping 恩平 (county)
Ertie xiansheng 二鐵先生
Erya 爾雅

faan-t'au-p'oh 番頭婆
Fan Ling (Fenling) 粉嶺
Fan Ling Wei (Fenling wei) 粉嶺圍
fangyan 方言
fangyan fanli 方言凡例
fanli 凡例
fashi 法式
fei 匪
Fei Xiaotong 費孝通
Feng Menglong 馮夢龍
Feng Yuxiang 馮玉祥
fengsu 風俗
Fengsu Diaocha Hui 風俗調查會
fengsu gaige 風俗改革
Fengsu gaige congkan 風俗改革叢刊
Fengsu Gaige Weiyuanhui 風俗改革委員會
fengsupin chenlieshi 風俗品陳列室
Fenyun cuoyao 分韵撮要
Foshan 佛山
Fu jie duqian shuo 附戒賭錢説
Fugui Tang 富桂堂
Fujian 福建
fukesheng 附科生
Fukuzawa Yukichi 福澤諭吉
Fulao (Hoklo) 福佬
Fung Ping-shan (Feng Pingshan) 馮平山
Furu san-si-wu zi shu 婦孺三四五字書
Furu xuzhi 婦孺須知
fusheng 附生
gailiang 改良
ganshi 幹事

Gao Jianfu 高劍父
Gao Jingting 高靜亭
Gao Qifeng 高奇峰
gaolou fengyu gan siwen 高樓風雨感斯文
Gaolou fengyu, Nanhai yiguan
高樓風雨,南海衣冠
Gaoming 高明
Gaowen shu 告蚊書
Gaoyao 高要
Gaoyao Zhonglie Ci 高要忠烈祠
Gaozhou 高州

gequ 歌曲
Geyao zhoukan 歌謠周刊
geyou zhongxing 各有種姓
gongsheng 貢生
Gongyang 公羊
Gongyang zhuan 公羊傳
gongyu fuwutuan 公餘服務團
Gou Jian 勾踐
Gu Jiegang 顧頡剛
Gu Jigao 顧季高
Gu Zhi 古直
guan 館
Guan Yu 關羽
Guandi 關帝
Guang *qiang* 廣腔
Guang-Zhao-Luo Jiazhong Nongye Xuetang
廣肇羅甲種農業學堂
Guangdong bao 廣東報
Guangdong *daxi* 廣東大戲
Guangdong mingren gushi 廣東名人故事
Guangdong minzu gailun 廣東民族概論
Guangdong wenhua zhi yanjiu
廣東文化之研究
Guangdong *wenwu zhanlanhui*
廣東文物展覽會
Guangdong wenwu 廣東文物
Guangdong wenzheng 廣東文徵
Guangdong xiangtu dili jiaokeshu
廣東鄉土地理教科書
Guangdong xiangtu gezhi jiaokeshu
廣東鄉土格致教科書
Guangdong xiangtu lishi jiaokeshu
廣東鄉土歷史教科書
Guangdong xiangtushi jiaokeshu
廣東鄉土史教科書
Guangdong xinyu 廣東新語
Guangdong *yige ren* 廣東一個人
Guangdongren 廣東人
Guangdongren *zhi zhongbie* 廣東人之種別
Guangdongren *zhi zhongzu* 廣東人之種族
Guangdongyu yizhu sishu 廣東語譯注四書
Guangxi 廣西
Guangxu 光緒
Guangya 廣雅
Guangzhong ren 廣中人
Guangzhou 廣州
Guangzhou erge jiaji 廣州兒歌甲集
Guangzhou minguo ribao 廣州民國日報
Guangzhou-Zhaoqing-Luoding
廣州-肇慶-羅定
Guangzhouyu shujing jieyi 廣州語書經解義
guanhua 官話
guanshang tushu 官商吐屬
guanxi 官戲
Guilin *guanhua* 桂林官話
guizhi 規制
Gujing Jingshe 詁經精舍
gunhua 滾花

guo 國
Guo Pu 郭璞
guocui 國粹
Guocui xuebao 國粹學報
guohuo 國貨
guojia 國家
Guoli Zhongshan Daxue 國立中山大學
guomin 國民
guomin xing 國民性
Guomindang 國民黨
Guoxue Baocun Hui 國學保存會
guoyu 國語
guoyue 國樂
guwen 古文

Ha Yu 韓愈
hai 係
Haifeng 海豐
Haiguo tuzhi 海國圖志
Hainan 海南
Haishan xianguan congshu 海山仙館叢書
Haishang hua liezhuan 海上花列傳
Hakka (Kejia) 客家
hampalang [haam-pang-lang] 喊嗙吟
Han 漢
Han Bangqing 韓邦慶
Han *zhong* 漢種
Hankou 漢口
Hangzhou 杭州
hanjing 喊驚
Hanlin 翰林
Hanshan 韓山
Hanyu 漢語
Hanyu *fangyan* 漢語方言
hau 口
Hebei 河北
Helao (Hoklo) 鶴佬
Ho Fuk-tong (He Futang) 何福堂
hong 行
houxu 後續
Hu 胡
Hu Shi 胡適
hua 化
Hua'nan Dianying Xiehui 華南電影協會
Huajian ji 花箋記
Huang Foyi 黃佛頤
Huang Jie黃節
Huang Juezi 黃爵滋
Huang Luyi 黃魯逸
Huang Peifang 黃培芳
Huang Peikun 黃培堃
Huang shi 黃史
Huang Xiaoyang 黃蕭養
Huang Yingkui 黃映奎
Huang Youdi 黃友棣
Huang Zhao 黃釗
Huang Zunxian 黃遵憲
Huang Zuo 黃佐
Huangchao jingjie 皇朝經解
Huanhun ji 還魂記
Hubei 湖北
Huimin 惠民
Huizhou 惠州
Hu'nan 湖南

jian 見
Jian Chaoliang 簡朝亮
Jian Yinchu 簡寅初
Jian Youwen 簡又文
Jian'an 建安
Jiang Jieshi 蔣介石
Jiangmen 江門
Jiangnan 江南
Jiangsu 江蘇
Jiangsu-Zhejiang 江蘇-浙江
Jiangxi 江西
Jianshe Ting 建設廳
Jianshe zhoubao 建設周報
jiansheng 監生
jiao 教
jiaohua 教化
Jiaoshu fu 教書賦
Jiaqing 嘉慶
Jiaying 嘉應
Jichunshi yuanqing 鷄春石冤情
Jie dubo wen 戒賭博文
Jie mai baigepiao wen 戒買白鴿票文
Jie nanse wen 戒男色文
Jiepiao jiexin 戒嫖解心
Jiepiao wen 戒嫖文
Jieyin ge 戒淫歌
Jieyin shimo 戒淫時墨
Jiezhi zaise fu 戒之在色賦
Jige 鷄歌
jiguan xuexiaohua 機關學校化
jin 金
jingguo 經國
jingji 經濟
jingshi 經史
Jingshi Daxuetang 京師大學堂
Jingshi Daxuexiao 京師大學校
jingzheng 經徵
Jinren *duqu* 晉人讀曲
jinwen 今文
jishi 濟世
Jiujiang 九江
jizheng 稽徵
ju 局
junzhang 軍長
Jupo Jingshe 菊坡精舍
juren 舉人

k'ui 佢
Kaiping 開平
Kam Tin (Jintian) 錦田

Kang Youwei 康有為
Kangxi 康熙
kanji (Japanese) 漢字
kaozheng 考證
ke 科
*ke*既 (*zhi*) 之
kefei 客匪
Kejia (Hakka) 客家
Kejia Geyao Yanjiuhui 客家歌謠研究會
Kejia yanjiu daolun 客家研究導論
Keren dui 客人對
Keshu Datonghui 客屬大同會
Keshuo 客説
keyi 科儀
keyong 客勇
kezei 客賊
kom 敢 / 噉
kou 口
Kuang Lu 鄺露
Kun *qiang* 昆腔
Kunlun 崑崙

Lü Tian 綠天
Lai Jixi 賴濟熙
Lang 狼
Lao She 老舍
le 哩
Leizhou 雷州
Li 黎
Li 俚
Li Guangting 李光廷
Li Hanhun 李漢魂
Li Hongzhang 李鴻章
Li Jinghan 李景漢
Li Jishen 李濟深
Li Shangyin 李商隱
Li Tiaoyuan 李調元
Li Yinglin 李應林
Liang Boqiang 梁伯强
Liang Chu 梁儲
Liang Dingfen 梁鼎芬
Liang Hancao 梁寒操
Liang Qichao 梁啟超
Liang Shanbo 梁山伯
Liang Tingnan 梁廷楠
Liang Xu 梁詡
Liang Yinglin 梁應麟
Liang Zanshen 梁贊燊
Liang Zugao 梁祖誥
Liang Zuoyi 梁作楫
Liangyue Guangren Shantang 兩粵廣仁善堂
Lianzhou 連州
liao 料
Liao Tingxiang 廖廷相
liezhuan 列傳
Lilou 離婁
Lin Botong 林伯桐
Lin Changyi 林昌彝
Lin Daquan 林達泉
Lin Zexu 林則徐
lingbiao 嶺表
Lingnan 嶺南
Lingnan congshu 嶺南叢述
Lingnan jishi 嶺南即事
Lingnan yishu 嶺南遺書
Lingnan zaji 嶺南雜記
linsheng 廩生
lishu 隸書
lisu 禮俗
Liu Bannong 劉半農
Liu Huadong 劉華東
Liu Wanzhang 劉萬章
Liu Xiang 劉向
Liu Zhe 劉哲
Liuguo da fengxiang 六國大封相
liyan 例言
Lizhi ji 荔枝記
Lo Cheung (Luo Xiang) 羅祥
lo-seung 老相
loh 囉
lok 咯
longzhou 龍舟
Lu Kun 盧坤
Lu Xun 魯迅
Lun baozhang yi gaiyong qianshuo 論報章宜改用淺説
Lun xifa jie gu suoyou 論西法皆古所有
Lunyu sujie 論語俗解
Luo Xianglin 羅香林
Luoding *zhou* 羅定州
Luolu bushao 落爐不燒

'm [ng] 唔
maai-tui 埋堆
Mage 麻歌
Mai Shizhi 麥仕治
Mai yanzhi 賣烟脂
mei 美
Mei *xian* 梅縣
Meijin huagong juyue bao 美禁華工拒約報
Meiren xiaobian 美人小便
Meng Jiang nü 孟姜女
Mengzheng zhaoqin 蒙正招親
Mengzi 孟子
Miao 苗
Miao Lianxian 繆蓮仙
Mingde She 明德社
Mingguo ribao 民國日報
Minjian wenyi 民間文藝
Minsu congshu 民俗叢書
Minsu Xuehui 民俗學會
Minsu zhoukan 民俗周刊
minzhong jiaoyu guan 民衆教育館
minzu 民族

mo (*wu*) 無
moerxue 魔兒學
moshu 魔術
moyu ge 摸魚歌
Mozi 墨子
mu 畝
muyu shu 木魚書

na (*jie*) 毗
Nakanishi Ushiro 中西牛郎
Nanbei guanhua zuanbian daquan 南北官話纂編大全
Nanhai 南海
Nan-Han dili zhi 南漢地理志
Nan-Han ji 南漢紀
Nan-Han jishi zhi 南漢金石志
Nanjing 南京
nanman niaojue 南蠻鳥觧
Nanxiong 南雄
Nanyang 南洋
nanyin 南音
nei shik in ng shik? 你食烟唔食?
ng-pei 唔俾
ng-ts'ang 唔曾
ng-ts'z 唔似
nongmin 農民

Ou Jujia 歐榘甲

Pan 潘
Pan Shicheng 潘仕成
Pan Zhencheng 潘振承
Panyu 番禺
Pingzong 平鬃
pong-ch'an [bangchen] 幫襯
Putongxue Shushi 普通學書室

Qi 歧
qiang 腔
Qianlong 乾隆
Qin *qiang* 秦腔
Qing shi gao 清史稿
Qinghua 清華
Qingru xuean 清儒學案
qingshu zhiqi 清淑之氣
Qingyuan 清遠
Qinzhou 欽州
Qiongzhou 瓊州
Qiu Fengjia 丘逢甲
Qiu Jun 邱浚
Qu Dajun 屈大均
Quan jiepiao ge 勸戒嫖歌
Qujiang 曲江
qun 群

Rangqin 勷勤
raoyou qingyun 饒有情韵
ren 人
renwu zhuan 人物傳
Rong Hong 容閎
Rong Zhaozu 容肇祖
Ruan Yuan 阮元
rudao 儒道
rulin zhuan 儒林傳

saihui 賽會
sanshi 三世
Sanshui 三水
Sha Yizun 莎彝尊
Shajia zhuang 沙家莊
Shan'ge 山歌
Shandong 山東
Shanghai bao 上海報
Shanghai 上海
Shangshu, Shundian 尚書, 舜典
shangwu 商務
Shangwu Yinshu Guan 商務印書館
shanshe/ shantang 善社/ 善堂
shanshu 善書
Shantou 汕頭
Shanxi 山西
shanzhang 山長
Shao Binru 邵彬儒
Shaokang 少康
Shaoren 韶人
Shaozhou 韶州
She 畲
Shehui tongquan 社會通詮
Shen bao 申報
shendao 神道
Shengli Disi Shifan 省立第四師範
Shengxun sujie 聖訓俗解
Shengyu 聖諭
Shengyu guangxun 聖諭廣訓
shengyuan 生員
shenquan 神權
Shenzhou 深州
Shenzhou fengtuji 深州風土記
shetuan 社團
shi 士
shi 是
Shi Jianru 史堅如
shi-ha 試吓
shibian 史編
shidafu 士大夫
Shidian ke 十殿科
Shihuan ke 釋豢科
shihuo 食貨
Shijing 詩經
shiling tonghua 使令通話
Shimin bao 市民報
shimoji 始末記
Shina Bummeishi ron (Japanese) 支那文明史論
Shisanjing zhushu 十三經注疏

Shishi huabao 時事畫報
Shixue Guan 實學館
shizhun 十準
Shuiji ting 水鷄艇
Shuitian Ge 水天閣
Shuiyuan 水源
Shujing 書經
Shun-tak (Shunde) 順德
Shunde 順德
Si wangshi 思往事
Sichuan 四川
Sishu 四書
sishu 私塾
Siyi 四邑
Song Jiaoren 宋教仁
Su Dongpo 蘇東坡
su 俗
Su Shi 蘇軾
Subeiren 蘇北人
Suhua shuo 俗話説
Suidan he menshen xinren qi 歲旦賀門神新任啟
Sun Ke 孫科
Sun Yat-sen 孫逸仙
Suzhou 蘇州
`sz-tsoh` 死咗

`t'ai` 睇
Tai Po (Dapu) 大埔
Taiping 太平
Taishan 台山
Taishan geyao ji 台山歌謠集
taixi sheying 泰西攝影
Tan Sitong 譚嗣同
Tan Ying 譚瑩
Tan Zhonglin 譚鍾麟
tanci 彈詞
Tandang bao 坦蕩報
Tang Shaoyi 唐紹儀
Tangren *zhuzhi diao* 唐人竹枝調
ti 體
tianxia 天下
tianzhu 田主
Tiao xiangui 挑綫櫃
tiaogui 調鬼
`tik-sik` 的色
`tim` 點
`tim-kaai` 點解
ting 聽
`toh-tak` 多得
Tongmeng Hui 同盟會
tongsheng 童生
Tongwen Guan 同文館
Tongzhi 同治
Tsinghua (Qinghua) 清華
`tsoi-hong` 在行
Tuohe 脱褐
turen 土人
tuyan 土言
tuyin shicao, zhouza mobian 土音是操, 啁雜莫辨

Waijiang Liyuan Huiguan 外江梨園會館
waijiangban 外江班
Wang Shizhen 王士楨
Wang Zongyan 汪宗衍
Wanli 萬歷
Wanmu Caotang 萬木草堂
Wanmu 萬木
wanqing yilao 晚清遺老
Wei Yuan 魏源
weichi weiyuanhui 維持委員會
weitou 圍頭
Weiyi qu bao 唯一趣報
weiyuanzhang 委員長
Wen jiuqing 温舊情
Wen Zhonghe 温仲和
wende 文德
Weng Shichao 翁仕朝
Wengyuan 翁源
wenhua 文化
wenming 文明
Wenshi Yanjiusuo文史研究所
wenyan 文言
wo 我
wo shou xie wo kou 我手寫我口
Wong Shing (Huang Sheng) 黄盛
Wu Bingjian 伍秉鑒
Wu Chongyao 伍崇曜
Wu Chufan 吴楚帆
Wu Daorong 吴道鎔
Wu 伍
wu 無
wu juren 武舉人
Wu Lanxiu 吴蘭修
Wu Rulun 吴汝綸
Wu Tingfang 伍廷芳
Wu Yu 無餘
Wu-Yue 吴粤
Wuge yiji 吴歌乙集
Wugui Tang 五桂堂
Wujun Ci 五君祠
wuwei zhuyi 無為主義
Wuxi 無錫
wuyu 五育
wuyue 吾粤
Wuzhou 梧州

Xia Mianzun 夏眄尊
Xiamen 厦門
Xian Yuqing 冼玉清
Xianfeng 咸豐
xiang zizhi 鄉自治
xiangmin 鄉民
Xiangmizi 香迷子

Xiangshan 香山
xiangtu 鄉土
xiangtu jiaokeshu 鄉土教科書
xianren 縣人
xianshuige 咸水歌
xiaoren 小人
Xiaoxue xinchang ge 小學新唱歌
Xiguan ma 西關媽
Xijiang 西江
Xin Guangdong 新廣東
xin shenghuo yundong 新生活運動
xing 興
Xingning 興寧
xingzheng ducha zhuanyuan 行政督察專員
Xinhui 新會
Xinhun fu 新婚賦
Xinmin congbao 新民叢報
Xinmin shuo 新民説
xinmin ti 新民體
Xinning (Taishan) 新寧 (台山)
Xinxue weijing kao 新學偽經考
Xinzao 新造
xinzeng 新增
xiucai 秀才
xiujin 修金
Xixue Guan 西學館
Xu Chongqing 許崇清
Xu Dishan 許地山
Xu Naiji 許乃濟
Xu Rong 徐榮
Xu Shichang 徐世昌
Xuantong 宣統
Xuanzong 宣宗
Xuehai 學海
Xuehai Shulou 學海書樓
Xuehaitang 學海堂
xuezhang 學長
Xunhuan ribao 循環日報

ya 雅
Yan Fu 嚴復
Yang Enshou 楊恩壽
Yangcheng bao 羊城報
Yangcheng 羊城
Yanjing 燕京
Yao 猺
Yapianyan fu 鴉片烟賦
Ye Gongchao 葉恭綽
Ye Mingchen 葉名琛
yeshi 野史
yi chang zhong he, manyin zachen 一唱衆和, 蠻音雜陳
Yi Kezhong 儀克中
yi 儀
Yiwen Tang 以文堂
Yiban 一般
Yijing 易經
Yin danjia mei bing daihui gong zuofei 吟蛋家妹并帶回宮作妃
yin, mi, wa, su 淫, 糜, 哇, 俗
Yingde 英德
Yingke er houjin, fanghu sihai 盈科而後進, 放乎四海
yingqin 迎親
yiren 邑人
Yiyang *qiang* 弋陽腔
yong 用
Yongan 永安
Yongjia 永嘉
Yongzheng 雍正
you wenhua 有文化
You yinghua qianxue qimengshu yi 由英話淺學啟蒙書譯
Yu Hanmou 余漢謀
Yu 禹
Yuan Conghuan 袁崇煥
Yuan Shikai 袁世凱
Yuanse fu 遠色賦
Yue (a) 粵
Yue (b) 越
Yue Fei 岳飛
Yue shisan jia ji 粵十三家集
Yue *zhong* 粵種
Yuedong siyi tuhua 粵東四邑土話
Yuefeng 粵風
yuege 粵歌
Yuehai chunqiu 粵海春秋
Yuehua bao 越華報
Yuehua 越華
yueju 粵劇
Yueou 粵謳
Yueren 粵人
Yuesu 粵俗
Yuesu xianghua 粵俗向化
Yuexiu 粵秀
Yuexue 粵學
Yueyin zhinan 粵音指南
Yueyou jicheng 粵游紀程
Yueyou xiaozhi 粵游小志
Yumeiren 玉美人
Yun Zhaokun 雲照坤
yuyin 語音

Zaifeng 載灃
zayao 雜謠
Zeng Zhao 曾釗
Zengcheng 增城
zengguang 增廣
Zhan Ruoshui 湛若水
Zhan Tianyou 詹天佑
Zhang Bao 張保
Zhang Jiuling 張九齡
Zhang Qingshui 張清水
Zhang Weiping 張維屏
Zhang Xintai 張心泰

Zhang Yi 張揖
Zhang Yucheng 張玉成
Zhang Zhidong 張之洞
Zhang Zuolin 張作霖
Zhao De 趙德
Zhao Ziyong 招子庸
Zhaojun Zhonglie Ci 肇軍忠烈祠
Zhaoqing 肇慶
Zhejiang 浙江
zhen Yueren 真粵人
zheng waijiang qindiao 正外江琴調
Zhengji fangyan zhi wojian 徵集方言之我見
Zhengyin bianwei 正音辨微
Zhengyin cuoyao 正音撮要
zhengyin 正音
zhengzhi gongzuo weiyuan 政治工作委員
Zhenping 鎮平
zhi 之
zhi 智
Zhili 直隸
zhilizhou 直隸州
zhishi jiejii 知識階級
zhishi jieji de yunming 知識階級的運命
zhishiban 志士班
zhiwu 指武
zhiyi 志異
Zhong Jingwen 鍾敬文
zhong 種
Zhongguo ribao 中國日報
Zhongguo *zhi bu guo ye* 中國之不國也
Zhongguo *zhi ren* 中國之人
Zhongguo *zhong* 中國種
Zhongguo 中國
Zhongguoren 中國人
Zhonghua Jidujiao Qingnianhui Quanguo Xiehui 中華基督教青年會全國協會
Zhonghua *minzu* 中華民族
Zhonghua Pingmin Jiaoyu Cujin Hui 中華平民教育促進會
zhonglei 種類
Zhongren chan ke 仲人懺科
Zhongshan 中山
zhongtu 中土
Zhongyang Dianyin Jiancha Weiyuanhui 中央電影檢查委員會
Zhongyong zhu 中庸注
zhongyuan 中原
zhongyuanren 中原人
zhongzhou 中州
zhongzhouyin 中州音
zhongzu 種族
Zhou Fu 周馥
Zhou Guanshan 周冠山
zhou 州
Zhou Zuoren 周作人
Zhouli 周禮
Zhu Ciqi 朱次崎
Zhu Jiahua 朱家驊
Zhu Qianzhi 朱謙之
Zhu Xi 朱熹
Zhu Xizu 朱希祖
Zhu Yingtai 祝英台
Zhu Yixin 朱一新
Zhuang 僮 / 獞
zhuangyuan 狀元
zhuankesheng 專科生
Zhugui fu 逐鬼賦
Zhuji *xiang* 珠璣巷
zhuren 主任
zhuzhici 竹枝詞
Zhuzi jiali 朱子家禮
zigengnong 自耕農
zike 字課
zishu 字書
zongjiao 宗教
Zongli Yamen 總理衙門
Zou Boqi 鄒伯奇
Zou Lu 鄒魯
zu 族
zuxianjiao 祖先教