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RESEARCH ARTICLE

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Revolution and business: Shanghai in the Revolution of 1911

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Abstract From 1911 to 1913, in big streets and small lanes, in famous parks and thriving stores, and in tea houses and grand restaurants located in such cities as Shanghai, Nanjing, Beijing and Wuchang, numerous business opportunities were born out of the Revolution of 1911. By using the political giants and military leaders around Shanghai, business firms skillfully dealt with the difficulties of the continually changing political situation and managed to keep their businesses afloat, succeeding in their response to the consumption demands of the public. It can be argued that the Revolution of 1911 played a distinct role in the development of businesses in Shanghai during that time.

Keywords the Revolution of 1911, businesses, Shanghai

摘要 1911–1913年间在上海、南京、北京、武昌等城市的大街小巷、名园旺铺、茶馆酒楼，有许多因辛亥革命而起，或与辛亥革命相关的生意。这些生意对各色人等都有着大小不一的影响和联系。从以上海为中心的伟人将帅在生意中所产生的影响、商家在政治变局中应对困难的努力、继续开展生意的手段以及消费大众对生意的呼应，可以发现城市与辛亥革命通过生意在互动影响。

关键词 辛亥革命，生意，上海

1 Introduction

During the Revolution of 1911, many central political concepts in the transitional period between the Qing Dynasty and the Republic of China were often misused and misunderstood. Take “republic” as an example: Zhang Shizhao (an influential political activist and famous literatus in modern China) argued that “republic” was not only the most fashionable word at that time, but also the

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nastiest one. Soldiers used "republic" to advocate for their indulgence and students for their disobedience. Thus, Zhang appealed, "Republic, republic, all the public behave in the name of you. If you were able to speak, why not confess what you really are right away?"[1]

From the connotation of the "republic" understood by Zhang in 1912—the state adopted the representative regime with only one president, his appeal did make sense.[2] However, once the idea of "republic" had become a central political concept, its misuse and misunderstanding proved, from another angle, that it had been widely accepted and deeply carved into people's hearts. Moreover, from the perspective of Xu Zhaowei, a low level official in the capital, the word "republic" was not only meaningful politically, but also carried with it a monetary value.

One day, a guest of a Xu, who had quit his job after the Revolution and returned to his hometown, Changshu, said that a book he had planned to translate called *Pingmin zhengzhi* (Politics of civilians) would be published under another name *Gonghe zhengzhi* (Politics of republic). He also said that the once fashionable magazine *Guocui xuebao* (Journal of National Quintessence) had become unmarketable for a period, but the alteration of its name to *Gonghe zazhi* (Magazine of the Republic) led to its revival. After the friend had left, Xu could not help "sighing" in his diary: "what deserves several coins is the word "republic" alone!"[3]

What Xu meant was that the term "republic" was already being linked to business and financial opportunities. However, at that time, there was no concept that was absolutely correct in terms of politics. Other ideas and terms popular during the transitional period between the Qing Dynasty and the Republic of China that "deserve several coins" included "revolution," "fanzheng" (to come over from the enemy's side), "compatriot," "recovery," "the Republic of China." In big streets and small lanes, famous parks and thriving stores, teahouses and grand restaurants in Shanghai, Nanjing, Beijing, Wuchang and other big cities during 1911–1913, numerous businesses arose from and in relation to the Revolution of 1911. These businesses had, to different extents, connections with almost everybody, from "martyrs" already dead, political giants and military leaders enjoying success, and members of the loyal families, ministers, and veterans of the Qing Dynasty, to consumers and other business firms. This article examines the images of political giants and military leaders around Shanghai embraced by these businesses, analyzes how the Revolution of 1911 and its

[1] Xing Yan, Feb. 27, 1912.
[2] It is quite complicated to review "republic" as a central concept in politics. See Feng Tianyu, 2002, Vol. 1; Fang Weigui, 2000, No. 4.
[3] Xu Zhaowei, 79.

actors interacted with and influenced the development of business during this time, and also investigated how these firms skillfully dealt with difficulties of the continually changing political situation and keeping their businesses afloat while responding to the public's changing demands.

2 Presentation of complicated images—political giants and military leaders in businesses

During the Revolution of 1911, numerous political giants and military leaders became involved, both knowingly and unwittingly, in the development of various sorts of businesses. As public figures, their images in businesses were complicated. There were several reasons for these "complicated images." First, the current political situation had a great impact on businesses, so images of political giants and military leaders in businesses changed according to the promotion and demotion of their political status. Secondly, businesses reflected the knowledge and imagination of their consumers about political giants and military leaders, so their images used by businesses were unavoidably mystified, vulgarized and exaggerated in keeping with public opinion. Sun Yat-sen is a typical case of complicated images among political giants and military leaders.

When it comes to Sun, the heroic image of him understood by so many people over the years had been further consolidated and strengthened by the use of his image in business. For instance, the event of his being kidnapped in London was the source of Sun's great reputation internationally, providing a huge boost to his status thereafter. However, the book itself, *Kidnapped in London*, is undoubtedly the key that brought this event to the world's attention, transforming the story of Sun's abduction by the Qing embassy into an internationally compelling story by presenting Sun as a good-looking gentleman with British grace, a victim under the oppression of oriental tyranny, a wise intellectual, an ideal reformer and a revolutionary leader.[4] However, to domestic readers, this book, which was written by Kenneth Cantlie and recognized as the words of Sun Yat-sen, is quite unfamiliar, because it was not immediately translated into Chinese after its first English edition was published in Bristol, Britain in 1897. Before the Revolution, the event of "being kidnapped" could only be read about through its Japanese edition published in 1898, *My thirty-three years' dream* (in Japanese) written by Miyazaki Toten in 1902, and the abridged edition of Miyazaki's book translated by Zhang Shizhao.[5] The Chinese edition was finally published by Shanghai Commercial Press in Apr. 1912:

[4] Huang Yuhe, 235, 237, 238.
[5] Guo Shuanglin, 2003, Vol. 2.

> The success of the Chinese Revolution of 1911 is owed to Sun Yat-sen, and to the event that Sun was imprisoned by the Chinese Embassy in London and finally relieved because of the British government's imposition and order. This book is personally written by Sun Yat-sen, and demonstrates the tenets of Hsing Chung Hui (Society for the Revival of China) and those of Sun himself, one by one, which range from, without any detail omitted, the aim of attending the Society and the failure of the Guangzhou uprising in 1895 to his imprisonment at the Chinese Embassy in London and the intervention of the British government. The original is in English but out of print at present. Our press has found such original and translated it into Chinese, and thus our citizens expecting to view Mr. Sun's greatness with reverence and seeking historical truth of the Revolution are desired to read it as soon as possible for enormous pleasure.[6]

This advertisement connected "success of the Revolution," owing to Sun Yat-sen, and Sun's imprisonment at the Chinese Embassy together in an easily understandable way, and along with the publication of the Chinese edition, drove the image of Sun as a political giant deeper into people's hearts. Zhang Shizhao said: "This book has been well known among British for a long time. Fifteen years later, it was finally translated into Chinese, which made it possible to peek into the giant's legend before he became famous. So difficult it is to identify heroes!"[7]

In addition to *Kidnapped in London*, all things with regard to Sun, such as photographs, letters and correspondence, also became commodities involved in businesses and were widely transmitted in trade. During this commoditization of Sun's image, many impressive titles were attributed to him and constituted the significant basis on which the project of "Father of the State" was constructed.

On the other hand, however, though Sun Yat-sen was elected as the Temporary President of the Republic, his term of office lasted for only several months, the impact of which on businesses was limited indeed. Some businesses at that time were not in favor of using his image. Although the source of the hearsay that Sun aspired to devote himself to revolution after hearing the story about Hong Xiuquan and Yang Xiuqing (leaders of the Taiping Heavenly Kingdom) was the "best-seller" *Zhongguo geming ji* (Revolutions in China)[8] "especially from which we could get a rough idea about the tenets of revolutions," the keyword "revolution" was not expressly

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[6] "Advertisement," *Minlibao*, Apr. 19, 1912.
[7] Xing Yan, Apr. 20, 1912.
[8] "Advertisement," *Minlibao*, Aug. 24, 1912.

mentioned or further promoted in the narration.[9]

Another example is the book *Taiping tianguo zhanshi* (History of War in the Taiping Heavenly Kingdom), prefaced and highly praised by Sun Yat-sen, republished by Jicheng Book Company. For the purpose of promotion of sales, the company listed dozens of famous names in addition to Sun in its advertisement to please the public. Especially, Zhang Taiyan, political opponent of Sun's, was designated as "the great nationalist in modern times" in the advertisement, but Sun was merely named as "Mr. Sun Yat-sen," the dramatic contrast between the two men could be easily seen.[10]

The negative impact of the above-mentioned advertisements on Sun's image was not serious, however, the following several businesses either promoted ideas different from Sun's or did harm to his "leading" status. The contravening issue was the flag. On Jan. 10, 1912, the Conference for Provincial Representatives delegating the authority of the Temporary Senate reached a resolution: "to define the Five Color Banner as the format of the national flag," and sent a letter to Sun Yat-sen, saying "please immediately order the relative department to promulgate it to each province for implementation."[11] However, Sun did not promulgate such resolution, for his favorite national flag was the "Qingtian bairi qi" (White sun in the blue-sky banner)—the only flag that was able to present the legality of the status of himself and his loyal followers. In the letter responding to the Conference for Provincial Representatives, Sun Yat-sen said:

> Firstly, in accordance with the traditional practice of the Qing Dynasty, the navy took the Five Color Banner as the flag of senior officers at the first and second levels. Now since the national flag of the Qing has been abolished, it is somehow unfit to reuse its official flag. Secondly, the Five Color Banner uses these colors to present five major nations in this country respectively, but the distribution of the colors is not definitive, for example, it uses yellow to present the Manchu nationality. Thirdly, the top-to-bottom arrangement of different colors cannot embody the declaration of equality for nationalities, instead, classes still exist. The key points in the promulgation of a national flag are: history of the banner, meaning of the banner and beauty of the banner. The banner of Wuhan presents its status of the first city to rise up; the banner of Jiangsu and Zhejiang presents the recovery of Nanjing; and the "Qingtian bairi

[9] It said: "Sun entered a private school after the farm work had been finished. His teachers were all from the faction supporting Hong Xiuquan and Yang Xiuqing, and often taught the students the history about the Taiping Heavenly Kingdom. The students were all assimilated. His schoolmates would not like to return home but often played with Sun. They called him 'Hong Xiuquan II'." Xin ziyoushe ed., 1912.

[10] "Advertisement," *Minlibao*, Jan. 21, 1912.

[11] "Canyiyuan shencha'an: guoqi tong'an," May 10, 1912.

> qi" has been used for uprisings in the South by the Republicans of the Han nationality for over ten years. Since Lu Haodong's martyrdom for this flag in 1895, uprisings in Huang'gang, Fangcheng, Zhen'nan Pass and Hekou, Guangdong New Army's coming over from the enemy's side in 1910, Ni Yingdian's sacrifice and 72 martyrs' deaths in Guangzhou Uprising in 1911 were all guided by this flag. Overseas Chinese in Southeast Asia and the American continent who sympathize with the republic have also used this flag for many years; as a result, foreigners recognize it as the national flag of the Republic of China. In terms of the flag's connotation, numerous ideas from Wuhan are extremely fair and square; the image of "white sun in the blue sky" is magnificent, representing that China is a large country in the Far East where the sun, the holiest fixed star, rises. Moreover, "white sun in the blue sky" symbolizes that sunshine spills over with freedom and equality. There are many reasons set forth for the red background of the banner in addition to the other two colors, but I, the President, do not think it is necessary to discuss this, as it is not to be determined at present. Therefore, the proposal from Wuhan also has a perfect explanation. While still fighting for this revolution, there is no need to decide on the national flag immediately. For instance, the national flag of the USA was also determined after several alterations. As a result, I, the President, suggest not to promulgate it for implementation immediately, and to leave it for further discussion after the foundation of the Congress elected by the people.[12]

The suggestion set forth by Sun Yat-sen did make sense, but the political and social conditions were not ready for it to be accepted. Despite his objection, the Five Color Banner became the national flag of the Republic of China. Sun and his disciples made a great many comments on and criticisms of the political environment under the Five Color Banner, saying "the revolution has not succeeded and comrades need further struggles,"[13] but images of social conditions such as the business of the flag was fortified by the saying that "the acceptance of a flag is the result of ruthless political struggles." Indeed, taking Shanghai as an example, the flag was the most attractive symbol after the Revolution. White flags were the most popular, and flags with stars, eulogies and the pattern of *taiji* on them took the second place. Business firms looking forward to make a profit found that flags were marketable and began to imitate and sell small paper flags, it immediately popular with children. Along the Huangpu River, flags could be found almost everywhere—on the roof of houses as well as in the hands of children, of women in cars, and even of foreigners.[14]

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[12] "Dazongtong fu canyihui lun guoqi han," 43.
[13] Zhongguo Guomindang zhongyang zhixing weiyuanhui xuanchuanbu, 1929.
[14] "Haishang xiantan," Nov. 14, 1911.

There were plenty of criticisms and suggestions in the newspapers about the disunity and disorder of flags.[15] However, none of them mentioned to unify flags with the "Qingtian bairi qi."[16] When the Five Color Banner took the lead in becoming the flag most commonly used in the southeast, it was defined as an official business by Hujun dudufu (the highest bureaucracy of the army quartering in Shanghai) to produce and sell flags exclusively with a unified pattern, material and price.[17] Moreover, it appeared here and there, this increasingly defined it as the national flag. On National Day, the Five Color Banner flag was placed at every street corner; all kinds of pop music incorporated a description of this flag into the lyrics; it became the background of advertisements for books; business firms used it on their billboards to attract customers; some foreigners sighed for it with emotion;[18] some domestic citizens were also deeply stricken by it.[19]

Businesses added fuel to the fire in Nanjing, Jiangsu, Zhejiang and Shanghai hampering the acceptance of Sun's favorite "Qingtian bairi qi."[20] Very few of this kind of flags were available among the flags and souvenirs for sale, nor were the flag used in printed material. Sun Yat-sen's strong objection was diminished by the "silence" of businesses.

Not only did businesses contribute to the "success" of the Five Color Banner, but also to the success of Yuan Shikai. The promotion of Yuan's "leading" status and the weakening of Sun's position after Sun transferred his post of Temporary President to Yuan were clearly illustrated in the immediate reaction of business firms in Shanghai. For example, the advertisement in *Minlibao* (People's Independence Newspaper) for the series of "Correspondence of Four Great Political Leaders" published by Guangyi shuju in Oct. 1912 presented three

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[15] In "Jinggao minjun zhengfu," Wu Ming wrote "When the national flag has not been defined, someone uses one pattern, someone uses another, and someone even uses the Eight Diagram Banner—the national flag of the ruined neighboring country Korea. This not only causes citizens to lose faith in unification, but also encourages foreigners attempting to split our country. The military government must pay attention to this urgently." *Shenbao*, Nov. 11, 1911.

[16] Papers I have read such as Li Xuezhi's "Xinhai Shanghai qiyi qizhi kao" and "Minyuan guoqi zhizheng" do not mention any places using the "Qingtian bairi qi." For materials I have read mentioning the use of such flag, please see Lu Danlin, 1985, 622; Hu Hanmin, 1981, 205; Wu Tiecheng, 1981, 42–43; Xu Yongping, 1978, 68. Besides these, the reality of the circumstances remains to be verified.

[17] "Guoqi mingyi," Dec. 18, 1911.

[18] Ding Yihua, Jan. 26, 1912.

[19] Hu Zonggang ed., 42.

[20] The use of flags in places other than Nanjing, Jiangsu, Zhejiang and Shanghai has yet to be investigated. For instance, *Qianshuo huabao* published in Beijing, only mentioned the flag using the Chinese character "井" as its pattern when revolution or the revolutionary army was involved. From this, we can learn about one kind of flag used by Northerners in the Revolution. *Qianshuo huabao*, 1339, 1357, 1369, 1423, 1510.

reasons why readers "cannot miss it": "Those who admire heroes cannot miss it, those who desire to know the current political situation ca not miss it, and those who expect to know the facts of the Revolution and the history of the foundation of the Republic of China can not miss it."[21] In sequence, the books are *Yuan dazongtong shudu* (Correspondence of President Yuan), *Li fuzongtong shudu* (Correspondence of Vice-President Li), *Qian linshi dazongtong Sun Wen shudu* (Correspondence of former Temporary President Sun Yat-sen), and *Huang liushou shudu* (Correspondence of Huang Xing). It is not hard to see that Yuan Shikai, who had been regarded as a traitor and robber in the spotlight of media seven or eight months before and who was to be "slept on as leather mattress and swallowed as meat" by quite a few people turned into "a hero contributing to the foundation of the Republic of China" like Sun Yat-sen.

Additionally, the best-seller, *ManQing baishi* (The unofficial history of the Qing Dynasty), published in May, 1912 and republished in Feb. and Apr. 1913 had deeper meaning in its content arrangement. In text of the book published in Apr. 1913 were over 20 photographs. The first one was a photo of Yuan Shikai—the first of the four great men in the Republic of China—followed by the oath of President Yuan. The second one was a photo of Sun Yat-sen—the second of the four great men in the Republic of China. Sun's status had dropped from "the first" several months before to "the second." More interesting, what were attached to Sun's photo were not his own words, but the text of the Certificate for the Grand Order granted by President Yuan. Though Sun rejected the order in reality, the validation of his status in this business needed President Yuan's approval. From the ordering of the photos and accompanying text, an idea about whose prestige was higher emerges.

The contrast between Sun's and Yuan's reputations as shown through businesses, gradually changed, however, it was not due to the Revolution of 1911 that "there was only one place in everybody's heart for Sun Yat-sen" or "Yuan Shikai." In comparison, Li Yuanhong is a person who truly obtained fame overnight in the business of the Revolution of 1911. When the First Normal School of Jiangsu recruited students in 1913, more than three hundred students from primary or middle schools attended the examination. Yang Yue, the president of the school asked them to name the figure they worshiped so as to express their admiration. The statistics showed that up to six students designated Li Yuanhong, and only two of them designated Yuan Shikai.[22] Cai Ji'ou merely regarded Li as an "ordinary man" rather impolitely in his article "Sorrow for *Dajiangbao*," but also admitted that "a hero does not leave, so an ordinary man

[21] "Advertisement," *Minlibao*, Oct. 2, 1912.
[22] "Jokes in the entrance examination of a normal school," July 1, 1913, cited from Luo Jianqiu, 128.

can become famous."[23]

Li Yuanhong was quite celebrated. His being worshiped at that time was antithetic to his later image as "Dudu (the highest official of a military government) under bed." (Li's title originated from the story that he was dragged out from the bottom of the bed by revolutionaries and elevated to the position of Dudu). However, his perceived greatness is the historical reality, the formation of which should be attributed in large part to businesses. The first businesses figuring "Li Yuanhong's" image were commercial newspapers.

For instance, the article "History of Li Yuanhong—the President of Wuchang Revolutionary Army" published in *Shenbao* (Shen Newspaper) on Oct. 16, 1911 praised him as a resolute and fortitudinous man with a grand general's lofty quality.[24] Beginning on Oct. 20, a relatively mysterious rumor began to spread. It was said that a telegram from Tokyo had informed them that Li Yuanhong had joined the revolutionary party during his study in Japan after the Sino-Japanese War of 1894–1895, and that he had even drafted the declaration for the uprising several years before.[25] The "Ziyoutan" (free talks, a column of the newspaper *Shenbao*) joined in before long. An unconfirmed report said that Li was filled with revolutionary ideas in his mind, which was embodied in his name "Yuanhong" implying the rise of Zhu Hongwu (the first emperor of the Ming Dynasty) in the late Yuan Dynasty. The report also claimed that there was a couplet outside his door saying: "After the dragon in the Yellow River fell asleep, the deer in the Central Plains becomes plump," which indicated that he long harbored great ambitions.[26]

Various rumors were gradually accepted by the public during the wide-spread dissemination of such information in newspapers, and through word of mouth. People from all over were very curious about him.[27] In addition, the then-current popular prophetic books such as *Shaobingge* (Song of fired bread) provided fatalistic evidence for these rumor's further popularization and validation. An article on *Minlibao* mentioned a story: two merchants were discussing the revolution. Merchant A argued that Li Yuanhong did not appear in *Tuibeitu* (another famous traditional prophetic book like *Shaobingge*), so he was unlikely to achieve a great success. Whereas, Merchant B argued that Li Yuanhong was an

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[23] Cited from Liu Wangling, 324.
[24] "Wuchang gemingjun zongtong Li Yuanhong lishi," *Shenbao*, Oct. 16, 1911.
[25] A telegram from Tokyo, *Shenbao*, Oct. 20, 1911, Special Telegram.
[26] *Shenbao*, Oct. 31, 1911, "Ziyoutan: jianjian wenwen."
[27] For instance, a trainee of a bookstore in Hangzhou took advantage of this mentality. He went to Shanghai, purchased novels about Li and photos about his victory, and hawked them in the streets. Unfortunately, he was arrested by the police and prosecuted as an agitator. "Hangzhou weiji xianzhuang," Nov. 3, 1911.

offspring of Zhu Hongwu, so it was impossible for him to fail.[28] Other sources show that the number of people who agreed with B was not small. Their basis was that the prophecy in *Shaobingge* "liuyiren bujian, shanshui daoxiangfeng" indicated the Chinese character 黎 (Li's family name).[29]

As the continued promotion of Li Yuanhong's political status to the title —"Founder of the Republic of China," rumors and prophecies were practically considered authentic facts. *Minlibao* listed Li as one of the "Four Heroes of the Republic of China" on the front page published on the National Day, with the epigraph "This is the latest hero in all Chinese historical books who you must read about first."[30]

If the evaluation of Li Yuanhong on the front page of *Minlibao* represented the official attitude to some extent, articles in *Shenbao* column "Ziyoutan," reflect his common position in people's hearts. An article panegyrized him using *Wugengdiao* (The melody for the five watches of the night): "Good at military affairs and fair with awards and punishment, you are the real hero! You succeeded in nine battles out of ten. How Jovian you are!"[31] One article put his name in a couplet together with the names of Sun Yat-sen, Hu Hanmin and Huang Xing: "Sun Yat-sen for China is as fortune as the sun for this land; Hanmin recovered the regime of the Han nationality, just because God blessed our Chinese people to rise. Protect our Huangdi (the Yellow Emperor), so his offspring can achieve power and prosperity; be concerned for the masses, and immerse himself in the original virtue of his parents."[32] Some articles even mentioned him together with the former US President George Washington: "During the process of Li Yuanhong's recovery of Wuchang, the enemies surrendered as soon as they heard that his righteous flag was coming. A splendid civilization was expected to appear. He killed all his enemies, enjoyed increasing prestige, controlled a mighty army, recovered the regime of the Han, and glorified his ancestors. Just on this account, it is safe to say that he has fulfilled his ambition and will leave a good name for ever same as Washington."[33] Ordinary people living in cities vied to buy statues of him. A piece of Zhuzhici (a type of poem) said: "Li is competent enough to bear the fame of a hero of his era and every one of us recognizes him only by the figure of him. People throughout the country place great expectations on Li, with whom the title of 'Dudu' originates."[34]

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[28] Yu, Oct. 10, 1912.
[29] Tong Ming et al. eds., 246.
[30] "The epigraph of Li Yuanhong's statue," *Minlibao*, Oct. 10, 1912.
[31] Kunbao, Nov. 4, 1911.
[32] Tianmin, Jan. 29, 1912.
[33] Pingliang jingjue, Dec. 16, 1911.
[34] Zhu Wenbing, 205, 214.

In addition, Li Yuanhong had a natural ability for politics. He also kept up good relationships with famous men like Zhang Taiyan (a democratic revolutionist, thinker, and famous scholar in the late Qing and early Republic of China). Moreover, even Lin Shu (a famous translator and writer in modern China), who was not a close friend of Li's, could not help but think highly of him. Lin Shu included eulogies about Li into his own novel:

> Please look at the heroes in the Revolution, among whom you can find Lord Li from Huangpi—a genuine man keeping the Republic of China in his heart and holding the ground of Wuhan as firmly as mountains. I have not met with him, but I need not praise him just to become friends with him. Nevertheless, most of the so-called heroes have not achieved what he has. As far as those who collude with foreign armed forces to kill compatriots for their personal aims even though they consider themselves citizens, the gap between Lord Li and them is even wider than that between heaven and hell![35]

Compared to Li's glory, Jiangnan tidu (the title of the senior official of the Qing Dynasty governing the Lower Yangtze Delta) Zhang Xun, another grand general of the Qing Dynasty, was deemed a "traitor to people" by the public due to his business involvement. It is wrong to say that Zhang Xun did not have the opportunity to become a hero. The open letter from Chen Qimei to Zhang Xun dated Nov. 15, 1911 was still quite mannerly, which requested Zhang's surrender as soon as possible.[36] But Zhang Xun did not acknowledge his request, and finally chose to stay in Nanjing under siege and treated the people of Nanjing viciously.[37] From this incident, radical newspapers such as *Minlibao* and relatively conservative media such as *Shenbao* concurrently began to attack him.

A telegram from Nanjing to *Minlibao* dated Nov. 21 said that someone had seen Zhang Xun go to a tofu shop holding a human heart where he proceeded to eat the heart with wine for pleasure.[38] This hearsay is ridiculous, but it illustrates how his image developed into a cruel and brutal robber against people.

Shenbao elicited an article relay race in the column of "Ziyoutan" to discuss "methods to punish Zhang Xun." So many articles were received that this topic for "seven continuing issues," among which were smart ideas about the "Robber Zhang's" businesses involvements. An article, inspired by the story that Qin Hui (a well-known treacherous court official in Chinese history) was made into fried Hui, advocated making Zhang Xun into a dish-shaped black cake called

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[35] Lin Shu, 406.
[36] "Hu dudu zhi Zhang Xun shu," Nov. 15, 1911.
[37] For a description of the conditions in the city, please see "Jinling banyue ji," 273–311.
[38] "The special telegram from Nanjing," *Minlibao*, Nov. 21, 1911.

"Xunbing," the eaters of which should chew it vigorously to give vent to their anger at him. Another article advised the Dudufu to imprison Zhang Xun in an iron cage as soon as he was captured and put the cage in Zhangyuan (the biggest place of public activities in the late Qing Shanghai) for the public to visit after consulting the Municipal Committee. The admission ticket would be one yuan, which would be used to pay soldiers and buy provisions.[39] Another article argued that there had been a penalty of splitting a criminal's body with five oxen, which was appropriate for "Robber Zhang" who must be punished for his crimes. But as ox belongs to tailao (a kind of sacrifice), it would not be used in this way, so the author suggested the use five wild dogs to replace oxen. Onlookers would have to contribution, donating money for soldiers' pay and provisions.[40] In another article for fun, the author even made up a menu of Han Man quanxi (a kind of sumptuous feast with numerous dishes), among which was a dish expressly called "Grape Zhang Xun."[41]

After the battle in Nanjing, Zhang Xun escaped and was nowhere to be found, but this did not prevent business firms in Shanghai from continuing a smear campaign. Books like *Huitu Zhang Xun chou lishi* (Pictures on the filthy history of Zhang Xun) were published, in which Zhang was depicted as greedy and lascivious, engaged in cheating and deceiving, cruel and brutal, and ignorant of current situation.[42]

An exhibition in commemoration of the recovery of the southeast held in early 1912, included Zhang Xun's *lingjian* (a kind of arrow-shaped token of authority used in ancient Chinese army) and clothes. The organizer of the exhibit especially made a model of Zhang Xun with paper, wearing the yellow mandarin jacket awarded by the emperor of the Qing Dynasty, awkwardly positioned with his knees down on the ground. On the back of the model were the words "one yuan for the army, one fist on him." The model became the most popular in the commemoration. Quite a few visitors looked upon the model with anger and gnashed their teeth. They gave money to kick and beat "him" in succession, with bystanders clapping in encouragement. There was even someone who wanted to shoot "him" with a handgun.[43]

Besides Zhang Xun, his relatives and friends also had business involvements. In an unofficial history, Zhang's uncle Wang Fubiao was known as a notorious bandit of his generation, but the main thrust of the book was directed at Zhang Xun, Wang was not described as lustful in the book, providing a lively contrast

[39] Han Yi, Dec. 6, 1911; Zizhen, Dec. 6, 1911.
[40] Yi'e, Dec. 15, 1911.
[41] Ai, Jan. 22, 1912.
[42] *Huitu Zhang Xun chou lishi*, 1911.
[43] "Dongnan guangfu jinianhui jishi" and "Zhang Xun jinzhi yi tongyuan," 1912.

with Zhang Xun.[44] Just as all the unofficial historical books, novels, poems, and lyrics written after the fall of the Ming Dynasty always mentioned Wu Sangui's lover Chen Yuanyuan when referred to Wu's surrender to the Qing Dynasty, Zhang Xun's beloved concubine Xiaomaozi also became the "frequenter" in the businesses. According to Tao Juyin, Xiaomaozi did not escape in time after the recovery of Nanjing and was captured by the revolutionary army. Shanghai Dudu Chen Qimei recommended that she should be sent to Shanghai under escort and be displayed in the public of Zhangyuan. Each onlooker would be required to pay four *jiao* (1 *jiao*=0.1 yuan) to supplement soldiers' pay and provisions.[45] Chen Qimei's suggestion was denied by Xu Shaozhen, the Chief Commander of the Coalition and Xiaomaozi was returned to Zhang Xun. However, it received many positive responses. Someone put forward a proposition in the *Shenbao*: ask Xiaomaozi to ride on Zhang Xun's body, take photographs and sell them at the price of one *jiao* per piece, so several thousand yuan could be raised, which would help the army. At the same time, the photographs would expose the ugly side of Zhang Xun and Xiaomaozi to the public.[46]

The above ideas were never realized. What "turned over Xiaomaozi's social status"[47] were publishing houses in Shanghai, especially those inglorious ones that hoped to profit from this opportunity. For instance, Mingming xueshe published *Xiaomaozi zhuan* (Biography of Xiaomaozi). It was classified as a historical novel, but the real sales pitch was that it was about "Zhang Xun's beautiful concubine." In this book, Zhang Xun is depicted as 73 years old while Xiaomaozi is only 15. It was said to be marketable concept, and the publishing house was ready to promote its sequel.[48]

Xinhan yinshuguan attracted readers advertising "19 types of banned books," one among which was *Zhang Xun aiqie Xiaomaozi* (Xiaomaozi—Zhang Xun's beloved concubine).[49] Wenming guangfushe also followed publishing *Xiaomaozi zhuan* (Biography of Xiaomaozi). On the book's cover appeared "a fun and sophisticated army history" as the attraction. The fate of Zhang Xun in this book was more absurd: his beloved concubine was seized by his good friend, which made him a "tortoise" (In China, a man with an unfaithful wife is customarily

[44] "Zhang Xun jifu," 85–87.
[45] Tao Juyin, 93. Nevertheless, whether the story is true or not has little supporting evidence. In my opinion, from a piece of news entitled "Xiaomaozi beiliu zhi feiyu," we may conclude that such a story did exist. The news said "Zhang Xun's concubine Xiaomaozi has been detained in Shanghai for several. Some Western newspapers reported that she will be sold by auction and people could pay to see her. According to the report from the Intelligence Division, this news was not true but rumors made up by fools."
[46] He Lisan, Dec. 10, 1911.
[47] Zhu Wenbing, 214.
[48] Jiangsusheng shekeyuan MingQing xiaoshuo yanjiu zhongxin eds., 1249.
[49] "Advertisement," *Minlibao*, Feb. 6, 1912.

mocked as a "tortoise"), so the book was also titled *Wugui Zhang Xun* (Tortoise Zhang Xun.) "A special notice of the publishing house" was included at the end of the book claiming that Xiaomaozi had so many secret romantic stories that the publishing house had employed a great writer to edit a collection of novels with multiple chapters. The writer had been dedicated to this work, but as the public vied to read Xiaomaozi's stories, the house published the *Biography of Xiaomaozi* first for assuage the readers' demand.[50]

3 "To a businessmen, profit comes first"—business and enterprise

The way businesses used images of political giants and military leaders followed the saying: "to a business man, profit comes first." No matter if business firms working for or against the Revolution, they all still relied on this principle, as long as the operational environment of this commercial society—Shanghai, had not been absolutely damaged by the revolution.

After the Wuchang Uprising occurred, the first commercial endeavor attempting to profit from the Revolution was *Xianjin Wuhan zhanju xinshitu* (The map of war situation in current Wuhan) published on Oct. 25, 1911. The advertisement of the map expressly said that the Wuchang Uprising was a symbolic event saying that "the old East Asian empire has climbed, no, leapt on stage as a Republic," so that those concerned about the current political situation should pay attention to military geography, especially those scholars and talkers interested in military affairs "needed to take it with them and review it immediately."[51]

Nonetheless, *The map of war situation in current Wuhan* was only one small business opportunity promptly exploited by a shrewd businessman in Shanghai in line with the Revolution. Commercial tycoons, whose businesses were not small ones merely deserving one or two *jiao*, quickly followed suit. A typical case was the Zhongfa Pharmacy, which was well known in Shanghai since its foundation by virtue of its good use of advertising. The article "A report from Hubei" published in *Shenbao* on Nov. 1 said that the Zhongfa Pharmacy located in Hankou had reported on Aug. 23 that the local situation was calm and that business was not affected, but immediately afterwards, the pharmacy reported that many people had surrounded the pharmacy the preceding noon, which made others guess there was something wrong with the pharmacy. The answer was disclosed at last—the passersby vied to look at a recently arrived product of the pharmacy—Hamai naoxue duoxiang. Sales were very good despite a little

[50] Jiangsusheng shekeyuan MingQing xiaoshuo yanjiu zhongxin eds., 1249.
[51] "Advertisement," *Shenbao*, Oct. 25, 1911.

chaos.[52]

Such advertisements with such "twists and turns" forecasted that large business in Shanghai like the Zhongfa Pharmacy could reduce losses and even turn a wartime profit. The pharmacy began to market another major product, Ailuo bunaozhi, on the front page of *Shenbao* on Nov. 4 promoting "the value of waves in Hubei." The troubled times—the Wuchang Uprising, the turbulence in every province and large-scale migration—was used as the introduction of its product "Ailuo bunaozhi" (a kind of herb that good for one's brain). In the escape from calamity:

> Though precious things are abandoned, "Ailuo bunaozhi" is the only thing left for refugees to take along, for it safeguards the mind and is the defender of the body against different diseases. On this account, it is safe to say "Ailuo bunaozhi" is a worthy treasure.[53]

Afterwards, as the Revolution progressed, different commercial tycoons competed more and more dramatically with each other, the most famous among which was the competition between the Zhonghua Book Company and the Commercial Press. The key founder of the Zhonghua Book Company Lu Feikui was the director of the Publication Department of the Commercial Editing and Translation Institute (a branch of the Commercial Press) and the Chief Editor of *Jiaoyu zazhi* (Magazine of Education). Lu wanted to create his own business, but was troubled by lack of opportunities, for it was not easy to compete in China's book industry. The painful failure of Zhongguo tushu gongsi (the Book Company of China) founded by Xi Zipei in the competition with the Commercial Press was still fresh in Lu's memory as he was an employee of the Commercial Press at that time. However, the news from Wuchang made him thinks that an opportunity had arrived "to discard the old and establish the new."

During that period, Lu Feikui and several colleagues worked at the Commercial Press in the day as usual and dealt with affairs in the press; then after work, often until very late at night, they gathered to make plans for a new book company. All had been done very secretly without any disclosure. The management of the Commercial Press did not discover their plans at all. It is said that the principal of the Commercial Press asked Lu Feikui after the Wuchang Uprising had happened whether they should print the Dragon Flag on the covers

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[52] "Advertisement," *Shenbao*, Nov. 1, 1911.

[53] "Advertisement," *Shenbao*, Nov. 4, 1911. Luowei Pharmacy used a method similar to that of Zhongfa Pharmacy. They advertised in the name of "loving our compatriots" to sell medicine with a discount of 20 percent and committed to donate half of the income to assist the revolutionary army of Hankou. *Shenbao*, Nov. 5, 1911.

of textbooks to be published in the spring. Lu Feikui answered:

> The Qing Dynasty has lasted for over 200 years, the officials of which are all very competent in tracking down and arresting revolutionaries and the government possesses a large number of armed forces. Although they are not able to resist foreign intruders, it is more than sufficient for them to deal with internal rebellions. Therefore, the revolution cannot succeed within a short time.[54]

In agreement with his assessment, the Commercial Press still printed the old edition. However, Lu organized a group of editors fired by the Commercial Press to edit the *Zhonghua chudeng xiaoxue guowen jiaokeshu* (Chinese textbook for primary schools in China). After all had been prepared, Lu Feikui and some others established the Zhonghua Book Company in Shanghai on the birthday of the Republic of China and promoted their secretly edited textbooks to the market.

At the beginning of its foundation, Zhonghua put forward the tenet of "cultivating the citizens of the Republic of China" and set up a flag, "Textbook Revolution." Lu Feikui claimed in the "Declaration of the Zhonghua Book Company" that:

> The basis of a country is education; the basis of education is the textbook. Without the revolution of education, the foundation of the country can never be consolidated; without the revolution of the textbook, the goal of education can never be achieved.[55]

Advertisements in all the major newspapers elaborated the meaning of the "Textbook Revolution":

> The last emperor of the Qing Dynasty has resigned, the Republic of China has been unified, and the political revolution has succeeded. The current emergency is the revolution of education. Since last autumn, our company has been engaged in editing textbooks for primary schools that have been published. These textbooks are based on the latest doctrines and spirit such as independence, self-esteem, freedom, and equity, observing the notice of the Ministry of Education and adopting humanism, industrialism, politics and militarism. They all have appropriate levels and perfect content, with the goal of cultivating real citizens and filling in the foundation for the Republic of China.[56]

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[54] Zhou Wu, 2.
[55] "Advertisement," *Shenbao*, Feb. 23, 1912.
[56] "Advertisement," *Minlibao*, Feb. 25, 1912.

From above, we can see that the Zhonghua Book Company concentrating on using two keywords of then-current mainstream ideology—"revolution" and "republic," which allowed the company to obtain new height of cultural and political power and showed its ability to fight and succeed within the commercial world. As expected, several types of textbooks with the Five Color Banner on their covers and contents suitable for the new Republic became very popular. For this, Jiang Weiqiao criticized Zhang Yuanji in his article "The early days of the Commercial Press and the Zhonghua Book Company":

> Jusheng (Zhang Yuanji) was always intelligent and capable and all his actions were measured and to the point. However, even the wise are not always free from error. He was inclined to be a royalist who always shook his head when revolution was mentioned. Thus, he concluded that the Revolution would never succeed and there was no need to revise our textbooks. On the contrary, Bohong (Lu Feikui) secretly prepared a whole new set of textbooks and created Zhonghua Book Company. Zhonghua Book Company was founded in the first year of the Republic of China without any forewarning and has published textbooks for the new Republic. The Commercial Press was unprepared and their textbooks are only fit for the imperial times now overthrown by a new age.[57]

In fact, stubbornness is often the Achilles tendon of intelligent and capable men. The Zhonghua Book Company was not the only case in which Zhang Yuanji suffered losses for this reason. Some years before, his attempt to obtain *Zhongwai ribao* (Sino-foreign Newspaper) also failed owing to his overly clever schemes.[58] He was lucky that the Commercial Press was a solid company, which, after overcoming a small set back, immediately took remedial measures to regain the market. In terms of textbooks, the Commercial Press published a series of new books catering to more current conditions such as *Gongheguo jiaokeshu*

[57] Jiang Weiqiao, "Chuangban chuqi zhi Shangwu yinshuguan yu Zhonghua shuju" (The Commercial Press and Zhonghua Book Company in their early years), cited from Zhou Wu, 2004, Vol. 6, 2.

[58] "*Zhongwai ribao* was short of funds and borrowed 20 000 yuan from Zhang Jusheng, promising to return it before a deadline. Upon the expiry of such period, *Zhongwai ribao* was not able to pay the money back. Jusheng wanted to possess the newspaper himself and force them to reimburse him. He said: 'It is very good if the money can be returned. But if not, the newspaper must be transferred to me.' Rangqing (Wang Kangnian) got angry and consulted Susong taidao (equivalent to the Mayor of Shanghai) Rui Cheng and an officer named Duan Fang, who gave him the money right away to return to Jusheng. Since then *Zhongwai ribao* became an official newspaper. Jusheng had thought that Rangqing would not be able to find the money to repay him and that he would obtain the company. He was astonished after actually being repaid but could do nothing about it." Ma Xulun, 43.

(Textbook of the Republic of China) and *Gongheguo guomin duben* (A reader for the Citizens of the Republic). Even though the Commercial Press still struggled after its fight with the Zhonghua Book Company, after the Nanjing Temporary Government promulgated the "Provisional Rules of Common Education" on Jan. 19, 1912,[59] the fortunes of the Commercial Press changed. Though its advertisements still depicted the Zhonghua Book Company as the supposed enemy, the Commercial Press, while presenting its own new books as fit for the "age of republic," also displayed the company's long history and rich experience publishing textbooks, in the name of an "old brand."

In addition to the large textbook business, the Commercial Press took advantage of its abundant strength in printing and publication services. Hoping to outmaneuver the Zhonghua Book Company and other rivals, the Commercial Press focused on the production of revolution-related historical materials and souvenirs and the sale of daily publications. In Feb. 1912, the Commercial Press advertised on the front page of major newspapers that it was "soliciting revolution-related historical materials" to generate momentum for the company. It then published up to 14 volumes of a Chinese-English edition of *Dageming xiezhenhua* (Portraits of the Revolution) and over 400 kinds of black-and-white and multicolored commemorative cards, with portraits of important persons, military successes of revolutionary armies, the pattern of the national flag, funerals and celebrations, the assassination of Song Jiaoren in Beijing, President Sun's offer of sacrifice to the Ming Tombs, Cai Yuanpei's trip to the north, Yuan Shikai's inauguration, the mutiny in Beijing and Tianjin, etc. It also printed the national flag and the flag of the army on *saici* (a kind of china) to make national memorial badges. There were three types of badges for customers to select: a clock, a triangular mirror and an ordinary mirror. Before and after the National Day of 1912, the Commercial Press issued anniversary badges and cards commemorating the Wuchang Uprising.[60] Moreover, the Commercial Press seized every opportunity to demonstrate its effort to "get rid of the old to make way for the new" in all of their daily publications as well.[61]

The measures taken by the Commercial Press after the Revolution showed that, compared with the early days of the Revolution, more and more business opportunities emerged due to the Revolution. Business firms in Shanghai were

[59] Zhang Jinglu comp., 242.
[60] "Advertisement," *Minlibao*, Jan. 7, 21, Feb. 9, Aug. 24, Oct. 6, 1912.
[61] For instance, the *Pocket diary* and the *National's diary* published by the Commercial Press in 1913 emphasized in their advertisements that "the Republic has been established and the regime needs to be reformed," so we should "change the traditional content of books, and publish the latest system of rites and full dresses, pictures of full dresses, the comparing schedule of the solar calendar and the lunar calendar, and the mnemonics of solar calendar months" etc. "Advertisement," *Duli zhoubao*, 1912, No. 13.

particularly keen to take advantage of the Revolution for profit. The Publishing houses were the first business with a large amount of advertisements in newspapers marketing all kinds of books describing the course of the Revolution, revolution-related figures, and revolutionary histories of different countries and enemies of the Revolution.

After the Revolution, various memorial days emerged endlessly such as the National Day, the Unification Day, the Day of the Wuchang Uprising and the Recovery Day of Shanghai. Businesses jumped at the opportunity to make a profit from these new holidays. Zhujintang printed "necessities for new citizens" on eight color stones to make colorful memorial post cards with new patterns in order to commemorate the establishment of Nanjing Temporary Government. The contents of such post cards were largely identical with those published by the Commercial Press except for minor differences.[62]

At the same time, another business firm carefully picked the white handkerchief woven in Hangzhou and portraits of Sun Yat-sen and his two daughters subtly printed on plates to produce a Republic Commemoration Handkerchief. Its advertisement said that this handkerchief had bright colors that would not fade in water and it was more exquisite and durable than the gauze kerchief made abroad. It could be used as a souvenir in military circles, as an award for scholars and as a gift for women.[63]

The Zhongfa Pharmacy also promoted Republic memorial certificates. Each customer would be presented a memorial photo of President Sun for free once entering the store, and those who bought more than one *yuan* of products would be given a Republic memorial certificate. The more customers purchased the more free gifts they received. Over 300 different kinds of gifts were offered.[64]

On Aug. 19, the Memorial Day of the Wuchang Uprising, the Wuzhou Pharmacy, which was well known in Shanghai for its artificial blood, promoted prize-giving sales. The prizes included gold bracelets, gramophones, gold watches, folding fans and small mirrors. This marketing approach not only fed into the customers' illusion of enrichment by winning the first prize in lottery, but also reached the goal of promotion of sales by giving a prize to every customer.

Another kind of business that used the Revolution for profit was the drama and film industry. The Republic Promotion Association invited projectionists to screen movies in Zhangyuan, including documentaries demonstrating the war of Wuhan and the capture of Nanjing with some interludes of comic movies for entertainment.[65] It is extremely probable that the documentary on the war of

[62] "Advertisement," *Shenbao*, Feb. 4, 1912.
[63] "Advertisement," *Minlibao*, Feb. 2, 1912.
[64] "Huan zhu Zhonghua Minguo xinjiyuan zengsong gonghe jinian quan."
[65] "Advertisement," *Minlibao*, Jan. 21, 1912.

Wuhan was shot by the acrobat and magician Zhu Liankui for the foreign firm "Meili Corporation." This is the first news documentary shot by a Chinese citizen. The advertisement for the film said:

> All astonishing and miserable truths of the war between the two armies have been fully depicted. It is projected as a movie, the effect of which will be absolutely the same as if you were on the battlefield yourself. It is safe to say that this movie will arouse people's aspirations and enthusiasm serving the Republic![66]

Since the end of the Qing Dynasty, the theater in Shanghai also was a convenient conduit for the displaying changing cultural messages. Drama and other types of plays relating to the Revolution emerged endlessly during the period of 1911–1913, and were shown nearly every day especially before and after the memorial day of the establishment of the Republic of China and the National Day. With this upsurge, many businesspersons who were also actors gained both money and fame. Pan Yueqiao, the Xia brothers and Shanghai Federation of Actors under their leadership were not only involved in the key battle for the recovery of Shanghai—the battle of Zhizaoju (the Manufacturing Bureau), but also cooperated with Hujun dudufu to help implement policies after the recovery, as well as create and edit modern dramas and propaganda to help pay for military expenditures.

Another theater group—Jinhuatuan, similarly got involved in and profited from the Revolution. One of its members, Huang Nannan, who had studied in Japan in early years joined the Chunliu Society and kept up good relations with the United League of China. Because of this relationship, Sun Yat-sen inscribed "this theater is also a school" for the Jinhuatuan on a curtain on stage, which led to dramatic appreciation of the status of this group. However, before long, Huang Nannan argued with President Ren Tianzhi of this group and quit. Huang Nannan attempted to remove Sun's inscription on the curtain saying that it present to him from Sun. Ren Tianzhi did not agree. Consequently, they brought the case to Huishen gongxie (the Mixed Court of the International Settlement).[67]

After the Revolution, as it became popular for men to cut their queues, businesses in relation to hair also burst forth. Some business firms advertised queue cutting by giving souvenirs:

> Upon the establishment of our firm, it was delightful to attend the accession of the President and the ceremony for the new era. To commemorate this event,

[66] Lu Hongshi.
[67] Lin Daoyuan, 153.

> we decided distribute two kinds of our inventions—Wenming Fixature and Lihua Gel—to Dudufu and people in business and academic circles. However, Shanghai is too large a city and the distribution of our products may not have reached every corner of this city. Thus, we are also giving them out in front of our store. In addition to a haircut, we also will present ten tubes of Wenming Fixature to customers to express our welcome. "Hot-blooded" compatriots will be pleased.[68]

One business firm produced haircutting scissors and named them "loving the country." Each pair was sold for one yuan and its usage was introduced in newspapers in detail.

The Quchengshi Pharmacy located at 16 British Concession Road also had a hair-related side business. They promoted a series of hairdressing products, such as brushes, safety razors, depilatory creams, beard brushes, aftershave, depilatory ointments, combs, shaving creams, head oils, pomades, shampoos, medicines for hair softening, fancy soaps in different colors, perfumes, hairspray and so on. Their advertisement read:

> Since the Wuhan Uprising happened, the whole country has responded. Every man with hot blood and patriotic ideas cut his queue eagerly to make everything new and fresh and to inspire the morale of the people. Queue cutters expect eagerly to emulate Europe in making their hair tidy and smooth by combing and washing it every morning and night.[69]

Although there were many businesses sprouted from or in relation to the Revolution, competition and the primacy of profit in business did not change significantly due to the Revolution. These constants were primarily exemplified as follows.

First, when any rival's rise began to influence a firm's development, even the Revolution could not change the rules of commercial competition, which found no exception even among the so-called "revolutionists in the theatrical circle" —the Xia brothers and Pan Yueqiao. In 1912, Jing Runsan and Huang Chujiu, two business tycoons in Shanghai, created the Xinxin Stage and decided to invite the Jinhuatuan to join in order to compete with the New Stage, run by the Xia brothers and Pan Yueqiao and located in Nanshi, which performed modern dramas that were in fashion at the time. But the first performance of Jinhuatuan on Xinxin Stage was an absolute failure. At that time, local regulations required that performances end by midnight, but due to delays in the traditional acts

[68] "Advertisement," *Minlibao*, Jan. 12, 1912.
[69] "Jianfa bixu."

preceding it, by the time the Jinhuatuan began its performance of the modern drama *Shangwujian* (The appreciation of warrior), it was already 10:30 pm. They had no choice but to perform an abridged version, performing only the third and fifth acts out of the usual twelve-act three-hour version. The audience was very unsatisfied and responded with catcalls. They tossed orange peels and bananas on the stage, which devolved into chaos. People said that it was the Xia brothers and Pan Yueqiao—the owners of the New Stage—who were behind the trouble.

Second, what business firms concerned about most was their profits. When the revolution helped them sell their goods, then they certainly wanted to be connected with the Revolution. On the other hand, if other approaches had the same effect, they did not reject employing both methods. For instance, among books published by Xinhan yinshuguan, there were not only revolution-related titles like *Sun Yat-sen*, *Li Yuanhong*, *Huang Xing* and *Qiu Jin*, but also more popular book like *Tuibeitu shuo* (On Tuibeitu) bound in the Western style, and even erotic works with pictures of beautiful Japanese women after their baths and pictures of naked Western women. These titles, while considered vulgar by some, were probably quite marketable.[70] Even for some books which can be read as the history of the foundation of the Republic of China as well as the history of the perdition of the Qing Dynasty, for example, the publisher of *Shenzhou guangfuzhi yanyi* (Romance of the recovery of China) made sure to explain to readers that the book has been edited using the *Romance of the Three Kingdoms* as their model.[71] The book has almost nothing to do with the Revolution; it was simply a new and inflated version of *Romance of the Three Kingdoms*, which had been a best-seller for hundreds of years. If the new book could be connected to this classic, how could it fail?

Third, quite a few businesses, especially pharmacies, used names of revolutionary politicians in advertising their products. For instance, Zhongying Pharmacy printed the letter of commendation granted by Vice President Li Yuanhong in its advertisement; Luowei Pharmacy used the certificates of commendation presented to Vice President Li, Chen Xuecen, the provost marshal of the office of the vice president, and Wang Zhengting, the minister of the Industrial and Commercial Department; “First President” pep pills; Yazhi Milk, a medicine to quit smoking; and even a sanitary tank were also recommended with a signature from the revolutionary hero Chen Qimei.[72] These actions which seemed aimed at appropriating the Revolution were actually well worn advertising methods handed down in the last two decades. For example, the novelist Lu Shi’e wrote in 1909: “Pharmacies in Shanghai are similar to

[70] “Advertisement,” *Shenbao*, Mar. 15, 1912; *Minlibao*, Feb. 6, 1912.
[71] “Advertisement,” *Duli zhoubao*, 1912, No. 1.
[72] “Advertisement,” *Shenbao*, July 13, 20, 24, 31, 1912; *Minlibao*, July 20, 1912.

unlicensed street medicine sellers. What they claim as real drugs is actually fake. They use them to cheat money from customers. Their businesses simply rely on advertisements, so all their creators must have good writing skills."[73]

4 Embracing and rejecting: Businesses and consumers

Besides the political and military leaders who were got involved in the ranks of business, and the businesspersons who played an essential role, there is another critically important element in business: consumers. Businesses and consumers inherently rely on each other for their existence and interact with each other. Through consumers, we can explore the actual impact of the businesses arising from or in connection to the Revolution and further discuss about how mass culture in Shanghai interacted with the Revolution: some businesses were embraced and others rejected. We will briefly discuss this topic by examining three industries: book publishing, theater arts, and fashion.

As for book publishing, the number of books about the Revolution published at that time was not small and these books played a significant role in the popularity of ideas, such as revolution, the republic and democracy, and of the image of Sun Yat-sen as a virtuous leader, in Shanghai, elsewhere in China and in Chinese communities abroad. In 1907, Wu Jianren wrote in his book *Shanghai youcanlu* (Notes of travelling in Shanghai*)* that *Gemingjun* (Revolutionary army) by Zou Rong "could not be bought in bookstores."[74] Though this might be artistic license, it does reflect to some extent the reality regarding the difficulty in procuring banned books. For example, the writer Ye Shengtao had not read *Revolutionary army* until 1912, despite its publication in 1903. He borrowed a copy to "satisfy his appetite" at home only after the historian Gu Jiegang had secured a copy. However, it was likely that Gu's copy was a post-Revolution reprint.[75]

Nevertheless, consumers would not readily accept every kind of book. It is worth studying that how they selected and abandoned books. On the one hand, we can see from the number of advertisements for books in newspapers that many of them disappeared as quickly as they emerged. Why was this? It was in part because most of these books "were copied from newspapers in a hurry, and even printed many times and promoted as new ones with fresh names. Even though they begged for attention, they still failed to impress those with good taste."[76] For instance, the author's preface to *Xinhai geming shimo ji* (Notes of

[73] Lu Shi'e, 76.
[74] Wu Jianren, 453.
[75] Ye Shengtao, 223.
[76] "The advertisement of *ManQing baishi* (The unofficial history of the Qing Dynasty)," *Minlibao*, May 14, 1912.

the Process of the Revolution of 1911), edited by Bohai Shousheng and published in June, 1912, described the production process of a set of books which originally dealt with "constitutionalism" but was quickly altered to embrace the more current revolution:

> The volumes in this set had been selected as the Qing Dynasty endeavored to implement constitutionalism, and so was entitled *Shixing lixian huibian* (The collection for the implementation of constitutionalism). However, upon the termination of peace negotiations and the success of the Revolution on Dec. 25, 1911, the compilation of this set of books ended. Then, its title was changed to *Xinhai geming shimo ji.*[77]

On the other hand, however, quite a few books fit for the taste of mass consumers also became best-sellers in spite of their poor quality. The above-mentioned *The unofficial history of the Qing Dynasty* was such a case. As a poem said, "many secrets of the imperial harem of the Qing Dynasty were discovered and indecent relics were displayed again to people."[78] Another book in a similarly salacious style, *Manyi huaxia shimoji* (Notes of the immigrant Manchu's crafty rule of China), was also popular, which could be gleaned from its appeal to the Hujun dudufu to strike out against pirates.[79] Once the prohibition of such books as *Tuibeitu* and *Shaobingge* has been lifted, they might have been the most popular.[80] Since Fengshui never failed to elicit a response from consumers in spite of various efforts to wipe out superstition and to purify books by late Qing reformers.[81] Publications in Shanghai such as *Xin Sanzijing* (New three character classic) and *Sun Yat-sen yanyi* (Romance of Sun Yat-sen); portraits of Sun Yat-sen, Huang Xing and Li Yuanhong; pictures of the Wuchang Uprising all also sold well and could even be found in Taiwan.[82] In sum, under the general rubric of the Revolution, exoteric books about legends, unofficial histories, and works on augury and divination were still embraced by consumers.

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[77] Bohai Shousheng ed., preface.
[78] Zhu Wenbing, 205.
[79] The announcement said: "Chen Qimei—Hujun dudu of the Military Government of the Republic of China—Prohibits the Reprinting." "Advertisement," *Shenbao*, Mar. 27, 1912.
[80] Sa Mengwu said that Liu Ji's *Shaobingge* and some monk's *Tuibeitu* could be bought in secret here and there before the Revolution. Sa Mengwu, 49–50.
[81] See Shen Jie, 2006, Vol. 2; Zhang Zhongmin.
[82] Wang Wende, 511–512. The *New three character classic* was also entitled as *New three character classic—A mandatory reading material for citizens of the Republic of China*, *New three character classic of the Republic of China on Chinese and Western histories*, etc. Because of its numerous advantages such as simplicity and understandability, short texts and small volume, convenience to carry, rhyme of sentences, clearness and plainness, it was widely spread. See Li Jianming, May 12, 2007; Wang Ermin, 470–471.

As mentioned earlier, the theater arts had surged with a wave modern dramas extolling the Revolution. For instance, *Gonghe wansui* (Imperishable Republic) performed by the Jinhuatuan took Liu Zongyao, one of the promoters of the Revolution, as its centerpiece and painted a story that argued that "brutal officials abused people, while the just army saved them," and at last "the Republic was founded and all nationalities celebrated together,"[83] managing to collect all of the then-fashionable political emblems together to produce a performance.

Moreover, this kind of modern drama carried out so-called "mubiaozhi" wherein the composer only created the outline of the performance for the actors to work with. Sometimes the actors' lines in an act were less than ten characters, so the actors and actresses often performed impromptu speeches following their feelings. This type of modern drama looked fresh at first, but later they would be found to be full of preach that usually deviated from the plots; their artistic pattern was not particularly sophisticated—simply without any flavor. Therefore, the Jinhuatuan left Shanghai before long due to the poor box office profits and being squeezed out of the Federation of Actors. On the other hand, everlasting dramas supporting the Revolution provided a distinct attraction for theater audiences. This attraction was similar whether the plays were produced at the end of the Qing Dynasty or at the beginning of the Republic of China, unchanged on account of the Revolution.

Gewutai—a key position to perform modern plays—specially invited famous composers to write *Moling xue* (The blood of Moling)—a new drama concerning current affairs with the purpose of warning men. Its advertisement said:

> This drama is composed according to the scene personally experienced by a famous military writer in the battlefield, the plots of which are distinguishable, such as the salvation of compatriots in dangerous battlefields by heroes and heroines from the Red Cross; Dudu Lin's parade; the dispatch of troops after the military meeting summoned by Sun Yat-sen; the attack of Xiaolinwei by Zhejiang Army, the attack of Wulong Mountain by Guangdong Army; the attack of Linlinmen by Zhen Army; the capture of Zijinshan by a suicide squad; the deaths of Wang Youhong and Dong Kaiji after injured; the return to the headquarter after seizing corpus; Zhang Renjun's donation of coffins; Dudu's secret inquiries with a slack suit, review of the terrain, awaking from dreams and leading the army to go out for battles to express his love towards the country and the people; three ministers' patrol in the city, watching the battle and inviting the consul to mediate between the two sides; the capture of Xiaomaozi carrying her property; Zhang Xun's leading his army out of the city; the common persuasion of the American Consul and commercial circles;

[83] "Advertisement," *Shenbao*, Apr. 23, 1912.

> Tongling (Commander) Zhao's surrender from the sense of justice celebrated vividly and dramatically with western dills, drums and trumpets as well as cannons and bombs. These plots will make the audience see the reality of the Northern Expedition just as if you were personally in the battlefield. Performers practiced the layout and arrangement day and night, waiting for a lucky day to perform. Please come appreciate this play, and you will find we are practical and realistic, with no tricks or deceptions.[84]

This advertisement is quite to those run by the New Stage at the end of the Qing Dynasty to attract an audience, which included stunts such as sounds of wind and bullets, scenes of snow, and 50 000 pounds of real water.[85] Such stunts may have been the reason why *Moling xue* was a box office hit as deduced by the time and frequency of the advertisements in newspapers. The advertising approach was similar for another play that was an even bigger box office hit—*Ezhou xue* (The blood of Ezhou). This drama was recomposed from Lu Shi'e's homonymous novel.[86] It was very popular because it had "moving stages, pavilions, terraces and towers, automatic boats and rain; a horrifying stage of real fire; various interludes of canzonet and modern melody that were humoristic and dulcet."[87] Wang Chungen—the chief editor of the supplement of "Ziyoutan" went to the theater to watch the play and wrote review personally after hearing the play had "a pretty good plot."[88] He might have not enjoyed himself to his fullest by the watching, for he watched the sequel of the drama two days later.[89]

With respect to changing fashions, the above businesses arising from or in relation to the Revolution infiltrated the daily lives of mass consumers and created new fashions. For instance, Zhang Shunian (the son of the famous publisher Zhang Yuanji) was very young at the time of the Revolution, but he had been deeply impressed by Yuefenpai (a kind of calendar picture) published by the Commercial Press that had images of revolutionary giants on them:

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[84] "Advertisement," *Shenbao*, Mar. 30, 1912.
[85] Li Xiaoti, 301.
[86] Chapter 12 of *Ezhou xie* (published by Xin Xiaoshuolin she) was inscribed with "written by Lu Shi'e from Qingpu." This book had another edition by Hunan yanshuoke. Wuhan was the backdrop and the book directly described the beginning and the victory of the uprising and political developments three months thereafter. At its end, the book mentions the "recovery" of Guangdong and Fujian, which made it a novel reflecting the Revolution of 1911 most promptly. The book quoted a great number of memorials to the throne, announcements and declarations in full text. It was republished on August of the next year.
[87] "Advertisement," *Shenbao*, Apr. 26, 1912.
[88] Dun Gen, July 22, 1912.
[89] Ibid., July 23, 1912.

> Before long, Father brought back two Yuefenpai with the portraits of revolutionary giants on them and hung them in the hall of the second floor. Father told me one was Huang Xing, the other was Li Yuanhong. I remember that the one wearing a military uniform was very martial.[90]

If Zhang Shunian's deep impression of revolution-related souvenirs probably originated from the special conditions he possessed, then we can see the degree of the popularity of such souvenirs from the following: a piece of Zhuzhici (a kind of poem) said that "heroes arise in the Revolution all over China, but how can we get an opportunity to meet with one in Shanghai? Fortunately, their images are printed on cards by the Commercial Press, which make us lucky enough to look at their pictures with reverence to express our admiration towards their great strategies;"[91] Ye Shengtao and Gu Jiegang purchased pictures of President Sun which were "very fancy in terms of the printing process and paper material" in a bookstore during their stroll in Suzhou after their exams;[92] Wang Rongbao, a leader of Baohuangpai (the faction supporting constitutionalism), also bought "16 post cards for the commemoration of the Revolution" when passing by the Commercial Press.[93] Moreover, the impact of the new era in fashion in such a short period should not be ignored, for example, the phenomenon of people posing as a "new citizen" by using five colors to decorate their hat brims and prostitutes regarded it as fashionable to embroider the Five Color Banner on collars, drawers, and cushions for their carriages.[94]

However, tradition remained powerful, which resulted in the merging of old fashions with new ones. For instance, though Yuefenpai had "arranged the calendar from the first year of the Republic of China and the first year of Huangdi," it sometime "still arranged years pursuant to the title of Emperor Xuantong."[95]

Some other fashions seemed new, but were actually old. For instance, the rise of fashions such as leather bags and hand sticks still indicated the continuation of the inherent idea of hierarchy. Someone of that age recalled that many people carried these two talismans with them. The bag was not a suitably sized portfolio, but a big bag similar to a medical case. Many people not afraid of encumbrance proudly took these two things out with them to show off. The hand stick was even more mysterious. People gave this kind of westernized stick for beggars an exalted title—"Pinjigun" (the stick on behalf of one's official rank). They

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[90] Zhang Shunian, 17.
[91] Zhu Wenbing, 218.
[92] Ye Shengtao, 217.
[93] Wang Rongbao, 1126.
[94] Zhu Wenbing, 230; Zixu, Mar. 3, 1912; *Minquan huabao*, 403, 555.
[95] Zhu Wenbing, 219.

supposed that the Qing Dynasty previously had used red and blue crystals on official caps to classify ranks of governors and thus the Republic of China should use a stick to do the same nowadays. At first, they assumed that it had a marvelous background and did not dare to use it. However, later on they found that there was no rule against the carrying such a stick, so everybody desired to aggrandize himself by possessing one. The business of sticks was extremely popular, almost to the extent that supply fell short of demand. Not only did business firms fabricate hand sticks by using bamboo roots and treetops to make a great deal of profit, people who were not able to afford a stick also held the handle of a western-style umbrella to catch up with the fashion, feeling that half a loaf was better than no bread. Wise businessmen hurried to reuse the waste. They collected numerous official caps with red and black crystals and jade and nailed them on the top of short bamboo branches to produce batches of "Pinjigun" for sale in a mixed style of the Republic of China and the Qing Dynasty.[96]

Additionally, some other fashions had no "newness" requirement, the obvious one among which was the photography. On the one hand, the popularity of having one's portrait taken arose in 1860s. It had lasted for decades as a fashion in Shanghai, which was demonstrated by the detailed price list of a photographic store recorded by *Haishang fanhuameng* (A dream of prosperity in Shanghai) and the frequently recorded examples in other novels of people taking and presenting pictures.[97] On the other hand, because of its striking impact from the "image" and its convenience in terms of carrying and dissemination, photographs could provide prompt, considerable assistance to the Revolution as long as they depicted images damaging to structure of imperial power. For instance, the photo of Emperor Xuantong made his image, which was not easy to see previously, an item for common people to view and discuss. "Xishi wenzhan" (the penalty of decapitation at the western part of Beijing) which represented the stateliness of an emperor and the dynasty lost its frightening power over the people because a large number of photos had been spread, which triggered many people's curiosity to buy them. Ye Gongchuo (a tribute student in the Qing Dynasty), who was in Suzhou at that time, exclaimed that "why do not the cops do something to interfere with the spread of photographs of the decapitations? How striking it is!"[98]

5 Conclusion

With respect to business, there are two sets of images deserving attention that

[96] Zhu Chunju, 176–177.
[97] See Haishang Shushisheng, 224–230; Ge Tao, 2003, Vol. 4; Paola Zamperini, 2006; Frank Dikotter, 2006.
[98] Zhu Wenbing, 205; Ye Gongchuo, 6789.

helps illustrate the relationship between cities and the Revolution of 1911.

The number of studies on Chinese revolutions in modern times has been growing in recent years. For this article, two trends deserve special attention. During the period of the late Qing Dynasty, some scholars such as Chen Jianhua, Jin Guantao and Liu Qingfeng mainly focused on newspapers, magazines and other writings, hoping to comb out the origins, connotations and extensions of the concept of "revolution," the ups and downs in the development thereof and many other critical related issues from the angle of the history of the concept.[99] During the Republican period, some scholars such as Chen Yunxi, Li Gongzhong and Pan Guangzhe studied many interesting topics such as the Feng'an Ceremony, the memorial week for Premier Sun and the portrait of the deceased Premier Sun enclosing the set of symbolic sign system based on Sun Yat-sen after the establishment of the Government of the Republic of China in 1927. Their researches deeply and carefully demonstrated the efforts and the limitations of the Government of the Republic of China to establish the revolutionary legitimacy of GMD (Chinese Nationalist Party), to strengthen the system of state-and-party integration and to set up Sun Yat-sen's status as the "Father of the State" through various manners such as memorial days, funeral ceremonies, parks, tombs and even publication of books and related commodities. As far as the history of the concept of revolution is concerned, I suppose that to take "revolution and business" as the center is able to demonstrate how the concept of "revolution" and some other important concepts such as "republic" spread among the public from cities and how the public accepted and responded to them in 1911–1913.

For the results of research on the history of the symbolic sign system based on Sun Yat-sen, we should ask how this system evolved from the angle of "revolution and business." Through the efforts of the abovementioned scholars, we have learned clearly about how the symbolic sign system under the system of state-and-party integration translated into cultural power, as well as the procedure of public education and the response of the masses. However, the background of this symbolic sign system still requires study. The legitimacy and even "godship" of Sun Yat-sen did not come out overnight after 1928. In other words, it is part of a whole set of histories about the change of the memories in respect of the Revolution of 1911. In addition to such efforts to define the origin of Sun's deification as the excellent job Huang Yuhe did in *Sun Yat-sen Lundun mengnan zhenxiang* (The truth of Sun Yat-sen's being kidnapped in London), we also need to expand our vision to Chen Qimei, Qiu Jin, Xu Xilin, Yang Quyun and even to Hong Xiuquan, Yang Xiuqing and the famous ministers for the resurgence of the

[99] See Chen Jianhua, 2000; "Xiandai Zhongguo geming huayu zhiyuan"; Jin Guantao, 2003; 2005; Jin Guantao, Liu Qingfeng, 2003.

Qing Dynasty (i.e., Zeng Guofan, Zuo Zongtang, Hu Linyi and Li Hongzhang). And it is also an important subject that how the historical memories in respect of the revolution of the Qing Dynasty were presented and translated, and how they changed through the consumption space of cities since 1911.

In terms of cities, the complicated mutual relationship between revolution and business actually reflected, from a specific angle, the fate of cities and rural areas under the changing situation of that time. On the one hand, cities like Shanghai could "agitate the seeing and hearing of the public" by using newspapers and magazines as head, books as two wings and various commodities as the body of the dragon, which led to the flourishing of the Revolution. The saying of a famous veteran of the Qing Dynasty that "the destruction of the Qing Dynasty can actually be attributed to Shanghai" is not nonsense.[100] On the other hand, however, during the early years of the Republic of China in which the control of the state was uncertain, businesses in cities were also an important area greatly impacting the Revolution both as water can float a boat as well as overturn it. It could not only originate chuanqi which called for overthrowing the Qing Dynasty and recovering Han nationality and ugly stories about the imperial harem of the Qing Dynasty, but also consume the prurience of "Yangmei Dudu" (Chen Qimei) and the duplicity of new ministers of the Republic of China. However, this had almost nothing to do with rural areas. If we say that during the period from the late Qing Dynasty to the early years of the Republic of China, an "urban society" had come into being, then the interaction between business and politics in such society might not seem to be quite different from that during the Revolution of 1911. Such urban society was not completely isolated from rural areas. Yao Tinglin—the author of *Linianji* (History of past years) read a novel called *Jiao Chuang xiaoshuo* (The suppression on Li Zicheng) "less than two months after the rebellion in Beijing happened." The novel "described the capture of Beijing by Li Zicheng, including details of the Emperor killing his queen and princess with a knife, and then running away from Houzhai Gate and committing suicide at Meishan." Yao was a common literatus living in the area between the city and the countryside, but the great sorrow from the destruction of the state and the outrage of Li Zicheng's army were disseminated to the illiterates through novels just like this. This was a good technique for spreading information in an age that relied on reading and reciting.[101] Nevertheless, the lack of communication between cities and villages during the period from the late Qing Dynasty to the early years of the Republic of China resulted in some people's belief that Sun Yat-sen was good at magic arts and could speed across

[100] Shi Xiaofeng ed., 774.
[101] Yao Tinglin, 55. Also see Wang Hongtai, 327.

the sky.[102] Some others were connected to the Revolution only by virtue of new technology—the telegram. Therefore, it is easy to see that rural people understanding of the Revolution could only be limited to the "Shiyoudang" (the cacology of "Ziyoudang"—the Liberal Party) wearing white clothes and armors and the declaration that "anyone I want will belong to me" (words of the main character in *Ah Q Zhengzhuan* (The true stories of Ah Q) written by Lu Xun).

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[102] Cai Che, 8.

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