ENDNOTES


2. The North China Famine is referred to in Chinese as the *Dingwu qihuang* (Incredible Famine of 1877-78), or simply *Guangxu sannian* (the third year of the Guangxu emperor’s reign, which was 1877).


6. *Shenbao*, 15 March 1878, 1. The *Shenbao* credited Xie Jiafu (also referred to as Xie Suizi) and Tian Zilin with designing and printing the collection. Xie and Tian were based in Suzhou, a wealthy city roughly 100 kilometers west of Shanghai. “*Si sheng gao zai tu qi,*” *shou juan* (Pictures reporting the disaster in the four provinces, opening volume), in *Qi Yu Jin Zhi zhenjuan zhengxin lu* (Statement of disaster in the four provinces, opening volume), in *Qi Yu Jin Zhi zhenjuan zhengxin lu* (Statement of accounts for relief contributions for Shandong, Henan, Shanxi, and Zhili) (n.p., 1881).


8. *Shenbao*, 15 March 1878, 1. In one of his letters-to-the-public published by the Shanghai relief bureau, Zheng Guanying, a reformer-entrepreneur from Guangdong who helped spearhead the relief campaign in Shanghai, mentions writing “inscriptions to draw tears from iron” himself, and receiving additional laments from his friends. Zheng Guanying ji, 1074.

9. The volume of illustrations titled *Si sheng gao zai tu qi* (Pictures reporting the disaster in four provinces) was the opening volume of a twelve-volume compilation titled *Qi Yu Jin Zhi zhenjuan zhengxin lu* (Statement of accounts for relief contributions for Shandong, Henan, Shanxi, and Zhili), compiled in 1881. This compilation is held in the historical documents room of the Shanghai Library.
The *Henan qihuang tieleitu* is not among the five sets of illustrations in the volume of illustrations. The first set, however, has the synonymous title *Yu ji tieleitu* (The Henan famine: Pictures to draw tears from iron). Only one of the 16 illustrations in the *Yu ji tieleitu* is identical to an illustration in the *Henan qihuang tieleitu*, but four other illustrations found in both works concern the same subject matter (people eating tree bark to survive, people selling their children, famine-related suicides, and cannibalism), share the same accompanying texts, and are similar though not identical in appearance.

The Jiangnan (literally “south of the Yangzi River”) region includes much of Jiangsu, Zhejiang, and Anhui provinces, and was the most prosperous and urbanized area of China during the late imperial period.


For an introduction to the *Qingshiduo*, see Will, *Bureaucracy and Famine*, 55. The roughly 900 Qing-era poems in the *Qingshiduo* were compiled in 1869 by the Zhejiangese scholar Zhang Yingchang. The poems in sections (juan) fourteen and fifteen describe the suffering of people stricken by natural disasters, while those in section seventeen describe the sale of women and children and the plight of disaster refugees. The poems use emotional language and vivid imagery very similar to that used in Xie's famine illustrations a decade later. A short poem titled “Traveling through the Shanxi Famine” (*Jin ji xing*), for example, employed some of the exact same phrases found in both local gazetteer essays about the 1877 famine and in several of the Taohuawu illustrations. The poet mourned that Shanxi's plains had become “a thousand li of scorched earth,” that the people were reduced to eating tree leaves and bark, and that officials grew rich off relief money while the common people starved.


Zhu Hu, 85-86.

"Shou juan Si sheng gao zai tu qì," Qi Yu Jin Zhi zhenjuan zhengxin lu, 13a; *The Famine in China*, 22; *China's Millions* (September, 1878), 115. The content of the cannibalism illustration in both the *Henan qihuang tieleitu* and the *Yu ji tieleitu* is the same, and the accompanying text is identical. The illustrations, however, are slightly different in form. The illustration in the *Henan qihuang tieleitu* compilation that was translated into English and published in London, for instance, portrays seven living people, while the version in the *Yu Ji tieleitu* only pictures six.

Qi Yu Jin Zhi zhenjuan zhengxin lu, 23b-24a.

Jing Yuanshan, *Juyi chuji*, 2.41a – b.

19 "Si sheng gao zai tu qi," 2b-3a, in Qi Yu Jin Zhi zhenjuan zhengxin lu; Handlin Smith, 149.

20 For a detailed analysis of the connection that the Shenbao and leading relief organizers in the 1870s drew between famine relief work and the accumulation of merit, see Janku, “Sowing Happiness.”


22 Committee of the China Famine Relief Fund, The Famine in China, 34; “Si sheng gao zai tu qi,” 19a. This illustration is the final one in both the Henan qihuang tieleitu and the Yu ji tieleitu, one of the five sets of disaster illustrations in the 1881 compilation. It is the only illustration that is exactly the same in both sets of tieleitu.


24 “Shanghai chouzhen gongsuo quanmu Henan, Shanxi yizhen gong qi,” (A Public letter posted from the Shanghai Relief Managing Office, exhorting people to raise charitable relief for Henan and Shanxi), Zheng Guanying ji, ed. Xia Dongyuan (Shanghai: Shanghai renmin chubanshe, 1982), 1071. For further examples of Zheng Guanying’s traditional ideas concerning rewards and retribution for good or bad deeds, see his volume Juuzai lubaob (The reward and retribution of disaster relief), which he compiled in 1878. Xie Jiafu wrote the preface for a second edition of the volume, which was printed in 1888.

25 For more information on Zheng Guanying, see Paul Cohen’s Between Tradition and Modernity: Wang T’ao and Reform in Late Ch’ing China, Yen-P’ing Hao’s The Comprador in Nineteenth Century China: Bridge Between East and West, and Bryna Goodman’s Native Place, City, and Nation. For a good introduction to Jing Yuanshan, see Mary Rankin’s Elite Activism and Political Transformation in China.

26 Zhu, Difangxing liudong, 156; Janku, “Sowing Happiness,” 100-10. Suzhou is about 100 kilometers west of Shanghai. For further discussion of and lengthy quotations from Xie Jiafu’s unpublished diaries (held in the Suzhou Archives), see Zhu, chapters 1-3.

27 Beizhuan jibu, Min Erchang, comp., 1923. Reprint, Qingdai zhuangji congkan 123 (Taipei: Mingwen shuju, 1985), 506-513. Xie was back in Suzhou by the time the famine began, but he maintained close connections with merchant-philanthropists in nearby Shanghai.


29 Beizhuan jibu, 506-513.


31 Zhu, Difangxing liudong, 108-113, 133-134; Beizhuan jibu, 508-509.

32 Beizhuan jibu, 506-513.
Visual images of helpless women have also played an important role in representations of the Irish famine. A sobering illustration of the ragged “Widow O’Leary” and her two emaciated children has become the most ubiquitous visual emblem of Ireland’s misery during the potato blight. Originally published by the Illustrated London News during the famine, today the image of the widow and the children she cannot feed graces the covers or inside jackets of numerous books on “Black ’47.” In the museum shop at Ireland’s National Famine Museum in Strokestown, the haunting gaze of this suffering mother now stares at tourists from souvenir T-shirts, mugs, magnets, and even Frisbees.

“Jihan jiaopo, xuanliang touhe,” (Driven by hunger and cold, they hang themselves from a beam or throw themselves in a river) in “Si sheng gao zai tu qi,” 12.


Qingshiduo (Anthology of poems from the Qing period), 72-73, 443; Janku, “Sowing Happiness,” 95-105. Janku states that the Taohuawu was famous for its New Year prints and drew on that expertise to design the famine illustrations.

Shenbao, 15 March 1878, 1. The article made no mention of Yu Zhi’s disaster illustrations printed in the 1850s and 1860s.

China’s Millions (October 1878), 134.