

Illuminating Goodness -- Some Preliminary Considerations of Religious Publishing in Modern China¹

Paul R. Katz (康豹)
Institute of Modern History
Academia Sinica

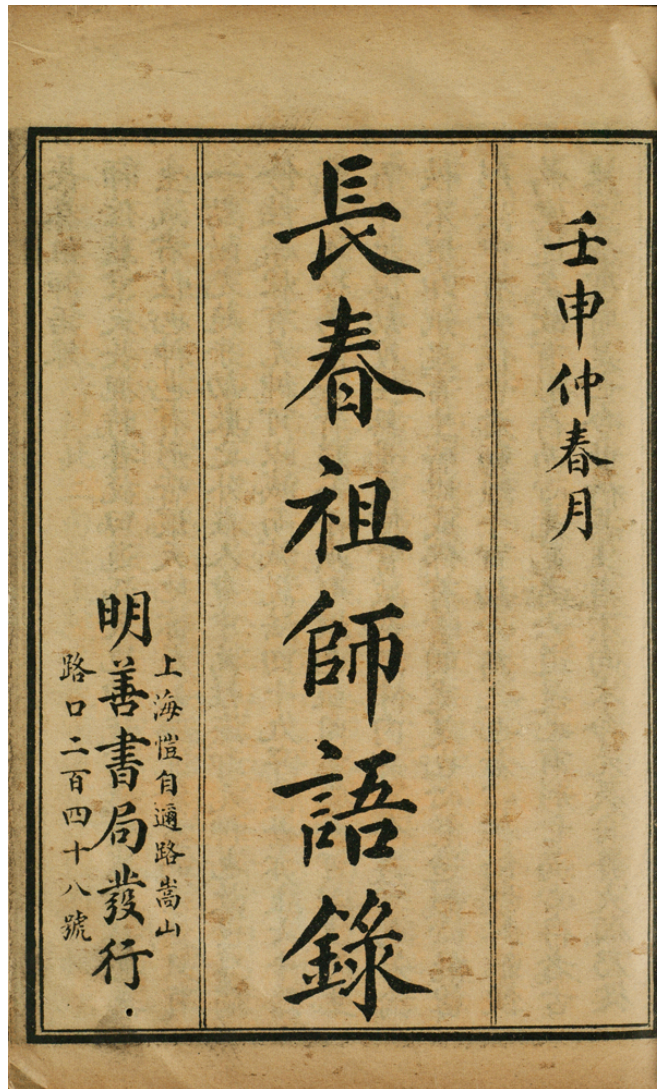


Figure 1 – Cover of one of the books published by the Bookstore of Illuminating Goodness; note the Bookstore's address provided at the bottom left.

¹ I would like to express my heartfelt gratitude to Vincent Goossaert (高萬桑), Liu Wenxing 劉文星, Wu Yakui 吳亞魁, Qi Gang 祁剛, Gregory Scott (史瑞戈), Rostislav Berezkin (白若思), Wang Chien-chuan 王見川, Yau Chi-on 游子安, Fan Chunwu 范純武, Yung Sai-shing 容世誠, Chang Ning 張寧, Lien Ling-ling 連玲玲, Sun Huei-min 孫慧敏, and Li Kai-kuang 李鎧光 for all their kind assistance and support..

Introductory Remarks

This paper presents a preliminary examination of the historical development of one leading religious publishing enterprise in modern China, the Bookstore of Illuminating Benevolence (明善書局). Particular attention is devoted to the elites who founded and/or managed the Bookstore, the religious movements they belonged to, their motivations for engaging in religious publishing, and the categorization systems that they brought to the dissemination of religious knowledge.

The research results presented below also represent one portion of my three-year Academia Sinica Thematic Research Project entitled “1898-1948: Fifty Years that Changed Chinese Religions” (「1898-1948: 改變了中國宗教的 50 年」; 100 年度中央研究院主題研究計畫; AS-100-TP-C03), to be undertaken with Vincent Goossaert (高萬桑) from January 2011 to December 2013. For this project, Goossaert and I are endeavoring to place religion at the core of understanding Chinese modernity by assessing three forms of historical change: 1) Mutations of the communal structures of religion; 2) New types of elite religiosity; and 3) Innovative productions of religious knowledge. This paper belongs to the project’s third theme, which intend to show how the advent of new printing techniques, as well as the astonishing growth of mass media like newspapers, magazines, and radio, helped transform Chinese religions into a modern facet of globalized religious culture during the late Qing and early Republican eras. We will also explore how these modern means of communication facilitated the spread of beliefs and practices, contributed to the formation or modification of scriptural traditions, and reshaped ideas of religious identity.

From a broader perspective, this paper’s significance lies in affirming religion’s role as a key element of modern Chinese history.² Historians of literature, the fine

² Yoshiko Ashiwa & David L. Wank, eds., *Making Religion, Making the State: The Politics of Religion*

arts, political thought, and other areas of Chinese culture have all shown how critical this period was in the formation of Chinese modernity and creating the society we now live in,³ and scholars of religion are slowly following suit. Nonetheless, most histories of modern China are still heavily influenced by a secularist paradigm that claims modernity triumphed at the expense of religion. The neglect of religion in so much previous scholarship seems to be symptomatic of a tendency to uncritically adopt Weberian models of modernity, especially arguments centering on the disenchantment of religion and its conceptual transformation into a form of “superstition” (迷信). Such views have constricted our ability to fully describe the complexities of the past, especially when it comes to non-Western cultures that experienced vastly different processes of modernization.⁴ As this project will attempt to show, “negotiations” over religion’s place in public life were an integral part of Chinese modernity, including the ways such processes played out in the mass media.

Previous scholarship on the history of modern Chinese printing techniques and the mass media has tended to overlook their impact on religious movements.⁵ In fact,

in Modern China (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 2009); Prasenjit Duara, *Sovereignty and Authenticity. Manchukuo and the East Asian Modern* (Lanham: Rowman & Littlefield, 2003); Thomas David DuBois, *The Sacred Village: Social Change and Religious Life in Rural North China* (Honolulu: University of Hawaii Press, 2005); Rebecca A. Nedostup, *Superstitious Regimes: Religion and the Politics of Chinese Modernity* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 2010); Susan Naquin, *Peking: Temples and City Life, 1400-1900* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2000); David Palmer & Vincent Goossaert, *The Religious Question in Modern China* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2011); Poon Shuk-wah (潘淑華), *Negotiating Religion in Modern China: State and Common People in Guangzhou 廣州, 1900-1937* (Hong Kong: Chinese University Press, 2010); Robert P. Weller, *Alternate Civilities: Democracy and Culture in China and Taiwan* (Boulder: Westview, 1999); Mayfair Mei-hui Yang, ed. *Chinese Religiosities: Afflictions of Modernity and State Formation* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2008).

³ Milena Doleželová-Velingerová & Oldřich Král, eds., *The Appropriation of Cultural Capital: China’s May Fourth Project* (Cambridge: Harvard University Asia Center, 2001); Rebecca E. Karl & Peter Zarrow, eds. *Rethinking the 1898 Reform Period: Political and Cultural Change in late Qing China* (Cambridge: Harvard University Asia Center, 2002).

⁴ For a thought-provoking study of these issues, see Michael Saler, “Modernity and Enchantment: A Historiographic Review,” *The American Historical Review*, 111.3 (June 2006), pp. 692-716.

⁵ See for example Barbara Mittler, *A Newspaper for China? Power, Identity, and Change in Shanghai’s News Media, 1872-1912* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Asia Center, 2004); Tsai Weipin 蔡維屏, *Reading Shenbao: Nationalism, Consumerism and Individuality in China 1919-37* (Basingstoke, U.K. & New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2010); Rudolf G. Wagner, ed., *Word, Image, and City in Early Chinese Newspapers, 1870-1910* (Albany, NY: State University of New York Press, 2007).

however one key aspect of modern Chinese religion was its highly public nature, with believers using various forms of the mass media to transmit their views. Scholars have estimated that between 150-300 Buddhist periodicals were published during the Republican era,⁶ with Shanghai being a leading center of such activity. Shanghai's elites also sponsored numerous Buddhist publishing houses, most notably the Society for Propagating the Dharma (弘化社; founded in 1930) and the Shanghai Buddhist Studies Bookstore (上海佛學書局; founded in 1933). Buddhist proselytizing was hardly limited to the printed word, however, and also included the circulation of Buddhist records (佛化唱片) and broadcasts by a Buddhist radio station (佛音電台).⁷ Jan Kiely has recently published an important article on Buddhist publishing,⁸ while Gregory Scott (史瑞戈) is writing a doctoral thesis on how new techniques of printing and distribution transformed both the ways in which monastic and lay Buddhist elites propagated new ideals and values, as well as the criteria they used to define their own religious traditions. The above scholarship has achieved important breakthroughs in terms of demonstrating how Buddhism became an integral component of modern Chinese public life, yet is somewhat limited in scope due its exclusion of other religious traditions. Further research also needs to be done on how Republican-era trends helped lay a foundation for the rapid development of Chinese Buddhist communities throughout the world today.

⁶ Francesca Tarocco, *The Cultural Practices of Modern Chinese Buddhism: Attuning the Dharma* (New York & London : Routledge, 2007), pp. 16-20, 30, 46-49, 59-63; 吳平, 〈近代上海的佛教出版機構〉, 《華夏文化》, 2000 年 1 期, 頁 41-42, 37; 陳兵、鄧子美, 《二十世紀中國佛教》(臺北:現代禪出版社, 2003), 頁 106.

⁷ 葛濤, 《唱片與近代上海社會生活》(上海:上海辭書出版社, 2009); 黃維楚(智隆), 《華嚴字母及其唱法》(上海:佛學書局, 2009); 容世誠, 《粵韻留聲--唱片工業與廣東曲藝(1903-1953)》(香港:天地圖書, 2006); Lee Tong Soon, "Technology and the Production of Islamic Space: The Call to Prayer in Singapore," *Ethnomusicology*, 43.1 (1999): 86-100.

⁸ Jan Kiely, "Spreading the Dharma with the Mechanized Press: New Buddhist Print Cultures in the Modern Chinese Print Revolution, 1865-1949," in Christopher Reed and Cynthia Brokaw, eds., *From Woodblocks to the Internet: Chinese Publishing and Print Culture in Transition, 1800-2008* (Leiden, E.J. Brill, 2010), pp. 185-210. For more on the impact of new printing technologies, see Christopher Reed, *Gutenberg in Shanghai: Chinese Print Capitalism, 1876-1937* (Vancouver: UBC Press, 2004).

Far less work has been done on the media's impact on non-Buddhist groups during this time period. To-date, the most important accomplishment is Liu Xun 劉迅's recent book on Chen Yingning 陳撓寧 (1880-1969) and lay Taoist circles in Shanghai, which describes the role of journals such as the 《仙道月報》 and the 《揚善半月刊》. Liu's research reveals that Taoist elites like Chen took advantage of new media to publicize self-cultivation techniques that originally belonged to the private realm in ways that could attract new converts, solidify bonds between practitioners, and overcome gender barriers. The mass media also contributed to the formation and maintenance of connections among and between Daoist monastic communities and lay Daoist practitioners, and even the spread of nationalist discourse in the face of Japanese aggression.⁹ In addition, research by Vincent Goossaert indicates that other modern Taoist lay groups also undertook publishing enterprises, one example being Beijing 北京's Green/Blue Cloud Altar (青雲壇).¹⁰

A few scholars, most notably Fan Chunwu 范純武, Wang Chien-chuan 王見川, and Yau Chi-on 游子安, have also begun to assess the media's impact on sectarian movements.¹¹ On the one hand, redemptive societies (救世團體) and spirit-writing halls (often referred to as 鸞堂) in China, Taiwan, and overseas Chinese communities utilized modern printing techniques to effectively publicize the morality books (善書) they produced. On the other hand, these groups frequently made use of newspapers and periodicals to publicize their religious ideals and philanthropic deeds. In addition, Rostislav Berezkin (白若思) is studying how the introduction of lithographic print

⁹ Liu Xun, *Daoist Modern: Innovation, Lay Practice, and the Community of Inner Alchemy in Republican Shanghai* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Asia Center, 2009).

¹⁰ Vincent Goossaert, *The Taoists of Peking, 1800-1949. A Social History of Urban Clerics*, Harvard East Asian Monographs, No. 284 (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 2007), pp. 308-319.

¹¹ 王見川, 〈清末民初中國的濟公信仰與扶乩團體：兼談中國濟生會的由來〉,《民俗曲藝》,第162期(2008年12月),頁139-169; 范純武,〈飛鸞、修真與辦善——鄭觀應與上海的宗教世界〉,收入巫仁恕、林美莉、康豹合編,《從城市看中國的現代性》(南港：中央研究院近代史研究所, 2010),頁247-274; 游子安,《善與人同：明清以來的慈善與教化》(北京：中華書局, 2005).

technologies during the 19th and early 20th centuries transformed 寶卷 into mass produced reading materials occupying a key position in the commercialized market for popular fiction, while Jan Kiely has studied the efforts of the religious elite Nie Qijie 聶其傑 (Yuntai 雲臺; 1880-1953) in the field of morality book publishing.¹²

My interest in religion and the mass media derives from earlier research projects on modern Chinese social and religious history, starting with a National Science Council (國科會) grant on the philanthropic activities of Shanghai's Taizhou 台州 (Zhejiang) community during the Republican-era.¹³ This project also draws on my on-going research about the religious life of the renowned Shanghai businessman, artist, and philanthropist Wang Yiting 王一新 (Wang Zhen 王震; 1867-1938).¹⁴ Previous research has largely failed to appreciate the importance of religion to modern Chinese elites.¹⁵ While many of these men and women lived during an age when intellectuals were striving to create a secularized society, the fact that numerous elites dedicated themselves to a religious lifestyle suggests a need for rethinking the very nature of Chinese modernity. Urban religious elites like Wang Yiting not only played a major role in transforming traditional Chinese religious culture, but also actively utilized the mass media for both religious and philanthropic purposes: One example involves the massive relief effort Wang helped organize following the devastating Kantō 關東 Earthquake. Wang formed the Buddhist Relief Association for the

¹² Jan Kiely, "Shanghai Public Moralists Nie Qijie and Morality Book Publication Projects in Republican China," *Twentieth-Century China*, 36.1 (January 2011): 4-22.

¹³ Paul R. Katz, "'It is Difficult to be Indifferent to one's Roots' – Taizhou 台州 Sojourners and Flood Relief during the 1920s," 《中央研究院近代史研究所集刊》, 第 54 期(2006), 頁 1-58.

¹⁴ 康豹, 〈一個著名上海商人與慈善家的宗教生活 -- 王一新〉, 收入巫仁恕、林美莉、康豹合編, 《從城市看中國的現代性》(南港: 中央研究院近代史研究所), 頁 275-296. See also 陳兵、鄧子美, 《二十世紀中國佛教》, 頁 63、155-156; 鍾瓊寧, 〈民初上海居士佛教的發展(1912-1937)〉, 《圓光佛學學報》, 期 3 (1999 年 2 月), 頁 25-29、32-36、39.

¹⁵ Examples of this scholarship include Mary B. Rankin, *Elite Activism and Political Transformation in China, Zhejiang Province, 1865-1911* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1986); R. Keith Schoppa, *Chinese Elites and Political Change: Zhejiang Province in the Early Twentieth Century* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1982); David Strand, *Rickshaw Beijing: City People and Politics in 1920s China* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1989).

Japanese Calamity (佛教普濟日災會), and raised over 185,000 Japanese yen by means of front-page announcements in newspapers like 申報 and charitable auctions of artworks, including his own.¹⁶

My methodology centers on two main issues: 1) The ways in which religious groups publicized their beliefs and practices in mainstream media outlets (newspapers, magazines, radio stations, etc); 2) The extent to which these groups endeavored to create and then utilize their own media outlets. In order to conduct both an in-depth yet comprehensive investigation, the project will focus on one given region, namely Zhejiang province plus the greater Shanghai area that served at its core during modern era. My research will feature a thorough perusal of local libraries like the Shanghai Library (上海圖書館), as well as Buddhist periodicals such as the 《世界佛教居士林林刊》, 《淨業月刊》, and 《海潮音》.¹⁷ Its scope will not be limited to Buddhism, however, extending also to recent collections of reprints and catalogs produced by contemporary bookstores and publishing houses. Another key phenomenon to be considered is the role of Islam and especially Christianity, which played a very big role in development of the early Chinese press (see below).

Religious Publishing in Republican China – An Overview

The development of religious publishing in modern China is in large part due to the influence of Christian missionaries who worked in China during the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries. Mindful of the impact that printing had made on the Reformation in Europe, missionaries like Robert Morrison (馬禮遜; 1782-1834) of the London Missionary Society took the lead in promoting modern forms of religious

¹⁶ 康豹, 〈一個著名上海商人與慈善家的宗教生活 -- 王一亭〉, 頁 281.

¹⁷ For these and other key sources, see the 《民國佛教期刊文獻集成》, 204 vols. (北京: 全國圖書館文獻縮微復制中心, 2006); 《民國佛教期刊文獻集成補編》, 10 vols. (北京: 中國書店, 2008). There is also useful data on Republican-era religion in the 北京圖書館編, 《民國時期總書目》(宗教)(1911—1949) (北京: 書目文獻出版社, 1994).

publishing in China. One of the first Christian periodicals was the *Eastern Western Monthly Magazine* (東西洋考每月統紀), established by Karl Friedrich August Gutzlaff (郭士立/郭實腊 1803-1851) in Canton during the years 1833-1838, followed by the *China Serial* in Hong Kong from 1853 to 1856. Beginning in the late 1850s, however, Shanghai became host to over 50% of the Chinese religious press, starting with works like the *Shanghai Serial* (六合叢談; 1857-1858). Numerous other Christian magazines came into being during the 1860s and 1870s, the most important of which was the *Chinese Scientific Magazine* (格致匯編; founded in 1876). Of all these publications, however, by far the most influential was the *Church News* (教會新報), founded by Young J. Allen (林樂知; 1836-1907)¹⁸ in 1868 and renamed *The Chinese Globe Magazine* (萬國公報) in 1876, the contents of which helped shape the lives and thoughts of many Chinese elites. Chinese religious publishing also benefitted from the introduction of Western printing techniques such as metal movable type, stone-based lithographic printing, and especially the cylinder printing machine (brought to China 1847 by the London Missionary Society Press), which could print in six months the entire output of hand operated press. Printer-missionaries like Walter Henry Medhurst (麥都思; 1796-1857), Samuel Dyer (台約爾; 1804-1843), and William Gamble (姜別利; 1830-1886) used these techniques to further the efforts of the London Missionary Society Press and American Presbyterian Mission Press (美華書館), organizations that quickly gained the attention of many Chinese urban elites.¹⁹

Inspired by the example of using the printed word in Christian proselytizing, yet also drawing on indigenous Chinese traditions of publicizing morality and

¹⁸ Adrian A. Bennett, 1983. *Missionary Journalist in China: Young J. Allen and his Magazines, 1860-1883* (Athens, GA: University of Georgia Press, 1983).

¹⁹ Zhang Xiantao, *The Origins of the Modern Chinese Press: The Influence of the Protestant Missionary Press in Late Qing China* (London: Routledge, 2007), pp. 34-50, 105-111..

philanthropy,²⁰ numerous elites devoted themselves to using the mass media for the transmission of Chinese religious traditions. Highly useful but somewhat skewed information on these trends may be found in Rudolf Löwenthal (羅文達)'s *The Religious Periodical Press in China*, compiled for the Synodal Commission in China in 1940.²¹ Based on a series of articles written in the course of undertaking fieldwork, surveys, questionnaires during 1920s-1930s, this work provides valuable insights into the state of religious publishing in Republican China, albeit limited to the realm of religious periodicals. In terms of Buddhist periodicals, *The Religious Periodical Press* identified 155 works, of which only 61 were still being published. Prices for these periodicals ranged from 1-45 cents per copy or 50 cents-4 yuan per year, with circulation figures averaging 1,000-3,000 copies/issue, with the exception of publications like 《海潮音》, which totaled about 20,000 copies per month. In total, about 2.5 million copies of these Buddhist periodicals were published on an annual basis, with each copy being read by an estimated 5-10 persons (with some people subscribing to more than one periodical).

Periodicals identified as “Taoist” tended to be published by new religious movements currently referred to as “redemptive societies” (see below). *The Religious Periodical Press* lists 41 such publications, of which only 18 still existed, the oldest being the 《道德學誌》(1917-1918) and the 《卅字日日新聞》(1926-1937). These periodicals costs between 1.5 and 15 cents per copy or 30 cents to 5 yuan per year. Their circulation tended to be limited to initiated elites. While print runs for more

²⁰ Cynthia J. Brokaw, *The Ledgers of Merit and Demerit: Social Change and Moral Order in Late Imperial China* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1991); Joanna Handlin Smith, *The Art of Doing Good: Charity in Late Ming China* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2009); 夫馬進, 《中國善會善堂史研究》(東京: 同朋舍出版, 1997); 梁其姿, 《施善與教化: 明清的慈善組織》(台北: 聯經出版事業公司, 1997)。

²¹ Rudolf Löwenthal (羅文達), *The Religious Periodical Press in China* (Peking: The Synodal Commission in China, 1940; reprinted by the Chinese Materials Center in San Francisco, 1978), pp. 139-192, 282-292.

popular periodicals could reach 2,000 copies per issue, most totaled only a few 100, for an overall circulation of between 5,000 and 10,000 copies. Redemptive societies like the Society of the Way (道院) published the 《哲學》, 《道德雜誌》, and 《道德月刊》, while the Morality Society (道德學社) published the 《道德學誌》, and the Universal Morality Society (萬國道德會) the 《道德半月刊》. Actual Daoist publications included the 《道教季刊》 (founded in 1932; defunct) and 《道教月刊》 (founded in Shanghai in 1936). *The Religious Periodical Press* also provides key data on the costs of running a religious publishing house. In the case of the 《道德學誌》, for example, in 1916 the Morality Society had to invest \$4,705 for printing machinery, \$3,800 for paper, and \$2,030 for printing costs. Funds came from advertisements (\$12/page), subscriptions (2.5 cents/issue; 75 cents/year), and especially from membership fees and donations.

The Religious Periodical Press also provides data for a total of 21 “Confucian” (mostly various 孔教會) publications founded from 1913 to 1936, all of which were defunct by the time this book was compiled. These works proved to be more expensive (10-35 cents/copy or \$1.80-\$5/year, with prohibitive advertising rates of \$15-\$100/page) and possessing limited circulation (mostly educated elites; approximately 200-500 copies per issue at most).

Overall, *The Religious Periodical Press* identified 400 religious periodicals still in circulation by 1939, including 211 Protestant, 74 Catholic, 61 Buddhist, 39 Islam, 17 Daoist, and 2 Confucian. China’s religious press was distributed throughout 21 provinces and 103 cities (see the tables and maps at the end of this paper). However, the authors of this survey data also noted that these periodicals had only a limited impact due to that era’s poor literacy rates, unreliable communications networks, and low purchasing power of populace. They also pointed out that the very existence of many publications depended on the efforts of individual elites. If one key figure were

to die or move away, the periodical's continuity could well be at risk. Many of these factors may well have shaped the fate of publishing enterprises like the Bookstore of Illuminating Benevolence (明善書局).

The Bookstore of Illuminating Benevolence

In contrast to the Buddhist publishing houses studied by previous scholars, which by definition solely produced works belonging to that religious tradition, the Bookstore of Illuminating Benevolence was printed all manner of Buddhist, Taoist, "Confucian" and redemptive society texts. Some of its works have been reprinted in Taiwan, while others are still being sold as rare books on websites like Kongfuzi 孔夫子 (see below). Located in Shanghai on the corner of Xiafei 霞飛 and Songshan 嵩山 roads,²² it was founded during the early 1930s and continued to operate at least up to the War of Resistance against Japan (抗戰).²³

The Bookstore's growth cannot be fully understood without taking into the account the advent of modern religious movements currently referred to by scholars as "redemptive societies" (救世團體). During the 1910s-1930s, these groups gained notoriety for their emphasis on proper moral conduct, engagement in philanthropic activities, and practice of spirit-writing rituals. They also developed into an integral part of Republican China's urban cultural field, which included networks of prominent businessmen, officials, intellectuals, and religious specialists. Some of the largest and best-organized of these societies gained legitimacy by being allowed to register with the state from 1912 to 1949, including the Fellowship of Goodness (同善社), the Society of the Way (道院, including its philanthropic branch known as the World Red Swastika Society or 世界紅卍字會), the Universal Morality Society (萬

²² Oddly enough, this bookstore is not listed in any of the 上海老地圖, nor is information about it contained in the 上海指南. Whether this is the case for other religious publishing enterprises located in Shanghai has yet to be determined.

²³ 游子安,《善與人同:明清以來的慈善與教化》,頁 82-86.

國道德會), the Teachings of the Abiding Principle (在理教), and the Way of Pervading Unity (一貫道).²⁴ Scholars are now only beginning to appreciate the extent to which these movements challenge conventional dichotomies such as elite/popular or institutionalized/diffused, due to their national organization, hierarchical structure, systematized doctrine, and canon formation. Redemptive societies also call into question the traditional/modern dichotomy due to their commitment to a “new civilizational discourse” embracing Asian solutions to the problems of the modern world, as well as their attempts to define self-cultivation practices (including meditation, the martial arts, and healing) as fitting the categories of both “religion” and “science”. At the same time, however, many of their leaders perpetuated late imperial religious elite goals of transmitting texts and propagating proper moral conduct, albeit heavily influenced by Christianity, including modern forms of religious publishing.²⁵

The Fellowship of Goodness was founded in Sichuan during the early twentieth century, and apparently developed out of religious traditions linked to the Way of Anterior Heaven (先天道). It quickly attracted extensive gentry support, and was introduced to Qing court in 1910. The Fellowship ended up being officially established in Beijing in 1917, and gained the patronage of leading elites like Duan

²⁴ For the histories of specific groups, see Goossaert & Palmer, *Religious Question*, pp. 100-105; Thomas David DuBois, *The Sacred Village: Social Change and Religious Life in Rural North China* (Honolulu: University of Hawaii Press, 2005), pp. 107-120; 王見川,〈同善社的早期歷史(1912-1945)初探〉,《民間宗教》,1 (1995),頁 57-82; 范純武,〈民初儒學的宗教化:段正元與道德學社的幾個歷史問題〉,《民俗曲藝》,172 (June 2011; in press); 蔣竹山,〈1930 年代天津獨流鎮商人的宗教與社會活動 – 以「天理教」為例〉,收入王見川 & 蔣竹山編,《明清以來民間宗教的探索:紀念戴玄之教授論文集》(台北:商鼎文化出版社,1996),頁 266-291; 邵雍,《中國會道門》(上海:上海人民出版社,1997); 邵雍,《中國秘密社會·第六卷·民國幫會》(福州:福建人民出版社,2002); 酒井忠夫,《近、現代中國における宗教結社の研究》(東京株式會社國書刊行會,2002); 吉岡義豐,《現代中國の諸宗教:民眾宗教の系譜》(東京:佼成出版,1974); 末光高義,《支那の秘密結社と慈善結社》, (台北:古亭書屋,1974).

²⁵ See Prasenjit Duara, *Sovereignty and Authenticity. Manchukuo and the East Asian Modern* (Lanham: Rowman & Littlefield, 2003), pp. 103-122, 139-140, 154-162; 黃克武,〈民國初年上海的靈學研究〉; 酒井忠夫,〈民國初期之新興宗教運動與新時代潮流〉,張淑娥譯,《民間宗教》,1 (1995),頁 1-36; 孫江,《近代中國の革命と秘密結社:中國革命の社會史的研究(一八九五-一九五五)》(東京:汲古書院,2007).

Qirui 段祺瑞 (1865-1936; ROC President 1923-1924). By 1920, the Fellowship had grown into a national organization claiming over 1 million members, many of whom devoted themselves to self-cultivation (mainly meditation and internal alchemy (內丹)) and philanthropy. It also played an active role in religious publishing, one of its earliest presses being the 天華館. In these respects, it became a model for subsequent large-scale redemptive societies like the Society of the Way (道院). The KMT government banned the Fellowship (and other redemptive societies) in 1927, but this policy was not stringently enforced, especially since the state benefited from these groups' charitable activities. The Fellowship and its fellow redemptive societies were harshly persecuted by the Communist authorities after 1949, with scattered branches currently solely existing in Chinese communities outside of China proper.²⁶

A number of Chinese elites, many of whom have not been known for their religious lives, played key roles in the Bookstore's founding and subsequent development. One of these men was Zhang Zaiyang 張載陽 (1873-1945), who gained renown for his martial prowess and rose through the ranks of the military and civil officialdom to serve as Governor of Zhejiang in 1922 and Major General in 1923. A successful entrepreneur as well, Zhang helped found one of Shanghai's largest places for the pursuit of leisure, the "Great World" Amusement Park (「大世界」遊樂場). He was also a well-known calligrapher, and many of his works still adorn temples and scenic sites in Hangzhou 杭州. As Governor, Zhang won praise for his efforts in "local public works and philanthropic enterprises" (地方公益和慈善事業), but apart from that his standard biographies provide little hint as to his religious devotion.²⁷ In fact, however, he was a leader in the Hangzhou branch of the

²⁶ 王見川,〈同善社早期的特點及在雲南的發展(1912-1937):兼談其與「鸞壇」、「儒教」的關係〉,《民俗曲藝》,172 (June 2011; in press). See also Goossaert & Palmer, *Religious Question*, pp. 100-105; 王見川,〈同善社的早期歷史(1912-1945)初探〉,《民間宗教》,1 (1995),頁 57-82.

²⁷ See for example http://www.zj.xinhuanet.com/website/2009-05/27/content_16629377.htm and <http://baike.baidu.com/view/1394668.htm>.

Fellowship of Goodness, which he helped establish after its spread there in 1919. Zhang continued in this role up to his death.²⁸ He was on distinctly bad terms with the Republican-era Buddhist establishment though. One 1931 letter from Dharma Master Yinguang 印光法師 (1861-1940) to a lay devotee named Zhou Shanchang 周善昌 (〈復周善昌居士書〉), which has been preserved in the 《印光法師文鈔》, mentions Zhang and another elite named Cai Zhenshen 蔡振紳 (see below) as being in charge of the Bookstore, while also castigating them for publishing “fake” scriptures (“蔡振紳、張載陽等所開之明善書局，多半偽造之經書。誰有此精神，理彼之事乎”).²⁹ Ten years earlier, Zhang had also become involved in a land dispute with Great Dharma Master Taixu 太虛大師 (1887-1947), which has resulted in Taixu’s losing control over the Jingci Si 淨慈寺.³⁰

Another leading figure was Sun Mianzhi 孫勉之 a self-identified native of Haiyan 海鹽 County (Jiaxing 嘉興), who served as the Bookstore’s manager (經理). Whether Sun was a member of the Fellowship of Goodness is unclear, and I am still trying to locate further biographical data about him. One fascinating but as yet unproven possibility is that he might be none other than Sun Yefang 孫冶方 (1908-1983), a pioneering Chinese economist who joined the Chinese Communist Party at age 15, studied at Sun Yat-sen University and Moscow East Worker University, and proved active in party and national affairs up to his death. Sun was born into the Xue 薛 family of Wuxi 無錫 under the name Xue E’guo 薛萼果, but he was also known as Sun Mianzhi 孫勉之 and used the pen name Sun Yefang 孫冶方. Could these two Sun’s be one and the same? Further evidence will be required before any conclusions can be reached, but it is interesting to note that Sun settled down in Shanghai after returning from Moscow in 1930, staying there all through the

²⁸ <http://www.bdmon.com/yinshuajixie/204.html>.

²⁹ <http://www.pureland.tw/pureland/master13/cczl/ygfwc/y3a/y3a01/y3a0180-0182.htm>.

³⁰ <http://www.buddhaway.org/Taixu-T00/T21-Chronicle.pdf> (《太虛大師年譜》，頁 21).

War of Resistance against Japan. During those years, he evinced an interesting in social activism in the form of organizing the China Rural Economy Research Association (中國農村經濟研究會), while also playing a role in Shanghai's publishing industry by editing the journal *Rural China* (《中國農村》).³¹

The other individual cited as helping to run the bookstore was Cai Zhenshen, a native of Huzhou 湖州. As in the case of Sun, his links to the Fellowship are unclear, but we do know that he came from an elite family committed to the promulgation of traditional value like filial piety. According to a preface Cai wrote for one of the morality books he compiled, entitled 《八德須知》, his father's first wife and son had both died young, and the second wife did not give birth to Cai until his father was 38 years old. Treasuring this late blessing in his life, the elder Cai personally instructed his son in the Confucian classics beginning when he was age 4, starting with the 孝經. Day and night they studied together, their only "holidays" falling on Lunar New Year's Eve and Lunar New Year's Day. This experience molded Cai for life, and he devoted extensive effort to trying to instruct others in the values he had learned.³²

What motivated these men to devote so much effort to the field of religious publishing? Some answers may be found in the Bookstore's own catalogues, two of which have been preserved in an extremely valuable reference work entitled 《民國時期出版書目彙編(全 20 冊)(徵訂)》. The last two volumes of this 20-volume compilation contain numerous catalogues compiled by religious publishing enterprises. Volume 19 is mainly devoted to Buddhism, especially catalogues of the Shanghai Buddhist Bookstore (上海佛學書局). Volume 20 contains catalogues representing a wide range of Republican-era religious groups, including various 道德

³¹ For more information on Sun's life and career, see http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Sun_Yefang; <http://www.hudong.com/wiki/%E5%AD%99%E5%86%B6%E6%96%B9>. Sun's collected works are entitled 《孙冶方全集》(太原：山西經濟出版社，1998).

³² <http://www.dfg.cn/big5/dygsh/bdgs/bdgsyw/bdgyuw-xu1.htm>.

書局書目, and especially the first and sixth catalogues published by the Bookstore of Illuminating Benevolence in 1932 and 1935 (明善書局圖書目錄; 上海明善書局第六次出版圖書目錄). These catalogues are especially significant because they contain far more than lists of books, but also works that express the agendas of those elites who became involved in religious publishing.

One example may be found in the 1931 “Declaration” (宣言) composed by Sun Mianzhi 孫勉之 to mark the occasion of the publication of the Bookstore’s first catalogue. This work, reproduced in its entirety below, reveals that Sun and his peers had been deeply moved by the natural and man-made calamities ravaging China during the early years of the Republican era, believing that practicing the tenets contained in morality books could provide succor to the afflicted or even prevent future outbreaks. Accordingly, these men strove to use the Bookstore as a means of promulgating the values they hoped would help save the world. This “Declaration” provides some detail on the Bookstore’s organizational structure, which included people responsible for collecting works to be reprinted as well as editing them and then distributing them after their publication. It also reveals that Sun was well aware of the problems cited by Löwenthal in the conclusion to his survey of Chinese religious publishing, especially high illiteracy rates:

嗟乎！世風之衰，亙古所無；人心之壞，於今為甚。而連年天災人禍之相尋，雖證諸四千餘年有國以來之歷史，亦未有如近今之慘酷也。良以兇險之行，遍滿人世，乖戾之氣，充塞宇宙，有以使然耳。夫太古之時，世風淳樸，人各本性，固何有勸善懲惡之說？降及後世，人欲漸深，奸偽疊作，於是三教聖人出，而經書之訓隨焉。蓋亦悲天憫人，不得已之舉，應時而挽救也。今聖人雖去，而經書常存，是何以異於聖人在世哉？而人心之相距，誠不可以道里計矣，可不深哀也哉？夫一時勸人以口，百世勸人以書，苟能遵信奉行，何至有如今慘酷之災劫耶？余本久懷宣揚之心，冀挽末俗之志，惟以所見有限，恐難如願，故猶豫而未決。值茲各地水災，哀鴻猶尚遍野，而暴敵肆虐，東北又興烽煙，舉國沸騰，愈趨惡勢，同仁等以救弊當急，亟宜出發，以乘機戢其畏禍之心，於是有明善

書局之設立，蓋所以一本初衷，非敢注意於利者也。是以纂刊三教先哲之經書，無傾向嫉妒之偏見，而內部組織，有流通專責者，所以便利人送人之經書也。承印專責者，所以代窮鄉僻處之委託，以竟其善願也。翻印專責者，所以皆受有心無力之士，襄成其翻印之志也。至編輯等等之職責，亦各有專司其人，且以吾國之大，人民之眾，教育之不普，積習之難移，善書機關，正宜力事提倡，以資感化，況際此災劫頻仍之秋，更當以善自勉，力導庸俗，安敢認為專業，以假名敷衍，開先聖之罪，流當世之弊？致在朝之輩，以棄諸於勿顧；青年之流，視作迷信腐化者哉？庶小之修身齊家之賴，大之治國平天下之望，或亦得有少助云爾。

民國二十年仲冬之吉海鹽孫勉之識於申江之明善書局³³

Sun also wrote a preface for the Bookstore's sixth catalogue, which in contrast to the Declaration discussed above devotes more space to discussing the Three Teachings (三教), the importance of spirit-writing (扶乩/扶鸞/飛鸞), and the need for engaging in acts of philanthropy. At the same time, however, this work echoes Sun's earlier concerns with spreading proper moral values:

明善二字，出於儒書，然三教諸書，皆為勸善而作：儒治世，佛渡世，仙救世，其理一也。三教聖人，化導無量有情，說諸法語，後之慈善家，闡發其義，欲修內功，仙立外功，其書皆以善與人同為宗旨。故本局之設，藉以流通善書，凡關此項事業，無不歡迎。

明善事業，先貴責善。儒道在明德以至於新民，自讀經範本等書出，而後知入聖超凡，修養成真，即寓於儒教。佛學無明盡以至於見空，自《彌勒尊經》等書出，而後知下生治世，大地原人，皆歸於佛種。仙家由明性以至於了道，自乩壇勸世勸世等書出，而後知迪吉逆凶，現身說法悉備於仙諭。三教之道，由明而入，一貫相傳，萬善同歸。本局採辦此項書籍，博取旁搜，并代人印刷，以備海內有志之士，擇善而從。明善事業，尤貴行善。其修諸己者，以八德為本；其施諸人者，以天下為公。種種事業，悉賴善書以發明之，可身體，可力行，其價為何如也？至於放生救生濟生等會，以及育嬰拯災賑荒，一切慈善各機關，莫不有章程條例，急宜刊書廣佈，使諸善士仿而行之。本局樂盡棉力，價廉物美，以為行善之助。明善書局經理孫勉之謹啟³⁴

The Bookstore's catalogues also provide insights into how modern religious groups attempted to categorize sacred knowledge. For example, the 1932 catalogue

³³ 《民國時期出版書目彙編》(北京：國家圖書館出版社，2010)，第廿冊，頁 193-194.

³⁴ 《民國時期出版書目彙編》，第廿冊，頁 231.

lists 107 texts, divided according to the following six categories:

1. 慈愛類: A total of 8 texts, mostly devoted to injunctions against killing sentient beings (戒殺). Among the most noteworthy examples are Huang Hanzhi 黃涵之's 《白話戒殺放生》 and Feng Zikai 豐子愷's 《光明畫集》

2. 八德類: 17 texts, the titles of which invariably begin with the words “八德”; mostly devoted to traditional Chinese moral values

3. 佛經類: 20 texts; mostly standard Buddhist works, but also more recent texts by Republican-era lay Buddhists like Xu Zhijing 許止淨 and Wang Shuyun 王書雲

4. 道書類: 13 texts, generally treated Taoist forms of self-cultivation and internal alchemy, including the 《張三丰全集》, 《長春祖師語錄》, 《七真集》)

5. 儒學類: 8 texts, largely standard Confucian works like the 《孝經》 and 《孔子家語》, but also more modern texts like 《江神童新註四書白話解說》 compiled by the child prodigy 江希張 (see below)

6. 導俗類: The largest category (39 texts), most of which are venerable morality books (善書) like the 《關帝明聖經》, 《太上感應篇》, 《地母真經》, 《孚佑帝君功過格》, and 《勸孝歌》. However, this category also includes works like the 《閱微草堂筆記摘要》, as well as medicinal texts like the 《良方眼科合編》 and modern works about morality like the 《民族福音》

The logic underlying this categorization system is unclear, a detailed explanation of revised categories is provided in the 1932 catalogue's “改編圖書目錄例言”, the relevant portions of which read as follows:

...茲編略分為七類，曰經典類，則三教流行之常道，暨普通讀誦之要籍，列為第一，其足重也可知。曰性理類，則精研道學之書，而三教一貫真傳之實體，備於此。曰八德類，所收皆言孝悌忠信禮義廉恥載道之文，言德者，立乎道之本體也。曰雜俎類，類而曰雜，著其非盡純粹，不使與清淨無為之大道相溷也，然其言則有可採者，另列於中，冀讀者取法乎上之意。曰感化類，曰因果類。感化者，導之使為善也；因果者，惕之使去惡也。二者相為資藉，則無論通人婦孺，皆可用為求道入德之基。曰慈濟類，慈指發於自心言，濟指施諸事物言，故戒殺放生醫藥等書歸焉耳，其寄售各書及墨寶畫像存目於卷末...³⁵

Accordingly, the 302 texts (not including 29 uncategorized works) included in the 1935 catalogue were classified as follows:

1. 經典類: 68 texts representing leading works of the Three Teachings. This category consists mainly of Buddhist scriptures, but also sacred texts like the 《太上感

³⁵ 《民國時期出版書目彙編》，第廿冊，頁 277-278.

應篇》和《桃園明聖經》

2. 性理類: 42 texts ranging from “Confucian” works like the 《十三經》 and 《四書》 to Daoist writings by Bai Yuchan 白玉蟾, Zhang Sanfeng 張三丰, and Wang Changyue 王常月. This category even includes venerable morality books such as the 《指迷金箴》 and 《玉露金盤》

3. 八德類: 26 texts compiled according to the criteria described above, the most notably exception being the 《婦女三字功過格》

4. 雜俎類: 44 texts that may not have been completely “pure” (純粹) yet could still prove valuable to the pursuit of a religious lifestyle. This category encompasses works ranging from the 《孔雀明王經》 to the 《觀音勸善文》, 《繪圖七真集》, 《木郎祈雨神咒》, and 《仙佛聖誕一覽》. There are even works authored by sacred sites such as the 龍山淨明道院 and 慈濟善堂

5. 感化類: 67 texts designed to inspire readers to achieve goodness, including the 《三字經》 (and other 啓童 texts) plus works about filial piety. There are also collections of aphorisms (格言), as well as the classic 《袁了凡先生訓子書》 and the 《訓女寶箴》 revealed by the Bodhisattva Guanyin 觀音 during spirit-writing rituals

6. 因果類: 30 texts devoted to the inevitability of divine justice and retribution, especially spirit codes (律 and 科) as well as works describing the consequences of lascivious (淫) deeds. There are also well-known titles like the 《陰鸞文註證》 and 《奇驗明聖經》

7. 慈濟類: 25 texts largely exhorting readers to avoid killing sentient beings, including the classic 《耕牛淚》.³⁶ However, this category also includes medicinal texts like the 《血症經驗良方》 and 《霍亂論》

The prevalence of these categorization systems among other religious publishers has yet to be determined. Yau Chi-on 游子安’s study of morality books lists one such system employed in 1937 by the Daoist publishing enterprise 丹道刻經會, namely 道源, 道經, 內丹, 外丹, 修養, 法術, 護道, 勸戒, and 雜著.³⁷ A more similar system was used for a mammoth collection of morality books Wang Yiting 王一亭 helped to compile in 1936, entitled *A Treasury of Blessings and Longevity* (《福壽寶藏》), consisting of 151 volumes (冊) containing 140 separate texts (種): 化導類, 格言類, 八德類, 勸孝類, 戒淫類, 啓迪類 (for both women and children), 功過格類, 因果類, 博愛類, 佛經類, 修真類.³⁸

³⁶ For more on the beef taboo (牛戒) in Chinese religious culture, see Vincent Goossaert, *L’Interdit du boeuf en Chine. Agriculture, éthique et sacrifice* (Paris: Collège de France, Institut des Hautes Études Chinoises, 2005).

³⁷ 游子安, 《善與人同: 明清以來的慈善與教化》, 頁 78.

³⁸ 游子安, 《善與人同: 明清以來的慈善與教化》, 頁 160-164、332-333. The 《福壽寶藏》 is also described in 酒井忠夫, 〈近現代中國的善書與心生活運動〉, 賴旭貞譯, 《民間宗教》, 2 (1996),

The above categorization systems are emic ones, but based on the perspective of current scholarship on modern Chinese religions, one could also classify these works according to a somewhat different system. Accordingly, I have listed key titles below, based on my knowledge about their contents and/or the abstracts provided by the Bookstore in its catalogues (in quotation marks).

1. Works related to Buddhism:

- 《佛法寶徵》：“詳記王書雲居士親身目覩耳聞之佛法靈感一十五篇”
《大本蓮池大師放生文圖說》：“江蘇鹽城仁濟堂定印，搜集古今事實，附以繪畫”
《佛說長壽經》：“此經名為長壽滅罪護諸童子陀羅尼經。近世造諸惡業，於殺子傷胎尤重，亟宜求誦此經”
《觀音勸善文》：“此書原刻於北平，乃度劫消災之善本”
《印造經像文》：“印造經像功德之作用”
《大乘正宗聖像》：“蘭溪童之風畫寶，更研佛理，故於佛像尤極擅長”

2. Works related to Daoism:

- 《金科輯要》：“文帝請頒，凡三十六卷，分誅賞宥三門，以孝弟忠信禮義廉恥為綱，官士農工商役為緯。清大學士李鴻章進御，請列道藏，謂「於列聖所闡三教同源之旨，尤為符合」”
《木郎祈雨神咒》：“舊本錯誤頗多，自白玉蟾祖師改正後，詳加註釋，載在道藏全書白真人集內。自此，由閩而湘而粵，輾轉流傳”
《養真集》：“言言見性，句句明心，為修身之要訣，亦入道之初基”
《太上感應篇箋註二十二史感應錄合刊》：“感應篇出自道藏。吳縣惠松厓用說經體箋注，更取長洲彭二林廿二史感應錄同訂一冊。鹽城姜履經心考校，逐句圈點”
《呂祖大化歌》：“呂祖訓世歌百有六首，皆苦口婆心，勸人要道”
《繪圖七真集》：“述七位真人成道之始末”

3. Works that stress traditional “Confucian” moral values and practices:

- 《八德行義》：“湘省主席何芸樵講演，條分縷析，博引繁徵，既不泥於古訓，復不背乎新潮”
《三字經》：“章太炎照王應麟古本重訂，增入者十之三四”
《字穀合編》：“惜字新編、惜穀新編”
《袁了凡先生訓子書》：“是書所載立命改過積善謙德四篇，為袁了凡訓子之文，又名了凡四訓”

4. Collections of Chinese and Western aphorisms:

- 《治家保命格言》：“此書用最淺顯俚歌體，最堪化俗”
《戒淫格言》：“字字驚心，言言動魄”
《新時代忠告》：“分家庭、社會、學問、言行四類，歷舉古今賢哲之言，並搜集西方格言”
《養正錄》：“輯古今中外格言，略非類次，以課小學，末附先哲格言詩”

5. Works opposing the killing of sentient beings:

《白話戒殺放生文》：“上海黃慶瀾在會稽道任時所著。洋洋四大篇，用白話體例”

《耕牛淚》：“貪饕者流，拾歐美人之餘唾，藉口於清潔及滋養，好食牛肉，忍心造孽。此書痛陳不應食牛”

《繪圖拯嬰痛言》：“本書前列諸聖訓諭，中刊先哲論文，後附繪圖果報”

6. Works condemning immoral behavior:

《賭博鍼砭》：“是書為本局所特輯，並附戒吸鴉片文，勸婦女勿打麻雀文”

《醒世篇》：“孫道成氏就嫖賭喫菸著，以及勤儉達空等字，作成韻語，指點世人。”

《救世實言》：“遂昌正實子痛今世之禍害，因歷敘古聖賢學說以救正之。”

《民族福音》：“是書名畫家畫成猛虎十餘頁，以示女色原稱胭脂虎之義，每頁並有當代名流題字”

7. Works reminding readers of the inevitability of divine retribution:

《天津聖帝大全》：“原刊於四川，版本繁重。北平李時品奉命校勘重訂，稱聖典為金科輪科之軸，四川曾奎生、雲南郭燮熙、浙江張載陽、江蘇唐光先諸公，均有題讚”

《洞冥寶記》：“初刊自雲南，其後京漢蜀贛湘滬，次第印行”

《重刻十殿報應例案》：“清同治時，學府教官李長春被髮匪砍斃，還陽而述地府種種情狀”

《因果實錄》：“清順治年間，湖廣孝感縣林嗣麒氏，被冥役誤拘，親見審判，還陽後記錄之書”

8. Sectarian scriptures popular among groups in China and Taiwan:

《無極老母化歐記》：“內容分火器懲、教鞭鑒、寶笈光、慈悲語、經懺讚、新教畧，共六章，均係遊冥記錄”

《玉露金盤》：“無極天尊親演玉露金盤，外則窮通天地陰陽造化之機，內則運用人身顛倒返還之術”

《地母真經》：“是經意義淺明，尤易誦讀，後附太陽太陰兩經，合刊一冊”

《關聖帝君親解覺世經》：“關聖帝君據覺世經，逐句詳解，附以案證，玉帝批詞，呂帝、文帝為之序”

《指迷金箴》：“無極老母深憫眾生難度，修下血書十封，寄與原人，指破迷途”

《治世金箴》：“分天地人三卷，天卷係皇上帝親頒，地人二卷，乃歷代賢儒輪降。地卷言治之體，人卷說治之用，皆切中時弊。凡政治道德、日用倫常，無不備具”

9. Works concerned with medicine and healing:

《經驗便捷奇方》：“葉縣李虞庵彙集各方，糾印以廣流傳者”

《奇效良方》：“津門楊鵬先氏躬自試驗，確有奇效者”

《麻瘋神方》：“麻瘋一症，古名厲瘋，亦曰大瘋，蓋極危險難治之病”

10. Works treating women's education and health:

《女學三字經》：“專為女子初學之讀本”

《閨門要則》：“詞句極通俗，稍識字之婦女，即能自閱”

《達生編》：“詳載婦女自懷孕起，至產後止，種種保護母子方法”；“詳載婦女自懷孕起，至產後止，種種保護母子方法，實為產科中之最為穩妥者”

《達生編問答》：“婦女識字者少。洛陽周景文取達生編作十字俚歌，俾聞

者興會淋漓，記憶不忘”

《增廣達生要旨》：“本書前半部分種子、胎前、臨盆、產後、保嬰等門；後半部為經驗各種秘方，分婦產科、兒科、內科、喉科、眼科、外科、傷科、雜治等”

The above list, while hardly comprehensive, reveals that the elites who managed the Bookstore endeavored to collect and transmit a wide range of works possessing a highly eclectic nature. This reflects the highly cosmopolitan (五教合一) belief systems of redemptive societies like the Fellowship of Goodness, as well as value systems centering on not only proper moral conduct but also self-cultivation, education, and healing that were espoused by their members. I should also point out that many of these works were not meant to be read but chanted (the expression “專供誦讀” appears in many abstracts), and that illustrated morality books were said to be especially worthwhile due to their appeal to less educated readers.³⁹ In addition, most titles (including Republican ones) appear to be reprints of earlier editions, but further research will be required in order to determine the actual percentages of new and reprinted titles. Category 10 (works treating women’s education and health) seems particularly fascinating. While the actual impact of these works on modern women remains unclear, this effort to reach out to a female readership provides further evidence of the development of women’s religiosity in modern Chinese cities.

Another way to appreciate the diversity underlying the Bookstore’s publishing projects involves the authors whose works were selected. Again, one sees a broad spectrum of historical figures, starting with redemptive society leaders like Jiang Xizhang 江希張 (江神童; 1907-2004), who helped found the Universal Morality Society (萬國道德會) along with his father, Jiang Shoufeng 江壽峰 (1875-1926).⁴⁰ There was also a sizeable percentage of Republican-era Buddhist elites, including well-known figures like Huang Hanzhi 黃涵之 (Huang Qinglan 黃慶瀾), Nie

³⁹ 游子安，《善與人同：明清以來的慈善與教化》，頁 70-71.

⁴⁰ Goossaert & Palmer, *Religious Question*, pp. 95-96.

Yuntai 聶雲臺, Feng Zikai 豐子愷, Wang Yunshu 王書雲, and Xu Zhijing 許止淨. Daoist authors from the Qing and Republican eras were also highly represented as well, including Yang Jindong 楊覲東, Li Changren 李昌仁 (Lichenzi 離塵子, a native of Wuxing 吳興), Wang Changyue 王常月 (?-1680), and Liu Huayang 柳華陽 (1736-?). There were also numerous authors of texts traditionally classified as “Confucian”, including Wang Guchu 王古初, Zhu Lingzhong 朱領中, Chen Xiequ 陳燮樞 (1874-1958), Lu Yiting 陸一亭 (Qing), and Zhu Bolu 朱柏廬 (1627-1698). Other elites whose works defy ready classification according to Three Teachings criteria included the novelist Wang Diaosheng 汪調生, He Yunqiao 何芸樵 (He Jian 何鍵; 1874-1956; served as Governor of Hunan), and the artist Tong Zhifeng 童之風 (1892-1960). The works of leading Ming religious figures such as Lianchi dashi 蓮池大師 (Yunqi Zhuhong = 雲棲祿宏; 1535-1615) and Yuan Liaofan 袁了凡 (Yuan Huang 袁黃; 1533-1606) were chosen for inclusion as well.

One key question involves the extent to which potential readers could actually afford the works that the Bookstore was publishing. This is a difficult question to answer without detailed knowledge of wage and price figures from the 1930s, but the Bookstore’s catalogues do provide considerable data on how much these texts actually cost (426 of the 442 works in these catalogues have prices listed). Such works were sold by the hundred, with 62 instances of books costing between \$1 and \$2 per hundred copies (1-2 元/百本), 89 instances of between \$2 and \$3, 47 instances of between \$3 and \$4, 25 instances of between \$4 and \$5, and 20 instances of between \$5 and \$6. A total of 18 books cost as much as \$10 per hundred copies (10 元/百本), while 10 books cost \$20, 2 books cost \$30, 5 books cost \$40, and 2 books costs \$80. There were even 2 books costing \$240 per hundred copies (240 元/百部). To put this in perspective, a copy of Shanghai’s 《新聞報》 in 1932 cost 4.5 cents and a full subscription \$4.5 per year, while prices for elementary school textbooks ranged

between 6 and 15 cents, indicating that the Bookstore's publications could be quite affordable.⁴¹ In terms of wages and prices, an elementary school teacher's salary in 1930 was \$24, while workers in pharmacies could make between \$20-\$22. Based on statistical data indicating that approximately 25% of a worker's wages could be used as spending money, it would seem that many workers might be able to afford the Bookstore's cheaper publications.⁴² At the same time, however, given that the Bookstore's publications were sold by the hundred, one wonders if intended buyers were meant to be individuals or religious organizations instead. While previous scholars have tended to view religious printing as a non-commercial, devotional endeavor, the Bookstore seems to have been more like a semi-commercial, semi-devotional organization.⁴³

In addition, the Bookstore's catalogues encompasses far more than books; a significant portion of their contents was devoted to advertisements for statues, paintings, calligraphy, and other religious artifacts. The Bookstore also published its own periodical, a bi-weekly entitled 《慈善彙報》 that was founded in 1933 and claimed to have a readership of over 10,000 by its tenth issue.⁴⁴ This periodical's by-laws, which were published as part of the Bookstore's sixth catalogue, provide data on the motives behind its publication, as well as cost (50 cents per a year's worth of 24 issues), distribution, honoraria for authors (such as free morality books), etc.

慈善彙報簡章

- 一 名稱 本報定名為慈善彙報
- 二 出版 本報每月出版二次，以朔望為出版期，每期一張，增刊半張或全張，隨時酌定。
- 三 宗旨 本報匯參三教善言善行，提倡道德、挽回劫運為宗旨。
- 四 徵求 本報推古人與人為善之意，歡迎投稿，不拘論說、詩歌、紀事文件，凡關於八德事實、節婦懿行，暨一切救濟人命物命、各項慈善事業，

⁴¹ I am most grateful to Sun Huei-min 孫慧敏 for providing this information.

⁴² Many thanks to Li Kai-kuang 李鎧光 for his kind assistance.

⁴³ Many thanks to Rostislav Berezkin for helping to clarify this important point.

⁴⁴ This periodical is not discussed in Löwenthal's survey, however, which might cause some to doubt these figures.

- 有益於世道人心者，均樂徵求。
- 五 報費 本報全年二十四期，國內祇收定費大洋五角，郵費在內，半年減半。凡訂閱本報者，須先付報費。
- 六 利益 本報取善善從長之義，對於投稿及定閱本報諸君於相當時，各贈以善書等類，俾得特別利益，以增興趣。
- 七 交換 凡各處慈善機關，有願互換刊物，以廣善見者，均表歡迎。
- 八 推廣 本報務期普及，凡國內各省各縣、市鎮鄉村及特別區域，若五份同寄一處者九折，十份同寄八折，二十份七五折，三十分七折，四十份六五折，五十分六折，六十分五五折，七十份五折，八十份四五折，九十份四折，一百份三五折，概須預付報資。
- 九 發行 本報第一期自癸酉季夏朔創刊，以後依期出版，執有國民政府內政部警字第二七二八號登記證發行。
- 十 代訂 本報每單份僅洋五角，郵匯各費，需一角數分，中途或有遺失，殊非經濟之道，特向郵局登記，外埠可由就近郵局代訂，以省匯費，而免失誤。

總發行所上海愷自邇路、嵩山路口明善書局⁴⁵

Concluding Remarks

In his survey of Republican-era religious periodicals, Löwenthal maintained that the publishing and distribution of free or low cost religious publications “do not necessarily reflect the real interest of the population, but rather the financial strength and ability to organize on the part of the distributing agency”.⁴⁶ This cautionary point clearly has merit in terms of assessing the actual impact of religious publishers like the Bookstore of Illuminating Goodness, but it is also essential to consider the sophisticated distribution networks these publishers established in order to achieve their goals. Take the case of the 1932 edition of Cai Zhenshen 蔡振紳’s《八德須知》，for which the Bookstore printed a total of 13,000 copies.⁴⁷ Such works were meant to reach their intended readers via a series of distribution outlets listed below.

上海明善書局/各埠分銷經售處

| | |
|-------|----------------|
| 善書流通處 | 福建泉州中山南路 509 號 |
| 宣化流通處 | 察哈爾宣化縣郝都斯街 |
| 寶善書局 | 雲南省垣甘公祠街 |
| 中和書局 | 安慶南門外臨江路 |

⁴⁵ 《民國時期出版書目彙編》，第廿冊，頁 329-331。

⁴⁶ Löwenthal (羅文達), *The Religious Periodical Press in China*, p. 287.

⁴⁷ 游子安，《善與人同：明清以來的慈善與教化》，頁 85。

| | |
|-------|-------------------------|
| 善書流通處 | 長沙機織巷四十四號 |
| 明善書局 | 綏遠歸綏縣小東街 |
| 崇德慈善會 | 長春西四馬路 |
| 通行善書館 | 浙江嵊縣 |
| 黃允昌 | 福建建甌 |
| 善書流通處 | 四川省資中縣衣舖街 |
| 善書流通處 | 安東自新街 |
| 善書流通處 | 浙江餘姚緒山門七號 ⁴⁸ |

Of these outlets, the 善書流通處 located in Quanzhou 泉州 was especially important for the religious history of modern Taiwan. Contrary to much conventional wisdom, which assumes that China and Taiwan were culturally severed following Japan's colonization of Taiwan in 1895, there was extensive interaction between religious specialists and other practitioners on both sides of the Taiwan Strait. This was clearly the case in the field of religious publishing, with leading Taiwanese publishers like the 蘭記善書局 and 玉珍書局 including works printed by the Bookstore in their own catalogues. One forthcoming collection of religious writings, to be published under the title 《中華神佛》, will include some of these works.⁴⁹ Bookstore publications can still be ordered via the Internet as well.⁵⁰

To conclude, while many questions remain to be answered (including the impact of new printing technologies on the Bookstore and other religious publishers, the roles played by urban elites, etc.) this project attempts to break new ground by examining how the interaction between religious movements and the mass media contributed to the development of a Chinese form of religious modernity.

⁴⁸ 《民國時期出版書目彙編》，第廿冊，頁 333.

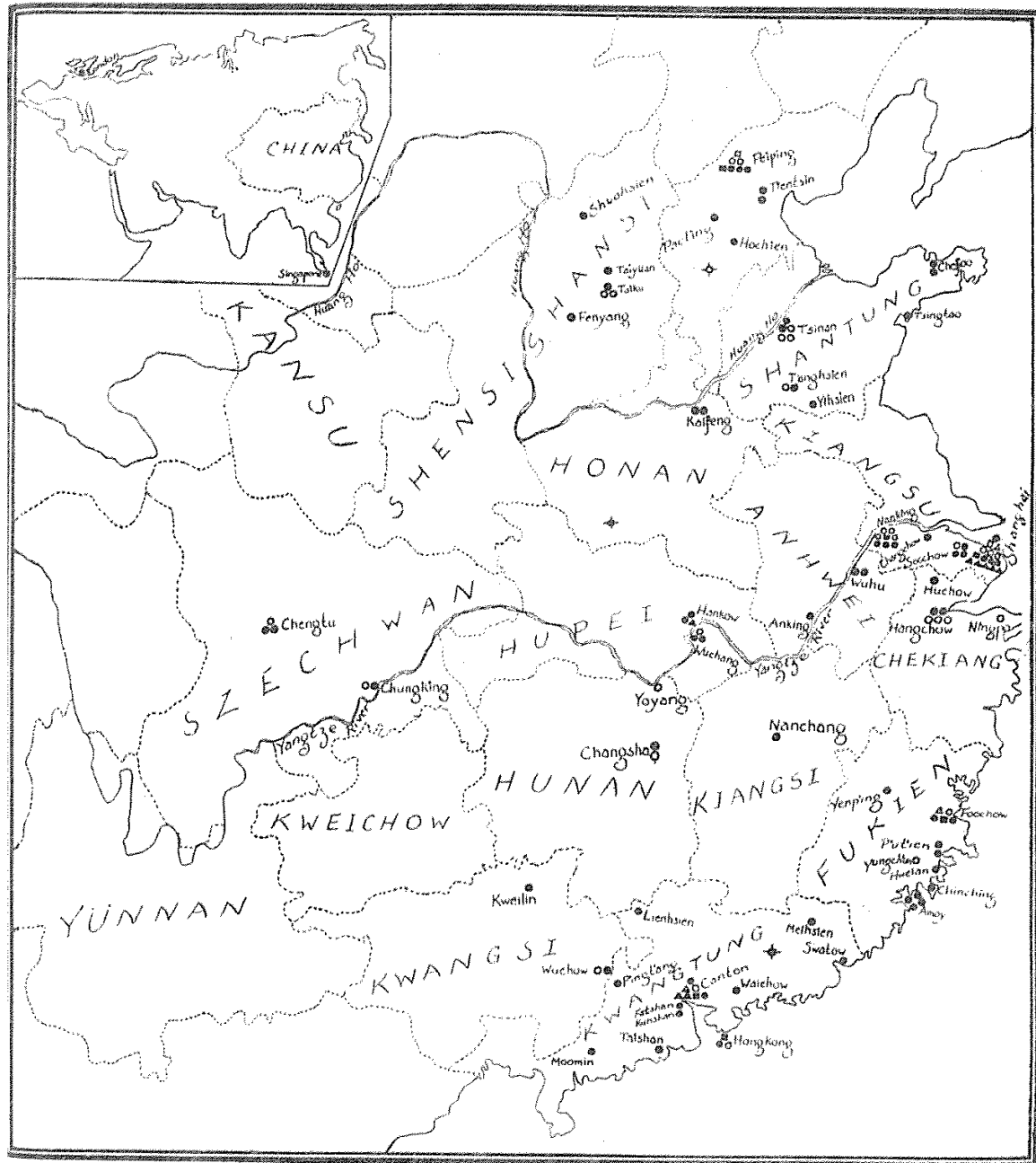
⁴⁹ Personal communications, Wang Chien-chuan 王見川 and Fan Chunwu 范純武.

⁵⁰ http://www.sinolib.com/press_%E6%98%8E%E5%96%84%E4%B9%A6%E5%B1%80/.

TABLE IV — GEOGRAPHICAL DISTRIBUTION OF THE CHINESE RELIGIOUS
PRESS ACCORDING TO PROVINCES

| Religion No. province | number of cities | Roman Catholic | Protes- tant | Buddhist | Taoist | Confu- cian | Moham- medan | Total | Grand Total |
|--------------------------|---------------------|-------------------|-----------------|----------|---------|----------------|-----------------|-----------|----------------|
| 1 Anhwei | 3 | 2 | 1 | 1 (2) | | | | 4 (2) | 6 |
| 2 Chekiang | 6 | 3 | 7 | 2 (6) | | | | 12 (6) | 18 |
| 3 Chinghai | 1 | | | | | | 2 | 2 | 2 |
| 4 Fukien | 7 | 2 | 26 | 8 (7) | 1 | | | 37 (7) | 44 |
| 5 Honan | 3 | | 2 | (1) | | 1 | 1 (3) | 4 (4) | 8 |
| 6 Hopei | 9 | 26 (2) | 14 | 9 (16) | 6 (8) | 1 (3) | 8 (21) | 64 (50) | 114 |
| 7 Hunan | 4 | 1 | 2 | 2 (3) | 2 (1) | (1) | (2) | 7 (7) | 14 |
| 8 Hupei | 5 | 4 | 12 | 4 (7) | | | 3 | 23 (7) | 30 |
| 9 Kansu | 1 | 1 | | | | | | 1 | 1 |
| 10 Kiangsi | 4 | 1 | 1 | (1) | (3) | | | 2 (4) | 6 |
| 11 Kiangsu | 12 | 9 (2) | 68 | 20 (21) | 5 (4) | (4) | 14 (9) | 116 (40) | 156 |
| 12 Kwangsi | 3 | 1 (1) | 3 | | | | (2) | 4 (3) | 7 |
| 13 Kwangtung | 14 | 11 | 54 | 5 (10) | 1 | (5) | 3 (4) | 74 (19) | 93 |
| 14 Kweichow | 1 | | | (1) | | | | (1) | 1 |
| 15 Manchuria | 4 | 3 | | | (2) | | 1 (1) | 4 (3) | 7 |
| 16 Mongolia | 2 | 1 | | | | | 1 | 2 | 2 |
| 17 Shansi | 7 | 3 | 7 | 1 (3) | | (4) | 2 | 13 (7) | 20 |
| 18 Shantung | 7 | 2 (1) | 10 | 1 (1) | 1 (4) | | (1) | 14 (7) | 21 |
| 19 Shensi | 2 | 1 | | 2 (1) | | | 3 | 6 (1) | 7 |
| 20 Szechwan | 7 | 3 | 3 | 2 (6) | 2 (1) | (2) | (1) | 10 (10) | 20 |
| 21 Yünnan | 1 | | | | | | 1 (5) | 1 (5) | 6 |
| 22 unknown | | | (151) | (1) | | | (4) | (156) | 156 |
| 23 abroad | | | 1 | 4 (1) | | | (1) | 5 (2) | 7 |
| Total | 108 | 74 (6) | 211 (151) | 61 (88) | 18 (23) | 2 (19) | 39 (54) | 405 (341) | 746 |
| Grand Total | | 80 | 362 | 149 | 41 | 21 | 93 | 746 | |

MAP SHOWING THE DISTRIBUTION OF THE PROTESTANT PRESS OF CHINA



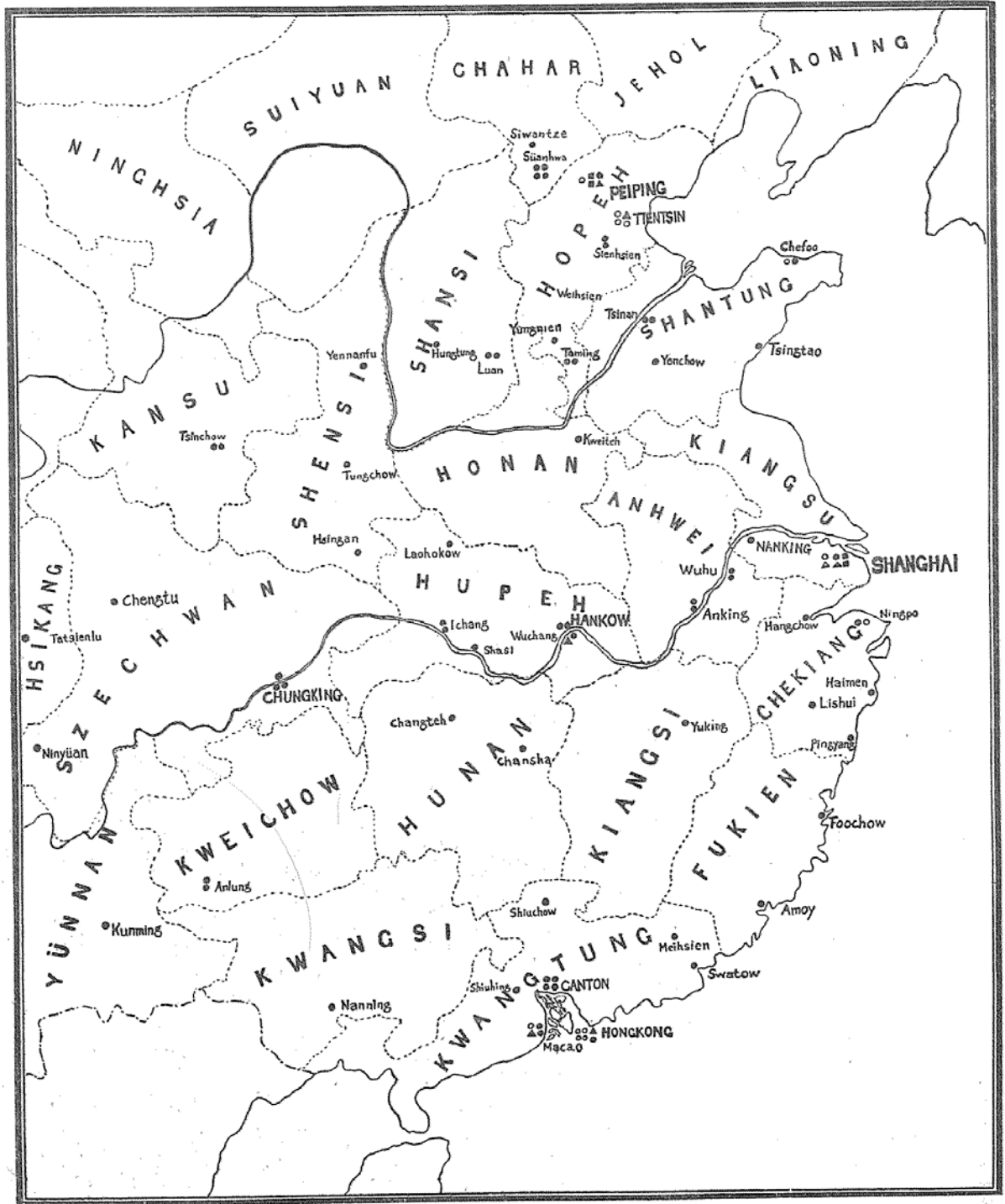
KEY

Symbol for one periodical =
 Symbol for five periodicals =
 Symbol for ten periodicals =
 Symbol for one periodical of unknown locality =

religious
 ●
 ■
 ▲
 ◆

non-religious
 ○
 □
 △
 ◇

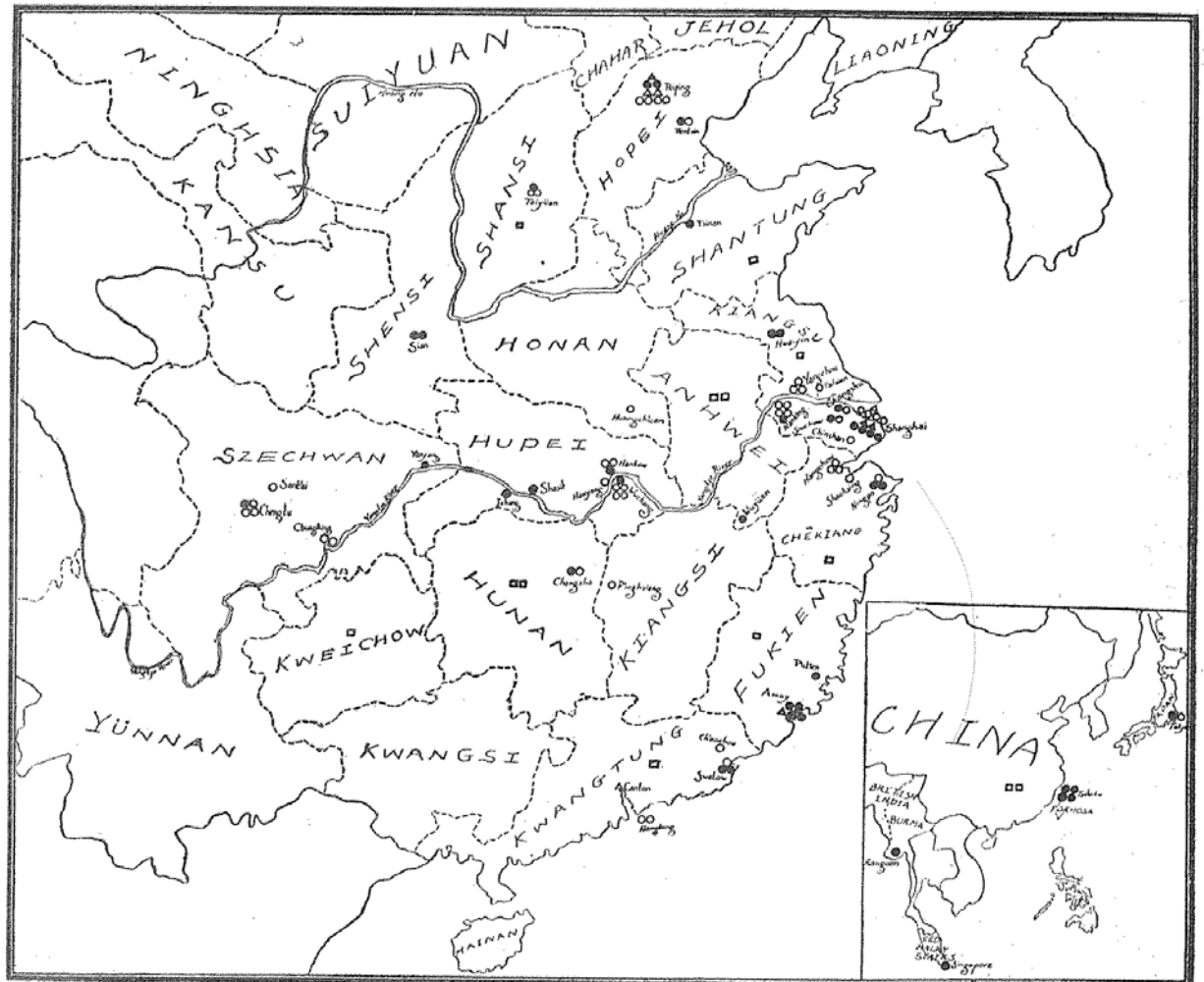
MAP SHOWING THE DISTRIBUTION OF THE
CATHOLIC PERIODICAL PRESS OF CHINA.



KEY

| | 1917 | 1938 |
|-----------------------------|------|------|
| Symbol for one periodical | = ○ | ● |
| Symbol for five periodicals | = △ | ▲ |
| Symbol for ten periodicals | = □ | ■ |

MAP SHOWING THE DISTRIBUTION OF THE BUDDHIST PRESS OF CHINA



KEY

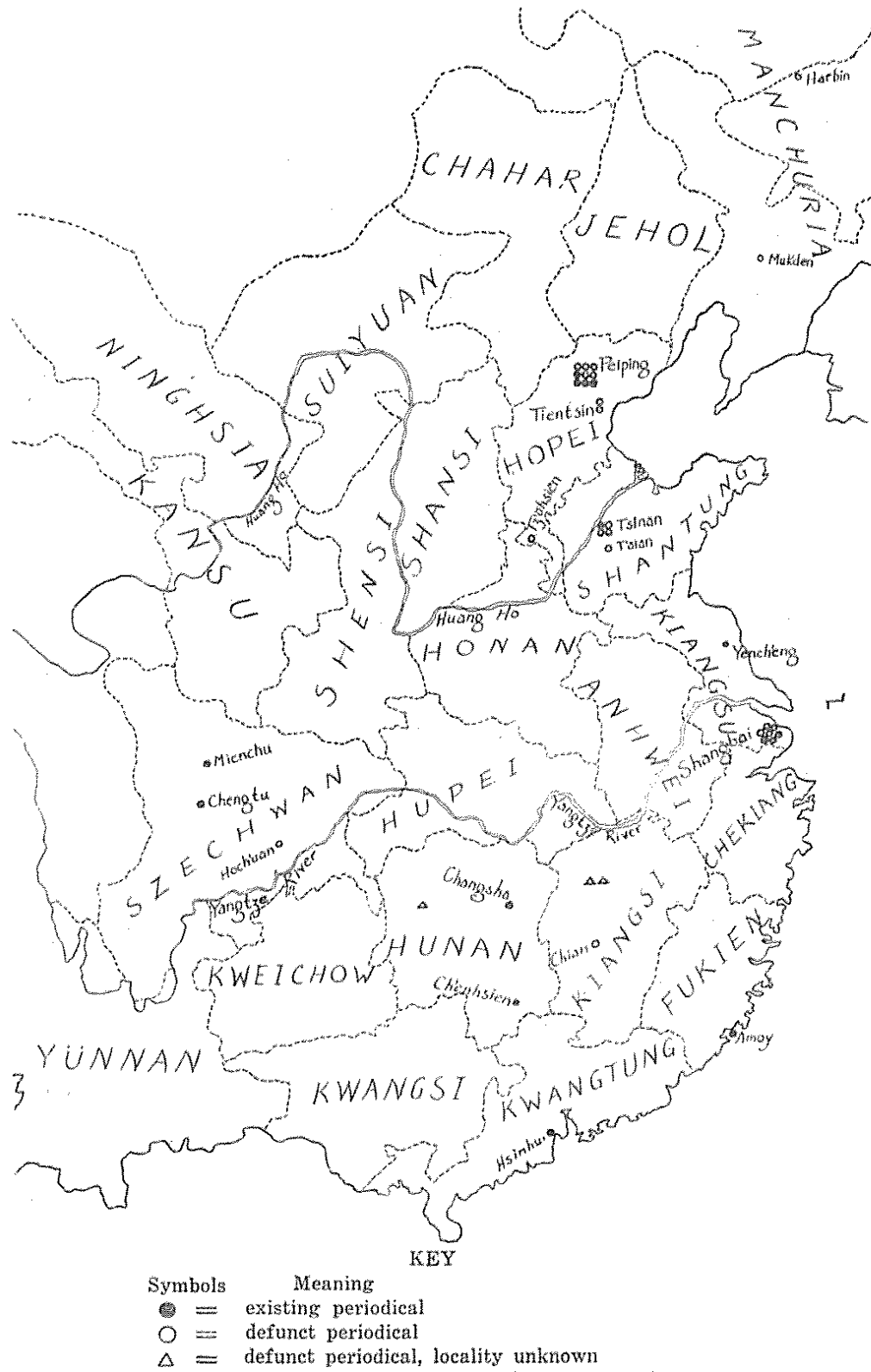
Symbols for defunct periodicals

- = one periodical
- △ = five periodicals
- = one periodical of unknown locality

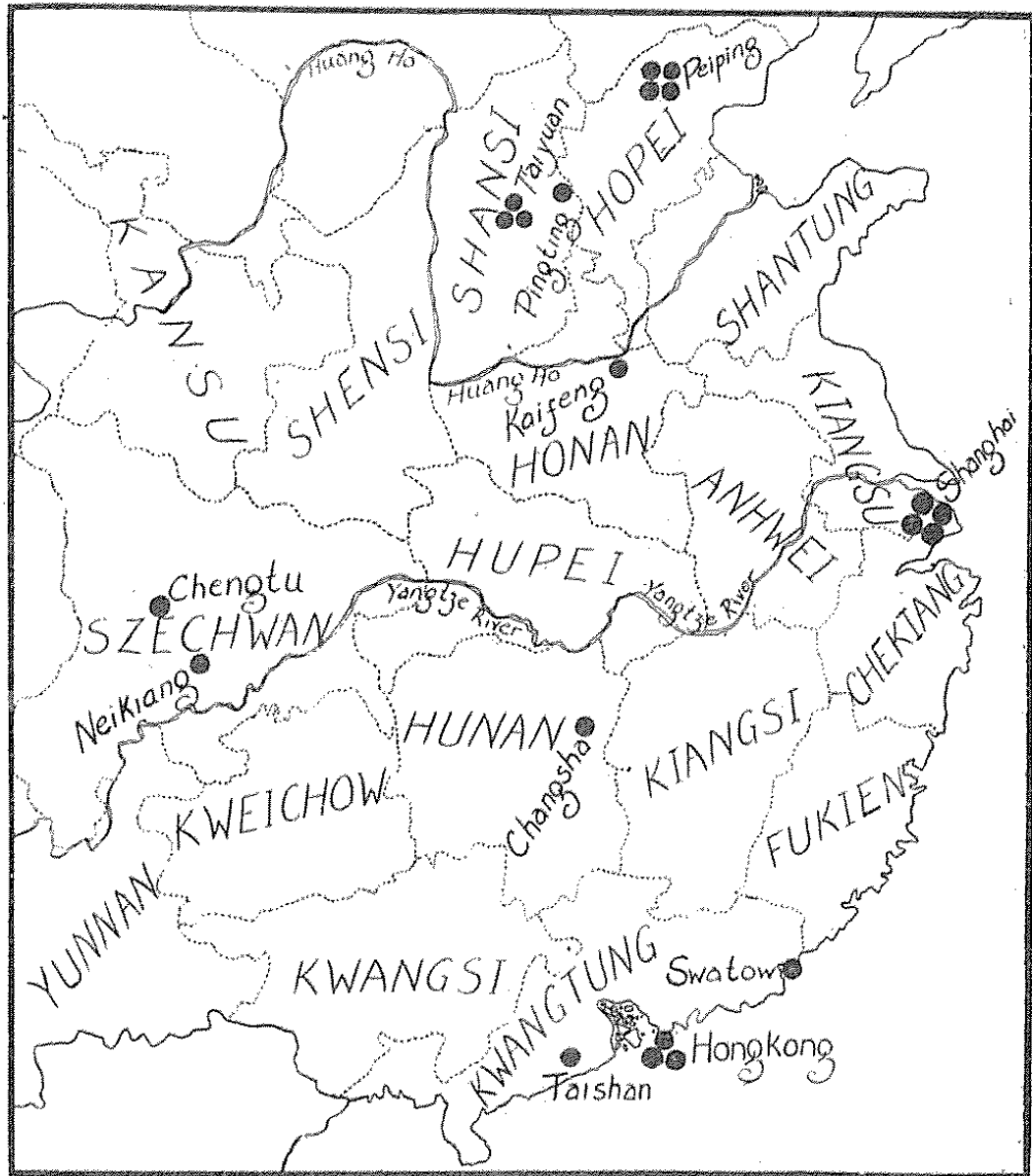
Symbols for existing periodicals

- = one periodical
- ▲ = five periodicals

Map Showing the Distribution of the Taoist Periodical Press of China



MAP SHOWING THE DISTRIBUTION OF THE CONFUCIAN PRESS OF CHINA



KEY

Symbol for one periodical = ●