Biographical Dictionary of Chinese Women

The Twentieth Century 1912–2000

Editors-in-Chief
Lily Xiao Hong Lee
and A. D. Stefanowska

The Twentieth-Century Period Editor
Lily Xiao Hong Lee

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The second volume in this distinguished series contains some 250 biographies of women active from 1912 until 1990, although many of the biographies contain information current to the year 2000. While the volume includes biographies of such internationally famous Chinese women as the Soong sisters, Lu Gwei-Djen, Jiang Qing, Han Suyin, Anna Chennault, Deng Yingchao, and Ding Ling, because of the enormous amount of historical material and scholarly research that has become available in the last few decades, the editor was also able to include a greater range of women than would have been previously possible. These are Chinese women who have forged careers as scientists, businesswomen, sportswomen, and military officers appearing alongside writers, academics, revolutionary heroines, politicians, musicians, opera stars, film stars, artists, educators, nuns, and traditional good wives. Also included are women from minority nationalities.

Casting a wide net, the editor includes biographies of women from mainland China and Taiwan as well as those of Chinese descent who were born overseas, including famous Americans like Maxine Hong Kingston. More than eighty authors and translators from all over the world have contributed to this indispensable and impressive scholarly undertaking.

The first volume . . .

BIOGRAPHICAL DICTIONARY OF CHINESE WOMEN

The Qing Period, 1644–1911

Edited by Clara Wing-chung Ho

Editors-in-Chief: Lily Xiao Hong Lee and A.D. Stefanowska

"This outstanding volume will stand as a classic reference for decades to come."
— *Asian Studies Review*

"This collaborative work is a most welcome addition to the field of Qing studies. . . . The editors must be congratulated for the wide breadth of profiles encompassing empresses, authors, religious leaders and one pirate. . . . The entries are eminently readable and promise to open many avenues for future research."
— *Pacific Affairs*

中國婦女傳記詞典

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Assistant Editor-in-Chief
Sue Wiles

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Preface

This English edition of the *Biographical Dictionary of Chinese Women: The Twentieth-Century*, *1912–2000*, is the second in a multivolume series to be published, the *Qing Period*, *1644–1911*, volume having appeared in 1998. The idea for this reference book originated within the then School of Asian Studies at the University of Sydney in Australia in the mid-1980s. Our review of literature in the field revealed the many English-language biographical dictionaries of eminent Chinese that have been published over the years, covering many periods of Chinese history: *Sung Biographies* (ed. Herbert Franke [Wiesbaden: Franz Steiner Verlag, 1976]); *Dictionary of Ming Biography (1368–1644)* (ed. L. Carrington Goodrich and Chaoying Fang [New York: Columbia University Press, 1976]); *Eminent Chinese of the Ch'ing Period (1644–1912)* (ed. Arthur W. Hummel [Washington, D.C.: U.S. Government Printing Office, 1943]); *Biographical Dictionary of Republican China* (ed. Howard L. Boorman and Richard C. Howard [New York: Columbia University Press, 1967]); and the *Biographic Dictionary of Chinese Communism*, *1921–1965* (ed. Donald W. Klein and Anne B. Clark [Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1971]). In these biographical works, however, the lives of women have been largely ignored: only nine of the 809 entries in Hummel's work are women; only twenty-three women appear among the 600–odd biographies in Boorman and Howard; and some eighteen women are given individual articles by Klein and Clark, whose dictionary provided biographies of 433 people. Thus, the purpose of the present *Biographical Dictionary of Chinese Women* is to compile under one title biographies of Chinese women throughout history and furnish more complete biographical data on individual Chinese women than presently exists in the general dictionaries that have been published over the past two decades.

The biographical articles in the *Biographical Dictionary of Chinese Women* were not commissioned as original research but as a summary of existing knowledge and information. Even this modest aim has at times been difficult to achieve; until very recently, little material has been available on women from mainland China. However, we consistently view our work as a first step in facilitating further research into the lives and accomplishments of Chinese women.

While the editors-in-chief have worked for many years at The University of Sydney, Australia, this present volume has received the benefit of only limited institutional support. Partly reflecting these financial constraints, we have been able to provide Chinese characters only for the names of the women, not for titles of works or institutions, etc. This omission is rightly lamented, but we believe it is in some measure compensated by the planned publication of a Chinese-language edition of the *Biographical Dictionary of Chinese Women* series, starting with the *Qing Period* volume. All contributors and translators have graciously contributed their time and expertise gratis in support of these projects, and their generosity is keenly appreciated.

The editor of this volume, Lily Xiao Hong Lee, invited sixty-five scholars from

Australia; Canada; China, including Hong Kong and Taiwan; the Netherlands; Southeast Asia; the United Kingdom; and the United States to write the articles in this *Biographical Dictionary of Chinese Women*. The biographees were chosen according to our original criteria of selecting Chinese women of outstanding accomplishment in a field of study, profession, or trade or who had exerted a special influence over their own era or on posterity. All of these women have contributed in some measure to the increasingly globalized world of the twentieth century. Most of them were born and lived or worked in China; some were born of Chinese parents outside China, while others born in China made their mark elsewhere; a few were foreigners who became Chinese citizens and worked in China.

This volume covers the years 1912 to 2000. We should emphasize, however, that the end year of 2000 must be seen as notional. All entries are current to 1990, but many have been updated to 2000, and more than one biography contains information on events that took place in 2001. We have not included women who first emerged onto the public stage in the 1990s because we deemed it prudent to leave a full evaluation of their lives to the editors of a future work. Just over three hundred biographies are gathered in this volume of the *Biographical Dictionary of Chinese Women*, and the range of their collective interests and activities is extensive. By far the largest group comprises women involved to different degrees in politics and government. This is perhaps not surprising in a century that saw the overthrow of the imperial order and the eventual establishment of a people's republic in a China that continues to evolve. Revolutionaries, political activists and reformers, and women's rights activists took center stage in the Republican period during the first half of the twentieth century. Many of the women were early communists but some also fought for democracy, the independence of Taiwan, and the individual rights of women. Some made their way through the hierarchy of government or party posts to wield a degree of authority in China, Hong Kong, and Taiwan; a few won power through other, less legitimate, means.

While no longer being the sole path that educated women in China are expected to take, literature remains a fertile field for female talent. The vast majority of literary women included are fiction writers, re-creating through their works the lives of their less articulate sisters. The poets, essayists, and critics have used their pens to expose what needs to be changed in the lives of women and courageously forged new pathways for all.

Women artists are not novel in China nor are performing artists—opera stars, dancers, singers. What is remarkable about these women in this century is their vigor to generate innovation in their chosen fields. Film and theater spawned a generation of intrepid women performers in the 1930s and 1940s, while local opera saw a blossoming of talent. These women developed and rejuvenated the traditional arts and songs, as well as creating new genres, as the times demanded. Some made happy marriages or made their way alone in a patriarchal world. Others were destroyed by infidelity, intrigue, or politics. In the second half of the century, Chinese women turned to producing and directing film, television, and theater, and actresses who made their name as martial arts and international film stars proliferated.

The professions attracted many women in the era of the twentieth century as their ability to exercise a greater freedom of choice in making a career expanded. History cannot be gainsaid, however, and education remains an area in which women predominate. Some have nevertheless ventured toward stepping into other, more radical, paths, including the law and police enforcement. In line with more traditional pursuits of old China, however, many educated women have become scholars. Some nevertheless extended their interests beyond conventional subjects and entered the newer realms of science and technology. More than one of the scientists in this volume has won international respect in her chosen field. Readers will not be surprised to find nuns appearing in these pages, and even military women. They may wonder a little, however, at the amount of willpower that is required of women to succeed in the harsh worlds of the media, industry, and commerce. Hints of the sacrifices entailed are revealed in their private lives, with many of the women choosing to remain single in order to achieve their goals.

As with the *Qing Period* volume, not all of the biographees are Han Chinese. Included are Tibetan and Manchurian women, as well as Mongolians and other nationalities (Hui, Bai). One is a French woman who lived and died in China as a Chinese citizen. There are women that we would like to have included but were unable to because of lack of information, insufficient time, or our inability to find a suitable contributor. We believe, however, that we have made a reasonable attempt at providing for an English-speaking audience an accurate and informative portrait of the most notable Chinese women of the twentieth century. We hope the *Biographical Dictionary of Chinese Women* forms the basis for further research.

Lily Xiao Hong Lee
A. D. Stefanowska
Sue Wiles

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Editors' Note

The style and format adopted in the *Biographical Dictionary of Chinese Women: The Twentieth-Century*, *1912–2000*, conform to the biographical dictionaries of eminent Chinese mentioned in the Preface as well as to the *Qing Period* volume already published. We have listed the women in a "Finding List by Background or Fields of Endeavor" according to the field of study, profession, or trade for which they are best known; some women will appear in multiple classifications. A Brief Chronology of Twentieth-Century Events and a brief list of Abbreviations and Guide to Chinese Words Used are provided to assist non-specialist readers. Biographical entries are arranged alphabetically in the text.

As in the *Qing Period* volume, we have used *pinyin* romanization and offer appropriate cross references to alternate spellings of women's names. There are two major exceptions to this rule, however, made only after much thought and discussion. The first is that women who go by or are widely recognized by an English name, e.g., Sally Aw, Anson Chan, and Dame Lydia Dunn, are listed under that name along with a reference from their Chinese name. This exception also extends to non-standard romanization known to be preferred by the woman herself, e.g., Fan Tchun-pi, and commonly accepted usage for well-known people and places, e.g., Chiang Kai-shek, Soong Mayling, Taiwan, and Taipei. The second is that, out of respect for a stated or implicit wish, we have used standard Wade-Giles romanization for the names of women from Taiwan or who spent a significant portion of their lives there. Standard Wade-Giles is also applied to Taiwan place names. Because Taiwan has unofficially adopted a modified Wade-Giles system, dispensing with apostrophes and umlauts—which, when used in conjunction with *pinyin* in a volume such as this, can cause considerable confusion—we have therefore romanized all Chinese words in the biographies of Taiwan-related women in standard Wade-Giles. *Pinyin* equivalents are given in all cases.

The city of Beijing has undergone several name changes over the past one hundred years. To avoid confusion and circumvent difficult decisions, we decided to refer to the city by its current name of "Beijing" regardless of the period under discussion but with two exceptions to this rule. The first is that where "Beiping" appears as part of the name of an institution or entity then that spelling is retained in its translation. The second is when the use of the old post office spelling of "Peking" occurs, that spelling also is retained in a name, e.g., "Peking University."

In translating terms and institutions, we have not had the benefit of any one comprehensive, authoritative reference guide, but we did attempt to follow established authorities. For the People's Republic of China, we consulted the *Chinese-English Manual of Chinese Organizations* (ed. Xinhua she duiwai bu [Beijing: Jinri zhongguo chubanshe, 1992; distributed by China International Book Trading Corp.]). Identifying groups and institutions cited in Chinese sources can be quite bewildering: names

frequently vary, not only between sources, but within one text. We have nevertheless done our best to maintain internal consistency within our volume, giving the *pinyin* of the original Chinese where possible. We have also attempted to translate in the text the titles of most literary and artistic works produced by the women biographees so as to give English-speaking readers a sense of their content. At times, when the meaning of a title is obscure, we have resorted to an approximate translation. Again, *pinyin* is provided where possible.

Bibliographies given at the end of each biography are meant not to be exhaustive but to serve as suggestions for additional reading.

Lily Xiao Hong Lee
A. D. Stefanowska
Sue Wiles

Acknowledgements

The editors-in-chief thank The University of Sydney for extending financial support over a number of years to this research project, the *Biographical Dictionary of Chinese Women*.

Our sincere thanks also go to the contributors who gave time and expertise to research and write the articles appearing in this volume and to the translators who rendered into English the articles written in Chinese.

Professor Wang Bing provided advice on scientific matters as well as writing many of the biographies of the scientists; we are greatly indebted to her on both counts.

We must express our special gratitude to Dr. Yu Chien-ming of the Institute of Modern History, Academia Sinica, and Associate Professor Chen Chun-kai at Fu-Jen Catholic University. The time and effort each devoted to the demanding task of coordinating most of the entries on women in Taiwan are greatly appreciated. Their contribution enhanced the breadth and depth of our coverage of the women of Taiwan.

We would also like to acknowledge the unfailingly cheerful and professional assistance we have received over the past three or four years from Magdalen Lee and Sharon Qian at the East Asian Library, The University of Sydney. Without their help, many references would have been incomplete and much information lacking.

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Huang Zongying
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Lin Dai
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Ruan Lingyu
Shu Xiuwen
Siqin Gaowa
Wang Ying
Yu Shan
Zhou Xuan
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Xia Juhua

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Yang Liping

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Wei Gongzhi

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Gu Shengying
Li Shu-te
Lin Ch'iu-chin
Liu Suola
Wu Yuxia
Zhang Quan
Zhou Shu'an

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Fu Quanxiang
Gu Yuezhen
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Kuo Hsiao-chuang
Xin Fengxia
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Deng Liujin
Deng Yingchao
Ge Jianhao
Guo Jian
Han Youtong
He Zizhen
Jin Weiying
Kan Shiying
Kang Keqing
Lei Jieqiong
Li Guiying
Li Jianhua
Li Jianzhen
Liao Mengxing
Liao Siguang
Liu Hulan
Liu Qingyang
Liu Yaxiong
Liu Ying
Luo Shuzhang
Nie Yuanzi
Qian Xijun
Qiu Yihan
Shen Zijiu
Shuai Mengqi
Wang Dingguo
Wang Guangmei
Wang Huiwu
Wang Quanyuan
Wang Yizhi
Wei Gongzhi
Wei Xiuying
Wu Fulian
Wu Zhonglian
Wulan
Xiang Jingyu
Xiao Yuehua

Xie Fei
Xie Xiaomei
Xie Xuehong
Yang Houzhen
Yang Zhihua
Yang Zilie
Ye Qun
Zhang Qinqiu
Zhang Ruoming
Zhang Zhixin
Zhao Yiman
Zhou Yuehua

Foreign Affairs

Chen Xiangmei
Ding Xuesong
Gong Peng
Gong Pusheng
Li Shuzheng

Government

Chan, Anson
Chen Muhua
Chen Xiangmei
Ch'en–Shih Man
Gu Xiulian
Guo Jian
Hao Jianxiu
Hsü Shih-hsien
Kuo Wan-jung
Lau, Emily
Li Chung-kui
Li Jianzhen
Li Shuzheng
Liang–Hsü Ch'un-chü
Liu Yaxiong
Lü Hsiu-lien
Luo Shuzhang
Moss, Irene
Peng Peiyun
Qian Ying
Qian Zhengying
Shi Liang
Song Qingling
Wan Shaofen
Wu Yi
Yü–Ch'en Yüeh-ying
Zhang Qinqiu

Labor Leaders

Chen Shaomin
Liao Siguang
Liu Qunxian
Yang Zhihua

Party Workers

Cai Chang
Chen Congying
Deng Liujin
Hao Jianxiu
Li Jianzhen
Liao Mengxing
Qian Ying
Wan Shaofen
Wang Dingguo
Wang Guangmei
Wang Yizhi
Wei Fengying
Zeng Zhi

Political Activists, Revolutionaries

Chien O
Chi-oang
Dong Zhujun
Lau, Emily
Li Dequan
Lin Zongsu
Liu–Wang Liming
Shi Liang
Wu Yifang
Xie Xuehong
Yeh T'ao
Zhang Ruoming

Political Figures

Jiang Qing
Song Qingling
Soong Ailing
Soong Mayling
Wang Guangmei
Yang Kaihui
Ye Qun

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Cai Chang
Cao Mengjun
Ch'en–Shih Man
Ch'ien Chien-ch'iu
Ch'iu Yüan-yang
Deng Yingchao
Kang Keqing
Kang Tongbi
Kang Tongwei
Li Dequan
Lin Zongsu
Lin–Ts'ai Su-nü
Liu Qingyang
Liu–Wang Liming
Lü Hsiu-lien
Shen Zijiu
Wang Huiwu
Wu Mulan
Wu Yifang
Xiang Jingyu
Zhang Mojun
Zhang Ruoming
Zhang Yun

Professonal Women

Architecture

Hsiu Tse-lan
Lin Huiyin

Education

Ch'en Ai-chu
Chia Fu-ming
Huang Dianxian
Kang Tongwei
Lin Ch'iu-chin
Lü Bicheng
Mao Yen-wen
Nie Yuchan
Shao Meng-lan
Tao Shufan
Wang Yizhi
Wong, Ruth Hie King
Wu Yifang
Xie Fei
Zhu Lian

Health

Ch'en–Shih Man
Chou Mei-yü
Dbyangs-dgav
Hsü Shih-hsien
Lin Qiaozhi
Nie Yuchan
Yang Chongrui
Ye Gongshao
Zhou Yuehua
Zhu Lian

Law

Ch'ien Chien-ch'iu
Moss, Irene
Shi Liang
Xie Fei

Police

Chao Mo-ya
Ch'en Mei-ch'üan
Ch'eng Hsiao-kuei
Li Li-chüan
Lin Chin-chih

Social Work

Cao Mengjun
Deng Yuzhi
Li Dequan
Mao Yen-wen
Shen Zijiu
Xu Zonghan
Yuen, Susan

Sport/Adventure

Chi Cheng
Lang Ping
Pan-thogs

Religious Women

Ba Jinlan
Cheng Yen, Master
Chi-oang
Deng Yuzhi
Du Shuzhen
Hiu Wan, Ven.
Li Dequan
Longlian, Ven.
Lü Bicheng
Wu Yifang
Yang Huizhen
Zhenhua, Ven.

Romantic Figures

Jiang Biwei
Lu Xiaoman

Scientists

Astronomy

Ye Shuhua
Zou Yixin

Biochemistry

Lu Gwei-Djen

Chemistry

Huang Liang
Jiang Lijin
Zhong Yuzheng

Computer Science

Xia Peisu
Yang Fuqing

Engineering

Qian Zhengying

Geology

Chi Jishang

Medical Sciences

Lin Qiaozhi
Nie Yuchan
Yang Chongrui

Physics

He Zehui
Lin Lanying
Lu Shijia
Wang Chengshu
Wu, Chien-Shiung
Xie Xide

Brief Chronology of Twentieth-Century Events

1911	October: Xinhai Revolution
1912	1 January: Republic of China established
1912	August: Tongmenghui merges with small political groups to form KMT
1916	Yuan Shikai declares himself emperor
1919	4 May: student demonstrations mark the May Fourth Movement
1921	1 July: CCP formed in Shanghai
1923	1 January: Sun Yat-sen issues manifesto of reorganized KMT
1923–31	Period of the first KMT-CCP united front
1925	30 May: student demonstration in Shanghai in support of striking workers
1926	Northern Expedition sets off from Guangzhou and reaches Shanghai
1927	Chiang Kai-shek purges KMT of CCP members in Shanghai
1931	CCP establishes Jiangxi soviet
1931	18 September: Japan invades Manchuria
1932	28 January: Japan opens fire in Shanghai; a truce is negotiated after the Nineteenth Army puts up stiff resistance
1934–35	The Long March of the CCP Red Army
1936	December: Xi'an Incident (Chiang Kai-shek kidnapped and forced to agree to a second united front with the CCP to fight the Japanese)
1937	Communists move to Yan'an
1937	7 July: Marco Polo Bridge Incident triggers KMT government's declaration of war against Japan
1937–45	Sino-Japanese War
1937	Japan occupies Shanghai (except the foreign concessions)
1941	December: Japan takes over Hong Kong and all foreign concessions in Shanghai
1941	Wannan Incident: CCP and KMT armies clash in southern Anhui
1942	The Rectification Movement in Yan'an
1945	End of Japanese colonization of Taiwan (1895–45); KMT takes over Taiwan
1946	Beginning of civil war between CCP and KMT
1947	28 February: armed uprising in Taiwan protesting against the KMT government's heavy-handed policies
1949	October 1: Mao Zedong declares the establishment of the People's Republic of China
1949	December: KMT government moves to Taiwan
1950	Promulgation of China's Marriage Law
1957	Anti-rightist campaign
1958	Great Leap Forward, which causes famine over the next few years
1966–76	The Cultural Revolution

1975	Chiang Kai-shek dies, signifying the beginning of the Jiang Jingguo [Chiang Ching-kuo] era in Taiwan
1976	January: Zhou Enlai dies
1976	September: Mao Zedong dies
1976	The arrest of the Gang of Four marks the end of the Cultural Revolution
1978	Third Plenum of the Eleventh CCP Party Congress inaugurates major reforms; the Four Modernizations
1979	The United States recognizes the PRC, breaking off relations with the ROC on Taiwan
1979	Anti-KMT pro-democracy demonstrations in Taiwan mark the birth of the Democratic Progressive Party (DPP)
1988	Jiang Jingguo dies in Taiwan
1989	4 June: Tian'anmen Incident
1996	Taiwan conducts its first direct election
1997	Hong Kong reverts to Chinese rule

Abbreviations and Guide to Chinese Words Used

ACWF	All-China [Democratic] Women's Federation
CCP	Chinese Communist Party
CPPCC	Chinese People's Political Consultative Committee
KMT	Guomindang; Kuomintang; Nationalist Party
NPC	National People's Congress
PLA	People's Liberation Army
PRC	People's Republic of China
ROC	Republic of China
USSR	Union of Soviet Socialist Republics
YMCA	Young Men's Christian Association
YWCA	Young Women's Christian Association

Few Chinese words appear in this volume without explanation or translation. The following have been used, sparingly, because there are no simple and accurate English translations for them:

zi	Courtesy name, used by friends and others
ming	Official personal name
hao	A personal "style," usually revealing one's taste and aspiration

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Biographical Dictionary of Chinese Women

The Twentieth-Century 1912-2000

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Biographies
A

A Jin: ***see*** **Jin Weiying**

A Xiang: ***see*** **Xie Fei**

Ah Ch'ing (Hsiang): ***see*** **Jin Weiying**

Aw, Sally

Sally Aw [Hu Xian], b. 1932, in Penang, belongs to a Hakka family originally from Yongding County, Fujian Province. As head for many years of Sing Tao Holdings and publisher of *Sing Tao*, one of Hong Kong's largest dailies and "the first truly international Chinese-language newspaper," she was long regarded as Hong Kong's richest and most powerful woman.

Her father, Hu Wenhu (Aw Boon Haw, also spelled Har; d. 1954), was famous as a manufacturer of Chinese medicines and the inventor of Wanjinyou medicinal ointment. This aromatic salve, known in English as Tiger Balm, was one of the most widely used patent medicines in East Asia in the early part of the twentieth century. Popular belief had it that Wanjinyou was made from rendered Burmese tigers, but its chief ingredients, carefully guarded secrets, were more likely camphor and eucalyptus oil. Hu Wenhu's father had left China as a young man to settle in Burma, and Hu Wenhu and his brother developed substantial business interests in Singapore and Hong Kong, eventually moving the headquarters of their company from Rangoon to Singapore.

As was the custom among overseas Chinese in Burma at the time, Hu Wenhu had four wives and a large family—nine children, including two daughters. The children were all given rather unusual Chinese names: the two girls were called Xian (Sian, fairy) and Xing (Sing, star). The quixotic choices for the girls' names matched those of Hu Wenhu and his brothers, who had been named Dragon, Tiger, and Panther. Perhaps in reaction, when Xian went to school she chose for herself the plain English name of Sally. Hong Kong people joke that her Chinese personal name sounds like "One Cent" and indicates her miserliness.

Hu Wenhu diversified his business interest in medicines to found several newspapers. Originally, this maneuver may have been partly to help promote Tiger Balm ointment, but the papers were also intended to help modernize the life-style of the overseas Chinese. The *Rangoon Daily* (Yangguang ribao) established in 1909 was one of the first Chinese-language newspapers in the world outside China and soon joined a stable of Chinese-language papers the family launched in Southeast Asia, including the *Chen bao* in Rangoon; *Xingzhou ribao*, *Xing zhong ribao,* and *Singapore Standard* in Singapore; *Xing hua ribao* in Shantou; *Xing bin ribao* in Penang; the

Sing Tao Daily or *Star Island Daily* (Xingdao ribao) and later the evening paper *Xingdao wanbao* and the English-language *Hong Kong Standard* in Hong Kong. These formed the basis of the *Sing Tao* international newspaper publishing conglomerate.

In the first half of the twentieth century, most of Southeast Asia was divided between European and American powers, which operated benevolent colonial administrations. The Chinese business community was at best tolerated, at worst regarded as subversive and unreliable. China itself was racked by civil war and hardly offered a safe refuge. Chinese intellectuals lived in hope that a strong and uncorrupt government would emerge in China, capable of defending the rights of Chinese people at home and abroad. The Chinese-language newspapers of Hu Wenhu and others helped to spread information and stimulate patriotism.

The Chinese-language press in China and throughout Southeast Asia also played a radical role in promoting social and political reform; it wielded a major influence for change in China through transmitting information on current affairs and molding the opinion of the educated classes. Hu Wenhu had close connections with both the KMT and the CCP and, according to some accounts, gave substantial financial support to their anti-Japanese war efforts. He sent two of his sons to Chongqing during the war years. *Sing Tao Daily* was founded in Hong Kong in 1938, the year after war was declared against Japan. In retrospect this seemed a courageous business decision, perhaps based on a belief that Japan would not dare occupy the British colony. Unfortunately, occupation happened all too quickly. *Sing Tao Daily* was taken over by the Japanese occupying forces and renamed *Xiang Dao Daily*. The Hu family, by then resident in Hong Kong, took refuge in Burma for the duration of the war.

Hu Wenhu was (and still is) admired within the Chinese diaspora of Southeast Asia for his public-spirited and patriotic philanthropy. He donated large sums to China for schools and universities and for setting up hospitals and pharmaceutical factories before the war. In Southeast Asia, he actively promoted Chinese community associations. His daughter Sally Aw was much influenced by his values and social concerns, and they have clearly shaped her own worldview.

The Hu family returned to Hong Kong soon after the war, settling back into their villa on the slopes of the island. The traditionally styled house, with its glazed roof tiles and extensive gardens, has been a local landmark for decades. A section of the Tiger Balm Gardens, featuring statuary and highly colored plaster figures depicting scenes from Buddhist myths and legends, has always been open to the public. The gardens are still maintained by the Aw Boon Har Foundation as a public service. Here, Sally Aw grew up with her brothers, her imagination fed by the monsters and angels surrounding them. The ravening forces of the business world that she met later in life must have seemed tame compared to the garden's vivid illustrations of hell's torments.

Hu Wenhu had earlier created a similar garden in Singapore. There, he also funded a Tiger and Panther Swimming Pool, with a notice restricting its use "For Chinese People Only." At the time, wide revulsion engulfed the Chinese community about a rumor that a park in Shanghai had a notice expressly forbidding Chinese and dogs to

enter; so the erection of the notice in Singapore became a very popular move. In both gardens were shrines to the memory of Hu Wenhu's parents to which he paid his respects whenever in residence.

Sally Aw attended St. Stephen's Girls' College, one of the oldest English-language girls' schools in Hong Kong, graduating in 1951. A history of the school was published to commemorate its centenary. It describes how when the school resumed teaching after the war years an intense nationalism pervaded its halls, inspiring a generation of teachers and students, as China and the Western powers defeated Japan and China rebuilt itself after a long period of occupation. The Hong Kong economy had been severely damaged; poverty was widespread. The girls at St. Stephen's were generally from privileged homes and participated in many charitable works, for instance, coaching students from working-class schools. The school was founded on Christian precepts, but many students retained their Buddhist or other religious convictions. The school's spirit of service and dedication transcended religious divides, however, and clearly left a lasting influence on members of the student body. At school Sally excelled at art and craft and was regarded as a serious and quiet student.

Hu Wenhu died suddenly in 1954 while traveling in Hawaii. Undoubtedly, his wish was that the family should continue his newspaper business. By that time, it had become much more important than the manufacture and distribution of patent medicines. Sally had already been assigned responsibility for the management of the press, despite her youth and inexperience. Other parts of the publishing enterprise were taken over by relatives. From that time on, the Hong Kong *Sing Tao* operations developed to become more independent from the rest of the original regional publishing empire. She had worked as a trainee at *Sing Tao* in Hong Kong under her father in 1953. His death and the splitting up of the family conglomerate launched her into prominence in the business field at the relatively young age of twenty-two. Sally Aw's destiny, however, was clear: to succeed to her father's position as head of the company in Hong Kong. In 1960 she was promoted from being company manager to general manager and, when the company was publicly listed as Sing Tao Holdings in 1972, became chair. Still completely under the control of the family at that time, the company saw Sally Aw holding 96.7 percent of its registered capital.

Although one of Hong Kong's more powerful business leaders, she did not use her position to influence political or business decisions in her favor, and this was duly noted in the local press. An interviewer reported that Sally Aw's aim was "to publish a profitable newspaper and to avoid discussion of politics; her ideal was to be a *wugui dianche* [trolley bus]." The goal may have proved elusive, but the newspaper did maintain a relatively independent and unaligned position. The company's annual reports reveal that commercial results always took precedence over political ambitions. For this reason, *Sing Tao* survived while many others folded over time.

In that year the company's staff in Hong Kong numbered 550, including many well-known and experienced editors with a long association with the publishing house. Together with its sister publication *Sing Tao Evening News*, *Sing Tao Daily* became one of Hong Kong's largest daily newspapers. In 1988 its circulation was estimated to be two-hundred-fifty-thousand copies reaching one million readers, roughly one-quar-

ter of Hong Kong's population. The company pioneered the use of technology and used computer-printing systems to produce Chinese-language color dailies in many countries, including Australia, Canada, New Zealand, the United Kingdom, and the United States. Later, the company expanded its publishing business in Canada, especially in Toronto and Vancouver. In 1995 the company introduced *Sing Tao Electronic Daily*, the first electronic daily paper in Hong Kong. However, sales of *Sing Tao Daily* declined after 1996, initially because of a price war launched by other publishers and increased newsprint costs. The business environment in Hong Kong also suffered as a consequence of the Asian financial crisis in 1997/98; the cost of doing business in Hong Kong increased compared with other regional cities whose currency was devalued while the Hong Kong dollar remained pegged to the American dollar. In these external factors lay the seed of the ultimate downfall of Sing Tao Holdings.

Under Sally Aw's stewardship, Sing Tao Holdings diversified its business interests into retailing, tourism, and real estate. To some extent, this diversification was sparked by concerns about Hong Kong's future before the British Government announced an agreement with China on terms for returning the territory. She made extensive investments in 1983 in real estate in Sydney, Australia, and the following year started a local Sydney edition of *Sing Tao Daily*. Sing Tao was the first Hong Kong company to invest in Australia, bringing about a rethinking by other Hong Kong companies of the potential of the Australian market. These investments attracted considerable attention in the Hong Kong and Australian press at the time, including speculation that the family was planning to emigrate to Australia. Sally Aw made it clear, however, that the hub of her business operations was to remain in Hong Kong despite concerns about its political future. In the 1980s and 1990s, these non-core elements of Sing Tao Holdings became major profit centers but lost much of their value following the Asian financial crisis. Hong Kong property values declined by roughly 30 percent in 1998 from 1997 figures, and Sing Tao shares likewise shed much of their value.

Sally Aw has been president of the World Chinese Press Institute and the first female chair of the International Press Institute. In 1988 she was given the Carr Van Anda Award from the E.W. Scripps School of Journalism at Ohio University in commendation for building *Sing Tao* into the first truly international Chinese-language newspaper. According to Sing Tao Holdings's *1996 Annual Report*, Sally Aw's personal business philosophy is that the prime directive is to pick the right business, one of genuine interest, "so that the success can be enjoyed along with the work it takes to achieve it."

In autumn 1992, she and her mother were invited to lead a delegation to Beijing at the time of the Fourteenth Party Congress. Apart from a brief visit to Guangzhou as a small child, this was the first time that Sally Aw had traveled to China. She was received by Party General Secretary Jiang Zemin and Premier Li Peng. While in Beijing, Sally Aw signed an agreement with the *People's Daily* to publish a color magazine to be entitled *Xingguang* (Starlight). She and her mother also traveled to their family's ancestral home in Fujian Province, where they were given a high-level reception.

In 1997 Sally Aw was appointed to the CPPCC, a non-party advisory body, as a delegate from the new Hong Kong Special Administrative Region. Consequently, she spent more time in China and was forced to delegate more of the day-to-day responsibilities of Sing Tao Holdings to others. On reaching her sixties, Sally Aw declared that her priority was to train a team to take over management of the publishing business. In 1999 she sold all her interests in the newspapers and stepped down into retirement. The sale truly marked the end of an era in Chinese newspaper publishing. Unfortunately, her departure was marred by accusations that Sally Aw had used political influence to prevent legal investigation of alleged rigging of circulation figures.

Under her leadership, Sing Tao involved itself in many charitable activities, including community education, homes for the elderly, and disaster relief through the Sing Tao Foundation. Support for education was always a priority and included school and college scholarships and loans to needy pupils in China. Hong Kong journalism schools, for instance, at Hong Kong City University, benefited from generous donations. *Sing Tao* won many international awards for excellence, including from Amnesty International.

Interviewers always noted how the publisher followed a strict daily regimen of work at the office, clearing her desk of papers, ensuring that letters were answered, and following up action taken on office minutes within the week. This was said to have been the reason she preferred to work from a table rather than a desk with drawers. Others noted her simple style of dress and lack of ostentation.

Sally Aw was brought up as a devout Buddhist and is a sincere disciple, devoted to charitable works and the redemption of suffering humanity. She continues to support philanthropy in Hong Kong and overseas and plans to settle eventually in a Buddhist temple in Hong Kong, where she can spend her declining years studying scriptures. Buddhists believe in reincarnation in which the cycle of rebirth is eventually broken through attaining Nirvana.

Sally Aw's personal interests include the companionship of a large bevy of dogs and she enjoys travel for relaxation. When her mother was still alive, the two were often traveling companions. Sally Aw told the author that on one occasion she and some friends drove right across the United States by car, enjoying the freedom of being able to travel where they liked and when they liked.

Jocelyn CHEY

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Aw Sian: *see* Aw, Sally

B

Ba Jinlan

Ba Jinlan, b. 1922, in Jinzhai village, Xingyang, Henan Province, is a Chinese Muslim *ahong* (religious head of a mosque) of Hui nationality. Ba Jinlan's Islamic name is Fatimah, and she comes from an *ahong* family whose members have held that position for thirteen generations.

Ba Jinlan began her Islamic education at the age of eight, learning scriptures from her father and grandfather. At the age of twelve, she went to the women's mosque to learn Persian scriptures from female *ahong*, continuing her study in the Beixia Street women's mosque in Zhengzhou. After returning home at the age of fifteen, Ba Jinlan helped her mother with housework, studied the Qu'ran in Arabic with her father, and also learned more Persian scriptures from her grandfather. Her devotion and ability motivated her to learn to read Islamic doctrine in both Arabic and Persian languages.

At the age of twenty-two, Ba Jinlan married the son of an *ahong* family named Ma. This was an arranged marriage, her parents believing the most important criteria in selecting a husband for their daughter to be devout belief and religious attainment. Her husband had grown up in mosques, received a traditional Chinese Islamic education, and become an *ahong* after completing his schooling. As the wife of an *ahong*, Ba Jinlan lived in the mosque, counseling and directing the spiritual lives of Muslim women. At the same time, she ran her own household and cared for her children, fulfilling her duty as a wife and mother.

In 1955 Ba Jinlan was invited to become *ahong* of a rural women's mosque in Xingyang, where she and her children remained when her husband was later made *ahong* of the men's mosque in the township of Qinghua in the same province. The women's mosque closed at the start of the Cultural Revolution, and Ba Jinlan and her children returned to her hometown of Jinzhai. After her husband also had to leave his mosque, he became ill; Ba Jinlan then took on responsibility for the family, working in the fields, caring for their eight children, providing their religious education, all the while continuing her own spiritual studies. She was invited to resume the duties of *ahong* in 1983 at the age of sixty-one and subsequently acted as a senior Islamic teacher (*jiaozhang*) in five women's mosques in Xingyang, Zhengzhou, and Wuzhi. Ba Jinlan made two pilgrimages to Mecca, in 1994 and 1998.

She has started up girls' schools, focuses on developing the religious talents of women, chants prayers in households where a death has occurred, and also spends time supervising the construction of women's mosques. Ba Jinlan actively participates in the spiritual education of her children, seven of whom have received special Islamic education. Three of her sons are now *ahong*, one studying at a mosque and another learning modern Arabic at Beijing Foreign Languages University as well as pursuing traditional Islamic studies. Ba Jinlan has also instructed three of her granddaughters, and two of her grandsons study at mosques in Henan and Gansu.

Rare among female Chinese *ahong* of Hui nationality in that her leanings in belief are toward Sufism, Ba Jinlan admires Sufi Muslims who seek communion with God

through states of ecstasy. She lives piously, within a simple life devoted to spiritual exercises, and seeks neither fame nor wealth. Her firm belief in the immortality of the spirit has led her to attach great importance to mental training and purity of soul and actions. She is utterly confident of her spiritual fate in the afterlife, having surrendered her heart to Allah through chanting scriptures, prayer, and fasting.

Ba Jinlan was educated in the Islamic faith within her family of male *ahong,* and it instilled in her a conviction that the religious accomplishment and intelligence of men are superior to that of women. She nevertheless believes that a devout woman yearning for Allah is far better than a man of no faith and that a woman who strives to do her best can surpass a man.

While she is considered by some to be uncommunicative and eccentric in disposition, her knowledge, intelligence, perseverance, self-confidence, and self-discipline have earned her the respect and esteem of Chinese Muslims.

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Bai Fengxi

Bai Fengxi, b. 1934, in Wen'an, Hebei Province, is a playwright and actress best known for her work in *The Women Trilogy*, depicting the concerns of intellectual women in a transitional time from the Maoist (1949–76) to post-Maoist eras. She is married to Yan Zhongying, a now-retired director and actor formerly with the China Youth Art Theater. They have one daughter, Yan Fanfan, who is an actress in the same theater.

Bai Fengxi enrolled in the North China People's Revolutionary University at the age of fifteen in 1949 and became an actress with the China Youth Art Theater in 1954. Growing up professionally in the first national theater of the PRC under the influence of a generation of renowned artists, she went on to play more than forty diverse dramatic characters. One of her most successful roles was as Liu Hulan (*q.v.*), a fifteen-year-old martyr executed by the KMT in rural Shanxi in 1947, in the 1951 play of the

same name. Another important role was as Mingfeng in *The Family* (Jia, 1956), adapted for the stage by Cao Yu from Ba Jin's novel of the same name and a classic of the May Fourth period. In this play, Bai Fengxi created the character of a maid in a traditional patriarchal family who drowns herself after being forced into an arranged marriage to a man her grandfather's age. She reached the peak of her acting career in the title role in the B cast of *Princess Wencheng* (Wencheng gongzhu, 1960), written by Tian Han (1898–1968) and directed by Jin Shan. Other roles ranged from the flirtatious young page Cherubino in *The Marriage of Figaro* (Feijialou de hunyin, 1962) to the lovely Chunni in *Sentry under Neon Lights* (Nihongdeng xia de shaobing, 1962). Chunni is a loyal and understanding wife of rural China who encourages her husband to appreciate his duty as a PLA soldier stationed in newly liberated Shanghai.

In post-Mao China, Bai Fengxi experimented with playwriting. Her first play, *The Lamp in the Cave Brings Light to Thousands of Families* (Yaodong denghuo zhao qianjia, 1977), blended Shaanxi local dialect with poetic language to express the common people's mourning at the untimely death of Premier Zhou Enlai (1898–1976). Her second play, co-authored with Wang Jingyu, *Lift Your Veil* (Liaokai nide miansha, 1979), was also well received in early post-Mao China because of its popular theme of love and true friendship after the Cultural Revolution. Her trilogy of plays about women, however, won her national acclaim as one of the most important women writers of her time.

The first play in this series, *First Bathed in Moonlight* (Mingyue chuzhao ren, 1981), is remarkable for the absence of men on stage. A miniature cultural history of women in the PRC is presented through three generations of women struggling to reconcile their official roles as leaders of women's liberation with their private identities as women who also search for love, happiness, and freedom. After her husband's betrayal, the grandmother of the three women had raised her daughter Fang Ruoming alone; she had supported her daughter not only in the struggle to raise her own family but also in becoming a successful official in the ACWF, a government-sponsored institution in charge of women's affairs. Fang Ruoming, however, meets challenges of a different kind. Although eager to help rural women in arranged marriages to regain their rights of freedom of choice in marriage, she is nevertheless opposed to her own daughter's choice of a lover, a plumber without a college degree. Fang Ruoming does not consider the young man to be a match for her daughter, who teaches English in a college. Fang Ruoming is also confronted with the pain of seeing a second daughter having an affair with a professor in graduate school, a brilliant man that Fang Ruoming had once been in love with herself many years before but whom she had been forced to give up because of his undesirable family background. By the end of the play, Fang Ruoming puts aside her own sorrow to allow her daughters to seek happiness. Although constrained by the political realities of mainstream culture that required the celebration of a new post-Mao regime, Bai Fengxi was the first woman playwright in mainland China to focus on the real-life experiences and problems of women. Her dramaturgy inherited the realist tradition of modern spoken drama that had developed from the time of the May Fourth Movement.

The second play in the trilogy, *An Old Friend Returning on a Stormy Night* (Fengyu guren lai, 1983), probes more deeply into women's many protests against China's sexist society, which glorifies fathers who make women's departure from and staying at home both impossible. The character Xia Zhixian faces a typical dilemma in Maoist China. Conceived in the Maoist discourse that declares "women can hold up half of the sky," women were expected to be the equal of men in their professional careers as well as fulfill domestic duties as loving wives and mothers. Xia Zhixian's successful career as a gynecologist had been achieved at the expense of a family life—she lives alone after her husband found it hard to accept her total devotion to her career. As the play unfolds, Xia Zhixian's daughter confronts a similar dilemma: she ranks first in a graduate school entrance examination to study abroad—her husband comes in second—and is pushed by her mother-in-law to yield her opportunity to him. The older woman tells her that a family with a husband who holds a Ph.D. is more acceptable than a family with a wife who has one. After much soul searching, Xia Zhixian encourages her daughter to pursue her journey abroad, with the now-famous line: "A woman is not a moon. She does not need to depend on someone else's light to glow." Bai Fengxi's play touched a sensitive nerve for many contemporary Chinese women. In Xia Zhixian, the character is drawn with much more complexity and drama than Fang Ruoming's. Bai Fengxi's play exerted such an influence in raising consciousness about women's issues that a number of university students have adopted her famous line about the moon as the title of their M.A. theses.

Her third play, *Where Is Longing in Autumn?* (Buzhi qiusi zai shui jia, 1986), portrays a group of courageous women whose daring and unconventional decisions in marriage and career shocked contemporary audiences. Su Zhongyuan, a teacher who devoted her life to the education of young people, is puzzled by her children's modern choices. Her first daughter divorces her husband for no better reason than that she wishes to take care of herself and has rejected the roles of good wife, mother, and daughter-in-law, while remaining a good worker. Then, a second daughter, in her mid-thirties, is unconcerned about being a spinster and wonders why people are more tolerant of a loveless marriage than of a single woman opting for an independent, meaningful life on her own. Su Zhongyuan's son refuses to take a college entrance examination, preferring a business career, and becomes engaged to a fashion model, a questionable choice of partner at that time. The play ends without closure and does not resolve the mother's anguish. The seemingly irreconcilable dramatic conflicts between mother and daughters suggest the moral tribulations of a nation departing from traditional paths and embarking upon modernization, Westernization, and commercialization. The dilemmas also serve to explicate the feminine conscience of a group of highly educated women who are repositioning themselves, however tentatively, between a private space of their own and a public domain that paradoxically limits that private space while yet approving of it. The emergence and growing awareness of this double bind explains why in 1987 and 1988, at a time of crisis in the theater world when it was considered better than the norm if a new play ran to a dozen performances, *Where Is Longing in Autumn?* played to full houses for more than one hundred performances. The much criticized images of fashion models, millionaires,

divorcées, and single women—a population now regarded as conventional in China—accounted for much of the play's popularity but its relevant themes also connected with the historical agencies of audience members.

Bai Fengxi wrote nothing since her trilogy appeared and has been retired for many years.

Xiaomei CHEN

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Bai Shuxiang

Bai Shuxiang, b. 1939, in Laiyang, Hunan Province, is a ballet dancer of Man nationality; her ancestral home is Xinbin County, Liaoning Province.

Bai Shuxiang's artistic ability was evident even when very young, and at the age of thirteen she won a prize for her performance in the lead role of *Little White Rabbit*, staged by the Children's Drama Troupe of the Northeast Art Theater. In 1954 Bai Shuxiang was sent to Beijing Dance School to learn ballet, thus becoming one of the first Chinese to receive formal training in that discipline. Physically, she was not ideal for ballet but mastered the difficult routines and rhythms through hard work and enthusiasm. Bai Shuxiang played both Odette and Odile in *Swan Lake* in 1958—acclaimed as the first "white swan" on the ballet stage of China—and played the lead in *The Strait* (Haixia).

Her dancing, while of a high technical standard, is lively and conveys genuine emotion. She was appointed lead dancer upon the establishment of the Central Ballet Ensemble and performed a variety of roles, including Myrtha in *Giselle*, Zarema in *The Fountain of Bakhchisarai*, and Gudule in *The Hunchback of Notre Dame*. Bai Shuxiang danced Qionghua, the leading role in *Red Detachment of Women* (Hongse niangzijun), in 1964 and then danced the lead in several Chinese ballets, including *Hymn to Yimeng* (Yimeng song), *Azalea Mountain* (Dujuan shan), and *Recalling Beloved Premier Zhou* (Mianhuai jing'ai de Zhou Zongli).

Bai Shuxiang has won many prizes for her work and visited other countries with dancers' and artists' delegations. At the 1980 Philippines International Ballet Festival, the group with which she danced won first prize for group performance, and the performer visited North Korea, Burma, the United States, and Japan. She spent 1982 in France on a study tour. Among the professional posts Bai Shuxiang has held are vice-president of the Central Ballet Ensemble, executive director of the Minorities

Foundation, director of the European and American Fellow Students' Association, and director of the Chinese Dancers' Association.

HE Li and Shirley Wai CHAN
(Translated by Yang Jingqing)

Zhongguo dabaike quanshu: Yinyue, wudao. Beijing: Zhongguo dabaike quanshu chubanshe, 1989, 40–41.
Zhongguo wudaojia cidian. Beijing: Wenhua yishu chubanshe, 1994, 15.

Bai Wei

Bai Wei, 1894–1987, was the pen name of Huang Zhang of Zixing, Hunan Province, who also went by other names at various times, including Li, Ying, Su Ru, Chuhong, Laokao, Sufei, Baiwei, Lady Baiwei, Zero, Huang Yufa, and Lady Suru.

Despite enduring a sickly constitution as a child, Bai Wei was known for her strong personality. As a young woman of twenty-four, in 1918, she traveled to Japan to escape a marriage her parents had arranged and there adopted the name Bai Wei. She studied at Tokyo Women's Higher Normal University, majoring first in biology; also training in history, education, psychology, philosophy, Buddhism, and aesthetics; and finally majoring in literature. Bai Wei wrote a three-act play (*Sufei*, 1922), a poetry play (*Lin Li*, 1924), and in 1925 was described by the famous writer Chen Xiying in the well-known review magazine *Xiandai pinglun* as a "shining star of the new literature."

Returning to China in winter 1926, Bai Wei entered into a de facto relationship with the writer Yang Sao. The following spring, Bai Wei acted as a Japanese interpreter for the General Political Department of the Wuhan National Revolutionary Army and lectured at Zhongshan University in Wuchang. She resigned from these positions in September 1927 and went to Shanghai, where several of her works were published in 1928 in the monthly *Benliu*, edited by the renowned writer Lu Xun. Her novel *Fight Your Way Out of the Ghost Tower* (Dachu youlingta) was described by the literary historian Wang Yao as being "like Ibsen's *A Doll's House*, wakening unfortunate women who were puppets in their miserable family lives." Bai Wei also published the new-style poem *Song of the Spring Bamboo Shoots* (Chunsun de ge) and the novel *Bombs and Wild Geese* (Zhadan yu zhengniao) in this period. Appointed in 1929 as a professor at the Zhongguo Public School at Wusong (Wusong Zhongguo gongxue), whose principal was the prominent intellectual Hu Shi, Bai Wei taught foreign literature. In 1930, she added her name along with those of Lu Xun, Yu Dafu, and Tian Han to the "Declaration of the League of the Freedom Movement in China" and joined the League of Left-Wing Writers (Zuo lian), devoting herself from then on to left-wing theater and arts.

Bai Wei separated from Yang Sao in 1931; she was never able to rid herself, however, of the venereal disease she had contracted from him. In spite of illness, Bai Wei continued writing and traveled often between Beijing and Shanghai. Her earlier play *Lin Li* was included in 1935 in the drama section of the Chinese New Literature Series

(Zhongguo xin wenxue daxi), where it was described in Hong Shen's introduction as "a bit hysterical yet full of enthusiasm," and Bai Wei published an autobiographical novel, *A Tragic Life* (Beiju shengya), in 1936. She moved to Wuhan in 1938 after the Japanese occupied Beijing and there became active in the National Resistance Association of Literary and Art Workers (Zhonghua quanguo wenyijie kangdi xiehui). Bai Wei also worked as a special correspondent in Guilin for *New China Daily* (Xinhua ribao) before moving to Chongqing in 1940 to work with the Committee for Cultural Work, under the Political Department, headed by the playwright Guo Moruo.

Soon after the establishment of the PRC, Bai Wei returned to Beijing but published little, although she was still part of the China Federation of Literary and Art Circles (Zhonghua quanguo wenxue yishu jie lianhehui, or Wenlian) and the body that became the Chinese Writers' Association (Zhonghua quanguo wenxue gongzuozhe xiehui, or Wenxie; in 1953 renamed Zhongguo zuojia xiehui, or Zuoxie). She was also appointed to several CPPCC. Bai Wei was persecuted and subjected to torture during the Cultural Revolution, and wrote nothing after 1975. Her "Outside the Great Wall" (Changcheng wai) was selected for the short story section (the second decade) of the Chinese New Literature Series in 1984; in the following year, her *The Third Class Ward* (Sandeng bingfang) and *Fight Your Way Out of the Ghost Tower* were selected for the reportage genre.

Bai Wei died in August 1987 in Beijing Union Hospital at the age of ninety-three.

GAO Yuanbao

(Translated by Laura Long)

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Zhongguo xin wenxue daxi, 1927–1937, vols. 4, 13, 15. Shanghai: Shanghai wenyi chubanshe, 1984–1989.

Bai Yang

Bai Yang, 1920–96, born in Beijing, was a film and spoken drama (*huaju*) actress who starred or appeared in over twenty-five films and more than fifty plays throughout a career that began in the 1930s. She is best known for her films, especially those in which she played lower-class working women. Her name was closely associated in the 1930s and early 1940s with the leftist movement in film and drama circles, and she was involved in a series of pro-communist activities. Bai Yang is one of the few actors who remained in China after 1949, survived the Cultural Revolution, and continued acting until an advanced age.

Bai Yang was the youngest of four children; her sister Yang Mo (*q.v.*) is a well-known writer. Her father was a provincial degree holder (*juren*) in late Qing who established a college of which he was president and that was later forced to close because of poor management. Bai Yang's parents cared little about their children, and she was dispatched at the age of five to live in a poor rural area with her wet nurse, not being sent for until she was nine. At the age of eleven, Bai Yang played the minor role of a maid in the film *New Resentments in the Summer Palace* (Gugong xinyuan) and quit junior high school to join a leftist drama troupe. During the next few years, she worked with various professional drama groups, including the Chinese Touring Drama Troupe (Zhongguo lüxing jutuan), and acted in plays by such famous playwrights as Tian Han, Hong Shen, Oscar Wilde, and Eugene O'Neill.

In 1936 Bai Yang was recruited by the Mingxing Film Studio based in Shanghai and co-starred with Zhao Dan, known as the prince of Chinese film, in *Crossroads* (Shizi jietou). This film was an immediate hit, and Bai Yang became quite famous, the media comparing her to Greta Garbo. The characters in *Crossroads*, Zhiying (Bai Yang) and Lao Zhao (Zhao Dan), unwittingly share an apartment; they meet at the bus terminal each day as one goes to work and the other returns from work. These brief encounters are enough for them to fall in love but their lives are interrupted when both lose their jobs in an economic depression brought on by the threat of a Japanese invasion. Inspired by the decision of their friends to fight the invaders, Zhiying and Lao Zhao come to a similar crossroads in their respective lives. Although presented in the style of Hollywood burlesque, the film was not considered to be mere entertainment, as were "soft films" (*ruanxing dianying*), but was lauded for its contribution to the war effort.

The Chinese film industry became badly disrupted when the Sino-Japanese War broke out. Bai Yang joined the Shanghai Film Actors' Drama Troupe (Shanghai yingren jutuan), which staged many plays concerned with the war, as it retreated to the wartime capital of Chongqing. She acted in only three films over the next eight years but performed in over forty plays, including those of Guo Moruo, Cao Yu, Xia Yan, Yang Hansheng, Shakespeare, and Tolstoy, most of which were put on to arouse patriotism. Bai Yang was also considered to be the foremost female drama performer of that period, ahead of Shu Xiuwen (*q.v.*), Zhang Ruifang, and Qin Yi.

Bai Yang returned to Shanghai after the war, the two years from 1946 to 1948 being her most prolific in film. Her two most popular films were *Spring River Flows East* (Yijiang chunshui xiang dongliu) and *Eight Thousand Li of Clouds and Moon* (Ba qian li lu yun he yue). Both dealt with the war, but *Spring River Flows East* is considered a landmark in her career. She played the role of the young worker Sufen, who marries the patriot Zhang Zhongliang in Shanghai as the Japanese invade the northeast. Soon after Sufen gives birth to their child, Zhang Zhongliang decides to go with his medical brigade to Chongqing to be part of the war effort. He is disheartened when rejected for a government position because of his disheveled appearance and turns to a former acquaintance and old admirer, Wang Lizhen, for help. He succumbs to her charms and has an affair with her, gradually forgetting the faithful wife who awaits his return. He returns to Shanghai after the war to take over the factory of

Wang Lizhen's brother-in-law. Sufen, now poverty-stricken, goes to work as a servant in Zhang Zhongliang's new home and is shocked to discover as she serves guests at a party that her new master is in fact her husband. Zhang Zhongliang reproaches her for embarrassing him; in desperation Sufen throws herself into the river and drowns. Reflecting as it does the trauma of a nation viewed through the vicissitudes of an ordinary family, *Spring River Flows East* was acclaimed by some as a Chinese *Gone with the Wind*. The film broke all records for attendance and Bai Yang's performance so moved audiences that they were advised to bring handkerchiefs.

Although assuming several governmental positions after 1949, she continued to act in films and drama, playing Xianglin's wife in *New Year's Sacrifice* (Zhufu, 1955), adapted from Lu Xun's short story of the same name. This film, in which the character is the quintessential suffering woman of May Fourth literary discourse, won a special award in a Czechoslovakian film festival and renewed intense interest in the actor. As with so many actors, her career was disrupted during the Cultural Revolution, but Bai Yang was neither physically harmed nor emotionally scarred. In 1982, she set out to adapt and star in the life story of Madame Song Qingling (*q.v.*), the widow of Sun Yat-sen (1866–1925), founding father of the Republic of China. The story was first broadcast in 1989 as a five-episode television drama, and Bai Yang was crowned that year as one of the ten favorite film stars in the PRC. A grand ceremony was held in 1990 to celebrate her sixty years as an actress. Happily married to the film director and actor Jiang Junchao and the mother of two children, Bai Yang died in September 1996 at the age of seventy-six.

LIU Ying

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Bai Yushuang

Bai Yushuang, 1907–42, of Guye, Luan County, Hebei Province, was a *ping* (local opera of north and northeast China) opera singer and performer specializing in leading female roles (*dan*).

Born as Li Guizhen, the child was given the name Li Huimin after being sold as an adopted daughter to the itinerant entertainer (*lianhua lao*) Li Jingchun and his wife Ms. Bian. Unfortunately, the girl fell out of favor when Ms. Bian gave birth to a son

and was forced to learn versified stories,sung to the accompaniment of a small drum and other instruments (*dagu shu*) to earn extra money for the family. At age fourteen, Li Guizhen learned *bengbeng* (another name for *ping*) opera from Dong Faliang (the stage name of Sun Fengming). Li Guizhen adopted Bai Yushuang as her stage name that year and embarked on supporting roles. She became well known around Beijing and Tianjin for her remarkable vocal range, singing notes lower than the lowest note on the *erhu* and soaring straight up to very high ones.

After Li Jingchun died in 1927, his wife bought more girls from impoverished families. Among these was the four-year-old refugee Xiaodezi; Ms. Bian changed her name to Fuzi and ordered her to call Bai Yushuang "Mother," which is how Fuzi's later name of Bai Yushuang the Younger originated. The theatrical troupe in which Bai Yushuang played the lead role was called the Yushun Opera Troupe; it was run by the brother of Ms. Bian. However, because Li Jingchun's widow owned the troupe and her son Li Guozhang played the *erhu* during performances—its public face—the troupe was commonly called Li's Troupe (Lijia ban). Later its name changed to Huabei *Ping* Opera Troupe, however, and in 1935 they went to Shanghai. There, together with such famous stars as Ai Lianjun, Yu Lingzhi, and Zhao Ruquan, they performed the operas *Pan Jinlian*, *Spring in the Jade Hall* (Yutang chun), *The Little Matchmaker* (Hongniang), *Yan Poxi*, and *Lion's Roar East of the River* (Hedong shihou) to large audiences at Enpaiya Theater. The group also toured Suzhou, Wuxi, and Nanjing, so that Bai Yushuang gained quite a following, while northern *ping* opera also began to make a name for itself in the south. The directors of Mingxing Film Studio (Hong Shen, 1894–1955; Tian Han, 1898–1968; and Ouyang Yuqian, 1889–1962) recognized Bai Yushuang's talent as well as the potential of *ping* opera and asked her to play the lead in the film *Red Haitang Flower* (Haitang hong). This was when she began to be widely known as the "Queen of *Ping* Opera" and a movie star.

According to the art critic Ah Ying (Qian Xingcun, 1900–77), who wrote for the newspaper *Da Wanbao*, *ping* opera improved significantly from the time when Bai Yushuang and the Huabei *Ping* Opera Troupe first brought the genre to Shanghai in performances of *Pan Jinlian* and *Spring in the Jade Hall*. Heavily influenced by *jing* (Beijing) opera, Bai Yushuang also responded to contemporary trends in modern spoken drama (*huaju*). At the peak of her career, she kept busy performing in operas as well as movies. Along with Liu Cuixia, Ai Lianjun, and Xi Cailian, Bai Yushuang was acclaimed as one of "The Four Female *Ping* Opera Singers."

In February 1937, while still at her peak, the opera star fell in love with Li Yongqi, the troupe's cymbal player, and ran off with him to his hometown in Ba County, Hebei Province. Bai Yushuang had suffered many years at the hands of Ms. Bian, who had taken advantage and treated her ward as a slave; when Ms. Bian attempted to thwart Bai Yushuang's affair with the cymbal player, the interference became the final straw and trouble ensued. The employer was not prepared to lose her star performer so easily, however, and followed the couple to Hebei, eventually persuading Bai Yushuang to return to Tianjin. Still acclaimed as the "Queen of *Ping* Opera," she performed in Beijing and Tianjin at the onset of the Sino-Japanese War in July, when Beijing was captured by the Japanese. Bai Yushuang did not feel well,

however, and was diagnosed with cancer of the uterus. She continued to perform though, her understudy Bai Yushuang the Younger replacing the star only when she was too ill to go on stage. After a period of treatment in a German hospital in Beijing in 1941, Bai Yushuang returned to Tianjin the following spring to find that her bank account and title deeds to a house in her name had been transferred to Ms. Bian's son. Bai Yushuang collapsed on stage during a performance with Li Yifen of *Understanding after Death* (Sihou mingbai) and died in July 1942, still the "Queen of *Ping* Opera."

Shirley Wai CHAN
(Translated by Cui Zhiying)

Wei Xuan. "Pingju huanghou Bai Yushuang mu-nüqing." *Zhong wai zazhi* (February 1992): 65–68.
Zhongguo dabaike quanshu: Xiqu quyi. Beijing: Zhongguo dabaike quanshu chubanshe, 1989, 8.

Baolian: *see* Lü Bicheng

Baolige: *see* Wulan

Bin Zhi: *see* Ding Ling

Bing Xin

Bing Xin, 1900–99, of Changle, Minhou County, Fujian Province, was born in Fuzhou. Her original name was Xie Wanying, but it was as Bing Xin that she became recognized as one of the most respected Chinese women writers of the twentieth century. Bing Xin made a name for herself as a writer of fiction, essays, poetry, and children's literature. Her unique literary style inspired some of the best-known contemporary women writers, including Ru Zhijuan (*q.v.*) and Zhang Jie (*q.v.*). Her aesthetic also helped set the standard of literary criticism for modern Chinese literature. However, Bing Xin's literary significance remains largely unexplored outside China, and a formal critical study of her works, from a comparative perspective, is long overdue.

The renowned "Bing Xin literary style" was the product of a normal but privileged upbringing. She spent seven or eight years living by the sea in Yantai, Shandong Province, and recalled her childhood fondly in such autobiographical essays as "The Past" (Wangshi), "My Hometown" (Wo de guxiang), and "My Childhood" (Wo de tongnian). As the daughter of a naval officer and an educated woman from a literary family, Bing Xin had access to both traditional Chinese culture and modern ideas through formal education and daily family interaction. With the help of her mother, Bing Xin became literate at a very young age and read Chinese classics and translations of world literature from the family's library collections. She attended the missionary-run Bridgeman Girls' School in Beijing and in 1918 commenced studies at Union Women's University (Xiehe nüzi daxue), which amalgamated with Yanjing

University the following year. After graduating with honors in 1923, the young woman went to the United States, studying English literature at Wellesley College, earning an M.A. in 1926, then returning to China to teach at Yanjing, Qinghua, and Peking Universities. In 1929, Bing Xin married the eminent socio-anthropologist and ethnologist Wu Wenzao (1901?/1902?–85).

The May Fourth Movement of 1919 started Bing Xin on her writing career. Her first published piece, "About the Trial on the Twenty-first" (Ershiyiri tingshen de ganxiang) in the *Beijing Morning Herald* (Beijing chenbao) on 25 August, revealed an eyewitness account of the student movement. For the next seventy years, she diligently carved out a productive writing career interrupted only briefly by World War II and the Cultural Revolution, publishing more than 330 essays, some sixty short stories, an almost equal number of poems, a novelette, and several translations. Most of her writings have been collected in thirty anthologies. Her translations include short stories of Rabindranath Tagore and Khalil Gibran's *The Prophet*.

Bing Xin's writing career coincided with the most dramatic political events in the history of modern China. Along with many others, she experienced dispossession, destitution, hardship, and suffering. She had gone to the United States with her husband in 1936 but returned to China via Europe and the Soviet Union at the start of the Sino-Japanese War. Bing Xin spent the years 1938 to 1946 living apart from him in virtual exile in Kunming, Yunnan Province, lecturing at Southwest Union University. Appointed to the KMT People's Political Council (1945), the writer returned briefly to Beijing but went to Japan in 1946. From 1949 to 1950, Bing Xin taught modern Chinese literature at Tokyo University and finally returned to China in the following year. She was appointed as an attaché to many cultural exchange missions and traveled extensively between 1951 and 1965. Some of her essays and travelogues published in those years gave detailed accounts of her overseas experience. Bing Xin spent most of the Cultural Revolution in labor camps, however, after her husband was branded a rightist.

These events became recurring themes in her essays and short stories yet do not seem to have affected the author's positive outlook on life. Nor did they cast a lasting shadow over her unblemished career. On the contrary, Bing Xin was held in high esteem because of her literary achievements. A number of prestigious honorary titles have been bestowed upon her, including deputy to the Fifth NPC, membership in the Standing Committee of the CPPCC, and vice-presidency of the China Federation of Literary and Art Circles. This unusual mix of offices did not draw Bing Xin into political activism, however. Throughout life, she dedicated herself to literary pursuits so that, although participating to some extent in political activities, she remained largely apolitical and free from controversy.

Her encounters with Western culture enabled Bing Xin to appreciate the essence of that civilization as well as her own. When translating this cultural understanding into literary creativity, she produced a style embodying the grace and ingenuity of the Chinese classics and the clarity and ease of Western literature. There is an enduring quality in Bing Xin's writing that appeals to Chinese readers of all ages from all walks of life. Bing Xin wrote about real life experiences, yet she never allowed reality

to strip her of a childlike innocence. She wrote about feelings with a directness and lack of pretension that lent her writings, euphemistic though they may have been, spontaneity and ingenuousness. Another famous May Fourth writer, Mao Dun, once made the following insightful comment about Bing Xin: "Of May Fourth writers, Bing Xin is the only one who is forever truthful to herself. When she writes, she inclines to give full expression not to society but to herself. She always strives to express her feelings in the clearest possible way. I therefore venture to suggest that her essays are better than her short stories, and her prose poems are better than her short poems such as 'Stars' (Fanxing), and 'Spring Water' (Chunshui)." The quality of spontaneous innocence is what Bing Xin's works share with many Chinese literary masterpieces. It also explains why her writing style has been, and will continue to be, a source of inspiration.

Most of the biographical and scholarly studies done on Bing Xin have been in Chinese. The best known biography, written by the renowned biographer Zhao Fengxiang, is part of the Modern Chinese Writers' Biographical Series. Mao Dun's essay "On Bing Xin" (Bing Xin lun) remains by far the best study of her literary achievements. Most critical studies of her writings focus on earlier work (see, for example, the articles cited below by Li Ling and Zhu Chengrong). A detailed study of Bing Xin's later works, including those written in the 1990s and collected in the anthology *About Women and Men* (Guanyu nüren he nanren), will certainly provide valuable data for mapping the literary journey of this prolific writer and will also shed light on the various influences shaping her remarkable literary career.

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Bingxin: *see* Bing Xin

C

Cai Chang

Cai Chang, 1900–90, of Xiangxiang County, Hunan Province, was one of the most prominent women in the communist movement throughout the twentieth century. Famously described by Nym Wales in 1937 as the "Dean of Communist women," Cai Chang was the first woman to become a CCP Central Committee member and for many years after the founding of the PRC in 1949 chaired the ACWF.

Cai Chang's mother, Ge Jianhao (*q.v.*), who was from a once wealthy literati family related by marriage to Zeng Guofan, single-mindedly pursued an education for her children, girls and boys alike. Cai Chang's father, Cai Rongfeng (1862–1932), was a failed businessman who worked initially in his family's chili sauce establishment and then at the Jiangnan Arsenal in Shanghai before returning to the countryside, where he was equally unsuccessful at farming. Cai Chang was the youngest of six children, all of whom were exceptionally close to their mother. Two of the siblings died young (Cai Linxian, 1885–1907, and Cai Shunxi, 1893–1904); her oldest sister, Cai Qingxi (b. 1884), returned home not long after her marriage; and her brothers Cai Hesen (1895–1931) and Cai Luxian (1889–1925) both died as martyrs to the communist cause.

Known as Maomeizi as a child, she took the name Cai Xianxi on entering the lower primary at Xiangxiang County First Girls' School (Xiangxiangxian li diyi nüxiao) at the age of thirteen. The name Cai Chang was adopted in 1915 after she departed to Changsha to avoid a marriage arranged by her father; there, Cai Chang enrolled in music and physical education at Zhounan Girls' Normal School (Zhounan nüzi shifan xuexiao). Graduating in 1916, she then taught physical education at the primary school for two or three years. Cai Chang had grown up hearing her mother speak with great admiration of the late Qing revolutionary martyr Qiu Jin (see *Biographical Dictionary of Chinese Women: The Qing Period*), who had married into a local Xiangxiang family. However, even at eighteen, Cai Chang was apparently considered too young to join the New People's Study Society (Xinmin xuehui) formed in 1918 by her brother Cai Hesen and his close friend Mao Zedong (1893–1976). Xiang Jingyu (*q.v.*), a friend from Zhounan Girls' School and five years her senior, became one of the society's first women members. Cai Chang could only listen in on the lively meetings held at the Cai home. At one stage, she joined with her brother and Mao Zedong in swearing they would never marry, a vow none honored. Cai Chang later said, however, that she did not become politically aware until she became a student in France in the early 1920s.

On 25 December 1919, Cai Chang sailed from Shanghai to France with her mother, a brother, and Xiang Jingyu as part of a work-study program they had organized through the Sino-French Education Society. The women were assigned to Montargis Girls' School southeast of Paris, and Cai Chang actively participated in a series of student movements and protests that eventually resulted in over one

hundred Chinese students (including her brother) being deported. At times, she worked in a factory by day and studied at night, but the four years in France were essentially a time of political awakening for her. There she met the Vietnamese revolutionary Ho Chi Minh (Hu Zhiming) and joined the New People's Study Society (1920), the Chinese Socialist Youth League (Zhongguo shehuizhuyi qingnian tuan [1922]), and the French branch of the CCP (1923). That year Cai Chang also married Li Fuchun (1900–75), giving birth to an only child, a daughter named Li Tete, in early 1924; Cai Chang handed the baby over to Ge Jianhao, who took the child back to China and cared for her granddaughter for many years. At the end of the year, Cai Chang and Li Fuchun set out for the Soviet Union and in February 1925 enrolled at the Communist University of the Toilers of the East (Dongfang laodongzhe gongchangzhuyi daxue).

Returning to China with her husband in August, Cai Chang commenced what was to become a lifetime of work on women and women's labor issues. In Guangzhou, she became secretary of the Women's Committee of the Central Guangdong-Guangxi Area Committee and then worked with He Xiangning (*q.v.*) in the KMT Central Women's Bureau. As a member of the KMT, Cai Chang involved herself for the next year in women's liberation and labor activities. Life did not go altogether smoothly for her during this period. Comparatively Westernized during her time in France—taking to Western dress and also smoking—Cai Chang found that the image she presented in factories alienated her from Chinese women workers; she chose to change her attire rather than lose their faith. Her marriage ran into trouble when Cai Chang discovered that Li Fuchun was having an affair with one of the workers. His betrayal was not taken lightly; she demanded that the affair end, and it was some time before her normally buoyant spirits returned. With the initial success of the Northern Expedition in 1926, however, Cai Chang traveled to Nanchang to join her husband and was appointed head of both the CCP Jiangxi Women's Bureau and the Propaganda Section of the KMT General Political Department. With the collapse of the KMT–CCP alliance in mid-1927, however, she formally resigned from the KMT. Apart from a short period in Moscow (June-July 1928) to attend the CCP's Sixth National Congress and the Sixth Comintern Congress, Cai Chang spent the years 1927 to 1931 doing women's work and underground party work in Wuhan, Wuchang, Shanghai, and Hong Kong.

At the end of the latter year, she was transferred to the newly established Jiangxi soviet to lecture on social history at the Red Army School (Hongjun xuexiao) in Ruijin. In February 1932, Cai Chang headed the Women's Department of the Jiangxi Provincial Central Committee (Zhongyang Jiangxishengwei funübu buzhang) and became acting head of its Organization Department. The marriage regulations (*hunyin tiaoli*) thatemerged from the First Soviet Congress held in 1931 had laid down principles of freedom of choice in marriage and the rule of one husband/one wife. Under her direction, the Women's Department worked further toward making women more self-reliant, encouraging them to increase production and participate in the military struggle to establish revolutionary bases. In January 1934, on the eve of the Long March, Cai Chang was elected along with her husband to the Central Executive Com-

mittee of the Chinese Soviet Republic. During the Long March, she was in charge of propaganda and civilian organization work; her husband served as a political officer with the First Front Red Army. Her presence on the march is remembered by her colleagues as having been inspirational: she would sing "The Marseillaise" to lift the spirits of the walkers and was patient and optimistic in the face of daily hunger and exhaustion.

The geopolitical stability that the success of the Long March provided the CCP also led Cai Chang and her husband, both fellow provincials of Mao Zedong, to consolidate their positions as party leaders. When the American journalist Edgar Snow met Cai Chang in late 1936, she was already in charge of the work of winning over the local populace in the northwestern Shaanxi-Gansu-Ningxia Border Region. Apart from about eighteen months (autumn 1938 to March 1940) in Moscow studying at the Comintern School (Gongchangguoji Zhongguo zhibu daibiaotuan ban de xuexiban) and receiving medical treatment for an unspecified complaint, Cai Chang spent most of her time between 1936 and 1945 in Yan'an and the northwest. While Li Fuchun chaired the Shaanxi-Gansu-Ningxia Provincial Central Committee in 1936, he also held high-level posts in the Organization Department of the CCP Central Committee from 1935 to 1948. Li Fuchun also held a series of posts in finance and economic planning from the early 1940s and was instrumental in obtaining substantial Soviet aid for China's heavy industry sector in the years immediately after the establishment of the PRC. As chair of the State Planning Commission from 1954, he eventually became responsible for the "day-to-day functioning of the economy."

Cai Chang, for her part, became head (1937) and then secretary (1941–53) of the Women's Committee of the Central Committee and was elected to the Executive Committee of the Shaanxi-Gansu-Ningxia Women's Federation (1940). Her work involved organization and propaganda, the federation's goal being to integrate women into the general programs of the party and set up mechanisms of care for children during wartime, including the National Refugee Children's Association (Zhanshi ertong baoyuhui).

In 1944, during the Yan'an rectification campaigns, she spoke out against the "feminist" (*funüzhuyi*) stance of some women, stating instead the need for men and women to work together to ensure the success of the revolution. Her response countered the criticisms voiced by Ding Ling (*q.v.*) regarding the persistence of patriarchal attitudes in Yan'an and revealed her deep loyalty to Mao's party line. In 1945, Cai Chang and her husband were elected as full members to the CCP Central Committee. She was the only woman to hold full membership. Deng Yingchao (*q.v.*) and Chen Shaomin (*q.v.*) were elected only as alternate members at that time. That same year marked both the end of the Sino-Japanese War and the beginning of the civil war between the CCP and the KMT. Li Fuchun was assigned to work in the Northeastern Military Region in Manchuria, and Cai Chang was sent to initiate women's work in newly reclaimed areas there in December 1946. For the next two or three years, she was stationed in Harbin but traveled widely throughout the northeast, giving talks, attending conferences, and investigating women's living and working conditions in factories and the countryside.

In anticipation of a communist victory, preparatory committees had been established in the late 1940s to oversee women's organizations. Cai Chang had been elected head of the Preparatory Committee of the Women's Federations of China's Liberated Areas (Zhongguo jiefangqu funü lianhehui) in 1945, a move that led to her election in Paris, in absentia, to the Executive Committee of the Women's International Democratic Federation (WIDF, Guoji minzhu funü lianhehui) the same year. She became its vice-chair in 1948. On behalf of the organization and other responsibilities related to women's affairs, Cai Chang made several trips overseas, to Prague and Paris in 1947 and Budapest and Russia in 1948.

During her time in Russia, Cai Chang's grandson, Li Yong, was born, in December 1948. This was the son of her only daughter of whom she had seen very little since giving the child into her grandmother's care. Even when the party sent then fifteen-year-old Li Tete to Moscow with Cai Chang in mid-1939 for safekeeping, she had occupied herself more with other children, showing no partiality toward her daughter. Cai Chang further alienated Li Tete by explaining that she (Cai Chang) was too busy "driving the Japanese aggressors out of China" to show affection to her. Because Li Tete's grandmother died in 1943, leaving the young woman with no one in China to return to, it is quite possible that she remained in Russia from 1939 on. Li Tete was twenty-four when her son was born; nothing is known of the circumstances. It is unusual that the child bore her surname, that is, that of her father Li Fuchun, rather than that of its own father, who is unacknowledged in any historical sources.

Cai Chang's high profile career continued after the establishment of the PRC in 1949, and she was elected or appointed to a great number and variety of bodies. The most important and apparently influential of these were the CCP Central Committee (1945–77); the presidium of the First CPPCC (1949); the Central People's Government Council (1949) on which she served as the sole female CCP representative; the ACWF (chair, 1949–77; honorary chair, 1978–88); the Women Workers' Department of the All-China Federation of Trade Unions (director, 1948–57); and the Standing Committee of the NPC (1954–80). Maintaining heavy commitments for many years, Cai Chang also continued to attend and speak at International Women's Day (8 March) celebrations, chair and attend meetings and conferences on women and work, publish articles and statements, and receive foreign guests. She virtually ceased traveling overseas but visited Moscow in 1953 for Stalin's funeral and remained there for a short period of recuperation.

Despite carrying a high profile in the 1950s, Cai Chang did not play a significant role in the governing of China and some would say that she appears to have been little more than a cultivated and elegant figurehead for the mass of China's women. Whether for reasons of poor health, poor eyesight (she had gone completely blind by 1984), or, like her husband, because she was a silent critic of Mao Zedong's disastrous economic policies, Cai Chang virtually withdrew from public life from 1961 on, although she continued as a member of the Central Committee and the NPC. Her husband had opposed the Cultural Revolution from the start, and as a veteran Long Marcher she too was in disgrace during that period. From 1978, however, after regaining her status as a model revolutionary, Cai Chang was awarded on International Women's

Day in 1989 a Commemorative Medal recognizing her lifelong work for the Chinese people. Because of her blindness, she was unable to attend the ceremony, but a longtime colleague Kang Keqing (*q.v.*) accepted the medal on her behalf.

Sue WILES

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Cai Lanying

Cai Lanying, b. 1918, of Xianxian County, Hebei Province, is a paper-cut artist. Born to a peasant family, she took up the folk art of papercutting at the age of eight, continuing well into her seventies.

Cai Lanying was also active politically, joining the CCP in 1944 and working as an undercover party member as well as head of her village's Women's Federation. She recounted her accomplishments to a reporter during a 1994 interview, taking evident pride in her history of political activism and emancipation.

Cai Lanying began doing papercuts as New Year decorations of the kind still commonly seen in the countryside, pasted on paper and glass windowpanes and doors. Because she was good at it, Cai Lanying's neighbors would ask her to cut paper patterns for their homes, and gradually she built up a reputation. Unlike recent artists who pre-draw papercuts on paper, then carve them out with a knife, Cai Lanying cut hers out with a small pair of scissors, creating designs as she went along. Strips of white cloth would be wrapped around the handles of the scissors to lessen the friction, but still she developed thick corns on her fingers. In more than sixty years ofpapercutting, Cai Lanying has cut more than ten thousand pieces and gone through more than one hundred pairs of scissors.

Her works portray various themes, depicting life in the countryside, for example, picking cotton bolls (zhai miantao), donkey pulling a mill (lü la mo), tending pigs (fang zhu), and raking (pa di). The images are full of a simple beauty, celebrating farm work. Other scenes depict China's traditions: holidays and festivals, wedding scenes, funerals, and birthdays, all of which reveal her joie de vivre. Other pieces indirectly reflect epi-

sodes from legends, folktales, and stories from local operas. Because the latter are performed only once or twice a year in the countryside, papercuts help people recall favorite scenes and characters in the lonely times between performances. Most valuable, however, are the autobiographical papercuts. Cai Lanying once told an interviewer that when she wants to express herself, she turns to her scissors; like many women of her age and circumstances, Cai Lanying cannot read or write. Her autobiographical works record daily activities, for example, going to market (ganji) and helping the husband and teaching the kids (xiangfu jiaozi). Some are visual narratives revealing innermost feelings. Once offended by her husband's chauvinistic behavior, she created a papercut of a husband bullying his wife. He was so ashamed that when members of the family passed it around, admiring the design, he slipped from the room. Expressing personal emotions through papercutting is unique to Cai Lanying.

The artist has received much recognition for her papercuts. In 1989, she received an award from the China Papercut Grand Competition (Zhongguo jianzhi dajiang sai) and the Excellent Creation Award in the first China Folk Art Exhibition (Zhongguo shoujie minjian meishu jiapin zhan youxiu chuanzuojiang). Many of the compositions have also been included in recent albums of papercuts. Cai Lanying is a member of several national folk art organizations, such as the Society for Chinese Papercutting (Zhongguo jianzhi xuehui). In 1995, she was invited to Beijing as an outstanding folk artist to perform at the fourth World Women's Conference. Her daughter Deng Yanfang is also a paper-cut artist.

Lily Xiao Hong LEE

Zhang Yunjie. "Yong jiandao jianchu nüren de yisheng." *Zhongguo funü*, no. 2 (1995): 34–35. *Zhongguo renwu nianjian*, *1993*. Beijing: Huayi chubanshe, 1993, 412–13.

Cai Xianxi: ***see*** **Cai Chang**

Cai Yanci: ***see*** **Choi Yan Chi**

Can Xue

Can Xue, b. 1953, as Deng Xiaohua in Changsha, Hunan Province, has been described as one of the most interesting and innovative of contemporary Chinese writers.

Can Xue's parents had joined the CCP in the 1930s or 1940s, and after 1949 her father, Deng Junhong (1916–94), worked as head of *Hunan News* (Xin Hunanbao), where her mother, Li Yin (b. 1923), also was employed. In 1957, Can Xue's father suffered prosecution as leader of an anti-Communist Party group within *Hunan News*, was labeled a right-wing extremist, and was sent to the countryside for two years; her mother was put in the Hengshan Corrective Center. Within a span of ten years, by the start of the Cultural Revolution, her father had been further detained, her mother had been sent to a May Seventh Cadre School, and her brothers and sisters had allbeen sent down to work in the countryside. Can Xue, at this time thirteen years old, was just finishing primary school and would normally have gone on to secondary school. Instead, unable to continue her schooling, she lived alone in the small shelter that had been

allotted to her parents. At seventeen Can Xue got a job in a neighborhood factory as a metalworker and assembly worker, a job she held for ten years. In 1978, she married Lu Yong (b. 1948), who had been sent as a student (*zhiqing*) to work on a farm during the Cultural Revolution and had just returned from the countryside. Two years later, Can Xue resigned from the factory after giving birth to her first child, a son. She and her husband learned to sew and started up a small sewing business. Her husband has managed their shop since 1985, allowing Can Xue to stay at home to write and keep house. She is currently employed by the Hunan Writers' Association as a professional writer.

A slight child, Can Xue was sensitive, nervous, and aloof; she was high strung and said to live in a world of her own. Can Xue remained very close to her maternal grandmother, who brought her up, and whom she described lovingly in the autobiographical piece "A Beautiful Southern Summer Day" (Meili nanfang zhi xiari). In 1959 the nine members of Can Xue's family had moved from the city to Mount Yuelu to live in two small rooms, each only ten yards square. She and her siblings survived the great famine of 1959–61 solely because their grandmother climbed into the mountains to gather mushrooms and wild herbs for them. She had a strong personality—some said she was even deranged—and was a good storyteller. In the eyes of a child like Can Xue, mystery surrounded her grandmother, and from her Can Xue learned to listen to the deep sounds of the night and for many years dreamed about flying. She was eight when her grandmother died (1961) of malnutrition and overwork; only then did Can Xue also learn of her father's heart condition. The strain caused her to become frightened of waking up in the middle of the night, but when morning would come its brilliant sunshine could make her wild with joy. As a teenager, Can Xue often "walked bareheaded and barefoot for long hours under the scorching sun, full of joy and daydreaming." Later, she excelled in telling stories of dark nights and declared that her creativity is stimulated by "the blazing sun of the south, the warm and bright atmosphere." To Can Xue, brightness and darkness, heaven and hell, are opposites that slowly congeal in her to become essences, both abstract and pure.

She describes the activity of her writing as based on "digging her own treasure"; her uniqueness as a gifted writer undoubtedly stems from her childhood experiences and idiosyncratic visual and audio illusions. A privately circulated view is that Can Xue has two souls, or states of consciousness, in which she shifts freely between a real and an imagined world. During the act of writing, she enters into a highly concentrated, creative state, driven by emotions, primitive impulses, and perceptions. This irrational method of writing breaks away from conventional "reality" of ordinary people and becomes a means to explore highly individualistic, inner mental realms. The words "illusion," "nightmare," "absurd," "surreal," and "obscure" appear repeatedly in literary criticism of her work, which remains enigmatic. Can Xue is clearly important and unusual among contemporary Chinese writers.

One short story called "Soap Bubbles on Dirty Water" (Wushui shang de feizao pao), her first published work, came out in 1985 in a little-known magazine *New Creation*. In the story, her mother becomes a basin of dirty, soapy water. In "Yellow Mud Street" (Huangni jie), completed in 1983 and published in *China* magazine in November 1986 and since revised, many strange twists and turns of events happen. Its jargon

and scenes from the Cultural Revolution clearly place the piece in a historical setting and, compared to some of her later work, elicit a strong feeling of political allegory.

Between that year and 1987, Can Xue published the novella *Old Floating Cloud* (Canglao de fuyun) and over ten short stories, including "Fog" (Wu), "The Moment When the Cuckoo Crows" (Buguniao jiao de nayi shunjian), "In the Wilderness" (Kuangye li), "Skylight" (Tian chuang), and "Dialogues in Paradise" (Tiantang li de duihua, parts 1 and 2). These unconventional, surrealistic, and dreamlike pieces caused a furor in literary circles but established her literary credentials and gained her work attention and recognition from overseas critics and Sinologists. In 1986 in the United States, *The Intellectual* published "Raindrops between the Tiles" (Wafeng li de yudi), "Amei's Worries on a Sunny Day" (Amei zai yige taiyangtian li de chousi), and "Yellow Mud Street." Her writing has appeared in translation in many languages, including Japanese, English, French, Italian, and Russian. Her first novel, *The Performance of Breaking through the Encirclement* (Tuwei biaoyan), came out in 1988 and is full of ideas and debate, including about artistic creation. This theme continued in the 1990s, explored in such works as "Report on One's Thinking" (Sixiang huibao), "Scar" (Hen), and *A Man and His Neighbor and Two or Three Others* (Yige ren he tade linju ji lingwai liangsan ge ren). This last was originally a novel but was broken up into two novellas when no publisher could be found.

Literary critics in China responded to Can Xue's writings from 1987 on. Some associated her with Lu Xun's critique on the Chinese national character and compared her works with his "true ugly voice." The writer Wang Meng accurately pointed out how her writing describes "the deep layer of humankind's mental world. Like a dagger or a pin, straight away it pricks a very painful spot." Many critics understand the implications of Can Xue's cultural critique; others study her writings through the lens of psychoanalytical theory and feminism.

Overseas Sinologists and literary critics regard Can Xue's style from diverse artistic, philosophical, and cultural reference points. Standing out from her fellow contemporary Chinese literary realist writers, she has made a considerable impact with her novels that, in the words of Charlotte Innes (*New York Times*, 24 September 1998), "remind Westerners of T.S. Eliot's metaphors, Franz Kafka's fantasies, and the nightmare-like paintings of Matisse." Translator Ronald R. Janssen claims that Can Xue explores areas not touched upon by any other contemporary Chinese writer and also "update[s] the long tradition of irrationalism in our own literature." Japanese Sinologist Kondo Naoko considers Can Xue's writings to be the most excellent works written in China since the Cultural Revolution and writes that "the depth, the philosophy, the vivid expression and symbolism and the poetic language are astounding." The Danish Sinologist Anne Wedell-Wedellsborg pointed out the cultural significance of Can Xue in contemporary China, how she expresses individual dilemmas in her own strong, individual voice and "reveals the particularity of the bilateral but oppositional relationship of the self and society."

WU Xiaoli
(Translated by Laura Long)

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Cao Mengjun

Cao Mengjun, 1904–67, of Changsha, Hunan Province, was a social activist and leader of the women's movement, in both KMT-occupied areas before 1949 and the PRC thereafter.

She gained her early schooling in Hunan where she earned a reputation for radical behavior; Cao Mengjun changed schools four times before graduating from high school. She was expelled from both Daotian Girls' Normal School for urging her fellow students to cut off their plaits of hair and Zhounan Girls' School for inciting classmates to hand in blank examination papers at the (presumably provincial) combined examination (*huikao*), which was considered a tool for controlling students' ideology. After entering Hunan First Provincial Normal School as one of its first female students, Cao Mengjun left in disgust at the failure of a student strike. She then transferred to Xiejun High School and became the leader of its students' union. It is thought that Cao Mengjun finished her secondary education there.

Some sources say that Cao Mengjun entered Peking University in 1925, but only one says she graduated. In the late 1920s or early 1930s, she lived in Nanjing and worked in the Agriculture and Mining Department of the Republican government. About this time, Cao Mengjun married Zuo Gong, who is said to have been a protégé

of the prominent KMT statesman Sun Fo. Cao Mengjun organized a study group (*dushu hui*) with her friends, including Wang Kunlun and Sun Xiaocun. Although posing as an academic organization, this body was actually strongly influenced by the CCP underground, its aim being to propagate anti-Japanese and national salvation ideas in the Nanjing area. During this period, Cao Mengjun and her friends organized several non-aligned organizations, the first of which were the Women's Society for the Promotion of Culture (Funü wenhua cujinhui, 1931) and Nanjing Women's National Salvation Society (Nanjing funü jiuguohui, 1933). As a leading member in both societies, she established working relations with progressive women in Shanghai and took part in the formation of two national groups: the China National Salvation League of Academic Bodies (Quanguo xueshu tuanti jiuguo lianhehui) and the China National Salvation Association (Quanguo gejie jiuguo hui).

During the period when the call upon the government to discontinue civil war and fight the Japanese arose the loudest among China's intelligentsia in the mid-1930s, many people were arrested for openly agitating for this cause. The most famous group, arrested in Shanghai, was dubbed "the Seven Virtuous Ones" (*qijunzi*), and included the woman lawyer Shi Liang (*q.v.*). Cao Mengjun and her friend Sun Xiaocun were arrested at about the same time, but Cao Mengjun was released in mid-1937, at the beginning of the second alliance between the KMT and the CCP.

In 1938, she went to Wuhan where, having divorced Zuo Gong, Cao Mengjun married Wang Kunlun, a fellow graduate of Peking University and a friend from her Nanjing days. She is also said to have established the National Refugee Children's Association (Zhanshi ertong baoyuhui) at the suggestion of the Yangzi River Bureau (Changjiang ju) of the CCP. With other women from Beijing, Tianjin, Nanjing, and Shanghai, Cao Mengjun gathered orphans from among the refugees, as well as children whose parents were devoting themselves to the war, to care for and educate them. In April, when Xuzhou was about to fall to the Japanese, she and her colleagues went to the front to rescue children from the war zone, risking exposure to air raids along the way. In August, Wuhan itself was threatened, and the children had to be evacuated to safer places such as Hunan and Sichuan. Cao Mengjun was with the last contingent of orphans to leave Wuhan, after arranging for others to leave first.

After arriving in Chongqing, she became director of the Geleshan Nursery and Orphanage. The children there were malnourished and undisciplined at first, but Cao Mengjun was patient and managed the school democratically. The children were taught to discuss their differences rather than fight about them. During such discussions, students elected their own chairperson, with teachers standing by to help only if needed. This way, they were taught to think for themselves, and the relationship between teachers and students was harmonious. Students were also encouraged to publish wall newspapers, organize sports events and concerts, keep chickens, build roads, and take part in other activities, which helped to improve their own lives. The orphanage became a well-known model and fostered many children into becoming useful citizens, many of them going on to other schools and receiving higher education.

During the later war years, she took over the editorship of *Women's Life* (Funü shenghuo) from Shen Zijiu (*q.v.*) and continued its development. The magazine, after publishing

more than one hundred issues, was closed down by the KMT for political reasons in 1941. In order to claim a share of women's public opinion for themselves, the South China Bureau of the CCP supported Cao Mengjun's efforts to create a new magazine, *Modern Women* (Xiandai funü), in 1943. Publication of a magazine at that time entailed overcoming such difficulties as getting a paper quota approved by the government and submitting manuscripts for censorship. However, with the support of leftist writers such as Mao Dun, Jian Bozan, Lao She, and Xia Yan, the magazine had a good following. After the war, *Modern Women* moved to Shanghai where, despite KMT harassment, the publication continued to appear until March 1949, when it was finally banned.

Cao Mengjun's active role in the China Democratic League (Zhongguo minzhu tongmeng) and China Democratic Revolutionary League (Zhongguo minzhu geming tongmeng), both minority parties, took her to Hong Kong in 1949, but she returned to China in the early part of that year, going first to the northeast, then to Beijing. Cao Mengjun became a leader in the ACWF from its inception in March-April and occupied such important positions as vice-secretary-general and membership in the secretariat in charge of its day-to-day work. She was also elected to the CPPCC and the NPC. Perhaps more important, however, was her membership in the Standing Committee of the Chinese People's Association for Cultural Relations with Foreign Countries (Zhongguo renmin duiwai wenhua xiehui). Cao Mengjun was frequently selected to go abroad with delegations and included in receptions for foreign delegations, always those relating to the women's movement. According to one source, she went abroad on eighteen occasions, visiting sixteen different nations in Asia, Europe, and Africa. In addition to women's organizations, Cao Mengjun was engaged in the international peace movement and the Red Cross Society of China. She became ill and died in Beijing in 1967. Her husband, Wang Kunlun, was associated with the KMT Revolutionary Committee (Guomindang geming weiyuanhui), another minority party in the PRC, and the leftist faction of the KMT. He was at one time a deputy mayor of Beijing. Cao Mengjun is known to have had two daughters, the elder of whom studied foreign languages.

Although Cao Mengjun actively participated in the China Democratic League, she had probably been a covert CCP member since youth. Some sources, in fact, report that Cao Mengjun joined the CCP in 1925, when she was at Peking University, where Wang Kunlun also studied. Klein and Clark are of the opinion that Cao and Wang were both covert CCP members working outside the party for the sake of creating the appearance of the CCP's cooperation with other democratic parties. The case of Song Qingling (*q.v.*) may corroborate this view.

Lily Xiao Hong LEE

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Cao Shuying: *see* Cao Yi'ou

Cao Yi'ou

Cao Yi'ou, 1903–91, was born Cao Shuying; her native place is given in official sources as Daxing County, Hebei Province, but she claimed to be a native of Jinan, Shandong Province.

As a student at Shandong Girls' High School when the May Fourth Movement erupted in 1919, Cao Shuying was inspired by the revolutionary ideas that the movement embodied. After graduation she went to Shanghai and enrolled in Chinese literature at Shanghai University, an elite institution that had been established jointly by the CCP and the KMT in 1922 as a revolutionary training ground for professionals. Cao Shuying joined the CCP in 1926 and about the same time changed her personal name to Yi'ou, meaning "anti-Westernization." The university closed down in 1927, and at the end of that year Cao Yi'ou married Zhang Yun (1898–1975), who changed his name to Kang Sheng in 1933. He had been secretary of the CCP's Shanghai University Special Branch. This was a second marriage for both: the name of Cao Yi'ou's first husband is not known, but Kang Sheng had married Chen Yi in 1915. Kang Sheng and his first wife had a son and daughter, while Cao Yi'ou never had children of her own. She became involved in underground activities in Shanghai for a time and then in 1933 accompanied Kang Sheng to Moscow, where he acted as deputy director of the Chinese delegation to the Comintern. The couple may also have studied in Russia between 1930 and 1932.

Returning to China in 1937, Cao Yi'ou and Kang Sheng went to the communist enclave in Yan'an. He was made director of the Social and Central Intelligence Department and president of the Central Party School, eventually rising to membership in the powerful Politburo. It is not known what position Cao Yi'ou held in Yan'an. She was, however, instrumental in the marriage of Mao Zedong (1893–1976) to the former Shanghai actress Jiang Qing (*q.v.*), who was an old acquaintance and fellow provincial of Kang Sheng. With most of the party leaders against the marriage, Kang Sheng aided Jiang Qing's cause by suppressing evidence sent to his department concerning her past sexual liaisons in Shanghai. Cao Yi'ou passed on to Jiang Qing the names of those opposed to the marriage, thus providing her with information that was used to lethal effect during the Cultural Revolution.

Cao Yi'ou was appointed deputy director of the CCP's Organization Department in Shandong Province in 1949 but chose to remain at home with Kang Sheng, who was at that time "recuperating" from an illness. Rumor had it that his illness had more to do with his resentment at being appointed to provincial posts rather than being reappointed to the Central Committee.

After the communists came to power that year, Cao Yi'ou was quick to take advantage of her political connections. In 1952 she served as director of Beijing's Department of Higher Education and the following year was transferred to the Central Party School and placed in charge of training workshops. Cao Yi'ou is believed to have been responsible, directly or indirectly, for much of the turmoil in the Party School from the late 1950s to the 1960s. During the political movements of this period—which included the anti-rightist, the Great Leap Forward, and the "Don't Forget the Conflict between Classes"

movements—about 80 percent of the Party School's senior scholars, researchers, and leaders were labeled "rightists" or "counter-revolutionaries." Some were expelled from the CCP, sent to labor camps, or died under torture. Yang Xianzhen (1805–1992), for example, who had been president of the Central Party School and the most authoritative Marxist theorist in China, was imprisoned for twenty years.

In 1966, when Kang Sheng was director of the Central Committee's Organization Department, deputy chair of both the CPPCC and the Standing Committee of the NPC and director of State Security, Cao Yi'ou became his office manager. The position placed her at the pinnacle of her political power as she became involved in planning and initiating the Cultural Revolution. A big-character poster entitled "Just What Are Song Shuo, Lu Ping and Peng Peiyun [Peking University leaders] up to in the Cultural Revolution?" was pasted up on a wall at Peking University on 25 May. This poster is considered to have signaled the beginning of the Cultural Revolution and was written by Nie Yuanzi (*q.v.*), a member of the Philosophy Department at Peking University and an old colleague of Cao Yi'ou from Yan'an days. The latter is generally believed to have been the force behind Nie Yuanzi, supporting her in successful efforts to foment rebellion among university and college students, which soon engulfed the country.

In April 1967, Cao Yi'ou's sister Su Mei (Cao Wenmin, 1912–67) committed suicide. Su Mei was deputy director of the Political Department at the Beijing Cadres' College of Political Science and Law. She had lived with Cao Yi'ou and Kang Sheng since the 1930s and was widely regarded as his not-so-secret lover. Cao Yi'ou believed that her sister's suicide was the result of political persecution aimed at Kang Sheng and herself. When the doctors investigating the case and staff members of Su Mei's college would not confirm her suspicions, Cao Yi'ou had some of them arrested. Of the rest of those involved, some committed suicide while others developed psychological problems. The case was never formally resolved.

She was a member of the Ninth, Tenth, and Eleventh CCP Central Committees from 1969 to 1983 and retired in 1978 when the Cultural Revolution drew to a close. The posthumous expulsion of Kang Sheng from the CCP in 1980 is said to have unbalanced her, and Cao Yi'ou died in 1991 at the age of eighty-eight. She is considered to have been a political troublemaker with a talent for aggressive action. Yet, as a calligrapher Cao Yi'ou was rated as the best of all the wives of senior Chinese cadres; her painting and calligraphy, practiced as a means of relaxation, displayed delicacy and refinement.

Viola Hong Xin Chan WONG

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Caoming

Caoming, b. 1913, in Shunde County, Guangdong Province, is a writer whose subjects are predominantly workers in China's heavy industry in the northeast. One source gives her original name as Wu Xuanwen; in addition to Caoming, she has used the pen name Chu Yaming.

Not a great deal is known about Caoming's childhood except that she and her elder brothers lived on what her mother earned by sewing. Although illiterate herself, Caoming's mother encouraged her daughter to learn to read; thus, Caoming learned needlework from her mother and how to read from her older brothers. When she did eventually go to school, Caoming excelled in language and literature. During her high school days, her favorite authors were Lu Xun and Maxim Gorky. She loved the way the latter described the lives of workers and decided to write about them, too. In 1931, Caoming took part in propaganda work against the Japanese invasion of China's northeast and began to be influenced by leftist intellectuals. She and her comrades edited and published a small magazine, writing in the local dialect about workers' hardships. For this, Caoming was blacklisted by the local KMT government and had to move to Shanghai. She had begun writing essays and short stories before the age of twenty, but her first published work was the novella *The Fall* (Qingdie), which appeared in *Wenyi* monthly, published by the League of Leftist Writers (Zuoyi zuojia lianhehui) in 1933. The story tells how three silk workers ended up as prostitutes when traditional silk-making methods were made redundant by automation introduced by foreign capitalists.

From 1932 to 1942, Caoming wrote about the trauma of workers and the disillusionment and bewilderment of ordinary people toward the old society. At the end of this period, more positive themes were treated, such as workers going on strike and young people seeking a brave new life in areas that, although not openly identified as such, were nevertheless communist. Her style was still clearly influenced by translations of Western literature and incorporated Western sentence structures and vocabulary. During the early years of the Sino-Japanese War, Caoming was in Chongqing and joined the CCP in 1940. In May 1942, she was called to the communist enclave in Yan'an and heard Mao Zedong's "Talks at the Yan'an Forum on Literature and Art." She was apparently deeply inspired by this event, describing it as earthshaking and epochmaking, and resolved to heed his words and again dedicate herself to writing about peasants, workers, and soldiers. Caoming then spent some time in the villages near Yan'an, going from there to Zhangjiakou in Hebei Province. Her works from this period reflect a closer relationship with the masses as she tried to make more use of the colloquial language of the people. Some of these works are *Yan'an People* (Yan'an ren), *He Did Not Die* (Ta meiyou si), and *The New Couple* (Xin fufu).

In 1946, Caoming went to northeast China to work closely with heavy industry workers. She stayed there for eighteen years during which time some of her most important works were written. Initially sent to Jingbohu power plant in Heilongjiang Province to experience the life of workers there, Caoming, for her part, taught them to read and to sing revolutionary songs, told stories about the history of the CCP and

the Long March, and organized their families to grow vegetables and raise chickens. Hearing that an old worker named Sun had helped to save the power plant from destruction at the hands of the retreating KMT, she asked him to tell his story. From this came the novel *Power* (Yuandongli), which is lauded as the first Chinese novel on the working class, and it was praised highly by famous writers such as Mao Dun and Guo Moruo. The novel tells how a worker named Sun Huaide saved a power plant, and thenstruggled to revive it so that dynamic power could beam out to satisfy the needs of the whole city. When she wrote *Power* (1948), Caoming's only criterion was that workers had to be able to read and understand it. Hence, the ideas in the book are straightforward, the language direct and simple. After completing her first draft, she showed it to workers who had gone only to primary school and was ecstatic when they understood.

Caoming next went, in that year, to Huanggutun Railway Works in Shenyang to help establish a CCP organization and the Youth League. While there, she witnessed how workers worked overtime to repair the engine of a train that would enable more PLA soldiers to be transferred to the south to help take over the whole country. She then wrote *The Train Engine* (Huochetou), describing the enthusiasm with which workers repair a train engine and how they learn to apply scientific experimentation to what they are doing. In this novel, revolution stands as the metaphor for the engine of history.

From the small and aging industrial establishments of early PRC days, Caoming moved in 1954 to a shining example of new China's heavy industry: Anshan Steel Works in Liaoning Province. She became deputy party secretary of the First Steel Works of Anshan. As the largest steel works in China, Anshan was the nation's pride and joy, representing as it did the most advanced technology in the country. Caoming wrote *Riding the Wind over the Waves* (Chengfeng polang), a novel in which images of lofty furnaces, gleaming streams of steel, strong blasts of air, and giant flames intertwine in a symphony of vital productivity. At this point in her career, Caoming had reached maturity in her knowledge of the industrial establishment, characterization of workers, and the control of her pen. The main conflicts portrayed in this novel remain relevant today: the conservatism and bureaucracy of management versus the creativity and progressiveness of workers and party leadership versus administrative leadership. *Riding the Wind over the Waves* quickly won wide critical acclaim.

The eighteen years spent in the northeast represent Caoming's most successful and prolific period. Aside from the three novels *Power*, *The Train Engine*, and *Riding the Wind over the Waves*, which are thought to represent the three stages of China's industrial development, she also wrote many short stories, essays, and reports. During her years in Anshan, Caoming also devoted time to teaching writing classes for workers. By the time she left, several of the participants were ready to publish poetry, stories, novellas, and novels themselves.

In 1964, Caoming left Anshan to go to Beijing to "experience life" in a machine tool factory. During the Cultural Revolution that soon descended on China, she was unable to publish anything. When one of her works, "Happiness" (Xinfgu), was fi-

nally published in *Liberation Army Literature*, the editorial staff was attacked for letting it see the light of day.

Despite a back problem, Caoming continued to write in the 1980s with the help of a clipboard. Her novel *Sons and Daughters of China* (Shenzhou ernü) published during this period was based on life in an industrial city during the Cultural Revolution. Caoming married the writer Ouyang Shan in 1931 but at some point divorced him. It is not known whether she had any children.

Lily Xiao Hong LEE

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Chan, Anson

Anson Chan, b. 1940, whose Chinese name is Fang Ansheng, and twin sister Ninson [Ningsheng] were born in Shanghai on the eve of the Japanese occupation of that city. Their parents gave them names meaning "peace" (Ansheng) and "tranquility" (Ningsheng), no doubt reflecting their hope for an end to war and the restoration of social order and harmony in the family. Anson Chan was Hong Kong's chief secretary in the period of transition from Bristish colonial rule to Chinese sovereignty.

China had suffered decades of upheaval and civil war as well as invasion by Japan. Peace would not finally arrive, however, until after the establishment of the PRC. During their infancy, the twin girls were somewhat protected from the violence and disturbances outside their sheltered family home, but even so their early years must have been colored by national events. Their parents must have wondered whether peace and tranquility would ever return, but eventually those golden years did come back. The forty years after 1950 were a period of relative calm during which China and Hong Kong recovered from the wounds inflicted during the first half of the century.

Anson Chan's grandfather General Fang Zhenwu was a hero in the war of resistance against Japan, and her parents were highly educated modern people. Her father, Fang Xinhao, studied at Jiaotong University in Shanghai, Manchester University in the United Kingdom, and Columbia University in the United States. Her mother, Dr. Fang Zhaolin (*q.v.*), received a traditional education at home but after marrying accompanied Fang Xinhao to Britain and also studied at Manchester University. They had eight children, closely spaced, of whom Anson and Ninson were the only girls.

Because Anson's father was deputy manager of Tianjin Postal Savings Bank, the family divided its time between Shanghai and Tianjin. Anson remembers little of her childhood in China apart from the big house in which they lived in Tianjin and that she spent most of her time playing at home with her brothers. Anson Chan and Ninson started school in Tianjin and learned English and French as well as Chinese; these

studies were cut short when the family moved to Hong Kong in 1948 just before the establishment of the PRC. Once in Hong Kong, Anson began to learn Cantonese in place of French.

In 1950 her father died suddenly, but fortunately her mother had support from her mother-in-law and brother-in-law—(Professor Sir Harry Fang [Fang Xinrang], a pediatric specialist at Queen Mary Hospital in Hong Kong)—to help take care of her eight small children. The children were placed in schools in Hong Kong, Anson and Ninson studying at Saint Paul's Convent School. Fang Zhaolin then took the younger boys with her to England, where she returned to study at Cambridge University and attend to some business affairs. Anson Chan recalls that, in addition to her close relationship with her mother, she owed much of her upbringing to the strict discipline of a paternal grandmother, who ensured that the children completed their studies, and to her uncle and his family. Her mother's commitment to the study of Chinese language and literature at Cambridge and later at the University of Hong Kong inspired Anson. In later life, Fang Zhaolin took up watercolor painting and became well known as an artist in Hong Kong; her delicate paintings of landscapes and flowers and birds combine traditional Chinese techniques with Western influences.

Anson Chan worked hard at school, enjoying English, history, and music, although she retains the impression of having been a rather naughty student. At the University of Hong Kong, she studied English literature and lived in Lady Ho Tung Hall, while Ninson studied political science and lived across the road at St. John's College. Anson particularly enjoyed lectures given by Edmund Blunden, who was then on the staff of the English Department. Through the English literature course, she was introduced to the English classics, studying Chaucer, Shakespeare, Jane Austen, and Wordsworth. Anson Chan felt a great affinity with the English language and always felt comfortable reading and writing in English. She spoke Cantonese as well as Mandarin and some Shanghainese and had a tutor for Mandarin but recalls finding abbreviated characters difficult at the time because they were not in common use in Hong Kong.

During the period of British administration, Hong Kong's educational system, cultural life, and governance were dominated by the use of English and reference to British norms and historical precedent. It was in this colonial and post-colonial context that Anson Chan spent her formative years. Having reached eminence in her career during the transition to Chinese rule, she adjusted her perspective on life and is now rediscovering her Chinese roots. The path traveled by her mother, who took up the study of Chinese literature and painting in adulthood, clearly set a pattern. In 1997, the year in which Hong Kong returned to Chinese sovereignty, Anson habitually dressed in an updated version of the Chinese cheongsam to demonstrate her Chineseness. She says that her ambition is to emulate her mother and take up Chinese calligraphy at retirement.

Anson Chan met her future husband, Chan Tai Wing [Chen Tairong] (usually known as Archie Chan), at university, where he was one year ahead of her and active in the student dramatic society, taking part in performances of Shakespeare. At that time, it was compulsory for all students to participate in social services, and Archie Chan joined the Royal Hong Kong Auxiliary Police Force. He remained in the force even when

service was no longer required, regarding this as his contribution to society. Archie Chan eventually rose to the post of chief officer, resigning only after Anson became chief secretary. The two married in 1963, shortly after her graduation from university.

Spending university holidays coaching English in order to earn pocket money, Anson Chan was also responsible for assisting her younger brothers with their homework. After graduation she was assisted by her uncle, Harry Fang, in obtaining a job as almoner at Queen Mary Hospital. Finding contact with patients and their families rewarding, Anson Chan considered a career in social work but in 1962 started working with the influential Hong Kong orphanage and social welfare organization Baoliangju (Po Leung Kuk) and undertook a number of other welfare activities. Soon, however, the young woman won a position as a cadet officer with the Hong Kong government. Anson Chan acknowledges that had her original plan of becoming a social worker been followed, she would not have had the opportunity to extend her influence as widely as she has done in many social welfare and related fields.

Traditionally, the Hong Kong civil service system trained officers to work in as many departments as possible in order to broaden talents and provide greater perspective on the work. Anson Chan's first job was in Economic Services within the Department of Finance, and she was later moved to Agriculture and Fisheries, Trade and Commerce, and New Territories Administration. Anson Chan spent a relatively longer period as head of the Department of Social Welfare (from 1984 to 1987), afterward receiving a promotion, becoming the first Chinese woman policy secretary in charge of Economic Services. Anson Chan feels that her greatest achievements have been in these two posts, one concerned with policy development, the other with social commitment.

As secretary for social welfare in the late 1970s, Anson Chan came to understand the basic concerns of the disadvantaged, sick, and elderly and, within the government's limited resources, had the opportunity to relieve a degree of pain and suffering. The department maintained a fairly large staff, and she was also able to mentor the career development of more junior officers, believing it important to groom successors and develop potential by helping colleagues identify their weaknesses and strengths. Committed to equality for working women and the protection of children from abuse, Anson Chan also tried to spend as much time as possible in the field in order to understand the problems of ordinary citizens. During the 1980s, the department's responsibilities included welfare provisions for the aged and the handicapped, early childhood education, care of orphans, rehabilitation of prisoners, and youth activities. The position of children was then quite vulnerable and child abuse of major concern, so Anson Chan gave priority to instituting proper procedures for child adoption. She was particularly concerned to ensure that there were support procedures for families to care for handicapped children at home so that they could enjoy as normal a family life as possible. Despite her high-minded intentions, Anson Chan's performance came under press scrutiny in 1986 when Welfare Department staff forcibly removed a child from the home of a mentally ill client. Anson did not handle the press skillfully on this occasion, possibly through inexperience, and the press generally attributed her apparent later aversion to publicity to this episode.

While Anson Chan found her unsolicited promotion to secretary of Economic Services pleasing, it was also a very taxing position. For the first time, she had to deal directly with powerful chief executives of major corporations and balance many vested interests in the private sector. The portfolio covered the whole of Hong Kong's infrastructure and was challenging, albeit ultimately satisfying. Anson Chan is most proud of the work done to promote liberalization of the telecommunications market. She says this helped position Hong Kong for development into the twenty-first century. Anson Chan believes that Hong Kong will continue to liberalize its economic structure now that it is a Special Administrative Region (SAR).

Exemplifying many of the characteristics of the perfect public servant, Anson Chan is quick and adaptable, clear thinking, and able to express herself forcefully. She absorbs new knowledge quickly and is dependable and loyal and also understands the limits placed on her authority by the prevailing political and social environment. These abilities, noted by successive chief secretaries and governors, were the reason for her promotion. From April 1980 until May 1984, Anson Chan chaired the Association of Female Senior Government Officers and encouraged the career development of women in government. While gender parity in civil service pay had existed since 1975, a number of gender differences remained, and this association played a leading role in the fight for equal treatment for male and female officers. The association achieved its goal in 1981 when the government brought in a policy of equity in eligibility for fringe benefits, regardless of gender.

In 1984 she was one of six senior civil servants invited by the Chinese government to Beijing to attend ceremonies marking agreement between Britain and China regarding the terms of the handover of Hong Kong. In 1993 Anson Chan played a key role during the crucial handover period after being appointed chief secretary and was able to make the difficult psychological transition from British administration to Chinese rule. Some vignettes will provide an insight into this period. In July 1995, when relations between the British and Chinese governments reached a nadir over arrangements for the handover, she led a secret mission to Beijing to meet the foreign minister Qian Qichen and the director of the Hong Kong and Macau Affairs Office Lu Ping. Although telling the Legislative Council before her departure that this meeting was to be a simple getting-to-know-you exercise and there would be no secret deals, it was in fact an important diplomatic breakthrough. When talks finally broke down, Anson Chan defended the authority and credibility of Hong Kong's Legislative Council against the Chinese decision of March 1996 to establish a provisional legislature. She also defended civil servants against Beijing's threat to disown any who refused to support this provisional body and invited Lu Ping to discuss with her on his next visit to Hong Kong the question of civil service loyalty and other issues.

Anson Chan had enjoyed a good relationship with the last British governor of Hong Kong, Christopher Patten. The first chief executive of the new Hong Kong SAR, Tung Chee Hwa [Dong Jianhua] (or C.H. Tung), persuaded her to remain as chief secretary after the handover, a decision welcomed by the civil service as an assuranceof the stability of future administrative policy. But according to one authority, Anson Chan did not initially enjoy as cordial a relationship with Tung Chee Hwa as she had with Patten,

being excluded from the decision-making process. By late 1997, however, Anson Chan was able to tell the author in an interview that those difficulties were behind her and now reveled in the challenges of Hong Kong's new era.

Immediately following the handover in 1997, a series of crises beset the Hong Kong government: start-up problems with the commissioning of the new Chek Lap Kok airport, an outbreak of avian flu, administrative mistakes in the public hospital system, continuing environmental problems with air and water quality, attacks by international speculators on the peg between the Hong Kong and US dollars, and, most seriously, fluidity problems resulting from the Asian financial crisis. The common thread in these matters was lack of coordination between various government departments and failure of leadership on the part of senior public servants. Tung Chee Hwa's style was less hands-on than his British predecessors. Anson Chan therefore had to assume leadership of the civil service team, and the outcome revealed both shortcomings in her leadership style as well as difficulties in the transitional political situation.

Early in 2001, Anson announced her retirement for personal reasons. Press speculation centered on personality and policy differences with Tung Chee Hwa, probably sparked by her approval of the use of a government-controlled venue for a meeting of the Falungong religious sect that had been banned in China. On 19 April, Anson gave a last speech in which she restated her views on Hong Kong, stressing the importance of personal and institutional values as guiding principles that "must endure and survive every fad or fashion and paradigm shift that comes our way." In the case of Hong Kong, these values were embodied in the rule of law and personal liberty. She declared her commitment to the notion of a politically neutral civil service and also reminded her audience that Hong Kong's Basic Law provided a timetable for development of full democracy. The latter remark clearly distinguished her position on the subject from that of Tung Chee Hwa, who has avoided comment on when and how the electoral system might be modified. Anson Chan said that Hong Kong was a great international city and "not just another city in China," because the values and institutions in Hong Kong were different.

Her career raises the question as to whether these values and institutions can prevail against those of Beijing.

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Chang Ai-ling: *see* Chang, Eileen

Chang, C.H.: *see* Lu Shijia

Chang, C.S. Wang: *see* Wang Chengshu

Chang, Eileen

Eileen Chang [Zhang Ailing], 1920–95, childhood name Ying, pen name Liang Jing (used only in 1950–52), married name Eileen Chang Reyher, was born in Shanghai but spent her early childhood in Tianjin. When she was seven years old, her family moved back to Shanghai. Eileen finished high school there, then attended the University of Hong Kong. Immediately after returning to Shanghai in 1942, she established a reputation as a talented writer of fiction and essays.

Eileen Chang left China in 1952 because of changes in the political climate, living in Hong Kong for a few years before emigrating to the United States in 1955. She met her husband, Ferdinand Reyher (1891–1967), in New Hampshire, but their main residences were in San Francisco and Washington, D.C. After Reyher's death in 1967, the writer lived first in Berkeley and then in Los Angeles.

In appearance, Eileen Chang was tall and slender, with a delicate, striking beauty accentuated with clothing that she had designed herself. This instinctive sense of style is evident throughout her oeuvre, which includes short stories, novels, essays, screenplays, translations, and textual annotations. Still, her fame mainly rests on the sensitive, incisive short stories she wrote in Shanghai in the mid-1940s, stories filled with her distinctive quality of *cangliang* (desolate) beauty. Eileen Chang is particularly admired for skillfully blending Chinese and Western narrative techniques (one of her earliest editors, Zhou Shoujuan, remarked that her style reminded him of both *Honglou meng* [Dream of the Red Chamber] and Somerset Maugham). Despite the fact that her career was greatly curtailed by changes in the political climate, Eileen Chang's work resonated deeply throughout the Chinese-speaking world. For many readers and critics, she is, as C.T. Hsia claimed, "the best and most important writer" in mid-twentieth-century China.

Eileen Chang was born into a once-influential family that, after the fall of the Qing dynasty, lost much of its status and wealth. One of her paternal great-grandfathers was the renowned Li Hongzhang (1823–1901), governor of Jiangsu and other provinces and principal architect of the self-strengthening movement that shored up the Qing dynasty in its final years. Her paternal grandfather, Zhang Peilun (1847–1903), was also an official in the Qing court but his political career was less illustrious than his famous father-in-law's and he is often remembered instead for his role in a romantic anecdote that is included in the late Qing roman à clef *Flowers in a Sinful Sea* (Nie hai hua). Her father, Zhang Tingzhong (1896–1953), was well educated in the traditional manner and had read at least some Western literature but never established a career for himself. Zhang Tingzhong appears in her early autobiographical essays as a decadent family despot but also as the bearer of a vanishing cultural tradition.

Eileen Chang's mother, Huang Yifan (1896–1957), also came from an elite family (from Hunan) but, influenced by the May Fourth cultural trend of the late 1910s, lived her life in increasingly open rebellion against traditional values and decorum. Not surprisingly, given Zhang Tingzhong's conservative ways, their marriage was not happy, although his wife did receive crucial support and encouragement from her sister-in-law Zhang Maoyuan (Zhang Tingzhong's younger sister). When Eileen Chang

was about three years old and her brother Zijing still an infant, Huang Yifan endured a tearful parting from her two children and went to Europe on a lengthy sojourn. The concubine that Zhang Tingzhong had kept in a separate residence then moved in with the family; the woman was sometimes generous toward the children but eventually, because of an explosive temper, was sent packing. The family reunited in Shanghai when Eileen Chang was about seven years old, Huang Yifan having returned to nurse her husband, who had overdosed on morphine. She also saw to her daughter's education, and Eileen Chang had lessons in English, art, and piano. This period of domestic harmony was soon destroyed, however, by marital discord. After a series of painful struggles, Huang Yifan obtained a divorce. She then went to France to study art, not returning to Shanghai until 1937. Zhang Tingzhong remarried, this time choosing a woman who shared his opium habit.

In the same year, shortly after graduating from St. Mary's Girls' School, Eileen Chang directly conflicted with her father and stepmother. He beat his daughter, imprisoned her in her room, and denied medical treatment even though she fell seriously ill. Finally, with a servant's help, Eileen Chang managed to escape to her mother's apartment. Although her mother's home offered physical safety, Eileen Chang was still tormented by an adolescent's sense of insecurity and feared becoming a burden. These traumatic events informed the dramatic center of her early memoir "Whispered Words" (Siyu) and seem to have directly contributed to the tone of penetrating pessimism that so stirs and disturbs readers of her early work.

In 1939 she entered Hong Kong University as an English major and was an excellent student, winning scholarships that improved her finances but did little to increase her confidence, surrounded as she was by much wealthier classmates. Eileen Chang did form a close friendship with Fatima Mohideen (also called Yan Ying), a bold, lively young woman whose mother was from Tianjin and whose father, a Sri Lankan of Arab ancestry, had established a business in Shanghai. Fatima's and Eileen's studies abruptly halted, however, when the Japanese invaded Hong Kong in 1941. Later, in numerous stories and essays, the writer made highly effective use of the colorful colonial Hong Kong milieu and the catastrophe by which it was disrupted.

In 1942, when Eileen returned to Shanghai, that city too was Japanese-occupied but an air of hushed calm prevailed. She moved into her aunt's apartment and began to write and publish rapidly, averaging one essay and one story (or story installment) per month for about eighteen months. At first the writer wrote essays in English and fiction in Chinese, but the public and critical response from Chinese readers was so favorable that she soon stopped writing for the much smaller English-language market. In 1944, the first edition of her collected stories, entitled *Romances* (Chuanqi), sold out almost immediately, and in early 1945 her story of wartime romance in Hong Kong, *Love in a Fallen City* (Qingcheng zhi lian), was produced for the stage. At the age of twenty-five, Eileen Chang was a literary sensation. Although the political uncertainties of the time meant that any kind of public prominence could be dangerous, she exulted in the success, redoubling her efforts. Her first essay collection, *Liuyan* (the meaning of this title for the purposes of translation is unclear), was published that year, and two years later Eileen Chang released the revised edition of *Romances*.

By late 1947 she was also writing screenplays (*Unsuccessful Love* [Bu liao qing] and *Long Live the Missus* [Taitai wansui]) that were well received.

During this period, in mid-1944, Eileen Chang and Hu Lancheng (1906–81) secretly made a common-law marriage agreement, witnessed only by Fatima Mohideen. Hu Lancheng was a minor figure in the world of letters, an ardent admirer of Eileen Chang's writing and, briefly, an official in the collaborationist regime the Japanese had installed in Nanjing. He launched a short-lived literary magazine, *Bitter Bamboo* (Ku zhu), featuring her work and also used his influence to help free Ke Ling, Eileen Chang's friend and editor at *Wanxiang*, when Ke was imprisoned by the Japanese. Eileen Chang's fiction deepened and matured during this time, as can be seen in "A-Xiao's Autumn Lament" (Guihuazheng A-Xiao beiqiu) and "Lingering Love" (Liuqing). By his account, theirs was a union of two free and happy equals who kept separate residences but saw each other a few days each month. (Apparently, the exact nature of their relationship was kept secret in order to shield Eileen Chang from political reprisals.) She, for her part, was very much in love with Hu Lancheng and hoped for a lifelong relationship with him. He, however, was unwilling to give up his ties with other women (Hu had two mistresses during their marriage), and their relationship became increasingly fraught. Nonetheless, Eileen supported him financially while he was in hiding from the KMT after the war. In 1947, when Hu Lancheng seemed to have gained a modicum of security, she broke off the marriage. After the communist victory, he left China and eventually settled in Japan.

Eileen Chang remained in Shanghai during the initial transition to communist rule, publishing two serialized novels, *Eighteen Springs* (Shiba chun) and *Little Ai* (Xiao Ai), that conformed to the political climate by offering happy endings. She later revised *Eighteen Springs* under the title *Half a Lifetime's Romance* (Bansheng yuan) and gave it a sadder but more consistent conclusion. By 1952, however, the writer realized that her prospects under the new regime were not promising. She entered Hong Kong with little difficulty, but life there was lonely and difficult. Eileen Chang translated American authors (Ernest Hemingway, Washington Irving, and Ralph Waldo Emerson) for the United States Information Agency but had little enthusiasm for the task. Still, it was through this work that she met Stephen and Mae Soong, literary people with whom Eileen developed a lifelong friendship, and Richard McCarthy, the U.S. consular official who sponsored her visa to the United States. Before leaving Hong Kong, Eileen Chang published two novels offering a critical view of life in communist China: *The Rice Sprout Song* (Yangge) and *The Naked Earth* (Chidi zhi lian). Neither work, however, did much to revive her fame, which had tumbled precipitously in the rapidly changing political and cultural climate.

She spent her first few months in America in New York City, living in a spartan hostel run by the Salvation Army. The writer was cheered by the consideration shown her by the famous May Fourth intellectual Hu Shi (1891–1962), who praised her work, and by a reunion with Fatima Mohideen. In 1956 Eileen Chang obtained a fellowship at the MacDowell Colony, an artists' retreat in New Hampshire, and lived there for the better part of a year during which time she met and married fellow writer Ferdinand Reyher. Reyher, the son of German immigrants, was born in Philadelphia but had pursued a

writing career in Europe, New York, and Hollywood. In 1917 he had married Rebecca Hourwich and they had a daughter, Faith, though eventually the marriage ended in an amicable divorce. Reyher was generous, well liked, and enjoyed a wide circle of acquaintances in the literary world. In the mid-1930s, he became a Marxist (although he did not join the Communist Party) and in later years was best known for his role in introducing Bertold Brecht to American audiences in the 1930s and 1940s. By the time Reyher met Eileen Chang, he was sixty-six years old (she was thirty-six), and both his health and career were in decline. Nonetheless, the two provided each other with valuable emotional and practical support throughout their marriage, which lasted until his death.

Eileen Chang's married life was comforting in many ways but entailed considerable travail. She and Reyher moved to the Huntington Hartford Foundation (another artists' colony) in Los Angeles in 1958 and to San Francisco the following year. In 1959, Eileen Chang became a naturalized American citizen. Throughout this period, she tried to write fiction that would appeal to American readers, but her manuscripts were repeatedly turned down by publishers. Disappointed though Eileen Chang was, she had little choice but to plunge into the writing of screenplays for the film market in Hong Kong—a fairly steady source of income, though not conducive to artistic endeavor—in order to support herself and her husband. In 1961 the writer traveled to Taiwan and Hong Kong to gather material, renew contacts in Hong Kong, and work on screenplays there. The trip lasted six months. In Taiwan Eileen Chang was accorded a warm reception by Richard McCarthy, now stationed in Taipei, and also by many of the island's most promising young writers, including Bai Xianyong, Chen Ruoxi (*q.v.*), and Wang Zhenhe. Her tour of Taiwan was cut short by the news that Reyher had suffered a serious stroke, but for financial reasons Eileen could not return to him immediately. Fortunately, her husband's daughter Faith was able to help, and he was admitted to a hospital near her home in Washington, D.C. Eileen went on to Hong Kong, where she could improve their finances by writing screenplays. This was accomplished despite many hardships and difficulties. As always, Stephen and Mae Soong offered encouragement and practical help. In spring 1962, Eileen returned to live with Reyher in Washington, D.C., renting a small apartment not far from the Library of Congress, where he spent a few hours each day. Over the next four years, his health deteriorated and, for reasons entirely beyond her control, she lost the connections that had enabled her to sell screenplays in Hong Kong. In 1966, Eileen Chang obtained a position as resident writer at Miami University in Oxford, Ohio, but the university was disappointed to find that the writer, always reclusive and now busy with the care of a very ill husband, did not participate in seminars or social gatherings. In 1967, she took up a fellowship at Radcliffe College in Cambridge, Massachusetts. Reyher died in October that year.

As Eileen Chang adjusted to her new life as a widow, two trends emerged with particular force. Her reputation as a literary artist began to rise again, especially in Taiwan, where the large and popular publisher Crown was reissuing her work thanks to the tireless efforts of Stephen Soong and the high praise bestowed on her by C.T. Hsia in his influential *A History of Modern Chinese Fiction*. But the greater her fame grew, the more deeply she retreated into seclusion. Eileen Chang received very few visitors and generally corresponded only with a few old friends. In 1969, she ac-

cepted an offer for a position as a senior researcher at the Center of Chinese Studies at the University of California in Berkeley. However, the staff at the center rarely saw her because of the writer's well-established habit of working at night.

By 1972 income from royalties finally reached the point of allowing the author a measure of financial independence. Moving to Los Angeles, Eileen Chang spent her remaining twenty-five years in nearly total isolation from anyone who knew her as a writer, even though she never stopped writing. Eileen Chang published her second collection of essays, *As Zhang Sees It* (Zhang kan); a textual study of *The Dream of the Red Chamber*; an annotated Mandarin version of the late-Qing novel *Flowers of Shanghai* (*Lives of Shanghai Beauties* [Haishanghua liezhuan]); and four other compilations of new, revised, or reissued works. In 1991, Crown issued the definitive edition of her collected works; eventually the collection came to sixteen volumes. In 1994, Eileen Chang completed her last book, an annotated album of personal photographs, filled with amusing observations and wry anecdotes. By this time, most of her major stories had been adapted for the screen. She also worked on a novel based on the life of Zhang Xueliang, the "Young Marshall" who had been Chiang Kai-shek's captor in the Xi'an Incident of December 1936.

In the last decade of her life, Eileen Chang was afflicted with various physical ailments and tended to neglect her health. In the mid-1980s, her apartment became infested with fleas, which aggravated her already delicate skin. She chose to move out altogether, and for about four years lived in a series of motel rooms in the Los Angeles area. Eventually her skin inflammation was cured, and she moved back into an apartment. Her style of life, which had always been simple, became almost monastic, and to some observers at least she seemed to have attained a transcendent purity. When word of her death reached Taiwan in September 1995, it was front-page news, but Eileen Chang had asked that no services be held. Her ashes were scattered in a simple ceremony, and her belongings were entrusted to her lifelong friends the Soongs.

Literary fortunes rise and wane, but it seems unlikely that Eileen Chang will again suffer the kind of eclipse that befell her in the middle decades of her life, when censors kept her work off the market in mainland China and the market for literature in Hong Kong and Taiwan was in a relatively early stage of development. By the time of death, Eileen's reputation as a major literary figure had been firmly established, and her writing had become an important influence for many younger Chinese writers, especially those striving for the kind of deep, rich style that she had achieved, with seemingly preternatural power, early in her writing career. After all, there is little doubt that Eileen Chang was an unusually gifted writer. According to Hu Lancheng, the writer never felt any difficulty in transforming her thoughts into written words. In her first published essay, "Dream of Genius" (Tiancai meng), Eileen Chang frankly asserted that she had always been regarded as a person of unusual literary talent. What these early prognostications cannot show, however, is the lifetime of effort she devoted to her art, often amid poverty and hardship. In the end, more impressive than mere talent is the tenacity with which Eileen Chang dedicated herself to writing, whatever the current state of her literary fame.

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