

---

## Translation and Two “Chinese Sexologies”

Double Plum *and* Sex Histories

LEON ANTONIO ROCHA

Between June 1926 and November 1927, two figures featured prominently in almost every issue of *The Crystal* (*Jingbao*), one of the most popular tabloids, or “mosquito newspapers” (*xiaobao*), in Republican Shanghai:<sup>1</sup> the “Pock-Faced” (*mazi*) scholar Ye Dehui (1864–1927), and the “Bullshit Professor” (*hushuo boshi*) Zhang Jingsheng (1888–1970). Both men were relentlessly lampooned for their sexological research (*xingxue*). Ye Dehui was portrayed as a “perverted,” feudalist, and villainous character, who finally got his comeuppance when he was executed in 1927. Zhang Jingsheng, on the other hand, was depicted as the university professor corrupted by Western philosophy, sprouting fashionable nonsense on the health benefits of vaginal fluids. The two men were painted by *The Crystal*’s writers as “signs of the times”: “monsters” who in a period of chaos and upheaval would multiply and spread obscene and confusing ideas among the general populace.

This chapter examines the role of translation in the work of Ye Dehui and Zhang Jingsheng to show that they constructed two very different “Chinese sexologies” in the early twentieth century. Specifically, I analyze Ye Dehui’s famous *Shadow of the Double Plum Tree Anthology* (1903–1917) and Zhang Jingsheng’s equally notorious *Sex Histories* (1926), two projects—one from a self-fashioned vanguard of Confucianism disturbed and dismayed by the collapse of the Qing Empire, the other from a French-trained public intellectual and self-appointed agent of modernity—that despite their differences shared the same aim: to produce a new nation inhabited by a stronger and

more intelligent Chinese race, more able to defend itself against foreign powers.<sup>2</sup>

By turning attention to how Ye and Zhang developed their ideas in and through the translation of existing texts, I show that these two men drew on radically different cultural traditions and sources of authority: while Ye’s sexology was indebted to Han Dynasty religious and medical texts, which he reconstructed from Japanese collections, Zhang turned to the Western philosophy of Jean-Jacques Rousseau and the sexology of Havelock Ellis and Marie Stopes. Exploring their biographical background, I argue that Ye Dehui attempted to embargo the translation and movement of Western knowledge into China by establishing an “indigenous,” supposedly superior precedence, while Zhang Jingsheng made the case that thinkers such as Rousseau, Ellis, and Stopes urgently needed to be imported into Chinese culture. I will trace the critical afterlives of their work in China and the West, showing that Ye Dehui’s *Anthology* became an essential document for Western Sinologists whose scholarship was then appropriated by Michel Foucault in *History of Sexuality, Vol. 1*, while Zhang’s *Sex Histories* was republished in Taiwan in 2005 and in China in 2014 and hailed as an inspiration for the emancipation of sexual subjectivities. By comparing how translation shaped these two works and their reception, then, this chapter tracks the movement of ideas about sexuality and reproduction in Republican China and beyond. It shows that modern ideas about sexuality in China as well as the way in which Chinese sexology is understood in the West is shaped by complex cultural appropriations and politics.

## Ye Dehui, Defender of Confucianism

Ye Dehui was born in 1864 in Changsha, Hunan Province, to one of the wealthiest and most prominent families in the region.<sup>3</sup> A powerful member of the Southern Chinese elite, who controlled major agricultural and commercial enterprises in his native Changsha, he had strong ties with scholar-officials in the Jiangnan region, allying himself with the conservative faction of late-Qing literati. Following his success at the palace examination in 1892, he enjoyed a short-lived career as a secretary at the Ministry of Personnel and Civil Appointments. After he resigned from his post in Beijing and returned to his native Changsha, Ye became thoroughly enmeshed in the network of conservative Hunanese elites and developed a close alliance with the classicist Wang Xianqian (1842–1918). Wang and Ye amassed considerable fortune through controlling the rice and salt trades;<sup>4</sup> in turn Ye’s commercial activities financed an exceptional collection of rare books and manuscripts—one of the largest in China at the turn of the century, with an estimated 200,000 to 300,000 *juan*.<sup>5</sup>

In the late 1890s, Ye Dehui and a collective of conservative scholar-officials launched a campaign of attacks on the late-Qing reformers Kang Youwei (1858–1927) and Liang Qichao (1873–1929). Some of Ye's fiercest polemic, which also clearly articulated his political and intellectual orientations, could be found in the volume *Collected Essays on Defending Confucianism* (1898).<sup>6</sup> To cut short a heated and protracted debate, Kang Youwei wrote two incendiary critiques of the Confucian canon: *An Exposé of the Forged Classics* (1891) and *Confucius as a Reformer* (1892–1898).<sup>7</sup> Here he claimed to have discovered a classical and thoroughly “indigenous” legitimation for political reform, which would involve the adoption of parliamentary democracy and constitutional monarchy. In response, Ye Dehui and his allies staunchly defended their version of Confucianism. For them, the only legitimate ethical principles, social configurations, and political institutions were those prescribed by the classical texts. While acknowledging that there were some useful ideas and technologies from the West, which China could adopt in a highly selective fashion, Ye Dehui insisted on the absolute superiority of Chinese culture. Any reform, let alone “Westernization,” had to be resisted.<sup>8</sup>

As Ye's worldview was resolutely anti-reform, anti-foreign, and Sinocentric, he believed that although China was engulfed in political turmoil, this was not because Chinese values were fundamentally faulty, but because the people deviated from Chinese traditions. He argued that everything that was important and useful had already been said millennia ago by Confucian sages and thus, for Ye, people who admired Western things were superficial fools. The only valid solution to present problems was to return to the Chinese classics. This outlook animated Ye's intellectual projects: he regarded himself as the last of the champions and vanguards of Chinese knowledge and as a disseminator of truths that would remedy the state of ignorance and impropriety.

Given this agenda, it is unsurprising that Ye Dehui devoted himself to Chinese philology, specifically “elementary studies” (*xiaoxue*), which combined phonetics, semantics, etymology, and the analysis of Chinese characters.<sup>9</sup> The aim of this enterprise was to determine the correct pronunciation, appearance, and meaning of words; this would in turn guarantee the accurate transmission of knowledge. Ye's “elementary studies” went hand in hand with his bibliographic projects (*mulu banbenxue*), which were concerned with the authentication and rectification of classical texts, as well as the production of standard, canonical editions. Although Ye's philological research is largely forgotten, his bibliographical writings, such as *Plain Talks on the Forest of Books* (*Shulin qinghua*, 1911) and *The Bookman's Decalogue* (*Chuangshu shiyue*, 1911), remain crucial to historians of the Chinese book. They furthermore indicate the importance of Chinese culture for Ye's sex-

ological ventures.<sup>10</sup> According to him the correct use of language was the prerequisite to the accurate transmission of the ancient sages’ messages that were urgently needed in a degenerating China, and the medium that carried those messages had to be verified, preserved, and recirculated. When Ye Dehui encountered European and American texts on reproduction and sexual hygiene, his response followed his general intellectual and political trajectory: he reconstructed and published several classical texts, arguing that they contained a “Chinese sexology” that was antecedent and superior to Western science.

### Zhang’s “Competition for Survival”

In contrast to Ye Dehui’s Sinocentrism, the outlook of “Professor Bullshit” Zhang Jingsheng was cosmopolitan and resolutely anti-tradition.<sup>11</sup> Born in Raoping, Guangdong, in 1888, Zhang attended the Whampoa Military Primary School, where he studied French and acquired proficiency in translation. He also studied at Beijing’s Imperial Capital University, and during those formative years Zhang encountered many new scientific theories and philosophies from the West. He developed an impressible enthusiasm for Social Darwinism and changed his name from Zhang Jiangliu (flowing river) to Zhang Jingsheng, literally “competition for survival.”

Zhang Jingsheng’s interest in sexology was inspired by Carl Heinrich Stratz’s *Die Rassenschönheit des Weibes* (1901).<sup>12</sup> This book featured approximately four hundred photographs of nude women and young girls from around the world. Stratz argued that ideal bodily ratios were to be found among the Germanic race, and that the more highly developed a race, the greater the secondary sexual differences between men and women would be. The “inferior races” tended to be more “androgynous”; male Asian bodies were apparently not so distinguishable from female Asian bodies.<sup>13</sup> Absorbing Stratz’s scientific racism, Zhang suggested that the “pathological” and “stunted” Chinese body needed urgent eugenic intervention. In 1912 he traveled to France as part of an elite corps of young men sponsored by the Nationalist Party to study abroad, “to seek modernity in China’s name.”<sup>14</sup> He obtained a *diplôme d’études* in 1916 from the University of Paris and was awarded a *diplôme de docteur* by the University of Lyon for his thesis on Rousseau’s pedagogical theory.<sup>15</sup> Rousseau was Zhang Jingsheng’s hero; he later produced the first Chinese translations of Rousseau’s *Confessions* and *Reveries of a Solitary Walker*.<sup>16</sup> In 1920 Zhang returned to China and was appointed professor of philosophy at Peking University. He belonged to the group of fresh, energetic, and internationally focused scholars with qualifications from foreign institutions. When Margaret Sanger visited Beijing in 1922 and delivered a series of rapturously received lectures on birth control,

Zhang Jingsheng acted as one of her hosts and translators.<sup>17</sup> During his tenure at Peking University, Zhang earned a reputation as an innovative if occasionally eccentric thinker who held radical viewpoints on romantic love, the future of marriage, female sexuality, and eugenics.<sup>18</sup>

Zhang Jingsheng's intellectual output can be situated squarely in the context of the May Fourth New Culture Movement.<sup>19</sup> The May Fourth movement, usually said to have begun in the mid-1910s, marked the upsurge of Chinese nationalism, coupled with a relentless attack from many iconoclastic intellectuals on "Confucianism" and traditional culture. The highlight of May Fourth was a mass demonstration in Tian'anmen Square on May 4, 1919. The protesters, chiefly intellectuals and university students, voiced their dissatisfaction with the "humiliation" of China at the hands of the foreign, colonial powers. Typical of the May Fourth generation, Zhang aimed to find put the best possible "cure" for China's weaknesses. He took part in a frantic drive to translate and appropriate all kinds of knowledges and discourses from the West and from Japan.<sup>20</sup> Intellectuals established new journals and study societies, delivered lectures, worked as editorial staff for publishing houses, or set up their own bookstores, all in an attempt to "awaken" the Chinese masses. They built up what Leo Ou-fan Lee called a "business of enlightenment," which promoted a high-minded politics and was concerned with simple ideas and big causes.<sup>21</sup> Political activity no longer needed to be channeled through state institutions. Instead, purposeful research, diligent reading, critical self-reflection, diary writing, group debating, submitting letters to editors, experimentation with alternative ways of thinking and living—all of these activities could lead to a bottom-up revolution of the heart.

These currents came together in Zhang's *Sex Histories* project. He argued that traditional morality had painstakingly repressed sexuality and denied man's very nature. What was most urgently needed, to create a "New China" inhabited by a "New People," was the fullest affirmation and emancipation of the sexual instinct. As befitting a disciple of Rousseau, Zhang suggested that this could be achieved, first and foremost, via the narrativization of the sexual self through autobiographical writing. *Sex Histories*, released in May 1926, contained seven confessions that Zhang solicited from the public, plus his sexological commentaries written in the vein of British sexologist Havelock Ellis's *Studies in the Psychology of Sex* (1897–1928, 6 volumes). *Sex Histories* turned out to be one of the most sensational and controversial books of Republican China.

### Saving Confucianism: *Double Plum Tree Anthology*

In the early 1900s, the conservative, anti-Western scholar Ye Dehui became deeply invested in recovering sexual knowledge and techniques from early

China. This culminated in the publication of the *Shadow of the Double Plum Tree Anthology* (*Shuangmei jing'an congshu*, 1903–1917). The 1917 edition contained eighteen texts, which could be classified under four headings: (i) early Chinese treatises discussing sexual techniques or medicine (six items); (ii) songs and lyrics, or “best of” quotations from various operas and dramas (three items); (iii) “Who’s Who” lists (*dianjiang lu*) (three items); and (iv) “Green Bowers and Pear Gardens” (*qinglou liyuan*) literature (six items). Categories (ii) and (iii) do not deal with sexuality and reproduction; Ye’s motives for including them in the *Anthology* remain unclear. The texts under category (iv) were gossipy accounts on life in so-called “green bowers and pear gardens,” basically adult entertainment complexes from brothels to opera troupes.<sup>22</sup> They suggest that Ye Dehui wanted to exhibit the sophisticated erotic cultures from the past, alongside six early Chinese writings on sex (category (i)).<sup>23</sup> For instance, *The Formulae of the Plain Girl* (*Sunü fang*) recorded numerous recipes for dealing with illnesses that arose from overindulgence in sex or from having intercourse at the incorrect times of the day or month.<sup>24</sup> *The Heaven and Earth, Yin and Yang Songs of Great Satisfaction in Sex* (*Tiandi yinyang jiaohuan dale fu*) was a manuscript from the Dunhuang Caves. This work was not so much an instruction manual but a paean to good sex between husband and wife (or concubines), which would lead to familial harmony and spiritual fulfillment.<sup>25</sup>

Other texts—*The Classic of the Plain Girl* (*Sunü jing*), *Secrets of the Jade Chamber* (*Yufang mijue*), *Essentials of the Jade Chamber* (*Yufang zhiyao*), and *Master Dongxuan* (*Dongxuan zi*)—were Ye Dehui’s reconstructions of treatises on Daoist “bedchamber techniques” for the cultivation of health (*fangzhong yangsheng*), specifically those concerning the achievement of longevity via heterosexual intercourse. One practice was the so-called *coitus reservatus*, which involved the male adept’s absorption of female (*yin*) essence through intercourse with numerous maidens. At the same time, the male practitioner would attempt to prevent ejaculation and to “return the semen to the brain” (*huanjing bunao*), so that the spirit could be nourished and longevity achieved.<sup>26</sup> Although Ye Dehui thought these four texts came from the Sui and Tang Dynasties, *The Classic of the Plain Girl* can probably be dated to as early as the Western Han (206 B.C.E.–9 C.E.). *Essentials of the Jade Chamber* was indeed a Sui-Tang work but was in fact a compilation of numerous earlier bedchamber texts. Ye found fragments of these four treatises in chapter 28 (“Inside the Bedchamber,” *fangnei*) of *The Core Prescriptions of Medicine* (*Ishinpo*, 984). *Ishinpo* was the oldest surviving medical work from Japan, edited by Tamba Yasuyori (912–995), and was itself a compilation containing excerpts from various Chinese texts. The circulation of *Ishinpo* requires more research, and it is difficult to ascertain how Ye Dehui acquired the text.<sup>27</sup> I argue that Ye encountered only chapter 28 of *Ishinpo* and not

the full work, as physicians in China did not appear to be aware of the text's existence throughout the nineteenth and early twentieth century. If, in 1903, Ye really did possess a complete copy of *Ishinpo*, it would be surprising that he elected not to publish the text in its entirety.

The following passage from Ye Dehui's preface for *The Classic of the Plain Girl* indicates the complex role issues of translation played in the reconstruction of the text:

Today, Western scholars in hygiene from afar, investigate and speculate on the subtle and hidden causes behind sexual relations, and their works are translated into new books such as *Genitalia* [*Shengzhi qi*], *New Theories on Sexual Intercourse* [*Nannü jiaohe xinlun*], and *The Hygiene of Marriage* [*Hunyin weisheng xue*]. The ignorant people treat them as treasures, not knowing that the descendants of China's sacred emperors and ancient sages had already discussed this learning four thousand years ago. For instance, *The Records of Confucius Closing Off the House* [*Kongzi bifang ji*] is mentioned in the apocryphal texts . . . Or take the ancient methods of foetal education [*taijiao*] recorded in the *Abundant Dew on the Spring and Autumn Annals* [*Chunqiu fanlu*] and *Records of the Ritual Matters by Dai Senior* [*Da Dai lij*]. These were invariably about the rectification of the parents' characters [*duan xingqing*], the multiplication of descendants and the continuation of the family's progeny [*guang si xu*], to maximise the function of orderly cultivation [*weiyu*]. The spirit of this sexology [*xingxue*], how could those pedantic Confucian scholars possibly be able to see its essence?<sup>28</sup>

This passage illustrates the importance of translation for the development of Ye Dehui's work. This includes translations of past knowledges, making numerous references to Chinese texts.<sup>29</sup> While the *Abundant Dew on the Spring and Autumn Annals* and *Records of the Ritual Matters by Dai Senior* did contain discussions on reproduction, the texts that Ye Dehui compiled for the *Shadow of the Double Plum Tree Anthology* actually had nothing to do with reproduction. Instead *The Classic of the Plain Girl*, *Essential Secrets of the Jade Chamber*, and other texts focused on the cultivation of health via sexual techniques. Sexual pleasure was important only insofar as it helped promote longevity, and the production of quality offspring was completely irrelevant. Ye was thus misreading the Daoist texts that he reconstructed from the *Ishinpo*; contrary to what he suggests, they were not "proto-eugenics" in contents.

Furthermore, the passage shows that translation from other languages played an important role in Ye Dehui's work. He mentions a number of for-

eign texts—*Genitalia*, *New Theories on Sexual Intercourse*, and *The Hygiene of Marriage*. Scholars have overlooked these book titles hitherto, thus foreclosing the opportunity to connect Ye Dehui’s project to the global travels of texts on reproduction and sexuality. However, *New Theories on Sexual Intercourse* is a reference to the Chinese translation of a Japanese, heavily abridged rendering of a curious American work, written by Orson Squire Fowler (1809–1887): *Creative and Sexual Science: or Manhood, Womanhood, and Their Mutual Interrelations* (1875).<sup>30</sup> Fowler’s book is best described as a bricolage of advice on courtship, intercourse, childbirth, race, and selection, infused with a spiritual and phrenological language. Part VI of the book, titled “Generation” and covering the anatomy of male and female genitalia, was rendered into Japanese in 1878 by Hasizume Kanichi (1820–1884) and published as *Danjo kogo shin ron*.<sup>31</sup> The Japanese rendering was then translated into Chinese by Youyazi (a pseudonym) around the 1880s.<sup>32</sup> While Fowler was a medical faddist in America, now more likely to be remembered for his popularization of the octagonal houses found on the East Coast of the United States,<sup>33</sup> his manual on reproduction enjoyed a fascinating life cycle in late nineteenth- and early twentieth-century East Asia, where it became a “must-read” exemplar of Western reproductive science.<sup>34</sup> This text and the reference to it in Ye’s preface shows, then, the importance of global transmissions to the formation of modern sexual discourse.

The second non-Chinese item mentioned by Ye Dehui, *The Hygiene of Marriage*, is most likely a reference to the Japanese text *Danjo seishoku kenzenho* (1900) by Matsumoto Yasuko (dates unknown), sometime president of the Central Nursing Guild of Tokyo and an accredited midwife.<sup>35</sup> This was translated into Chinese by Youminzi (a pseudonym) and published in Yokohama in 1902 by “F. Kingsell,” the English name of Chinese publisher Feng Jingru (?–1913).<sup>36</sup> The third item in Ye Dehui’s passage is *Genitalia*, which pointed toward the Chinese translation of *Tsuzoku seishoku ron* (1878), itself a heavily abridged Japanese rendering by physician Hasegawa Tai (1842–1912) of the chapters on gynecology from Henry Hartshorne’s (1823–1897) *A Conspectus of the Medical Sciences: Comprising Manuals of Anatomy, Physiology, Chemistry, Medicine, Surgery and Obstetrics, for the Use of Students* (1874).<sup>37</sup>

Not coincidentally, these three works were listed in *Bibliography of Japanese Books* (*Riben shumuzhi*, 1898), compiled by Ye Dehui’s archenemy Kang Youwei. Kang expressed admiration for these texts and suggested that the scientific principles within these Western works actually developed out of the ancient Chinese medical manual *The Yellow Emperor Inner Canon* (*Huangdi neijing*)!<sup>38</sup> While both Kang and Ye mobilized two variations of the so-called “Chinese Origin of Western Learning” (*Xixue zhongyuan*) argument, their aims were completely divergent.<sup>39</sup> Kang wanted to facilitate the

transmission of Western science by claiming that it developed from Chinese learning—and therefore was entirely compatible with Chinese culture. Kang kept the door ajar for East–West syncretism. Ye, on the other hand, sought to dismiss Western sexology by arguing that Chinese inquiries into human sexuality predated Western science by centuries if not millennia. Ye Dehui was not so much constructing a “counterdiscourse” to Western sexology, that is, a Chinese sexology radically different from the West. In fact, Ye insisted that both Western and Chinese inquiries in sex *pointed in the same direction*. The texts in *Shadow of the Double Plum Tree Anthology* were invaluable for Ye Dehui because he wanted to combat the influx of Western knowledge by putting back into public circulation a proper canon of “Chinese sexology.”

### Vaginal Fluidology: *Sex Histories*

In contrast to Ye Dehui’s “Chinese sexology,” Zhang Jingsheng’s project was overtly influenced by European sexology. In *Sex Histories* (1926), Zhang states that not only was his project inspired by Rousseau’s *Confessions*, but he wanted to emulate “the great English maestro [Havelock] Ellis and his six-volume work on the psychology of sex.”<sup>40</sup> Zhang admired Ellis’s inclusion of many sex histories in his commentaries on various sexual behaviors and “perversions.” Ellis’s case histories, particularly of homosexual men, had a chief polemical objective: to naturalize and legitimize “deviant” behaviors by demonstrating that homosexuals were not insane, criminal, or diseased, but were a different “species” and were often “normal,” “functional” members of society. Zhang Jingsheng, on the other hand, prescribed a heteronormative “correct path of sex” (*xing de zhenggui*) and a “hygienic cure” (*weisheng jiuzhi*)—a kind of “eugenic sex” that, if followed exactly, could lead to stronger health, better offspring, and by extension a prosperous Chinese nation.

Zhang’s theorization of the “correct path of sex” revolved around the “Third Kind of Water” (*disanzhong shui*), first discussed in *Sex Histories*.<sup>41</sup> Marie Stopes’s famous work *Married Love* (1918) is key to understanding the “Third Kind of Water.” Zhang praised very highly chapter 5, titled “Mutual Adjustment,” of Stopes’s *Married Love*, in which she suggested that “the internal absorption of secretions from the sex-organs plays so large a part in determining the health and character of remote parts of the body; it is extremely likely that the highly stimulating secretions which accompany man’s semen can and do penetrate and affect the woman’s whole organism.”<sup>42</sup> The absorption of fluids took place “through the large tract of internal epithelium with which they come into contact.”<sup>43</sup> In Stopes’s account, the perfect sexual act was penile-vaginal penetration, which culminated in mutual and simultaneous orgasm. After the climax, the couple ought to continue to lie in a “coital embrace” or “locking position” such that husband and wife could

both absorb all the highly beneficial sexual secretions. According to Stopes, this "Law of Union," if universally practiced, would truly revolutionize society by making all marriages harmonious. Both men and women would find genuine fulfillment: husbands would no longer seek out prostitutes, and wives would not have to worry about neurosis that could arise from chronic sexual dissatisfaction.<sup>44</sup> Stopes even recommended that women who were temporarily separated from their husbands and wished to remain chaste, or women whose husbands failed to provide sexual satisfaction, take daily capsules containing glandular, prostatic extracts.<sup>45</sup>

Zhang Jingsheng developed Stopes's discussions on sexual fluids to suggest that a woman's genitals could secrete three kinds of fluids: from the labia, the clitoris, and the Bartholin's glands, which were located near the vaginal opening and secreted mucus to provide lubrication for penetration. Zhang argued that a woman had to release all three kinds of fluids via extensive foreplay and intercourse. All sexual secretions ought to be absorbed for their health-promoting effects—a woman had to absorb a man's semen, and a man had to absorb the precious "Third Kind of Water." It was a husband's duty to train up his stamina so he could penetrate his wife for at least twenty to thirty minutes, and discipline himself to delay ejaculation so that it could coincide exactly with the female orgasm.

Zhang Jingsheng's "vaginal fluidology," however, went beyond Stopes's ideas as it argued that sexual fluids and the perfect union led to better offspring. According to Zhang, a woman's "Third Kind of Water" was alkaline and could facilitate the sperm's journey toward the uterus. The spasm experienced during the female orgasm hastened the ovum's descent through the Fallopian tube, and the "electrical energy" from the "Third Kind of Water" would also "enliven" the ovum. Zhang thought that a child conceived at the moment when the parents achieved simultaneous orgasm, with the egg and sperm surrounded by the "Third Kind of Water," would be physically stronger and more intelligent. In one move, Zhang reconciled the individual pursuit of sexual pleasure with the collective responsibility of nation-building. Making love became scientized through Zhang's "fluidology," and a couple's eugenic duty became something that was seemingly compatible with sensuality and satisfaction. The feebleness of the Chinese race was reduced to the fact that Chinese couples were ignorant of the "Third Kind of Water," and the offspring produced through "bad sex" could not compete with Westerners.<sup>46</sup>

This idea, as bizarre and "pseudoscientific" as it might sound, was not exclusive to Zhang Jingsheng. Historian Michael Gordon discovered that the first reference to the eugenic function of synchronized orgasm was in George Washington Savory's *Marriage: Its Science and Ethics, or Love's Consummation* (1900).<sup>47</sup> Angus McLaren showed that some medical practitioners, from the sixteenth to nineteenth century, promoted the idea that the

female orgasm either was necessary for fertilization or would lead to “better” conception.<sup>48</sup> McLaren also argued that a large number of marriage manuals in late nineteenth- and early twentieth-century Europe and America also linked successful reproduction with simultaneous orgasm.<sup>49</sup> Zhang’s “Third Kind of Water” can be situated, then, in the context of this global genealogy and traffic of sexological ideas.

Zhang Jingsheng’s contemporaries were not kind to his theory of the “Third Kind of Water.” His most fierce critics included the science popularizer and journalist Zhou Jianren (1888–1984), as well as the sociologist and eugenicist Pan Guangdan (1899–1967).<sup>50</sup> Zhou and Pan both argued that Zhang Jingsheng’s “Third Kind of Water” was a rehash of “Daoist,” superstitious junk—“bullshit,” to put it bluntly. One could indeed discern the similarities between the theory of the “Third Kind of Water” and the discourse of Daoist sexual cultivation for health and longevity contained in the texts reconstructed by Ye Dehui for the *Shadow of the Double Plum Tree Anthology*. So-called *coitus reservatus* was one of the practices associated with Daoist self-cultivation, involving the absorption of female sexual fluids and the retention of semen, achieved via the constriction of the anus at the point of male orgasm. As the “female essence” was absorbed by the male practitioner, the “male essence” was believed to “return to the brain” to rejuvenate the spirit. The difference between *coitus reservatus* and “Third Kind of Water” was that Zhang Jingsheng insisted on the mutual, profitable transaction of genital fluids between men and women. Moreover, Zhang Jingsheng claimed that his ideas were based solidly on cutting-edge Western sexology: the substance of Stopes’s *Married Love* combined with the methodology of Ellis’s *Studies in the Psychology of Sex*. There is a remarkable double irony in this scenario. In the Western science, which Zhang represented, his opponents saw the remnants and ghosts of China’s “degenerate” past, which they were desperately trying to exorcise. In contrast, many early twentieth-century Western intellectuals were looking to the “Orient” to find an Eastern Other in order to rejuvenate themselves.

While Zhang’s sexology was influenced by British sexology, Chinese ideas also flowed—sometimes via multiple detours—in the other direction. Havelock Ellis had this to say about Chinese civilization after reading *The Book of Rites (Liji)*, one of the five classics in the Confucian canon:

How delighted I was to learn that in China life was regulated by music and ceremony . . . [China] was the highest point of urban civilization to which man has ever attained, characterised by “courtesy,” “fair dealing,” an imperial exercise of justice, and hospitals in every city and no beggars . . . ever to be seen . . . [The Chinese were] devoid

of those conservative instincts by which we are guided in Europe . . . simple, childlike, yet profound attitude towards life.<sup>51</sup>

The imagined end point of Ellis’s sexual revolution appears similar to the vision of Chinese society as prescribed by *The Book of Rites*. Yet for the May Fourth generation of Chinese intellectuals, *The Book of Rites* was an obstacle to China’s modernization that had to be eradicated—and the end point of a sexual revolution for men like Zhang Jingsheng was that China would finally be *just like* the West. This was a chiasmatic situation: Zhang Jingsheng’s *Sex Histories* was a “Chinese sexology” constructed out of Western sources of authority to transform the nation by intervening with the most intimate parts of people’s lives. Zhang Jingsheng’s critics, however, thought he was reviving “pseudoscientific” nonsense when China desperately needed positivist, materialist, empirical science. Meanwhile, the one sexologist, Havelock Ellis, held in such high esteem by May Fourth intellectuals for his fearless investigations into human sexuality, was looking to early China in which people apparently had some enlightened, privileged connection to nature, in contrast to the conservatism, prudery, and repression in post-Victorian England.

### The Afterlives of Two “Chinese Sexologies”

Although it is difficult to assess what kind of impact *Shadow of the Double Plum Tree Anthology* had in Ye’s lifetime, it enjoyed an intriguing afterlife. Ye’s *Anthology* became an important source for a number of mid-twentieth-century European Sinologists who studied the history of religion, medicine, bodily practices, and sexuality in China. One of them was the eminent Sinologist Joseph Needham (1900–1995), inaugurator of the monumental *Science and Civilisation in China* project. Needham constructed his arguments by using Ye’s *Anthology*. He insisted that there was an ancient Chinese culture of eroticism that was far more liberated than Western Judeo-Christian sexuality. For Needham, Ye Dehui’s “bedchamber texts” offered proof that the Chinese were preoccupied with the enhancement of intensity and pleasure, as opposed to the regulation of reproduction and gender. Needham thought that there was a “pure milk of Daoist Gospel,” which could be extracted and distilled for the consumption by alienated men and women in present times.<sup>52</sup> Embedded within that “Daoist Gospel” was the hope of constructing a new, universal sexual ethics free from “the bondage of conventional ideas,” from “those Gnostic and Manichean heresies which attributed all evil to matter, and took all sex as sin.” The way to achieve that, Needham argued, was to fuse Daoist “naturalism” and sensual

intensification that he apparently witnessed in Ye Dehui's textual reconstructions, with the ideas of "great visionaries like William Blake, D. H. Lawrence, Edward Carpenter, and Havelock Ellis."<sup>53</sup> Needham appropriated Ye Dehui thus for the production of scholarly "truths" about China as well as for his own vision of a sexual revolution.

Again, this was a misunderstanding of Daoist self-cultivation "bed-chamber texts": while Ye misread the texts he reconstructed as a Chinese equivalent to Western eugenics and reproductive hygiene, Needham misread Ye Dehui's anthology as an antidote to Judeo-Christian sexuality, a Chinese *ars erotica* that was about seeking pleasure purely for the sake of pleasure. As I have discussed elsewhere, Needham's ideology found its way into Michel Foucault's *History of Sexuality*, Vol. 1, coming to underpin Foucault's distinction between Western *scientia sexualis* and Eastern *ars erotica*.<sup>54</sup> Even though Foucault subsequently disowned this problematic dichotomy in the 1980s, and even though "governmentality" and "biopolitics" proved to be more fruitful categories of historical analysis compared to *scientia sexualis*, Foucault nevertheless remained utterly convinced that China had an *ars erotica*, a configuration of pleasure and desire that was diametrically opposite to the West.

Retracing Foucault's sources of authority on China, I discovered that he relied exclusively on the work of Dutch Sinologist Robert van Gulik (1910–1967), specifically *Sexual Life in Ancient China* (originally published in English in 1961, French translation in 1971).<sup>55</sup> Van Gulik's work was enthusiastically received by the 1968 generation of Parisian intellectuals. However, van Gulik initially had a negative view of certain elements of Chinese sexual culture, until Needham vehemently criticized him. Needham believed that Chinese sexuality was wholesome and healthy *tout court*, and so van Gulik corrected himself when he penned *Sexual Life in Ancient China*. The two Sinologists therefore ended up promoting a romantic vision of Chinese eroticism, which Foucault assimilated in *History of Sexuality*. Paying attention to the migration of ideas in this way thus reveals a convoluted genealogy that reaches from Ye Dehui, via Joseph Needham and Robert van Gulik, all the way to Michel Foucault. In other words, an early twentieth-century anthology, produced by a Sinocentric scholar in an attempt to stem the invasion of Western reproductive science, is thus connected to one of the foundational works in Western gender and sexuality studies.

Zhang Jingsheng's *Sex Histories* has a no less significant afterlife. In May 2005, a scandal erupted in Taiwan, which received several days of press and television coverage. Dala Books, a Taipei-based publisher specializing in erotica and popular works on sexuality, reprinted *Sex Histories*—the first time that the text was published in its entirety in eighty years. As part of its

advertising campaign, Dala placed an announcement in Taiwanese newspapers inviting the general public to submit stories of their sexual development and erotic life, imitating Zhang Jingsheng's call for confessional narratives. A panel of three Taiwanese intellectuals decided the winners of the competition: Shu Yu-shen, a sexologist trained at the Institute for Advanced Study of Human Sexuality in San Francisco; poet Yang Che; and novelist India Ch'en Ying-shu. The winner received approximately two thousand U.S. dollars. Dala's representative explained in a television interview her desire to produce "a record of the sex lives of the Chinese people," emphasizing that she was not calling for submissions of "obscene sexual stories." The submissions ought to be "pleasant and enjoyable to read," and controversial topics such as incest and bestiality would be acceptable provided that the authors did not "exaggerate" or "include anything sickening."<sup>56</sup>

Shortly after the announcement of the competition, Dala Books was publicly denounced by a Catholic priest. Father Wu Chung-yüan said that sex ought to be "private" and therefore it ought not be openly discussed. Father Wu also worried that if the submissions, which were to be printed in a collection entitled *Sex Histories 2006 (Xingshi 2006)*, contained "sexual perversions," then the general public would be "misled" and "deviant behavior" would be legitimized. Chun Hsiu-hsien, director of the Department of Publication Affairs in Taiwan, subsequently held a press conference, "reminding the publishers" that the distribution of obscene publications was punishable by a maximum jail sentence of two years. The story was reported widely, and anti-censorship activists in turn criticized the government, lamenting that the Taiwanese state's repressive attitudes toward sexual publications "had not advanced at all in the past eighty years," when Zhang Jingsheng's *Sex Histories* was first published in Shanghai.<sup>57</sup> In September 2005, the winners of the competition were announced, and both *Sex Histories 1926* and *Sex Histories 2006* were published without incident.

The incident offers a glimpse at the appropriation of Zhang's *Sex Histories* in the early twenty-first century. Zhang is presented as a genius, a pioneer, a revolutionary prophet; his *Sex Histories* is described as the earliest "sexological report" of the Chinese people that apparently "predated Alfred Kinsey's *Sexual Behaviour in the Human Male* by 22 years." Dala's promotional materials further emphasized that Kinsey was born in 1894, six years after Zhang Jingsheng, and so Zhang was not a "Chinese Kinsey" but Kinsey was a "Western Zhang."<sup>58</sup> *Sex Histories* was, as stated on the dust jacket of Dala's 2006 reprint, a book that "sent the souls of the Chinese people half-way up to heaven eighty years ago" and today it challenged the state's boundaries on censorship and obscenity and pushed Taiwanese society's tolerance of sexual expression. The People's Republic of China edition of *Sex Histories*

was not released until 2014, and Zhang Jingsheng was hailed in the popular media as a misunderstood, heroic prophet who attempted to free the Chinese people's innermost yearnings and to channel them toward productive ends with the help of Western sexological science. These discourses appropriated *Sex Histories* for contemporary China, as they argued for an "honest" narrativization of sexual subjectivities in the midst of China's postsocialist "economic miracle" and its concomitant sexual revolution.

## Conclusion

By contrasting two seemingly obscure texts from early twentieth-century China, Ye Dehui's *Shadow of the Double Plum Tree Anthology* and Zhang Jingsheng's *Sex Histories*, this chapter has shown the complex role of translation as a negotiator of scientific knowledge and cultural identity. It has demonstrated that there exist two radically different "Chinese sexologies," which are both products of the global translation and circulation of sexological knowledge.

For Ye Dehui, European and American sexology was merely "old news from afar," and he responded to his encounters with European and American texts on reproduction and eugenics by turning inward and constructing an "indigenous," Chinese sexology based on classical sources recorded in Japanese texts. By trying to embargo Western knowledge and attacking literati influence, he aimed to save Confucianism and resist modernization. Ye's carefully constructed "Chinese sexology" would eventually influence the shaping of modern sexuality studies in the West as it was misidentified as the Chinese *ars erotica*, which, for Foucault and others, was fundamental to the distinction between "Western" and "Eastern" discourses about sex. In contrast, Zhang Jingsheng embraced the cross-cultural exchange of ideas. Like many of his fellow May Fourth intellectuals, he argued that the ideas put forward by English sexual reformers had never existed in Chinese history. He turned to the works of sexologists such as Havelock Ellis and Marie Stopes to fashion his own idiosyncratic brand of "eugenic sex." Zhang's work, then, adapted some of the European scientific racism to demolish what he regarded as the repressive, traditional, Confucian sexual conventions. Yet while he thought his work new, his opponents argued that he was merely recycling older ideas about sex.

Considering the translations of *The Shadow of the Double Plum Tree Anthology* and *Sex Histories* thus reveals the important yet contradictory currency of "sex" in debates about modern China. Such a translation approach makes clear that "sex" was used to argue both for the existence of a Chinese erotic tradition and for the need to adapt Western ideas to forge a new sexual politics in the Sinophone world.

## NOTES

1. Meng Zhaochen, *Zhongguo jindai xiaobao shi* [The modern history of tabloids in China] (Beijing: Shehui Kexue Wenxian Chubanshe, 2005), 27–34; Hong Yu, *Jindai Shanghai xiaobao yu shimin wenhua yanjiu* [Tabloids in modern Shanghai and research in civic culture 1897–1937] (Shanghai: Shanghai Shiji Chuban Jituan, 2007).

2. Ye Dehui, *Shuangmei jing'an cangshu* [Shadow of the double plum tree anthology] (Changsha: Yeshe Xiyuan, 1903–1917), Needham Research Institute, Rare Books Collection, 809.30011 YDH (RBR); Zhang Jingsheng, *Xingshi* [Sex histories] (Taipei: Dala, 2006, and Beijing: Shijie Tushu Chuban Gongsi, 2014), originally published in Shanghai in 1926.

3. Du Maizhi and Zhang Chengzong, *Ye Dehui pingzhuan* [Critical biography of Ye Dehui] (Changsha: Yuelu Shushe, 1986); Zhang Jingping, *Ye Dehui shengping ji xueshu sixiang yanjiu* [Research on Ye Dehui's life, scholarship, and thought] (Changsha: Hunan Shifan Daxue Chubanshe, 2008); Wang Yiming, ed., *Ye Dehui ji* [Ye Dehui's collected writings], 4 vols. (Beijing: Xueyuan Chubanshe, 2007).

4. Joseph W. Esherick, *Reform and Revolution in China: The 1911 Revolution in Hunan and Hubei* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1976), 125–126.

5. Juan is a difficult unit of measurement, not quite the same as “volumes.” See Robert E. Hegel, *Reading Illustrated Fiction in Late Imperial China* (Stanford, CA: Stanford University Press, 1998), 74–76; Joseph P. McDermott, *A Social History of the Chinese Book: Books and Literati Culture in Late Imperial China* (Hong Kong: Hong Kong University Press, 2006), 49; Li Xuemei, *Jindai Zhongguo cangshu wenhua* [The culture of book collection in modern China] (Beijing: Xiandai Chubanshe, 1999); Ren Jiyu, ed., *Zhongguo cangshu lou* [Book collections in China] (Shenyang: Liaoning Renmin Chubanshe, 2001); Wei Li, “Lingering Traces: In Search of China's Old Libraries,” trans. Duncan Campbell, *China Heritage Quarterly*, no. 18 (2009), available at [http://www.chinaheritagequarterly.org/scholarship.php?searchterm=018\\_oldlibraries.inc&issue=018](http://www.chinaheritagequarterly.org/scholarship.php?searchterm=018_oldlibraries.inc&issue=018); Wei Li, “Further Lingering Traces: China's Traditional Libraries,” trans. Duncan Campbell, *China Heritage Quarterly*, no. 20 (2009), available at [http://www.chinaheritagequarterly.org/features.php?searchterm=020\\_wei\\_li.inc&issue=020](http://www.chinaheritagequarterly.org/features.php?searchterm=020_wei_li.inc&issue=020).

6. Su Yu, ed., *Yijiao congbian* [Collected essays on defending Confucianism], 6 vols. (Taipei: Wenhai Chubanshe, 1971 [1898]).

7. Kang Youwei, *Xinxue weijing kao* [An exposé of the forged classics] (Beijing: Zhonghua Shuju, 2012 [1891]); Kang Youwei, *Kongzi gaizhi kao* [Confucius as a reformer] (Beijing: Zhonghua Shuju, 2012 [1892–1898]).

8. See Anne Cheng, “Nationalism, Citizenship, and the Old Text / New Text Controversy in the Late Nineteenth Century,” in *Imagining the People: Chinese Intellectuals and the Concept of Citizenship 1890–1920*, ed. Joshua A. Fogel and Peter G. Zarrow (Armonk, NY: Sharpe, 1997), 61–81; Hans van Ess, “The Old Text / New Text Controversy: Has the Twentieth Century Got It Wrong?” *T'oung Pao* 80 (1994): 146–170; Peter Zarrow, “The Political Movement, the Monarchy, and Political Modernity,” in *Rethinking the 1898 Reform Period: Political and Cultural Change in Late Qing China*, ed. Rebecca E. Karl and Peter Zarrow (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 2002), 17–47; Peter Zarrow, *After Empire: The Conceptual Transformation of the Chinese State, 1885–1924* (Stanford, CA: Stanford University Press, 2012), 24–55.

9. See, for example, Ye Dehui, *Xiyuan xiaoxue sizhong* [Four works on elementary studies by Xiyuan] (Nanyang: Ye Shi Guangu Tang, 1931).

10. Ye Dehui, *Shulin qinghua* [Plain talks on the forest of books] (Beijing: Guji Chubanshe, 1957 [1911]); Ye Dehui, *Cangshu shiyue* [Bookman's Decalogue], trans. Achilles Fang, in *Harvard Journal of Asiatic Studies* 13 (1950): 132–173, originally published in 1911; McDermott, *Social History of the Chinese Book*, 263; Cynthia J. Brokaw, “On the History of the Book in China,” in *Printing and Book Culture in Late Imperial China*, ed. Cynthia J. Brokaw and Kai-wing Chow (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2005), 3–54.

11. Leon Antonio Rocha, “Sex, Eugenics, Aesthetics, Utopia in the Life and Work of Zhang Jingsheng (1888–1970)” (Ph.D. diss., University of Cambridge, 2010); Charles L. Leary, “Sexual Modernism in China: Zhang Jingsheng and 1920s Urban Culture” (Ph.D. diss., Cornell University, 1994). My biographical account is informed by Peng Hsiao-yen, “Sex Histories: Zhang Jingsheng's Sexual Revolution,” *Critical Studies* 18 (1999): 159–177; Jiang Xiaoyuan, “Zhang Jingsheng qiren qishi” [Zhang Jingsheng's life and deeds], in Zhang, *Xingshi*, 9–23; Jiang Zhongxiao, “Xu er Zhang Jingsheng de shengping sixiang he zhushu” [Preface II: Zhang Jingsheng's life, thought, and work], in Zhang Jingsheng, *Zhang Jingsheng wenji* [The collected works of Zhang Jingsheng], ed. Jiang Zhongxiao, 2 vols. (Guangzhou: Guangzhou Chubanshe, 1998), 1:11–23; Zhang Jingsheng, *Fusheng mantan Zhang Jingsheng suibi xuan* [Reveries on a floating life: Zhang Jingsheng's selected miscellaneous essays], ed. Zhang Peizhong (Beijing: Sanlian Shudian, 2008); Zhang Peizhong, *Wenyao yu xianzi Zhang Jingsheng chuan* [The monster and the prophet: A biography of Zhang Jingsheng] (Beijing: Sanlian Shudian, 2008).

12. Jiang, “Zhang Jingsheng qiren qishi,” 9. On Stratz, see Irvin C. Schick, *The Erotic Margin: Sexuality and Spatiality in Alteritist Discourse* (London: Verso, 1999); Michael Hau, *The Cult of Health and Beauty in Germany: A Social History, 1890–1930* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2003), 82–100.

13. Hau, *Cult of Health and Beauty in Germany*, 225n37.

14. Lai Shu-ching, “Minchu jixunju yu jixun liuxuesheng de paiqian” [The 1912–1913 Bureau of Merits of the Nanking provisional government and the sending of merit students studying abroad], in *Guoshi guan guankan* [Academia Historica Journal] 22 (2009): 57–96; Ye Weili, *Seeking Modernity in China's Name: Chinese Students in the United States, 1900–1927* (Stanford, CA: Stanford University Press, 2001).

15. K. S. Tchang [Zhang Jingsheng], *Les sources antiques des théories de J.-J. Rousseau sur l'éducation* (Lyon: Roudil, 1919).

16. Jean-Jacques Rousseau, *Lusao chanhui lu* [The confessions], trans. Zhang Jingsheng (Shanghai: Mei De Shudian, 1928); Zhang Jingsheng, *Meng yu fangzhu* [Dreams and exile], abridged Chinese translation of Rousseau's *Reveries of a Solitary Walker* and Victor Hugo's *Actes et paroles—pendant l'exil* (Shanghai: Shijie Shuju, 1929).

17. Sanger's visit was meticulously documented in Beijing's *Chenbao fukan* [Morning Daily Supplement], April 22–25, 1922.

18. On Zhang Jingsheng's participation in the so-called Rules of Love debate in 1923, see Zhang Peizhong, ed., *Aiqing dingze: Xiandai Zhongguo diyi ci aiqing da taolun* [The rules of love: The first major debate on love in modern China] (Beijing: Sanlian Shudian, 2011); Haiyan Lee, *Revolution of the Heart: A Genealogy of Love in China, 1900–1950* (Stanford, CA: Stanford University Press, 2007), 140–185.

19. The May Fourth historiography is being increasingly critiqued in China studies: Milena Doleželová-Velingerová and Oldřich Král, eds., *The Appropriation of Cultural*

*Capital: China's May Fourth Project* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 2001); Kai-wing Chow et al., eds., *Beyond the May Fourth Paradigm: In Search of Chinese Modernity* (Lanham, MD: Lexington Books, 2008).

20. Lydia H. Liu, *Translingual Practice: Literature, National Culture, and Translated Modernity—China, 1900–1937* (Stanford, CA: Stanford University Press, 1995).

21. Leo Ou-fan Lee, *Shanghai Modern: The Flowering of a New Urban Culture in China, 1930–1945* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1999), 43–81.

22. Susan Mann, *Precious Records: Women in China's Long Eighteenth Century* (Stanford, CA: Stanford University Press, 1997), 121–142; Catherine Yeh, *Shanghai Love: Courtesans, Intellectuals, and Entertainment Culture, 1850–1910* (Seattle: University of Washington Press, 2006).

23. Among the vast literature on Daoism, I found the following sources particularly useful: Sumiyo Umekawa, “Sex and Immortality: A Study of Chinese Sexual Activities for Better-Being” (Ph.D. diss., School of Oriental and African Studies, University of London, 2004); Yoshinobu Sakade and Sumiyo Umekawa, “*Ki*” *no shiso kara miru do-kyo no bochujutsu: Ima ni ikiru kodai Chugoku no seiai chojuho* [Ideas on “qi” in Daoist art of the bedchamber: Sexual cultivation techniques in ancient China] (Tokyo: Goyo Shobo, 2003).

24. Douglas Wile, *Art of the Bedchamber: The Chinese Sexual Yoga Classics Including Women's Solo Meditation Texts* (Albany: State University of New York Press, 1992), 94–100.

25. Sumiyo Umekawa, “*Tiandi yinyang jiaohuang dalefu* and the Art of the Bedchamber,” in *Medieval Chinese Medicine: The Dunhuang Medical Manuscripts*, ed. Vivienne Lo and Christopher Cullen (London: Routledge, 2004), 252–277.

26. Leon Antonio Rocha, “The Way of Sex: Joseph Needham and Jolan Chang,” *Studies in the History and Philosophy of Biological and Biomedical Sciences* 43, no. 3 (2012): 611–626.

27. Rudolf Pfister, “Gendering Sexual Pleasures in Early and Medieval China,” *Asian Medicine* 7 (2012), 34–64; Gao Wenzhu et al., *Yixinfang jiaozhu yanjiu* [Studies on the collation and annotation of The Core Prescriptions of Medicine] (Beijing: Huaxia Chubanshe, 1996).

28. Ye Dehui, “*Sunü jing xu*” [Preface to The Classic of the Plain Girl], in *Shuangmei jing'an congshu* [Shadow of the double plum tree anthology], 2.

29. Charlotte Furth, “Rethinking van Gulik: Sexuality and Reproduction in Traditional Chinese Medicine,” in *Engendering China: Women, Culture, and the State*, ed. Christina K. Gilmartin et al. (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1995), 130.

30. The book's full title continues as follows: *Love, Its Laws, Power, etc.: Selection, or Mutual Adaptation: Courtship, Married Life, and Perfect Children: Their Generation, Endowment, Paternity, Maternity, Bearing, Nursing and Rearing; Together with Puberty, Boyhood, Girlhood, etc.; Sexual Impairments Restored, Male Vigour and Female Health and Beauty Perpetuated and Augmented etc. as Taught by Phrenology and Physiology*. A Canadian version is available online via the John Robarts Library, University of Toronto, available at <https://archive.org/details/creativesexualsc00fowluoft>.

31. Orson Squire Fowler, *Danjo kogo shin ron* [New theories on sexual intercourse], trans. Hashizume Kanichi (Tokyo: Shunyodo Shoten, 1878). Partial translation of *Creative and Sexual Science* (Philadelphia: Jones, 1875).

32. Fawuluo [Orson Squire Fowler], *Nannü jiaohé xīnlùn* [New theories on sexual intercourse], trans. Youyazi (place and publisher unknown, around 1880s).
33. Carl Frederick Schmidt, *The Octagon Fad* (New York: privately printed, 1958).
34. Y. Yvon Wang, “Whorish Representation: Pornography, Media, and Modernity in Fin-de-Siècle Beijing,” *Modern China* (2013), available at <http://mcx.sagepub.com/content/early/2013/08/24/0097700413499732.abstract>.
35. Matsumoto Yasuko, *Danjo seishoku kenzenho* [Methods for strengthening male and female reproduction] (Tokyo: Chuo Kangofukai, 1900).
36. Matsumoto Yasuko, *Hunyin weisheng xue* [The hygiene of marriage]. Translation of Youminzi, *Danjo seishoku kenzenho* (Yokohama: Kingsell, 1902).
37. Henry Hartshorne, *Tsuzoku seishoku ron* [Easy to understand theories of genitalia], trans. Hasegawa Tai (Tokyo: Sakagami Hanshichi, 1878). Partial translation of *A Conspectus of the Medical Sciences: Comprising Manuals of Anatomy, Physiology, Chemistry, Materia Medica, Practice of Medicine, Surgery and Obstetrics for the Use of Students* (Philadelphia: Lea, 1874), available at <https://archive.org/details/aconspectusmedi00hartgoog>.
38. Kang Youwei, *Riben shumu zhi* [Bibliography of Japanese books], in *Kang Nanhai xiansheng yizhu huikan* [The collected writings of Master Kang Nanhai], ed. Jiang Guilin, 22 vols. (Taipei: Hongye, 1976 [1898]), vol. 11; Wang, “Whorish Representation,” 13.
39. Michael Lackner, “*Ex Oriente Scientia?* Reconsidering the Ideology of a Chinese Origin of Western Knowledge,” *Asia Major* 21, no. 1–2 (2008): 183–200.
40. Zhang, *Fusheng mantan Zhang Jingsheng suibi xuan*, 154.
41. Zhang, *Xingshi*, 80–84.
42. Marie Stopes, *Married Love: A New Contribution to the Solution of Sex Difficulties*, ed. Ross McKibbin (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2004 [1918]), 54.
43. *Ibid.*, 55.
44. Annamarie Jagose, *Orgasmology* (Durham, NC: Duke University Press, 2013), 40–77.
45. Margaret Jackson, *The Real Facts of Life: Feminism and the Politics of Sexuality 1850–1940* (London: Routledge, 1994), 138–139; David Bennett, “Burghers, Burglars, and Masturbators: The Sovereign Spender in the Age of Consumerism,” *New Literary History* 30 (1999): 275.
46. Zhang Jingsheng, “Disanzhongshui yu luanzhu ji shengji de dian he yousheng de guanxi huo mei de xingyu” [The relationship between the third kind of water and the ovum, and vital electricity and eugenics, or, Beautiful sexual desire] in *Xin wenhua* [New Culture] 1, no. 2 (1927): 23–48 at 30.
47. Michael Gordon, “From an Unfortunate Necessity to a Cult of Mutual Orgasm: Sex in American Marital Education Literature, 1830–1940,” in *Studies in the Sociology of Sex*, ed. James M. Heslin (New York: Appleton-Century-Crofts, 1971), 53–77; Angus McLaren, *Twentieth-Century Sexuality: A History* (Oxford: Blackwell, 1999), 52; Angus McLaren, *Impotence: A Cultural History* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2007), 171.
48. Angus McLaren, *Reproductive Rituals: The Perception of Fertility in England from the Sixteenth Century to the Nineteenth Century* (London: Methuen, 1984), 19–20.
49. McLaren, *Twentieth-Century Sexuality*, 46–63.

50. On Zhou Jianren and Pan Guangdan, see Sakamoto Hiroko, "The Cult of 'Love and Eugenics' in May Fourth Movement Discourse," *positions: east asia cultures critique* 12 (2004): 329–376; Leon Antonio Rocha, "Quentin Pan in *The China Critic*," *China Heritage Quarterly*, no. 30–31 (2012), available at [http://www.chinaheritagequarterly.org/features.php?searchterm=030\\_rocha.inc&issue=030](http://www.chinaheritagequarterly.org/features.php?searchterm=030_rocha.inc&issue=030). On the *Sex Histories* debates, see Charles L. Leary, "Intellectual Orthodoxy, the Economy of Knowledge and the Debate over Zhang Jingsheng's *Sex Histories*," *Republican China* 18, no. 2 (1993): 99–137; Lee, *Revolution of the Heart*, 186–219; Wendy Larson, *From Ah Q to Lei Feng: Freud and Revolutionary Spirit in Twentieth-Century China* (Stanford, CA: Stanford University Press, 2009), 55–59.

51. Henry Havelock Ellis, *The Dance of Life* (Boston: Houghton Mifflin, 1923), 17, 33.

52. Joseph Needham, with Lu Gwei-Djen, *Science and Civilisation in China, Volume V: Chemistry and Chemical Technology, Part 5: Spagyric Discovery and Invention: Physiological Alchemy* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1985), 201.

53. Ibid.

54. Leon Antonio Rocha, "Scientia Sexualis versus Ars Erotica: Foucault, van Gulik, Needham," *Studies in the History and Philosophy of Biological and Biomedical Sciences* 42, no. 3 (2011): 328–343.

55. Robert H. van Gulik, *Sexual Life in Ancient China: A Preliminary Survey of Chinese Sex and Society from ca. 1500 BC till 1644 AD* (Leiden, Netherlands: Brill, 2003 [1961]). French translation by Louis Évrard titled *La vie sexuelle dans la Chine ancienne* (Paris: Gallimard, 1971).

56. Interview with Dala spokesperson Wu Hsin-wen on TVBS National Evening News (Taiwan), July 17, 2006.

57. TVBS National Evening News (Taiwan), July 17, 2006.

58. Promotional materials from Dala Publishers blog, available at <http://blog.yam.com/dala>.

