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RESEARCH ARTICLE

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On Zhang Jingsheng's Sexual Discourse: Women's Liberation and Translated Discourses on Sexual Differences in 1920s China

Abstract This article explores and re-evaluates Zhang Jingsheng's views on sex education and aesthetic education, as revealed in his book *Sexual Histories* and in articles that he published in the journal *New Culture*. His endorsement of sex education and aesthetic education constructed a sexual discourse, advocating the redefinition of Chinese men and women's gender and sexuality through knowledge/power. Zhang Jingsheng highly valued eugenics and "aesthetic sexual intercourse," and he attempted to use sex education to improve Chinese people's innate physical weakness and their "androgynous" sexual characteristics. By prescribing an aesthetic education that covered all fundamental aspects of life, he also attempted to remedy what he saw as the inadequate or inverted models of masculinity and femininity available to Chinese men and women. Furthermore, by collecting and analyzing articles solicited for *Sexual Histories* and letters addressed to *New Culture*, he discussed how to cure the sexual perversions that were associated with Chinese men and women's sexualities. Finally, this article compares the contents of *New Culture* with the discourses (in Chinese and other languages) on sexual difference published in other Chinese journals in the 1920s, including how the discourses on sexual difference by Havelock Ellis and Edward Carpenter were translated into the modern Chinese context. The article concludes that the contributors to *New Culture* held unified opinions on the issues of homosexuality and women's liberation. Thus, in comparison with journals such as *The Chinese Educational Review*, *The Ladies' Journal*, and *New Women*, *New Culture* was less tolerant of divergent opinions. Although Zhang supported sexual liberation, he nonetheless sought to eliminate homosexuality from the aesthetic society that he envisioned. His idea of sexual liberation tended to signify women's liberation and excluded a homosexual agenda because he was homophobic. For most of the May Fourth Generation, including Zhang Jingsheng,

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sexual and women's liberation were not equivalent to self-liberation. Instead, the concepts of sexual liberation and women's liberation were invoked to re-code the bodies of Chinese men and women, with the aim of creating a "Strong Breed to Rescue the Nation."

Keywords *Sexual Histories*, *New Culture*, Zhang Jingsheng, masculinity, femininity, homosexuality, Havelock Ellis, Edward Carpenter

Sexual Discourse

In the context of the study of modernity, Zhang Jingsheng has gained considerable attention among English and American literary circles. Most of studies on Zhang Jingsheng have criticized the western theories of modernity transplanted into Zhang's discourse of aesthetics and sexology.[1] Both Jing Tsu and Haiyan Lee focused their research on the writings Zhang produced during his Beijing period. During that period, Zhang expressed his support for women's liberation. As Jing Tsu keenly notes, despite Zhang's self-proclaimed support of women's liberation, the idea of an "aesthetic society" (*meide shehui*) that Zhang proposed contradicted the notions of femininity upheld by Chinese "new women" in the 1920s.[2] Haiyan Lee draws upon Michel Foucault's concept of "governmentality" to argue that Zhang Jingsheng's "aesthetic approach to politics manifests unmistakable fascist impulses and reveals the dangerous implications of biopower."[3] Howard Chiang also applied Michel Foucault's critique of Western theories of modernity to Zhang Jingsheng's work and refuted the argument that "'gay identity' and scientia sexualis first appeared on the China scene only during the post-socialist era."[4] Chiang suggested that "gay identity" and scientia sexualis "have deeper roots that can be traced to an earlier epistemic turning point in the Republican period."[5]

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[1] Jing Tsu, *Failure, Nationalism and Literature: The Making of Modern Chinese Identity, 1895–1937*, 128–41; Haiyan Lee, "Governmentality and the Aesthetic State: A Chinese Fantasia," 99–129; Howard Chiang, "Epistemic Modernity and the Emergence of Homosexuality in China," 629–57. There have been two Ph. D dissertations that provided full discussions of Zhang Jingsheng's works and life: Charles Leary, "Sexual Modernism in China: Zhang Jingsheng and 1920s Urban Culture," 1994; Leon A. Rocha, "Zhang Jingsheng (1888–1970): Love, Sex, Aesthetics, Eugenics, Utopia," 2010.

[2] Jing Tsu, *Failure, Nationalism and Literature: The Making of Modern Chinese Identity, 1895–1937*, 128–41.

[3] Haiyan Lee, "Governmentality and the Aesthetic State: A Chinese Fantasia," 102.

[4] Howard Chiang, "Epistemic Modernity and the Emergence of Homosexuality in China," 631.

[5] Ibid.

This article draws upon and extends the analyses of the above-mentioned scholars to address questions that have, as yet, not been directly addressed. How do Zhang Jingsheng's discussions of women's liberation relate to the ideas of his contemporaries? How did Zhang Jingsheng participate in and respond to the translated discourse of sexual differences in the 1920s?

Both Jing Tsu and Haiyan Lee predominantly studied Zhang Jingsheng's concept of aesthetics and did not deal in as much depth with his ideas regarding sex education.[6] Haiyan Lee even suggested that "sex is not accorded a foundational status in his erotic-aesthetic system."[7] This article contends that sex education and aesthetic education are indivisible elements of the ideas laid out by Zhang Jingsheng during the 1920s. In the latter half of the 1920s, Zhang issued a more intense appeal for sex education, which elicited a strong public response. Both Jing Tsu and Haiyan Lee mainly analyzed the works that Zhang produced in Beijing during the first half of the 1920s, such as *Methods of Aesthetic Social Organization* (*meide shehui zuzhifa*) and *Aesthetic View of Life* (*meide renshengguan*). However, they made little reference to the works that Zhang Jingsheng published after he moved from Beijing to Shanghai in 1926. While in Shanghai, Zhang edited the journal *New Culture* (*Xinwenhua*), and published a series of sex education books. I believe that a thorough study of Zhang Jingsheng should give equal attention to his Shanghai period so as to achieve a comprehensive understanding and evaluation of Zhang Jingsheng's sexual discourse and politics of aesthetics.

New Culture was a monthly journal edited by Zhang Jingsheng. It was first published in December 1926[8] but ceased publication after six issues

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[6] Regarding the question of how Zhang's aesthetics are related to his politics, please refer to Hanyan Lee's studies, which are the most detailed and comprehensive treatment of Zhang's aesthetics to date. Because of space limitations, this article will focus on the sex education movement that Zhang Jingsheng proposed rather than his aesthetic education movement. The subject of the aesthetic education movement will be addressed in the second section of this article in connection with my discussion of the attempts to improve the fashion choices made by Chinese men and women. Besides Hanyan Lee, many other scholars, such as Hsiaoyen Peng, have provided detailed discussions of Zhang's aesthetic education movement. Peng's articles are referenced in this article. Therefore, this article will not repeat their discussions.

[7] Haiyan Lee, "Governmentality and the Aesthetic State: A Chinese Fantasia," 104.

[8] The publication date "15th year of the Republic of China [1926], December" appears in plain sight on the cover of the first issue. The editor, perhaps to accommodate a commitment made to the readers on the journal's inside back cover ("this journal will always be published on the first of the month"), backdated the first issue in catalogs with the publication date "January 1, 16th year of the Republic of China [1927]." A significant number of scholars only see the "1927" list date and do not seem to notice the "1926" date on the front cover of the first issue. Thus, they believe that the publication began in 1927. For example, Chinese Mainland scholar Jiang Xiaoyuan writes that, "*New Culture* was first published on January 1, 1927" (Jiang Xiaoyuan, "Zhang Jingsheng qiren-qishi," 17).

in 1927.[9] The journal's stated aim was indicated in the by-line, "China's Paramount New Thought Monthly Journal," which Zhang added to the cover of the first issue, and in the *New Culture* manifesto:

> Up until now our country has been unable to move beyond the half-civilized, half-savage state we find ourselves in today. It is particularly regrettable that the civilized half still is archaic, rotten and unfit! Therefore, in order to create a new culture, it is necessary to start with the renewal of our people in all areas, from the most basic to the most complex: from shitting, to sexual intercourse, and on to thinking and culture […] no matter how badly our writing shakes up the old customs, we will present it to the best of our ability and provide some systematic studies […]. To best satisfy our readers, this publication will supply the reader with ample opportunity to study our two major topics of interest: aesthetic education and sex education.[10]

In 1926, Zhang Jingsheng decided to leave Peking University because of his dissatisfaction with the changes to the University's system, as well as delayed payment by the school. After the stir caused by the publication of his book *Sexual Histories* (*Xing shi*), he moved to Shanghai to establish *New Culture* and pursue his lofty goals. He began from the premise of linking ideology with sexual practice, thus making aesthetic education and sex education the roots of a new cultural ideology.

In "Sexual Enlightenment and Self-Liberation: A Study of the Notorious Dr. Sex and May Fourth Erotic Fiction," Hsiaoyen Peng discussed the erotic fiction authors of the 1920s and 1930s, such as Yu Dafu and Zhang Ziping, and noted that, "to these authors, sexual liberation became a prerequisite for self-liberation, and self-liberation was seen as the key precondition for national liberation."[11] In this context, we might ask how Zhang Jingsheng conceptualized the relationship between individual sexual liberation, women's liberation, and self-liberation, as

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[9] In the 1950s, Lin Yutang mistakenly wrote that *New Culture* ceased publication after its fourth issue (Lin Yutang, "Zhang Jingsheng kai fengqi zhi xian," 8). Furthermore, in 2005, Zhang Jingsheng's son, Zhang Chao, wrote that the "The *New Culture* monthly journal was China's first publication on sex education and sexology. It is a pity that it ceased publication after only five issues" (Zhang Chao, "Yi ben shu yu yi ge ren de mingyun—*Xing shi* ji Zhang Jingsheng de beige," 226). This statement is also incorrect. Strictly speaking, *New Culture* cannot be considered China's first publication on sex education and sexual knowledge because the Commercial Press's *Chinese Educational Review* (*Jiaoyu zazhi*) previously published a *Sex Education Special Edition* in 1923 and, in 1925, *The Ladies' Journal* (*Funü zazhi*) published a *New Sexual Morality Issue*.

[10] Zhang Jingsheng, "*Xinwenhua*, yuekan xuanyan," 128.

[11] Peng Hsiaoyen, "Xing qimeng yu ziwo de jiefang: 'Xing boshi' Zhang Jingsheng yu wu-si de seyu xiaoshuo," 118.

well as the connection between self-liberation and national liberation. Peng's article did not explore these questions. My article will re-evaluate *New Culture*'s strong endorsement of sex education and aesthetic education as a means of "shaking up old customs." Peng Hsiaoyen insightfully noted that, "Zhang Jingsheng deliberately created a form of sexual discourse."[12] As Zhang had studied in France for many years, we might wonder whether his "sexual discourse" was related to the study of scientia sexualis that had been gaining traction in mainstream European academic circles since the end of the nineteenth century. With his construction of a sexual discourse, Zhang sought to encourage the public to vie for the power provided by an open form of sexual knowledge, but did this form of knowledge/power exclude disadvantaged social groups?

New Culture was, to a large extent, shaped by Zhang Jingsheng's idiosyncrasies; thus, the journal entries trace the conflict between Zhang Jingsheng and many May Fourth Movement intellectuals.[13] Zhang Jingsheng sought to create a "sexual aesthetic utopia"[14] and promoted an "aesthetic view of life," a "model of an aesthetic social organization" and "aesthetic sexual intercourse" (*meide xingjiao*) (i.e., the "third kind of fluid" [*di-san zhong shui*]); in fact, he stressed the importance of developing an "aesthetics of science" (*meide kexue*).[15] Initially, he called the solicitation of contributions for *Sexual Histories* "scientific research"[16] and, during his later years, in the 1950s, he also claimed that *New Culture* and the Aesthetic Bookshop (*meide shudian*) "represented true Scientia Sexualis."[17] In so doing, he blended various approaches to art and philosophy. Indeed, Zhang shared with May Fourth generation scholars a "cultural vision" or "utopian vision" of a "scientific revival." However, the crux of his "scientific approach" reified particular methods of sexual intercourse and "sexual breathing." He was, as David Der-Wei Wang explained, "using [pseudoscientific] rhetoric to speak to the public about taboo matters."[18] Moreover, Zhang used the "methods of art" to analyze

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[12] Peng Hsiaoyen, "Xing qimeng yu ziwo de jiefang: 'Xing boshi' Zhang Jingsheng yu wu-si de seyu xiaoshuo," 127.

[13] For a specific analysis of these arguments, please refer to Howard Chiang, "Epistemic Modernity and the Emergence of Homosexuality in China," 639–41.

[14] This term is taken from Hsiaoyen Peng, who used it to summarize the utopian concept in two of Zhang Jingsheng's books, *Aesthetic View of Life* and *Methods of Aesthetic Social Organization* (Peng Hsiaoyen, "Zhang Jingsheng de xing meixue wutuobang: Qinggan jiaoyu yu nüxing zhiguo," 561–87).

[15] *Aesthetic View of Life*, chapter 1: "Science of Aesthetics," in Zhang Jingsheng, *Zhang Jingsheng wenji [shang juan]*, 69–72.

[16] Zhang Jingsheng, "Yi ge hanjia de zui hao xiaoqian fa: Dai 'you zhong she' tongren qishi," 26.

[17] Ibid., *Zhang Jingsheng wenji [xia juan]*, 108.

[18] David Der-Wei Wang, "Zhongguo wenxue de xiandai 'Xing' zhi lu—Wanqing ji wu-si xiaoshuo de qingyu xiangxiang," 188.

contemporary scientific research without following proper processes of verification and examination, as demonstrated by his discussion of the "third kind of fluid."[19]

Whereas Zhang's sexology was rejected as "pseudoscience" by May Fourth Movement scholars and is held in low regard by contemporary American and English literary circles, many contemporary scholars in Mainland China and Taiwan now consider Zhang Jingsheng's ideas to be more "advanced"[20] and even view him as a "prophet," a development that is informative in itself.[21] However, Zhang's "sexual revolution" is limited in two major respects. The limitations of his thinking in regard can be contrasted with several May Fourth Movement scholars who, in translating the works of theorists such as Edward Carpenter, made significant attempts to move beyond traditional attitudes to sexuality (see IV. Translated Discourses on Sexual Differences in 1920s China). The first limitations found in Zhang Jingsheng's constant essentialization of Chinese masculinity and femininity. Zhang regarded "feminized males" and "mannish females" with contempt. Although with the best of intentions, he advocated a logical consideration of "sexual aesthetics" and promoted his plans for "scientific sexual aesthetics" and "scientific sexual intercourse" with the ultimate goal of strengthening the masculinity of men and the femininity of women. The second limitation is found in his disdain for and rejection of homosexual behavior. Although Zhang supported sexual liberation, he nonetheless sought to eliminate homosexuality from the aesthetic society that he envisioned. His idea of sexual liberation tended to signify women's liberation and excluded a homosexual agenda.

Women's Liberation: Masculinity, Femininity, and the Construction of a National Character

In the 1920s, Zhang advocated women's liberation by prescribing an aesthetic education for women and men in all aspects of life. He attempted to remedy what he saw as inadequate and inverted models of Chinese femininity and masculinity.

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[19] This phrase refers to what modern sexology calls "female fluids." Hsiaoyen Peng assumes that Zhang Jingsheng was influenced by Ellis's *Psychology of Sex* in this regard (Peng Hsiaoyen, "Xing qimeng yu ziwo de jiefang: 'Xing boshi' Zhang Jingsheng yu wu-si de seyu xiaoshuo," 126–27).

[20] Zhou Yanwen, "Zhang Jingsheng: Zhongguo chubanshi shang de shizong zhe (xu yi)," 3.

[21] This idea emerged a significant while back, in Li Ao's 1962 article "Considering Stark Nakedness" (Li Ao, "You yisibugua shuoqi," 61). In recent years, this article has been quoted by Chinese Mainland scholar Zhang Peizhong, who wrote a book on the topic: *Wenyao yu xianzhi: Zhang Jingsheng zhuan.* Beijing: Sanlian shudian, 2008.

A "sexual aesthetics" (*xing mei*) text published by Zhang Jingsheng in the sixth issue of *New Culture* most clearly conveys Zhang's understanding of aesthetics. In the article, he claimed that Chinese men's "unsightliness is rooted in feminization, and the unsightliness of women is rooted in their masculinization […] There is nowhere near enough gender distinction between our country's men and women: Men look too much like women, and women too strongly resemble men."[22] Zhang acrimoniously portrayed these men as "xianggong men" (showing Zhang's bias against "xianggong"), whom he ridiculed as "men-women."[23] Using physiology, Zhang raised issues with regard to the faces, breasts, and genitalia of Chinese men and women. He considered "abnormal" and examples of "gender inversion" that male faces lacked beards, that women were flat-chested, and that the male buttocks were disproportionately large compared with female buttocks. He believed that these "inversions" (*biantai*) must be thoroughly reverted.

First, this "reversion" required that prospective parents practice improved sexual techniques when conceiving a child. Zhang believed that all gender issues in China resulted from the fact that Chinese men and women lacked sufficient excitement at the point of climax. Men's inability to engage in protracted, enjoyable, and full intercourse caused women's inability to gush the supremely delightful "third kind of fluid." According to Zhang, this situation results in the male seeds and female eggs failing to attain their peak strength. Naturally, without peak strength to compete, the male seeds and female eggs are unable to fully drive out the seed of the opposite sex. Hence, children born from this process are neither fully male nor fully female, that is, they are feminized men and masculinized women.[24] Zhang claimed that the formation of an individual's masculinity and femininity depended on the strength or the weakness of both partners' sexual desire at the moment of conception. Based on the logic described above, we can infer that Zhang believed that the formation of masculinity and femininity depended more on the intrinsic quality of a fetus than on postnatal enculturation.

Zhang Jingsheng believed that "the stimulation of the sexual aesthetic in psychology and society"[25] was a necessary precondition to the enhancement of Chinese men's masculinity and Chinese women's femininity. Unfortunately, the "sexual aesthetics" text does not fully and accurately illustrate this point, and Zhang refers readers to later texts that will further expound the issue. However,

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[22] Zhang Jingsheng, "Xing mei," 4–12.
[23] Ibid., 10.
[24] Ibid., 9–10.
[25] Ibid., 12.

because *New Culture* ceased publication, these later texts were never written.

Nonetheless, articles previously published by Zhang provide many direct and indirect pointers in this regard. For example, his *Aesthetic View of Life* outlined a plan for the reform of Chinese men and women's lifestyles and physical education. Part of this planned reform program focused on changing women's style of dress because the traditional attire "did not dare to show chest or to bare an elbow and very cruelly tied down the breasts."[26] Zhang derided the custom of "tying up" the breasts, which was popular among Chinese women. In fact, he claimed that breast binding was more "abnormal" than foot binding. In the fifth issue of *New Culture*, he coined the slogan "hurrah for large breasts." He believed that "binding breasts hid women's sexual aesthetics"[27] and implored the government to instruct the "police to impose a fine on all ordinary women who bind their breasts."[28] At one point, Zhang organized a gathering of several dozen female colleagues wearing cleavage-bearing western attire and explained that, "those with already drooping breasts should use supports, and there is no harm in those with small breasts using some cotton to fluff them up a bit."[29] He had intended for these women to march on the streets shouting "Overthrow breast binding!" and "Hurrah for large breasts!" Zhang rejected binding breasts as a crime that lessened sexual appeal and that was "not only no different from suicide, but also murder."[30]

Zhang Jingsheng considered Chinese men's clothing to be "a supremely revealing symbol of morbidity. The long mandarin jacket, big tipped shoes and pointed hats together create a kind of shifty, putrid appearance, like one carrying water while dragging mud."[31] He proposed western military uniforms, which he regarded as "handsome school uniforms," and recommended that men wear "leather men's shoes, without slender tips, and hats somewhat like the Cossack style or the Turkish look."[32] In addition, he suggested that gentlemen "best wear a dagger at the waist, to make them more handsome."[33] Zhang regarded the reform of male dress as the proper way for Chinese men to abandon the "sickly man of East Asia" image and stated that Chinese men should "make a change and become valiant, manly men."[34] Zhang's reform program, involving borrowing

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[26] Zhang Jingsheng, *Zhang Jingsheng wenji [shang juan]*, 38.
[27] Ibid., "Da nai fuxing," 4.
[28] Ibid., 7.
[29] Ibid.
[30] Ibid., 5.
[31] Zhang Jingsheng, *Zhang Jingsheng wenji [shang juan]*, 37.
[32] Ibid., 38.
[33] Ibid.
[34] Ibid.

western military uniforms and "wearing blades," was intended to bring forth the masculinity of the Chinese man, thereby eliminating the malaise of Chinese men's "womanliness." To exhibit a revolutionary spirit, Zhang followed his own advice and wore a "student uniform" (military uniform) as everyday attire.[35]

Zhang Jingsheng's view of "sexual aesthetics" was greatly influenced by Ellis. In the first to fifth issues of *New Culture*, Zhang serialized the abridged translation of Ellis's work *Sexual Aesthetics*. Ellis, by describing each country's "racial" female and male beauty, attempted to show that "beauty is to a large extent an objective matter,"[36] that is, there exists a set of universal standards and "objective criteria" of "sexual aesthetics." He believed that women should have "large buttocks and well-shaped breasts; because these characteristics are apt for maternity, *they are considered to be beautiful by all races and in all levels cultural development* (emphasis added),[37] and those races who use all manners of methods to flatten their breasts are considered to be 'savage peoples.'"[38] Furthermore, Ellis asserts that beards are male "sexual attributes" and believed that a trimmed beard could enhance the handsomeness of a man's face. He elevated "trimmed beards" to the status of an important "symbol of culture,"[39] thus criticizing those men who did not want to grow beards by claiming that their failure to do so would ultimately contribute to gender confusion by rendering the physical differences between men and women less pronounced.[40]

Zhang's emphasis on the dichotomy between masculinity and femininity, his popularization of large breasts and large buttocks for women, and his criticism of Chinese men's "palace eunuch-like appearance" of "lips without beard"[41] were influenced, to a certain extent, by the work of Western "sexual psychologists,"

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[35] Zhang Jingsheng, "Zhang Jingsheng tebie qishi er," 168.

[36] Havelock Ellis, "Shijue yu xing mei de guanxi," 32; Original text q.v. Havelock Ellis, *Psychology of Sex*, 65.

[37] Havelock Ellis, "Shijue yu xing mei de guanxi," 80. It was translated by Peng Zhaoliang. Peng's translation is substantially abridged. In many places, Peng only refer to the original work for Ellis' main points, while reorganizing some passages. Therefore, this leads to some misinterpretations of the original text, as Peng sometimes manufactures his own conclusions. For example, the conclusion, emphasized in the quotation, was added because Ellis's original text does not make this conclusion. For the original text, q.v. Havelock Ellis, *Psychology of Sex*, 65.

[38] Ibid., "Shijue yu xing mei de guanxi," 97; Ibid., *Psychology of Sex*, 70.

[39] Ibid., "Shijue yu xing mei de guanxi," 94. Ellis's original text does not include this statement, which is the translator's opinion. q.v. Havelock Ellis, *Psychology of Sex*, 70–71.

[40] Ibid, "Shijue yu xing mei de guanxi," 94. This statement also does not appear in the original text, and Ellis does not draw this conclusion, which appears to have been added by the translator. q.v. Havelock Ellis, *Psychology of Sex*, 70–71.

[41] Zhang Jingsheng, "Xing mei," 10.

who, like Ellis, were regarded as progressive.[42] Another such progressive sexual psychologist was Carl Jung. Modern scholars base their criticism of Jung's gender studies on his concept of the abstract opposition between masculinity and femininity. They also note that he used the idea of an opposition between masculinity and femininity to call for a gender balance in mental and social life. In the West, this position was progressive in the 1920s.[43] However, in 1919, Jung's contemporary, Freud, in a footnote in the *Three Articles on the Theory of Sexuality*, reminded the reader that masculinity and femininity are highly ambiguous concepts in science. His observations indicated that, regardless of evidence from psychology or biology, the unadulterated male or female is essentially nonexistent; every individual "on the contrary displays a mixture of the character-traits belonging to his own and to the opposite sex."[44] However, these views did not influence Zhang.

In his desire to popularize "masculinity" and "femininity," Zhang Jingsheng was influenced not only by Western psychology and eugenics, but also by the late-Qing "Self-Strengthening and Self-Reliance" (*ziqiang baozhong*) policy[45] and the Republic of China's "Strong Breed to Rescue the Nation" (*qiangzhong jiuguo*) movement, which was designed to reform the national character.[46] When he was 23 years old, Zhang was appointed as the secretary of a Republic of China delegation deputed by Sun Yat-sen to conduct peace talks between the northern and southern regions. Subsequently, he established friendly relations with many senior Kuomintang statesmen, such as Wang Jingwei. In the third issue of *New Culture*, Zhang published *A Letter to Wang Jingwei from Zhang Jingsheng*, in which he expressed concern regarding the alliance manifesto publicized by Wang Jingwei and senior Communist Chen Duxiu. He was concerned that this Kuomintang move would allow the Communist Party to implement communism, as opposed to the Three People's Principles. At the end of the letter, Zhang reiterated how his sex education and aesthetic education movements could assist the Kuomintang's national state-building program:

> As for a number of our people: They are not limited to doing revolutionary work, but are simultaneously also engaged in "supra-revolutionary" (*chao gemingdang*) work. That is, they are making great strides in the propagation

[42] Based on the previous examples in which translations were marred by garbled mistranslations and blatant fabrications, Zhang Jingsheng may have misread Ellis's sexology. He possibly borrowed Ellis's name to strengthen his original opinions and biases.
[43] R. W. Connell, *Masculinities*, 13.
[44] Sigmund Freud, *Three Articles on the Theory of Sexuality*, 121–22.
[45] Peng Hsiaoyen, "Zhang Jingsheng de '*Xing shi*': Seqing haishi xingxue?" 161.
[46] Ibid., "Wu-si de 'xin xingdaode': Nüxing qingyu lunshu yu jiangou minzu guojia," 88–89.

> of the "aesthetic, emotional and sex education movement." On the one hand, our work certainly relies on the success of the National Government; on the other hand, our efforts will augment our revolutionary strength. A revolution of "aesthetic, emotional and sex education" is higher-level work in comparison with the revolutions of politics, industry and customs. For instance, when comparing my recent research on women's "third kind of fluid" with the Communist Party's "Third International"—are my points not more weighty?[47]

It can thus be inferred that Zhang Jingsheng not only promoted sex education and aesthetic education as "supra-revolutionary," but also believed that they would, in everyday life, encourage Chinese men to activate and call forth Chinese women's "third kind of fluid." He considered this feat as important as the Communist Party's "Third International" revolutionary movement. Zhang believed that "when women bring forth the 'third kind of fluid,' their fetus will certainly be stronger"[48] and will manage to, "if male, develop appropriate masculinity and, if female, develop female excellence."[49] This would also put an end to what Zhang saw as a situation in which "our country's men and women have almost no real gender."[50] According to Zhang, only strong fetuses could bring "masculinity" and "femininity" to China, thus guaranteeing the health of the Chinese national character and encouraging the success of the "A Strong Breed to Rescue the Nation" movement. Peng Hsiaoyen vividly observed that Zhang "repeatedly expounded upon the significance of the female orgasm—men, even if they cannot 'take charge and conquer,' should in bed ingratiate themselves to women and so dedicate themselves to the country."[51]

Zhang Jingsheng considered the Kuomintang's military and political affairs to be "gradually entering a trajectory"[52] poised to ensure a "permanent and unshakable society that must arise from aesthetic feelings and aesthetic enterprise."[53] Zhang worked toward the "supra-revolution" of sex education and aesthetic education, considering it an "aesthetic movement" and an "aesthetic social enterprise,"[54] and encouraged the expert readers of *New Culture* to devote themselves to this "aesthetic movement" and thus contribute their modest powers

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[47] Zhang Jingsheng, "Zhang Jingsheng zhi Wang Jingwei xin," 2.
[48] Ibid., "Di-san zhong shui yu luan zhu ji shengji de dian he yousheng de guanxi youming: Mei de xing yu," 31.
[49] Ibid., "Xing mei," 10.
[50] Ibid., 12.
[51] Peng Hsiaoyen, "Zhang Jingsheng de '*Xing shi*': Seqing haishi xingxue?" 161.
[52] Zhang Jingsheng, "Antou yu," n/a.
[53] Ibid.
[54] Ibid.

to the "aesthetic social enterprise."

In the third issue of *New Culture*, under the nom de plume of "New Culture [*Xinwenhua*]," an article entitled "Methods of Organizing an Aesthetics Nude March" was published. This work enthusiastically praised a "Great Naked March" organized by a group of women in Hankou and drafted a preliminary plan for another such march. First, the author demanded that an expert investigation committee be established to select "a group of well-figured women" for the march. Women who ordinarily bound their breasts would be specially invited to go out and watch the march, thus revealing to them their so-called "unsightly form." Second, another group of women should be selected to wear brightly colored and extremely thin clothes to set an example of proper attire for the masses of women. Third, an additional group should educate the masses based on their own experience, namely, by confronting them with the barbarity of practices such as breast-binding and wearing pants. Fourth, naked women should be arranged to beautifully accompany the march (e.g., riding horses, sitting freely on vehicles, dancing). Fifth, government offices should offer mementos to the naked women, and spectators should choose the "Naked Queen" of this grand naked march.[55] The article's style and attitude toward nakedness suggest that Zhang Jingsheng may have been the author. In the first issue of *New Culture*, Zhang published an article, "Naked Studies: Many Points Regarding Nude Paintings," in which he decidedly supported nude culture. In that article, he renewed his recommendation, first expressed in *An Aesthetic View of Life*, to sleep in the nude, and, in the third issue of *New Culture*, he published an article, "A Series of Very Significant Issues," which conceptualized the formation of a secret "Nude Dancer Society."[56]

In the fourth issue of *New Culture*, an article entitled "Nudity and Dismissing Shame" was published under the nom de plume of "New Culture." This article, however, evinced a subtly different attitude to the "Great Naked March." The annex to the article included an article published in the Shanghai *Shenbao* newspaper on April 24, 1927, entitled "Female Comrades Can Oppose the March to Dismiss Shame," which exemplified the stylistic and formal characteristics of a Kuomintang announcement and invoked "Confucian ethics of morality and sincerity" to oppose the "Great Naked March."[57] Although the opposition expressed by the author of "Nudity and Dismissing Shame" to the idea of the march constitutes a change in viewpoint, the nature of the change is influenced by the tense relationship between the Kuomintang and Communist Party, as exemplified in events such as that year's Shanghai Massacre. The media

[55] Xinwenhua, "Meide luoti youxing zuzhi fa," 129–30.
[56] Zhang Jingsheng, "Yichuan ji zhongyao de wenti," 133.
[57] Xinwenhua, "Luoti yu mian chi," 130.

suspected the "Great March to Dismiss the Shame of Nakedness" (*mian chi luoti dayouxing*) was started by Wuhan Communist Party members. This suspicion seems to have caused the author of "Nudity and Dismissing Shame" to hurriedly deny all connections to the Communist Party, a denial that the author explains "is not because Communists encouraged nudity only to then suppress nudity" but because "the Communists are ignorant and incompetent. Their rhetoric of 'dismissing shame,' with its bad reputation, coupled with the aesthetics of nudity, generated intense opposition to nudity that can be attributed to the Communist Party."[58] Not only had the author's previous enthusiastic support for the "Great Naked March" dissipated, but his discussion of nakedness had also turned into a subtle political statement.

The "Great Naked March" occurred in Wuhan. Experts disagree as to who started the march. The historians of the Chinese Communist Party believe that Chiang Kaishek initiated a "planned and intentional counter-revolutionary action"[59] and suggest that the Communist Party's ethical reputation was "destroyed," thereby leading to the overthrow of the leftist Kuomintang and Communist Party alliance in Wuhan. It remains unknown who initiated the "Naked March." I argue that a reexamination of the incident suggests that, irrespective of whether it originated from the ranks of the Kuomintang or the Communist Party, members of both groups supported the "Naked March" to a certain extent. Most likely, there was a small group of supporters from both sides who were unable to unite because of political differences and opposition from the majority of both parties. Eventually, the "Naked March" was demonized and became a "weapon" used by both sides to attack one another.

Although Zhang Jingsheng discussed his lack of interest in "engaging in politics," he nonetheless used *New Culture* to propose political reforms to the higher levels of the Kuomintang. He also approved of the Kuomintang right wing's purge of Communist Party members from its ranks. The "Naked March" incident highlighted the "aesthetic movement" encouraged by Zhang Jingsheng. The way in which the incident played out also suggested that Zhang could not remain an outsider as the competition for supremacy between the Kuomintang and the Communist Party raged on the national stage. Zhang once published a notice in *New Culture* clarifying that, despite rumors to the contrary, he had not received propagandist fees from warlords when establishing *New Culture*. Nonetheless, he defended the Kuomintang and opposed the political positions of the Communist Party:

> There are three reasons for my opposition. First, the theories of the founder

[58] Xinwenhua, "Luoti yu mian chi," 129.
[59] Li Yansheng, "1927 nian Wuhan 'funü luoti youxing' zhenxiang," 39.

> of Communism, Karl Marx, are very imperfect. Second, even if communist theory were feasible and were to be implemented, one still must consider our country's situation. We certainly cannot blindly follow this theory. Third, I strongly oppose the Chinese Communist Party because it cannot stand on its own feet; thus, externally it is the puppet of Soviet Russia, while internally it betrays the Kuomintang. Party members do not uphold their reputations, the Party's morals have weakened, and, even if they succeed, they will still not reach their goals.[60]

Zhang advocated "the unity of socialism and individualism"[61] and opposed the Communist "Red Party" (*chidang*) for its intolerance of individual freedom. He reiterated, "I reject all policies and doctrines that regard society as paramount and wish to destroy individual freedom."[62] Zhang's defense of "individualism" merits attention. Zhang's defense of the May Fourth Movement's liberation of the self called for democracy and freedom. When, starting in the mid-1920s, the May Fourth Movement's appeal for individual liberation was aggressively challenged by left-wing collectivism, Zhang strongly defended the May Fourth intellectuals to prevent the decline of individualism. To this end, he supported a "supra-revolution," or, as paraphrased by some scholars, a sexual revolution, involving sex education and aesthetic education. In so doing, he seemed to be reiterating his argument that the appeal for "individualism" inherent in the "liberation of the self" is the prerequisite for the liberation of the nation-state. However, as Lydia H. Liu has noted:

> The discourse of individualism stood in a rather ambivalent relation to the master narrative of the nation-state in the early Republican period. Like all other influential discourses of the time, it invested in the major process of power reconfiguration in ways that defy simplistic closure […] Individualism did not always constitute itself as the counter discourse of nationalism nor did the enlightenment see itself as the other of national salvation. Tensions between the two discourses seem to have derived from the instability of their historical meanings just as much as from their mutual implication and complicity.[63]

In some respects, Zhang Jingsheng's case is typical of contemporary discourse,

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[60] Zhang Jingsheng, "Zhang Jingsheng tebie qishi yi," 166.
[61] Ibid., "Guanggao er," 170.
[62] Ibid., "Zhang Jingsheng tebie qishi er," 168.
[63] Lydia H. Liu, *Translingual Practice: Literature, National Culture, and Translated Modernity China, 1900–1937*, 86.

which tended to conflate individualism and nationalism. On the one hand, he advocated "sexual learning,"[64] but, on the other hand, he persuaded party-state cadres that his sexology could be powerfully used in the construction of the nation-state. Overall, Zhang popularized sex education and aesthetic education while advocating the recoding of Chinese men and women's gender and sexuality using knowledge/power. Zhang Jingsheng believed in eugenics and "aesthetic sexual intercourse" and, through sex education, attempted to improve what he considered to be the Chinese people's innate physical weakness and androgynous sexual characteristics. Moreover, by advocating comprehensive aesthetic education, he attempted to remedy the deficient or inverted masculinity and femininity that he believed characterized Chinese men and women. Zhang also solicited material for *Sexual Histories* and collected and analyzed letters from readers in *New Culture*, specifically identifying the sexuality of Chinese men and women and attempting to treat and cure the sexual perverts among them with his editorial comments.

Zhang Jingsheng's Views of Sexuality and Homosexual Behavior

In 1926, Zhang Jingsheng issued a call for contributions from readers entitled "The Best-Pastime for a Winter Vacation: An Announcement on Behalf of the 'Eugenics Society.' He began this call by commenting on homosexuality:

> Have you ever experienced same-sex romantic attachments (i.e., man and man, woman and woman)? Come into contact with the sexual organs of someone of the same sex? How did that contact occur? Or was it only a form of spiritual love? What do you think about this habit now?[65]

Based on this text, one might mistakenly conclude that Zhang Jingsheng sought to change the social perception of homosexuality. However, at the end of the text, he hinted that he was soliciting texts for "no other reason than to lead people to 'the right path of sexuality.'"[66] Later, Zhang selected seven responses, from the over 200 answers that he received, for publication in *Sexual Histories*. Three of these responses, written by Xilian, Pingzi,and Naicheng, also included brief portions addressing the protagonist's adolescent homosexual experiences or

[64] Zhang Jingsheng, "Yi ge hanjia de zui hao xiaoqian fa: Dai 'you zhong she' tongren qishi," 26.
[65] Ibid., 25.
[66] Ibid., 26.

experiences of homosexual love, in addition to descriptions of his or her heterosexual experiences. Notably, these selectively published queer narratives all closely associate homosexuality with masturbation.

In this respect, Zhang followed contemporary intellectuals in considering masturbation an "illegitimate spilling of seed." He did not, however, necessarily agree with the *Sex Education Special Issue* of the *Chinese Educational Review*, which connected the "illegitimate spilling of seed" with the future of the Republic of China: "One only needs to look at the bedclothes of the youth to see the rise and fall of a country."[67] Nevertheless, he was concerned with personal safety: "Many youths succumb to sexual self-destruction […] forfeiting themselves in the grasp of their own hands."[68] He even advised readers of *New Culture* to, when going to bed, "take both hands and bind them to the bed posts; then the hands cannot stray to the reproductive organs."[69] He aimed to uproot the vice of masturbation. In the second issue of *New Culture*, he serialized Frenchman G. M. Besseele's *Methods of Sex Education*. This text was concerned with preventing masturbation and raising children with proper ideas, views described by Michel Foucault in his criticism of nineteenth century sexology: "Educators and doctors combated children's onanism like an epidemic that needed to be eradicated."[70]

Zhang Jingsheng had hoped that the publication of these narratives in *Sexual Histories* would help young people to safeguard themselves against the dangers of masturbation. Although he did not overtly claim that masturbation causes homosexual intercourse, he unceasingly hinted that the two were closely connected. In the Editor's Comments to *Naicheng—My Sexual History,* he juxtaposed masturbation and homosexual intercourse, highlighting both as "illegitimate" forms of ejaculation.[71] In the Editor's Comments to *Xilian—My Sexual History*, Zhang directly discussed a possible connection between the loosening of the vaginal orifice and male homosexuality:

> Many books and people have claimed that men like men because the anus is tighter than the vagina. They suggest that the loosening of the vaginal orifice indirectly foments sodomy among decent men. However, there is the stink of the buttocks' secretions, as well as its inferiority in regards to motility and other forms of vigor that ensure that the anus is absolutely unable to compete with even a slightly vital vagina. Therefore, I ask female

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67 Yi Jiayue, "Zhongguo de xingyu jiaoyu wenti," 3.
68 Zhang Jingsheng, "Zhuiyu," 146.
69 Ibid., "Xing yu tongxun," 8.
70 Michel Foucault, *The History of Sexuality: An Introduction*, 42.
71 Zhang Jingsheng, "Zhang Jingsheng anyu (Naicheng—Wode xing shi)," 133.

> readers to pay attention and to take particular care of their vaginal orifice. Not only will this ensure harmonious heterosexual intercourse, it can also eradicate this abnormal, stinking, senseless atrocity, so wrong that even beasts should not indulge in this backdoor trick.[72]

As Sang Tze-lan has noted, Zhang's language betrays a strong disdain for and an attempt to vilify male homosexuality to a degree that was rarely seen in twentieth century Chinese publications.[73] In *Pleonasm* to *Sexual Histories*, Zhang Jingsheng belabored the points expressed above, imploring the common people to supply him with more material regarding "masturbation, sodomy, homosexuality, bestiality, and all other kinds of abnormal acts."[74] At the beginning of the article, he warns the reader that "masturbation and all kinds of illegitimate forms of spilling seed" are "the result of ignorant sexology."[75] Unfortunately, only the first volume of *Sexual Histories* was published. Because of the strong social repercussions he suffered as a result of the first volume's publication, Zhang did not publish a second volume,[76] which would have focused on masturbation. We therefore have no means of discovering what Zhang's prescription for "all manners of sexually abnormal behavior" would have been, except to infer that any solution he proposed would have been connected to his belief in the importance of practical guidance in sexology. Zhang's incomplete foray into sexology, which started with *Sexual Histories*, continued when he went to Shanghai to work on *New Culture*.

Zhang Jingsheng completed the first volume of *Sexual Histories* in 1926. Fifty years later, Michel Foucault published a similarly titled compilation, the first volume of *The History of Sexuality*. In this work, Foucault comprehensively critiques the scientia sexualis that had been popular in the Western mainstream since the end of the nineteenth century. This scientia sexualis was highly influential among May Fourth Movement intellectuals, including Zhang, as they disseminated their theories of sexology. In a call for contributions published in the *Morning Paper* in 1926, Zhang noted that, "sexual learning is very significant in comparison with other forms of learning."[77] He intended to use the cases that

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[72] Zhang Jingsheng, "Zhang Jingsheng anyu (Xilian—Wode xing shi)," 110–11.
[73] Tze-lan Deborah Sang, *The Emerging Lesbian: Female Same-sex Desire in Modern China*, 114.
[74] Zhang Jingsheng, "Zhuiyu," 146.
[75] Ibid.
[76] The fact that the planned second volume of the *Sexual Histories* was to be a "Masturbation Special issue" can be deduced from *Zhang Jingsheng's Editor's Remarks* (Zhang Jingsheng, "Zhang Jingsheng anyu" [Pingzi—Wode xing shi]," 120).
[77] Zhang Jingsheng, "Yi ge hanjia de zui hao xiaoqian fa: Dai 'you zhong she' tongren qishi," 26.

he collected and analyzed in *Sexual Histories* to help cure "perverts," as he publically proclaimed: "Come! Come! Come! Give us a detailed and accurate sexual history and we will give you the answers for lifelong sexual happiness."[78] The idea underlying this "promise" echoed the logic set forth by a Victorian sexual psychologist at the end of the nineteenth century, who wrote, "You want to know what sort of person you are? Just know your sexuality."[79] These psychologists claimed that, by analyzing a person's sexuality, they would be able to immediately understand his or her character and moral standing. Foucault strongly criticized this sexology, in which sex is "the explanation for everything."[80] He explained:

> This new persecution of the peripheral sexualities entailed an incorporation of perversions and a new specification of individuals. As defined by the ancient civil or canonical codes, sodomy was a category of forbidden acts; their perpetrator was nothing more than the juridical subject of them. The nineteenth-century homosexual became a personage, a past, a case history, and a childhood, in addition to being a type of life, a life form, and a morphology, with an indiscrete anatomy and possibly a mysterious physiology.[81]

In spite of the first-person "autobiographical format" of the *Sexual Histories*, Zhang Jingsheng eventually promoted the transformation of social traditions as the means of identifying individual sexualities.[82] However, in *New Culture*, under the headings of "Sex Education" and "Aesthetic Education," he continued to collect similar contributions in the form of letters and commentaries. This "confessional" style, employing such sources as autobiographies, records of counseling, and letters, can be likened to the modern sexual craft that Foucault called "une science-aveu" (a confessional science): "A science which relied on a many-sided extortion, and took for its object what was unmentionable but admitted to nonetheless."[83]

In general, Zhang Jingsheng loosely outlined the format of the monthly *New Culture* journal in the first issue. The material was divided into four major headings, one or two of which were the major focus of the issue. The four major headings were "Social Development" (including education, politics, economy,

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[78] Zhang Jingsheng, "Yi ge hanjia de zui hao xiaoqian fa: Dai 'you zhong she' tongren qishi," 26.
[79] Michel Foucault, *Quanli de yanjing: Fu Ke fangtan lu*, 35.
[80] Ibid., *The History of Sexuality: An Introduction*, 78.
[81] Ibid., 42–43.
[82] Hsiaoyen Peng, "Sex Histories: Zhang Jingsheng's Sexual Revolution," 79–82.
[83] Michel Foucault, *The History of Sexuality: An Introduction*, 64.

women's issues, religion, foreign affairs and military affairs), "Sex and Aesthetic Education" (which were discussed from scientific and artistic perspectives), "Literature and Art Miscellanea" (including literature, art, customs, current affairs and notes) and "Critical Debates" (including the criticism of Sino-foreign theories and discussions among the readers).[84] While the contents may appear heterogeneous, the journal's core focus remained the "Sex and Aesthetic Education" section, as specified in the *New Culture* manifesto. Furthermore, "Sex Education" and "Aesthetic Education" were occasionally divided into two independent headings, and the contents of articles listed under the other headings often overlapped with issues discussed in the "Sex and Aesthetic Education" section. All of the sections welcomed contributions from readers. Readers' letters could also be published under the "Sex Education Newsletter" heading. In these letters, readers shared their own sexual experiences and questions regarding sexuality. These letters were shorter, but similar narratives can be found in *Sexual Histories.*[85]

On the one hand, Zhang Jingsheng, through his popularization of sex education in *New Culture*, certainly enlightened the populace to some extent; he broke taboos and directly imparted sex education that was meaningful for the masses. On the other hand, Zhang's posture of enlightenment involved establishing the rational authority of his sexology through expelling outsiders and silencing dissenters. In addition to the popularization of sexology, the establishment of these exclusions (that is, the propagation of standards for "normal" sexuality) was one of Zhang's aims. In the second issue of *New Culture*, he published an article on the ultimate goal of sex education. His conclusions convey his hopes for sex education: "In closing, in a word, if sex education is actively promoted, then we can topple all illegitimate forms of sexuality, such as 'rape,' 'homosexuality,' 'illegitimate intercourse,' 'masturbation' … and so on."[86] This "closing" is deeply troubling because "homosexuality," "illegitimate intercourse," and "masturbation" were all classified with "rape" as "illegal sex" and were completely forbidden in the Republic China at the beginning of the

[84] This method of classifying the contents was outlined in the first issue of *New Culture* (1926), 129.

[85] These letters were mainly found in the Sex Education Newsletter sections of the first through fourth issues of *New Culture*. In the fifth issue, however, Zhang published a "Crucial Announcement" to the Sexual Education Newsletter in response to the argument that "the censorship of the authorities has made it impossible to continue [to publish the contents of sexual experiences in readers' letters]" (Zhang Jingsheng, "Xinyu tongxunlan jingyao de qishi," 48). Zhang Jingsheng was compelled to edit out descriptions of the nudity of sexual experience disclosed in Letters to the Editor. The fifth and later issues of the Sexual Education Newsletter included only readers' sexual problems and Dr. Sexology's science-oriented answers to their questions.

[86] Ms. Suya, "Xing zhishi pubian le jiu meiyou qiangjian," 104.

twentieth century.

In the third issue of *New Culture*, a letter from a reader who signed her name as SSD was published in the Sexual Education Newsletter. In the letter, the reader asked, "If men and women engage in 'homosexuality,' can the 'sexual joy' they feel be equated with that of heterosexual intercourse?"[87] Zhang answered, "Homosexual intercourse, in addition to being a peculiar habit, absolutely cannot compare to heterosexual intercourse in terms of the sexual joy it affords. This is because, when engaging in homosexual intercourse, the body cannot experience the electricity of heterogeneous attraction and the mind cannot succeed in achieving true comfort."[88] In his answer, Zhang used the scientific doctrine of "likes repel each other, opposites attract" to argue that the physical and mental joy achieved by heterosexuals is superior to that experienced by homosexuals.

Some May Fourth Movement intellectuals advocated remaining single. SSD also had a question regarding women who chose to follow this suggestion and remain single. She asked whether remaining single was beneficial or detrimental to women's health. Zhang answered that this practice "was detrimental to women's physical and mental health."[89] He claimed that women who remained single easily developed unhealthy temperaments and often became hysterical.

In Beijing, Zhang Jingsheng supported the creation of a "new woman-centric ideology" (*xinnüxing zhongxin lun*) and advocated a "lover system" (*qingren zhi*) to replace the marriage system. As a free institution, the "lover system" allowed all men and women to be potential lovers. It proposed that all couples' relationships should be based on absolute free will in order to realize the true meaning of love.[90] "In the first issue of *New Culture*, Jingsheng vigorously advocated the "inheritance of female power" (*funü chengjiquan*).The position taken by Zhang in these works raise the question of why he maintained an unfavorable opinion of single women after going to Shanghai and why he engaged in the eighteenth century knowledge/power practice of "hysterifying"[91] women's bodies. After being exposed by others, he even admitted to readers that he "beat and scolded" his wife.[92] During Zhang's Shanghai period, the divorce case between him and his wife Chu Lijuan caused a major public scandal.[93]

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[87] Zhang Jingsheng, "Xingyu tongxun," 72.
[88] Ibid.
[89] Ibid.
[90] Ibid., *Zhang Jingsheng wenji [shang juan]*, 151–55.
[91] Regarding the "hysterization of women's bodies," q.v. Michel Foucault, *The History of Sexuality: An Introduction*, 104.
[92] Zhang Jingsheng, "Dadao jiazhuangpai," 127.
[93] In discussing Zhang Jingsheng and Chu Wenjuan's marriage, Lü Fangshang observes, "Zhang Jingsheng was a famous theoretician on romantic love, but in real life he was unsuccessful romantically" (Lü Fangshang, "1920 niandai Zhongguo zhishifenzi youguan qing'ai wenti de jueze yu taolun," 84).

In the second issue of *New Culture*, Zhang, affected by his marital problems, published "Zhang Jingsheng's Special Announcement" and advertisements that were inconsiderate of Chu's feelings. In the "Special Announcement," Zhang claimed that the divorce was not caused by political differences (which, he noted, "were the least of their differences"),[94] but rather was the result of the destruction of the feelings between them. Furthermore, he claimed that she had had an affair with a Communist lover and had abandoned him and their two-year-old child. In "Advertisement Two," he announced that he would speak "true words" (*zhenhua*) and that the next issue of *New Culture* would explain the nature of his entanglements with Chu.

The quarrels between the former couple intensified. Chu submitted a letter to the magazine *Yushi* through her friend Ye Zhengya. In this letter, she explained the entire course of the marriage and indirectly indicated that she was living alone and had not left with a lover. The reason she gave for leaving Zhang was that she could not bear his physically abusive behavior.[95] Zhou Zuoren wrote a supporting text entitled "In Regards to the Advertisement in New Culture," criticizing Zhang for "not practicing what he preaches" and for having vilified Chu with claims that she had been unfaithful. According to Zhou, Zhang's behavior not only demonstrated his failure to adhere to the "lover system" he had advocated at Peking University, but also showed that "he was confused in thought, cruel in action, a man who believes in old concepts of propriety [...] If you love somebody, you want them to live forever, but if you hate somebody, you want them dead […] showing no evidence of dedication to fostering a tender and delicate new [romantic] culture."[96]

Zhang was furious when he read this text. He wrote an article for the third issue of *New Culture* refuting Ye Zhengya and Zhou Zuoren, claiming to speak his "true words," as previously promised. In "The Beautiful Emotion: Hate," Zhang professed his desire to "unmask" Chu's "unbearable sexual urges" (*bukan de xingyu*), for example, her "masturbation" and her "homosexuality": "She absolutely loved women. If she met a good-looking woman, she would literally drool, and she was more affected by women than men. She often told me the interesting story of how, when she was in school, she caused a jealous fight between two female students. Because of this, I infer that she must enjoy 'homosexuality,' although she was unwilling to expose this secret to me."[97]

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[94] Zhang Jingsheng, "Zhang Jingsheng tebie qishi yi," 166.
[95] This letter is included in Zhou Zuoren's *Regarding the Advertisements in New Culture* and in the second volume of the *Collected Works of Zhang Jingsheng*, 437–40.
[96] Zhou Zuoren, "Guanyu *Xinwenhua* shang de guanggao," 440–41.
[97] Zhang Jingsheng, "Meide qinggan: Hen," 84–85.

Regardless of whether Chu was a lesbian or whether political differences with Zhang caused her to leave the marriage, Zhang, in his counter-attack, accused Chu of queerness to smear and disgrace her, thus clearly indicating his homophobia. In the Sexual Education Newsletter of the same issue, he also published a "Discussion on Homosexuality" written by a Ms. Qinxin. This letter rudely concluded:

> In general, "homosexuality" is by no means a natural form of sexuality. It is no more than a perversion, an example of sexuality gone off the rails. Therefore, homosexuality has no proper place in sex education.[98]

Although Zhang does not comment on or answer this letter, he tacitly approves of Qinxin's conclusions. In the sixth issue of *New Culture*, he published Havelock Ellis's *Homosexuality Amongst Female Students*, translated by Xie Se. In this text, Ellis explains female homosexuality in relation to environmental factors: "The frequency of the phenomenon, as well as the fact that, on leaving college to enter society, the girl usually ceases to feel these emotions, are sufficient to show the absence of congenital abnormality."[99] In *Sexual Histories*, Zhang published an announcement that solicited colleagues to co-translate the six volumes of Ellis's *Psychology of Sex*.[100] He continued to search for scholars to complete this translation for publication in *New Culture*. A portion of Ellis's *Psychology of Sex* was published in every issue of *New Culture*, but because publication ceased, the entire work was not translated in the journal.

Ellis was a twentieth-century sexologist who was as well known as Freud. He explained homosexuality through the scientia sexualis and biological determinism. Ellis considered homosexuality to be "a highly abnormal aberration,"[101] and he concurred with Kraft-Ebbing's conclusions, namely, that homosexuality, as a form of sexual inversion, is not pathological: "Inverts may be healthy and normal in all respects outside their special aberration."[102] Ellis considered the "conversion" of homosexuality to heterosexuality impossible but believed that, typically, the sexual drive of homosexual individuals was not strong, that they mostly wanted only to be among their own sex and thus sought out congeniality and platonic friendships, which could also be highly

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[98] Ms. Qinxin, "Tongxing lian'ai taolun," 63.
[99] Havelock Ellis, "Nüxuesheng de tongxing' ai," 20; Original text q.v. Havelock Ellis, *Studies in the Psychology of Sex, Sexual Inversion*, 249.
[100] Zhang Jingsheng, "Yi ge hanjia de zui hao xiaoqian fa: Dai 'you zhong she' tongren qishi," 27.
[101] Havelock Ellis, *Psychology of Sex*, 218.
[102] Ibid., 223–24.

satisfying.[103]

In the Aesthetic Bookshop advertisement page of the final issue of *New Culture*, readers were notified of the publication of a "small collection of sex education books" edited by Zhang Jingsheng. In addition to Zhang's *Third Kind of Fluid* (fifth edition) and the second printing of *Dantian and Sexual Breathing*, the collection included Havelock Ellis's *Studies in Homosexuality*, *Male Homosexuality*, and *Homosexuality Amongst Female Students*.[104] Zhang Jingsheng also compiled the above-mentioned book series on homosexuality into a collection titled *Concerning the Question of Abnormality*, thus clearly indicating that he considered homosexuality an "abnormality" and suggesting the strong influence that Ellis exerted on his understanding of homosexuality. In the introduction to *Sexual Histories*, Zhang divided psychological actualities into "ordinary" (*pingchang*) and "abnormal" (*biantai*). Zhang considered "abnormality" to be the "most important part of psychology"[105] and "good material for sexology."[106]

It can be inferred that, by this point, Zhang's view of homosexuality had solidified and that he considered the subject of homosexuality to be "good material" for the study of sexology. As a result, he repeatedly sought contributions pertaining to homosexuality. However, he continued to judge homosexuality in a prejudiced and inaccurate manner. Even after the *Sexual Histories* series was discontinued prematurely, he continued to provide his readers with negative information on homosexuality in *New Culture* and in the three books mentioned above. Even if Zhang had, in later days, focused on writing articles about homosexuality, it is reasonable to assume that he would have been unable to overcome his homophobia.

Translated Discourses on Sexual Difference in 1920s China

Although the publication manifesto of *New Culture* claimed to welcome all new ideas "that shook up the traditional world,"[107] its perspectives on several important sex education topics, including masturbation, were largely indistinguishable from those of mainstream publications, such as *The Chinese*

[103] Havelock Ellis, *Psychology of Sex*, 253.
[104] Moreover, the advertisements also mention a romantic literature collection, which included a volume by Jiang Shi entitled *Homosexuality*.
[105] Zhang Jingsheng, "Xu," 31.
[106] Ibid.
[107] Ibid., "*Xinwenhua*, yuekan xuanyan," 128.

Educational Review.[108] In some respects (for instance, the journals' views on women's liberation and homosexuality), the uniform stance taken by *New Culture* is actually less tolerant than the comparatively more varied standpoints found in *The Chinese Educational Review*, *The Ladies' Journal*, and *New Women*. *The Chinese Educational Review*, for example, had previously published a translation of *Homosexuality and Education* in its *Sex Education Special Issue*. The translator of this text was Shen Zemin, the younger brother of Mao Dun (the pen name of Shen Yanbing). It was an abridged translation based on the fourth chapter of Edward Carpenter's *The Intermediate Sex*, entitled *Affection in Education*. In 1908, Edward Carpenter wrote:

> The panic terror which prevails in England with regard to the expression of affection of this kind has its comic aspect […] And if by any chance we are compelled to recognize it, we must show our vast discernment by suspecting it. And thus we fling on the dust-heap one of the noblest and most precious elements in human nature […] and that the recognition of this will form the only way out of the modern school-difficulty. It is true that such a change would revolutionise our school-life; but it will have to come, all the same, and no doubt will come pari passu with other changes that are taking place in society at large.[109]

Shen Zemin translated *Affection in Education* as *Homosexuality and Education*. Shen's rendering of the title was not an unintentional mistranslation, but rather indicates that Shen's version was intended to make explicit claims that, in the original text, are only implied. In the translation's postscript, Zemin admitted this intention in a special apology and modestly stated that he was unable to "fully reflect the original text word for word."[110] He also noted that Carpenter's points regarding homosexuality in English schoolyards also accurately reflected the atmosphere in contemporary Chinese schools. The final sentence of his postscript prompted the reader to reflect on these issues: "Do we still do our utmost to encourage emotional education? Do we continue to push homosexual feelings into the 'gutter'? Let us audaciously recall! We have all lived the school life!"[111]

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[108] All articles in the *Sex Education Special Issue* of the *Education Magazine* that deal with masturbation regard it negatively. One article asserts that the dangerous effects of masturbation include nervous breakdown, martial disharmony, and infertility (Pan Gongzhan, "Liangxing shenghuo yu xingjiaoyu," 9).

[109] Edward Carpenter, "Tongxing'ai yu jiaoyu," 9–10; Original text q.v. Edward Carpenter, *The Intermediate Sex*, 58–59.

[110] Shen Zemin, "Tongxing'ai yu jiaoyu, yiwen houji," 10.

[111] Ibid.

Evidently, the translator strongly supported Carpenter's tolerant position and opposed a punitive approach to homosexuality in the schoolyard. Such a punitive approach would entail expulsion and pushing homosexual feelings into the "gutter." He assumed it would be more desirable to promote "affection in education," even if outsiders considered his position revolutionary. At the time, as one of the first 50 members of the Chinese Communist Party, Shen seems to have been invested in the party's revolutionary enthusiasm and, in his translation of Carpenter's work, briefly addressed homosexuality and educational reform.

The same issue of *The Chinese Educational Review* also included another article on homosexuality. In the article, homosexuality was blamed for the "loss of human dignity and [described as] violating nature,"[112] and the government was advised to print handbooks to instill fear in children regarding the dangers of homosexuality. However, the inclusion of these articles indicates the *Sex Education Special Issue*'s pluralistic approach to the issue of homosexuality. Furthermore, the existence of these articles demonstrates that "homosexuality," as an important sexual issue, had entered the purview of the May Fourth Movement's printing culture even prior to the publication of *Sexual Histories* and *New Culture*. Unfortunately, Zhang did not attempt to engage with this preexisting discourse or to advance the issue through progressive thought; on the contrary, *New Culture* continued to demonize homosexuality.

In the early 1920s, the *Ladies' Journal* published a lengthy piece on Carpenter's *Intermediate Sex Theory*, and, like the other journals, they chose to translate his book *The Intermediate Sex*. The translation combined the text's first and second chapters (*Introduction* and *The Intermediate Sex*). Carpenter's discussion of the dichotomy between masculinity and femininity in contemporary English society was theoretically innovative. Carpenter classified individuals who did not fall clearly into either the "masculine" or the "feminine" disposition as an "intermediate sex." Carpenter analyzed the homosexual tendencies exhibited by members of the "intermediate sex" and not only defended them but also expressed interest in "[giving] them their fitting place and sphere of usefulness in the general scheme of society."[113] The first draft of the second chapter (*The Intermediate Sex*) was included in the booklet's revised edition, *Relations Between Sexes: Love's Coming-of-Age*, published in 1906 and comprehensively translated in the 1920s by Guo Zhaoxi. Guo's translation was serialized in the weekly publication *Women's Review* (*Funü Pinglun*), which was

[112] Yi Jiayue, "Zhongguo de xingyu jiaoyu wenti," 20.
[113] Edward Carpenter, "Zhongxing lun," 4; Original text q.v. Edward Carpenter, *The Intermediate Sex*, 8.

published by the Communist Party member Chen Wangdao and others. In book form, it was published in Dajiang, Shanghai as *Histories of Love* and distributed with an introduction by Chen Wangdao.[114]

In the 1920s, verbal arguments erupted between the authors and editors of *New Culture* and the magazine *New Women*.[115] An article entitled "New Woman: Going from Bad to Worse" was published in the first issue of *New Culture* under the name of Ms. Nuoli. Readers assumed that Ms. Nuoli was one of Zhang Jingsheng's pseudonym.[116] This text attacked *New Women* for having "poor and weak contents" and a "drab selection of material."[117] *New Women* appeared in the latter half of the 1920s and discussed issues regarding women's advancement from a variety of perspectives. The magazine's editor-in-chief, Zhang Xichen, in handling the "New Sexual Morality" debate in *New Women*—"The Doctrine of Soul and Flesh are One" versus the "Theory of No Romantic Attachments,"[118] magnanimously tolerated dissenters' rude behavior, thus behaving more decently

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[114] In the introduction, Chen Wangdao notes that another translation was available. This alternative version was an abridged retranslation from a Japanese source and was published by the Beijing Morning Report Press (Edward Carpenter, *Ai shi*, II) before Chen's translated version was serialized in *Women's Review*. Inside the front cover of the 1990 version, the Publication Notes state that it is "based on the 1929 version published by the Kaiming Publishing House of Shanghai." It can thus be inferred that Guo Zhaoxi's *Histories of Love* was later published by the Kaiming Publishing House as part of the *World Marriage Culture Series*. The fact that the original was most likely translated into Chinese on at least two additional separate occasions is noteworthy. The first version was an abridged translation by Zhou Zuoren from Japanese, *Love's Coming of Age* (*Aide chengnian*) (the first extracts of which are in Zhou Zuoren's *Informal Article 34* (*Suiganlu sanshisi*), published in *New Youth*, volume 5, issue 4 (October 15, 1918), 409–12. Whether parts of this translation are included in the publication by the Beijing Morning Report Press remains unverified. The second translation is by Fan Zhongyuan, *Carpenter's Theory of Love* (*Jiabente lian'ai lun*), based on the original text and published by the Kaiming Publishing 'House of Shanghai as part of the *Women's Research Association Series*. A full-page advertisement for this book appeared at the end of Volume 2, Issue 11 of *New Women* (1927) and featured the slogan "Vanguard of the revolution of sexual morality/Guide for men and women of the new society." This instance of Carpenter's work inspired several Chinese translations, thereby indicating the significant attention Carpenter received from Chinese intellectuals.

[115] For details, please refer to Peng Hsiaoyen, "Wu-si de 'Xin xingdaode': Nüxing qingyu lunshu yu jiangou minzu guojia," 77–95, and Hsu Huichi, "1920 niandai de lian'ai yu xin xingdaode lunshu—Cong Zhang Xichen canyu de san ci lunzhan tanqi," 51–59.

[116] From the writing style, it can be surmised that "Ms. Nuoli" was an alias used by Zhang Jingsheng. Several scholars have reached this conclusion in recent years (Hsu Huichi, "1920 niandai de lian'ai yu xin xingdaode lunshu—Cong Zhang Xichen canyu de san ci lunzhan tanqi," 55). The earliest suspicions that "Ms. Nuoli" was a man were most likely raised by *New Women* editor Zhang Xichen in a response aimed at Zhang Xichen entitled "New Woman and Study of Sex" (Zhang Xichen, "Xinnüxing yu xing de yanjiu," 241).

[117] Ms. Nuoli, "Meikuangyuexia de xinnüxing," 117.

[118] For a specific analysis of these arguments, please see Hsu Huichi, "1920 niandai de lian'ai yu xin xingdaode lunshu—Cong Zhang Xichen canyu de san ci lunzhan tanqi," 60–70.

than Zhang Jingsheng, who, in editing *New Culture*, exhibited a ruthlessly bigoted mentality when debating opponents.

New Women serialized another of Carpenter's works in a translation entitled *Theory of Homosexuality*. The original text was called *Homogenic Attachment* and was originally the third chapter of *The Intermediate Sex*. Carpenter's substitution of "homogenic attachment" for the pathologizing term "homosexuality" suggests Carpenter's victory over dissenting viewpoints. Moreover, although "homogenic attachment" was translated into Chinese as "*Tongxing lian'ai*," the negative modern connotation of this term does not apply to the early twentieth century context. Instead, the Chinese translator's use of the term indicates his deliberate focus on homosexuality. This worthwhile text traces homosexuality from Greco-Roman history, literature, and art to the sexual psychologists of the nineteenth century and explains the transition from the "pathologization" of homosexuality to the view of homosexuality as an "abnormality." At the end of the text, Edward Carpenter sincerely states:

> Having thus shown the importance of the homogenic or comrade-attachment, in some form, in national life, it would seem high time now that the modern peoples should recognise this in their institutions, and endeavour at least in their public opinion and systems of education to understand this factor and give it its proper place.[119]

The political connotation of the term "comrade attachment" was most likely intentional. This passage suggests Carpenter's strong desire to legitimize homosexuality. Sang Tze-lan has speculated that the publication of Carpenter's *Theory of Homosexuality* in *New Women* most likely allowed the Chinese public, perhaps for the first time, to conceptualize "a congenital homosexuality and homosexual identity that carried no implications of pathology or inferiority."[120]

Carpenter's analysis of homosexuality and the "intermediate sex" was generally positive, and, although his works were repeatedly translated into Chinese in the early 1920s, they did not influence Zhang Jingsheng's binary view of the sexuality and "sexual aesthetics" of Chinese men and women. The perspective on gender expressed in the translations of Carpenter's works was not an isolated one. In 1920, *The Ladies' Journal* (Vol. 6, numbers 6 and 7) published, in serial form, an article translated by a translator known by the nom de plume Se Lu and provided to the journal by The editor-in-chief Zhang Xichen. The original

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[119] Edward Carpenter, "Tongxing lian'ai lun (xu)," 618; Original text q.v. Edward Carpenter, *The Intermediate Sex*, 45.

[120] Tze-lan Deborah Sang, *The Emerging Lesbian: Female Same-sex Desire in Modern China*, 119.

text was *Women's Liberation and Groundless Fears of Mannishness* by the Japanese author Kusame Fumihara. She defended and clarified her position in support of the changes in women's education and professional opportunities, a position that had been rejected and derided as "mannishness" (*nanxinghua*) by the guardians of traditional values. She also opposed family values supporters, who conceptualized of "women's place" within discourses of duty and motherly instinct.[121]

One might argue that these positions were too avant-garde for their time and did not fit into the national concerns of the May Fourth Generation. However, these assumptions are incorrect. In the same year, *The Ladies' Journal* (Volume 6, number 7) published *The Male Aspect of Women's Liberation* by Wan Yang. Wang argues that men should participate actively in the women's liberation movement. The author argues that "men control the economic activity of women, which is the basis of all autocratic arrangements. When such arrangements are abolished, then the corruption of the human world will also be gone!"[122]

In 1925, *The Ladies' Journal* published a translation of the Japanese text *The New Meaning of Homosexuality in Female Education* by Goya Toyoko. Goya believed that the platonic love between homosexuals merited praise and encouragement, even from the standpoint of education.[123]In the 1920s, some homosexuals managed to breach the intellectuals' "line of defense"; one such breach occurred when *The Ladies' Journal* published an article by an author writing under the name of Kaishi. The article was entitled "The Question of Homosexuality and Marriage." Although Kaishi asserts that "homosexuality cannot become a doctrine and, needless to say, there is no need to encouragement it," [124] he or she nonetheless believed that "one cannot say how they [homosexuals] are bad […]."[125] The text refers to a 1925 newspaper report that mentioned two Chinese women working in the Chinese Women's Savings Bank, Chen Jianchen and Huang Yazhong, who publicized their "new homosexual marriage" in a newspaper announcement, thus hoping that the media would, on their behalf, spread the word about this new form of marriage. Their parents accepted the women's homosexuality:

> Yazhong's parents deeply loved that Jianchen and their daughter could act and feel alike in words and deeds. Jianchen also profoundly admired Yazhong's parents, who, despite being elderly, were young at heart. As a

[121] Kusame Fumihara, "Funü jiefang yu nanxinghua zhi qi," 1–7.
[122] Wan Yang, "Nanzi fangmian de funü jiefang," 7.
[123] Goya Toyoko, "Tongxing'ai zai nüzi jiaoyu shang de xin yiyi," 1064–69.
[124] Kaishi, "Tongxing'ai he hunyin wenti," 729.
[125] Ibid., 728.

> result of Jianchen and Yazhong's relationship, whenever they were on leave, Jianchen had to join Yazhong when she returned home under the pretext of consoling her loneliness far from home (Jianchen was living alone in the capital). This is an exceptional account of true events.[126]

In their approach to sexuality, few of the above-mentioned May Fourth generation intellectuals made a significant effort to advance beyond the limits of their time. Most likely, these figures never entered Zhang Jingsheng's purview because Zhang strongly objected to the mainstream publishers, and most of their works were published by the mainstream Commercial Press. Zhang publically criticized the editorial departments of the "large modern domestic presses like the Commercial Press and the Chinese Publishing House. Their structural deficiencies and inadequate, poorly informed editors prevent them from producing quality works, in spite of their being amply funded."[127]Zhang often cited readers' contributions to criticize mainstream publishers' corrupt practices: "I speak of the utter awfulness of the editors of the Commercial Press and Chinese Publishing House. They only welcome a few traditional and decayed theories."[128] Furthermore, Zhang was adept at organizing "themes for article solicitations" and thus could use his readers' contributions to indirectly criticize *New Culture*'s business opponents:

> The articles in *New Culture* that discuss "sex education" do so in accord with the "truths of sex education." In discussing sexual problems, they probe to the root of the issue instead of just alleviating the symptoms. The articles adopt a rational scientific approach and methodology; these texts are not theoretical or non-academic, and, in essence, they discuss how to put "noble love" into practice and how to actualize a "graceful sex life." The discovery of the "third kind of fluid" surpasses ten million texts on "romantic attachment" found in *The Ladies' Journal* and millions of texts on "sex education" found in *New Women*.[129]

Certainly, for a long time, Zhang solicited articles from readers as a way of asking them to judge whether, "in the end, *New Culture* is smut or not."[130] Zhang Jingsheng attempted to use readers' responses to mount a final defense of *New Culture* against the "Shanghai Temporary Court declaring the 'death

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126 Kaishi, "Tongxing'ai he hunyin wenti," 728.
127 Zhang Jingsheng, "Zhang Jingsheng de yi feng gongkaixin," 396.
128 Shang Tong, "Zhongxue shijie baikequanshu," 146.
129 Xie Jingren, "*Xinwenhua* yu xiandai zhu zazhi kanwu," 28.
130 Xinwenhua she, "Zhengqiu yi ge you yiyi de shehui ceyan fa," 21.

penalty' against the journal."[131] In his descriptions of Shanghai court judges, Zhang implied that, whereas *New Culture* had been charged with "indecent behavior," the journal was really being blamed for creating a general atmosphere of permissiveness regarding the publication of licentious material in Shanghai. Seen from another perspective, the governmental disapproval of *New Culture* actually indicates that the journal was successful in Shanghai; it had attained "momentum" and was "eagerly anticipated" by the tabloid crowd and those individuals wanting to imitate the journal. *New Culture* was a well-selling journal. According to the most conservative estimates, the monthly circulation exceeded 20,000 copies,[132] which, moreover, excludes the countless pirated printings of the journal. Zhang, in the fourth issue of *New Culture*, published a special announcement admonishing Beijing bookstores for the large quantities of pirated and revised copies of *New Culture* in their stocks.

The popularity of pirated copies of the journal indicates that *New Culture*'s fate was ultimately similar that of Zhang's *Sexual Histories*: both publications attracted a wide readership and were in high demand, but both suffered from piracy. Zhang's books and periodicals were disseminated widely, not only among common people, but also in other circles, though May Fourth intellectuals regarded them with contempt. In 1953, Lin Yutang recollected reading the *Sexual Histories* in those years: "I think all my flesh and blood jumped."[133] At that time, he was also a faithful reader of *New Culture* in Shanghai, and this publication made a "deep impression" on him.[134] In this text, Lin placed Zhang alongside Kinsey, exclaiming that Zhang was born at an unfavorable time, while Kinsey was privileged to work in an encouraging environment:

> Kinsey was born in 1894 and turned 59 this year. Zhang Jingsheng is also 59 years old this year—the same age as Kinsey. Both sexologists were born in 1894, one in China and one in the West, a mystery of the wonderful force that created heaven and earth. It is a pity that, while Kinsey is still pursuing his great work, our Zhang Jingsheng is keeping silent and lying low.[135]

In fact, Lin Yutang misremembered Zhang Jingsheng's year of birth. Zhang was in fact born on February 20, 1888;[136] Kinsey was born on June 23, 1894.

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131 Xinwenhua she, "Zhengqiu yi ge you yiyi de shehui ceyan fa," 21.
132 Chen Shuyu, "Xing boshi chuanqi," 73.
133 Lin Yutang, "Zhang Jingsheng kai fengqi zhi xian," 8.
134 Ibid.
135 Ibid., 7.
136 This date is currently accepted in academic circles, and all available material clearly indicates that Zhang Jingsheng was born on February 20, 1888. For relevant material, see Zhang Feng, "Zhang Jingsheng boshi nianbiao jiqi xingxueshu sixiang," 56. See also Zhang Peizhong, *Wenyao yu xianzhi: Zhang Jingsheng zhuan*, 631.

Zhang was more than six years older than Kinsey. In general, the two individuals can be considered of the same era, but their ideas regarding sexology were diametrically opposed. For example, Zhang reinforced Ellis's judgment of homosexuality as "abnormal," whereas Kinsey criticized his predecessors for judging sexual acts that differed from those of majority as "abnormal" and "perverse." He believed that the so-called statistical "majority" in fact had no inevitable connection with the split of "normality" and "abnormality" in psychology. As he explained, "there is no scientific reason for considering particular types of sexual activity as intrinsically, in their biologic origins, normal or abnormal […]."[137]

Moreover, when confronted with government issues, Kinsey's level of engagement differed significantly from Zhang's. Kinsey was absorbed in sexology, expressed no notable interest in political affairs, and painstakingly maintained his distance from political factions. Zhang, however, was visibly involved in political affairs as he enthusiastically promoted his sexology. Zhang supported the Kuomintang, and he did not hesitate to publish Kuomintang "announcements" in *New Culture*, thus reaffirming that he could not be considered a "counter-revolutionary":

> I am a true supporter of the Kuomintang; I am against the reds and truly think and act as a Kuomintang partisan. In other words, I am a genuine revolutionary (*zhen gemingdang*). Although I am not currently appointed to Kuomintang party work, still, in my every act and move, even to the point of wearing a school uniform as my everyday attire, I display my revolutionary spirit. I pride myself on this. Not only am I truly revolutionary, I am "supra-revolutionary" […].[138]

He lived his theory; he patterned his everyday clothing on the model of the Kuomintang revolutionary forces and left out no detail in guiding Chinese men and women in how to love, how to elicit the "third kind of fluid," and how to apply eugenics to the production of future generations. Although Zhang was interested in harnessing the revolutionary spirit of the Kuomintang's Three People's Principles to transform people's everyday lives, his true passion was for sex education and aesthetic education, the so-called "supra-revolution." Whereas the mainstream political orientation of 1920s China emphasized a national revolutionary path different from socialism, Zhang Jingsheng's "supra-revolution" and the revolution of socialism attempted, through different approaches, to achieve the same goal. Both approaches garnered support because

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[137] Alfred Kinsey, *Sexual Behavior in the Human Male*, 202.
[138] Zhang Jingsheng, "Zhang Jingsheng tebie qishi er," 168.

they popularized masculinity, with the aim of reforming the national character and achieving "A Strong Breed to Rescue the Nation."

However, Zhang was unable to obtain the acceptance of the party's inner circle. *New Culture* and the Aesthetic Bookshop, in seeking to promote a "new (sexual) culture," were repeatedly summoned to court and fined by the authorities. Finally, continuing the monthly publication of *New Culture* became challenging. In 1929, Zhang was arrested under charges of propagating sexology and corrupting the youth of Hangzhou. After being released on bail, he went to France and pursued translation work. Although he later returned to China, he changed professions and maintained a low profile, perhaps suggesting that his time had passed.

Although it is unfair to judge Zhang Jingsheng's sexology based on modern standards, we also should not overestimate his promotion of sexology just because he subsequently became an "underdog." The limitations in Zhang's views of homosexuality and "sexual aesthetics also by no means, negate the other, more positive sexual movements advocated by Zhang. For example, he encouraged birth control, the "lover system," and the "inheritance of female power," all of which continue to be meaningful in modern China.

From the perspective of contemporary sexology, sexual liberation and the liberation of the body are not necessarily connected to the liberation of the nation-state. Yet, for the May Fourth generation, including Zhang Jingsheng, individual sexual liberation and women's liberation were not, in and of themselves, the primary pre-conditions for self-liberation. Instead, "sexual liberation" and "women's liberation" were seen as the means through which to recode the bodies of Chinese men and women, thus allowing them to become a "Strong Breed to Rescue the Nation" and to aid in the liberation of the nation-state.

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