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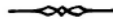
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EDITORIAL – A NEW DIRECTION FOR THE JOURNAL OF THE ROYAL ASIATIC SOCIETY CHINA

Richard de Grijs (Editor)
Ines Eben v. Racknitz (Deputy Editor)

WITH THE 2017 ISSUE of the *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society China* (*JRAS China*), we have set a small step towards rejuvenation and, to some extent, reinventing the *Journal*. A new editorial team was appointed at the Royal Asiatic Society's Annual General Meeting in late 2016, composed of Richard de Grijs as Editor and Ines Eben v. Racknitz as Deputy Editor. We are both academics at leading Chinese universities; Richard is a professor at the Kavli Institute for Astronomy and Astrophysics, an international research institute on the campus of Peking University. His interests are in astrophysics and the history of science—particularly in East—West cross-fertilisation—while he also serves on the Council of the RAS China's Beijing chapter. Ines is an associate professor at Nanjing University (Department of History); her expertise is in 19th Century Chinese history.

Now that we have managed to publish our first issue of the *JRAS China* as the incoming editorial team, of which we are indeed very pleased in view of the high-quality articles we have received, this is an opportune time and the appropriate place to highlight the opportunities on offer for future years. The *JRAS China* is a continuation of the original scholarly publication of the North China Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society, the *Journal of the North China Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society*, published 1858–1948. The *Journal* proudly maintains the level of academic standards and innovative research that marked its standing as the pre-eminent Western Sinological journal in China for nearly a hundred years.

The *JRAS China* aims at publishing articles that are accessible to a broad cross-section of the culturally literate public. Its publication frequency is once annually, both in print and online. It publishes original research articles on Chinese culture and society, past and present, with a focus on Mainland China. Original articles, which may be peer-reviewed, must be previously unpublished, and make a contribution to the field. The *Journal* also publishes timely reviews of

books on all aspects of Chinese history, culture and society.

On the basis of the articles received this year, we have arranged the contributions in sections focussing on ‘China and its periphery,’ ‘Serendipity,’ ‘Shanghai,’ ‘Society and the Arts,’ and ‘Book reviews.’ The ‘Shanghai’s’ section is central to the 2017 issue given the theme’s predominance among the articles we received. We encourage prospective authors to contribute to the rich history of China’s central communities in future issues as well. In addition to the ‘Shanghai’ section, the broader scope of the ‘China and its periphery’ section includes a number of interesting and well-written contributions focussing on populations and developments as far afield as Uzbekistan, Mongolia and the Philippines, including two peer-reviewed articles on the foreign legations in Beijing and the history of football across the region.

Our third peer-reviewed article is found in the ‘Society and the Arts’ section, with the authors discussing language developments. A particularly amazing story, accompanied by an historical background perspective, deals with the ‘Doolittle Raiders.’ This represents a truly unexpected encounter, ‘Serendipity’ in action. The mixture of magazine-style articles, peer-reviewed scholarly contributions, and shorter topical pieces is precisely what we were hoping for. Our authors hail from a wide variety of backgrounds and countries, and this is something we would like to develop more broadly in future issues.

Our aim for the *Journal* is that it will provide both a platform for serious scholarly research and an outlet for lighter contributions which our readership—predominantly but not exclusively members of the RAS China—would find interesting as reading materials. We welcome contributions from younger scholars, writers, and anyone with an interesting story to tell. This is an invitation to consider contributing to future issues of the *JRAS China*; we are open to considering any topic of relevance to East Asia and we would be pleased to work with you to make your story come to life!

For now, we hope that you enjoy reading this issue and we look forward to receiving your contributions, long or short, to the 2018 issue.

Section 1: China and periphery

THE VIEW FROM THE LEGATION

British diplomatic diaries during the Boxer siege of 1900

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ABSTRACT

Much has been written about the ‘Siege of the Legations’ in Peking (Beijing) in 1900, both at the time and later by historians looking back over these accounts and into official papers subsequently released to the public. There is a wealth of first-hand diaries and testimonies of the Siege written by those who were actually there, as well as contemporary newspaper reports, and even semi-fictionalised versions. This article examines three diaries kept by members of the British diplomatic corps—including the British Minister, Sir Claude MacDonald, and two student interpreters from the Consular Service, Lancelot Giles and William Meyrick Hewlett—and endeavours to look at these three sources in relation to a range of contemporary material: other diaries, newspaper reports, fictionalised accounts, photographs, and other pictorial depictions, wherever this seems relevant and appropriate. In looking at the private, first-hand accounts of these individuals, this article examines the views of three Westerners whose vantage points we might reasonably expect to have bridged the cultural divide between the two distinct cultures of the besiegers and those besieged. It was, after all, the job of the British diplomatic corps—from the chief representative, the British Minister, to the most junior members of the Legation staff, the Student Interpreters—to understand, interact, and essentially mediate between Britain and China.

In 1900, the era of Western colonialist expansion had, perhaps, reached its maximum extent. The power and influence of the British Empire in particular, as the foremost imperialist influence within China, was beginning to wane.¹ In many ways, the events of the Boxer Uprising changed the geopolitical balance between the Western powers which were present within China’s borders and allowed others—most notably Japan—to challenge or at least vie with Britain’s pre-eminence.² After its devastating confrontations with China in the two Opium Wars of

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1839–1842 and 1856–1860, Britain aggressively imposed its forward policy of free trade upon the Chinese Empire.³ The resulting system of extra-territoriality, whereby China was compelled to open a number of its ports to foreign traders who were exempted from the jurisdiction of the local Chinese authorities, served to weaken China's sovereignty within its own borders.⁴ As a result of these 'Unequal Treaties,' a system of informal empire arose wherein a mixed milieu of foreign nationals took up residence within these treaty ports, creating semi-colonial enclaves of their own making and their own administration.

Robert Bickers divides this 'settler society' into four categories: *settlers*, *expatriates*, *missionaries*, and *officials*.⁵ The *settlers* were mostly lower working-class traders and business people who tended to settle over time, often with several generations of their families eventually residing for their entire lives in China; the *expatriates* were more transient, or resident only for relatively short periods of their working lives—for instance, bankers, or those in manufacturing, shipping, or railway industries, or multi-national companies; the *officials* were diplomats, consuls, military personnel, or those working in the Imperial Chinese Maritime Customs Service. Each of these categories had their own relative stake in this system of informal empire which they perceived as being guaranteed by the treaties; and, as such—ever mindful of upholding the imperialists' notions of 'prestige'—it was the job of the diplomats in the Legations and the consuls stationed at each of the treaty ports to negotiate, mediate, or insist on the expatriate community's behalf that these 'treaty rights' were duly honoured by the Imperial Court or the Yamens of the provincial governors and local magistrates.⁶ The *missionaries*, and by extension their Chinese Christian converts, represented another special category which caused particular agitation among the ordinary Chinese, especially during the troubled period associated with the rise of the Boxer movement.⁷

As China increasingly came under the influence of new, Western-led global economic cycles, so too this began to have an effect upon the lives of ordinary Chinese subjects, many of whom may never have even seen a Westerner. Yet popular resentment of the foreign presence in China began to rise throughout Chinese society during the last half of the 19th Century.⁸ Disaffection with the Manchu rulers of the Qing Dynasty, which had first come to power in 1644, displacing the indigenous Han of the Ming Dynasty, had long been simmering, with various uprisings periodically occurring throughout the latter parts of

the 18th and 19th Centuries, most notably in the instance of the White Lotus Uprising of 1796–1804 and the Taiping Rebellion of 1850–1864.⁹ Some of these uprisings, although stirred by various or combined factors of economic depression, natural disasters—such as floods or prolonged periods of drought—government maladministration, or over-taxation, are thought to have had their organisational roots in the so-called ‘secret societies,’ such as the Triads, the White Lotus Sect, or the Big Sword Society. These groups were often fraternal associations, either of bandits unified by organised criminal intentions or brotherhoods drawing on the religious tenets typical of master–disciple relationships; frequently, they practised specialised traditions of martial arts, such that at certain times they might form openly into militias for the ‘protection’ of local communities; hence, in retrospect ‘secret societies’ is somewhat of a modern misnomer when applied to some of these groups by historians.¹⁰

The Boxers—the popular Western name having been derived from the title used by those Chinese who were in favour of the movement, *Yihequan* (义和拳), meaning ‘Boxers United in Righteousness,’ or equally the less favourable name used by those opposing them, *Quanfei* (拳匪) or ‘Boxing Bandits’—are said to have arisen out of such ‘secret society’ roots, yet unlike other similar underground organisations, the Boxers did not appear to be united under a single, distinct leadership, a fact, which along with their supernatural claims to possess certain magical abilities (such as invulnerability to bullets, arrows, etc.), only added to the enhanced sense of mystery which initially went hand-in-hand with their extreme fanaticism.¹¹ As Joseph Esherick has noted in his detailed examination of the origins of the Boxer movement, the lack of any centralised or coordinated leadership is one of the most striking and characteristic features of the movement, a feature which certainly sets it apart from many of the popular uprisings which had previously occurred in Chinese history.¹² The fact that the Boxers eventually showed themselves an essentially loyalist movement, rather than one which was opposed to the Qing as the ruling hierarchy, was also a defining factor. This simple fact may have played a deciding part in the Imperial Court’s eventual decision to back the Boxer cause, when after much vacillation both for and against, the Chinese government finally declared war on the foreign powers.

The Boxers were a spontaneous popular movement, which seems to have arisen for a number of interconnected reasons, the foremost of

which was the deep resentment felt towards the presence of foreigners residing in China, as the foreign communities themselves were only too well aware. It is notable, in fact, that many of the contemporary accounts written by these Westerners show a remarkable acuity in acknowledging the true causes of this resentment, as the following example by an American Pastor, the Reverend Z. Chas. Beals, writing in 1901, demonstrates:

The Boxer movement has unquestionably had as its chief reason the hatred and contempt of the foreigner. As such, it received the smiles of the dominant party in Peking; on such it based its hopes of success. I think we may be safe in giving besides the first or great central cause five others which helped to bring to an issue the present state of things in China. We will give them in order, as follows:

First, or great central cause, contempt and hatred of foreigners. The reason for this hatred was brought about, first, by abuse from foreigners themselves. Second, political 'land grabbing.' Third, oppression and lawsuits by the natives who entered the church (especially Roman Catholic) for that purpose. Fourth, Boxer superstition. Fifth, inability of our Consuls and Ministers to deal with Chinese officials as they should have been dealt with.¹³

The acknowledgement here that the foreigners were themselves largely to blame, which could perhaps be read as a tacit colonialist '*mea culpa*,' belies the book's more general purpose. Beals' tone is very much one of indignation; for him, "*the Boxer movement has been one of the greatest crimes of the nineteenth century.*"¹⁴ But the imposition and the imbalances of extra-territoriality were not the sole factors which contributed to the eventual social conflagration. Economic disadvantages, compounded by a prolonged period of drought, are also thought to have played a substantial part in fuelling the unrest.¹⁵

The Boxers came from all levels of Chinese society, yet the majority of the bands which openly practised hostilities towards the foreign communities were peasants, made idle by the prevailing drought-like conditions.¹⁶ As such, many missionaries, and even the British Minister in Peking, Sir Claude MacDonald, prayed or hoped for the

timely return of rain to the north China plain as the surest solution to the tensions.¹⁷ Unfortunately, when the first rains did come in earnest (on 13 June), it was too late, since by then the troubles which had first arisen across north China (in Zhili and Shandong Provinces in particular) had taken hold and the Foreign Legations were by then already under siege.¹⁸

The economic sufferings of the Chinese peasants extended beyond merely those engaged in agriculture but to those employed in other industries and trades too, for instance, the carters and boatmen, whose livelihoods were greatly impinged by Western interventions, such as the building of railways and the labour-changing activities of other commercial syndicates.¹⁹ The Boxers' xenophobic ire extended beyond the foreign communities. They made a deliberate policy of targeting Chinese Christian converts and any sympathetic Chinese officials, businesses, or tradespersons connected to Westerners or Western goods or ideas. As one eye-witness testified:

Chinese officials and merchants fleeing from the capital to their homes in the provinces were searched by Boxers and beheaded if any article of foreign manufacture could be found upon their persons or among their luggage. More than half of the mandarins in the empire refused to obey the order of the Empress Dowager, and at the risk of their own lives protected the missionaries and gave them escort, money, and every facility to escape. It would have been much easier for them to have massacred the helpless missionaries and infinitely more agreeable to their imperial mistress.²⁰

Reasons for joining the Boxers were not simply limited to the realities of such hardships as hunger or hatred of foreigners. There were other motivations too, such as patriotism, prestige, religious ideology, self-protection, social unity, and community support, as well as compulsion, peer-pressure, or fear of what might befall the individual or their family if they chose not to join.²¹ The Boxers, then, are perhaps best viewed as the culminating synergy of different but allied manifestations of social anxieties—of unease, poverty, unemployment, dislocation, disenfranchisement from recourse to their own legal system in certain circumstances and situations, a

profound sense of collective disgruntlement—a mass up-welling of defensiveness in response to a social system under threat.²² Yet curiously, unlike the instances of several previous rebellions in China, this disaffection found its eventual focus not upon the failures of the ruling dynasty, which was widely seen as corrupt and effete, itself a culturally alien imposition. However, some scholars have perceived that in its early stages the movement could quite easily have taken this direction.²³ Indeed, it has been suggested that through their self-professed patriotism the Boxers were in some senses guided towards their confrontation with the perceived threats brought by the foreign community as a result of the leniency shown by senior Qing officials following the Boxers' armed confrontation with the Qing authorities in an incident which has since become known as the Battle of Senluo Temple. Joseph Esherick sees this confrontation as an event which in fact *bolstered* the Boxers' loyalist claims, since the Boxers were, in effect, a popular movement working to assist society by acting on behalf of the State, thereby making up for the shortcomings of the ruling hierarchy.²⁴ This was a claim which, perhaps naturally, caused some Qing officials to disapprove of the Boxers. And, indeed, the split in official opinion persisted throughout the entire Siege of the Legations, causing much speculation, confusion, and uncertainty amongst the diplomatic corps during their fifty-five day period of isolation.

Writing to Lord Salisbury, who was both British Prime Minister and Foreign Secretary at the time, in the days leading up to the Siege, Sir Claude MacDonald observed:

There is a long Decree [issued by the Imperial Court] in the 'Gazette' which ascribes the recent troubles to the favour shown to [Chinese Christian] converts in law suits and the admission to their ranks of bad characters. It states that the Boxers, who are the objects of the Throne's sympathy [...], have made use of anti-Christian feeling aroused by these causes, and that bad characters among them have destroyed chapels and railways, which are the property of the State.

(...)

It is probable that the above Decree represents a compromise between the conflicting opinions which exist at Court. The general tone is most unsatisfactory, though

the effect may be good if severe measures are actually taken. The general lenient tone, the absence of reference to the murder of missionaries, and the justification of the proceedings of the Boxers by the misconduct of Christian converts are all dangerous factors in the case.²⁵

The most common perception of the Chinese, which seems to run through many first-hand accounts written by Westerners during or shortly after the Siege, is that the Chinese are duplicitous. Nothing that the Chinese authorities say or promise is to be taken at face value. There were numerous occasions throughout the course of the Siege when communications, ostensibly from persons in charge at the Chinese Court, offered the foreign diplomats safe passage out of the city, which were dismissed as ruses designed to lure them into the open so that they might be massacred more swiftly and easily.²⁶

Even after the Chinese Government had declared war on the foreign community on 21 June, a degree of circumspection persisted amongst the Chinese themselves. As Peter Fleming has observed, on 23 June the Empress Dowager, Cixi, issued an unusually vague and imprecise decree to the Imperial Council, stating that

The work now undertaken by Tung Fu-hsiang should be completed as soon as possible, so that troops can be spared and sent to Tientsin for defence.²⁷

The 'work' of General Tung Fu-hsiang (Dong Fuxiang) alluded to here was presumably an oblique reference to his command of a detachment of Imperial troops from Kansu who had commenced the military assault on the Legations. This 'vagueness' allowed some senior Chinese officials to hedge their bets by prevaricating rather than answering the official call to arms. Fleming notes two contrasting yet prominent examples: Li Hongzhang, who was then Viceroy at Canton, who decided that the Edict must have been issued without full or proper authority (many of his fellow Viceroys choosing to assume the same), and Yuxian in the province of Shanxi, who, in contrast, sought to execute as many foreign missionaries as he could.²⁸

The fact that most Westerners perceived the Chinese as dishonest was symptomatic of a much broader antipathy, which was commonly held by the settler community residing in China. This antipathy had

its roots in the prevailing ideas of Social Darwinism. Charles Darwin's theory of evolution, and in particular his ideas concerning 'natural selection,' chimed with the progressive ethos of modern industrialism. It was seized upon by some and used, if not wholly as a *raison d'être* for colonialism *per se*, then certainly as a lens for evaluating social and racial differences and placing them into a cultural hierarchy.²⁹ This kind of reasoning, in conjunction with an 'orientalising' conception of 'the other,' helped the foreign community in China to define itself.³⁰ Such notions of modernity naturally implied the backwardness of the Chinese, whose Empire—despite the venerable fact of its antiquity and all its ancient cultural and scientific achievements—had simply stagnated and become fossilised. Hence, many of the Westerners who found themselves living in China at this time believed that they were actually benefiting China by introducing this new modernity to the Chinese.

In examining three diaries of the Siege kept by three members of the British diplomatic corps, namely the British Minister, Sir Claude MacDonald, and two Student Interpreters from the Consular Service, Lancelot Giles and William Meyrick Hewlett, it is only reasonable to expect that we might find a number of value judgements made with regard to the Chinese and their conduct. It was, after all, the job of these individuals as members of the British diplomatic corps—from the chief representative, the British Minister, to the most junior members of the Legation staff, the Student Interpreters—to understand, interact, and essentially mediate between Britain and China. Many of the missionaries working in the interior of China after the 1860s suffered periodic confrontations (often arising from cultural misunderstandings) with the indigenous population whom they were endeavouring to proselytise.³¹ Reports of these atrocities, such as the 'Massacre at Tientsin' (Tianjin) in 1871, fused with reports and photographs demonstrating the harsh severity of certain forms of corporal and capital punishments administered by the Chinese judicial system, conjured a perfect horror in the Western popular imagination, which coloured perceptions of the Chinese as an ingeniously cruel and inherently barbaric race.³² This perception again reinforced the colonialists' justifications for their '*mission civilisatrice*.'³³ The international diplomatic body, and their consuls in particular, were no strangers to these kinds of dangers themselves. Yet, as a distinct category, they were frequently men of a sympathetic

disposition towards China and Chinese culture, if not always towards individual Chinese themselves.³⁴

Indeed, Lancelot Giles was the son of one of the foremost contemporary Sinologists, Herbert Allen Giles, who himself had begun his career in the Consular Service in China before becoming Professor of Chinese at Cambridge University, a chair which he occupied until he retired at the age of 87.³⁵ Giles's diary of the Siege is, in fact, a long letter addressed to his father, and as such it demonstrates a certain even-handedness with regard to its descriptions of the hostile Chinese forces. Similarly, the diary of Sir Claude MacDonald, which was written up after the Siege as an official record for the Foreign Office in London, also demonstrates an even-handedness of tone in its descriptions of the Chinese soldiers and Boxers conducting the assault. Whilst the reasons behind this *sangfroid* may well belie a number of different factors, which combined towards shaping the written styles of their compositions—for instance, personal traits of character, mindfulness as to the disposition of the intended recipient(s), diplomatic professionalism, considerations towards posterity, for instance British 'prestige' and the so-called 'stiff upper lip' mentality—a number of value judgements are nevertheless discernable.

In Giles's diary the Boxers are 'fanatics,' the Chinese soldiers are described as hopelessly inept marksmen; they are all 'barbarians' and 'brutes.'³⁶ MacDonald, who also had a distinguished military background prior to his diplomatic career, tends to use the arguably less emotive term 'enemy' to describe the Chinese belligerents. He occasionally allows himself a degree of partiality though, for example in relating an understated yet approving comment on the strength of feeling shown by the besieged towards their besiegers:

During the early days (...) a large dog trotted into the Japanese barricade with a note tied round its neck. This was from the Chinese General commanding in that quarter, pointing out the futility of further defence and recommending unconditional surrender. A reply, declining the suggestion in somewhat forcible terms, was tied on the dog's neck, with which he trotted back. This was repeated several times, the advisability of surrender being urged with greater insistence each time. The answers varied only in the strength of their language.³⁷

The diary of W. Meyrick Hewlett, who acted as personal assistant to MacDonald during the Siege, which, as with Lancelot Giles's diary, was addressed to his family back home in England,³⁸ is similarly restrained throughout until its closing pages; wherein—writing after the Legations were finally relieved on 14 August—he becomes outspokenly candid, describing the final days of fighting and his personal feelings towards the Chinese:

At 7.25 I saw a Chinaman get up on the barricade and expose his head and shoulders to arrange a straw mat. I covered my left eye with my handkerchief, got a very careful sight (he was only 40 to 50 yards away) and put the rifle in the loophole firmly. Just then a second appeared, and I got my first shot in. I could not see through the smoke. I devoutly hope I hit him; it is a lovely sensation to know you are sending a bullet at one of these brutes, and I was only sorry I was not using smokeless powder to see him fall. You must think I am getting horrid, but one cannot daily see the babies in the Legation dying, their poor little faces getting that quiet resigned look almost past fretting, without feeling bitter against these beasts of Chinese.³⁹

Previously, he had written of “*longing to get a shot at a Chinese, forgetting it might mean killing a man—I don't yet think I should like to bayonet one.*”⁴⁰ But, clearly, the psychological strain of living under siege eventually sets in, and again, after the foreign troops are occupying Beijing, he writes:

August 15th – I went into all the forbidden places of the Temple of Heaven, the buildings are magnificent, huge grounds and lovely grass; the mess opened all the delicacies for me and were awfully jolly. 9. – I went back and was ordered by the Major to fire at the Chinese looting shops, and to disperse the crowds, but not to hit them: I longed to fire into the beasts who have kept us shut up so long, but an idiotic spirit of mercy pervades everyone.⁴¹

The Chinese—now without being able to distinguish between former Boxers or ex-soldiers—have all become ‘grovelling curs’ in his estimation.⁴² He delights in the freedom to flout Chinese protocols whilst exploring the city:

I entered a Llama Temple with the Chief which had never been entered by Europeans before; the priests were absolutely cringing curs again, and it makes me sick, knowing the conceit of the priesthood here, and how they usually receive foreigners.⁴³

He describes with glee the looting carried out by the International Relief Force,⁴⁴ and with a curious alignment of empathy and disdain he describes how:

My boy and Chang San came back, having had an awful time, the old man quite white, and both half starved, never having dared to leave their houses. (...) Teachers, boys, and Mafus all coming grovelling back.⁴⁵

This show of disdain for the Chinese servants who had formerly been employed at the Legation should not distract from the fact that there was still a large Chinese presence within the Legations throughout the Siege. These were mostly Christian converts, and whilst there was a reluctance to take them in at the start of the troubles, along with the fact that no accurate census of their numbers or casualties was officially kept, they did provide invaluable support to the defence efforts.⁴⁶ Sir Claude MacDonald himself notes how a work party of these converts uncovered an old cannon, which was later restored and put into action, occasionally to devastating effect. The gun, which was officially nicknamed ‘the International’ because of the mixed components used in its restoration and operation, he notes, also had a number of other epithets such as the ‘Dowager Empress’ or ‘Betsey.’⁴⁷ He also records with admiration several Christian converts who were brave enough to leave the confines of the Legation in attempts to pass through the enemy lines, acting either as messengers or to undertake reconnaissance missions.⁴⁸

It is worthwhile comparing these descriptions of the Chinese alongside those regarding the Japanese, most notably the Japanese

military personnel, who “*have been fighting like demons.*”⁴⁹ Not just these three diaries alone, but many of the contemporary sources recount with clear admiration the conduct of the Japanese who are credited with maintaining a stalwart defence of the barricades, frequently sustaining the fiercest fire.⁵⁰ Indeed, Sir Claude MacDonald makes frequent mention of the Japanese Military Attaché, Lieutenant-Colonel Shiba.

Given his military background, MacDonald had been made Commander-in-Chief of the combined defence forces of all Legations and, as such, he and Shiba seem to have had a mutual rapport and respect for one another, which worked well, with the two men often consulting each other.⁵¹ For example, MacDonald writes on 1 July:

Thinking the proposition rather risky, I consulted Colonel Shiba, in whose judgement of affairs in the Fu I had the fullest confidence.

Colonel Shiba replied that he thought the capture of the [Chinese] gun practicable, and that the sortie should be made. I accordingly gave orders that the desired reinforcements should be sent (...)⁵²

This close relationship between the British Minister and the Japanese Colonel was mirrored in the wider cooperative relationships between the two nationalities as they were represented in the International Relief Force.⁵³ A telling depiction of this can be found in a commemorative illustration of the Force’s Commanding Officers, in which the Japanese Officer and the British Officer stand to one side of the other nationalities depicted, with the Japanese Commander reaching up to light the British Commander’s cigarette.⁵⁴

Sir Claude MacDonald’s admiration for Colonel Shiba was echoed by Giles, who writes:

The Japanese Colonel Shiba is in command of the Fu. He is considered the best officer up here, just as the Japanese are undoubtedly the best soldiers. Their pluck and daring is astounding, our marines are next to them in this respect; but I think the Japanese lead the way.⁵⁵

Likewise, Hewlett frequently expresses his positive opinion of Colonel Shiba and the Japanese soldiers. However, his praise is frequently tinged with a certain degree of racial condescension, as he describes Shiba as “*a splendid little man of action*.”⁵⁶ Other racial signifiers appear too, for instance when the International Relief Force finally arrive, the soldiers of the 7th Rajputs are described as “*big Black men*.”⁵⁷ It is perhaps worth noting here, however, that whilst Hewlett had a reputation for being a temperamental man of frequent and irrational prejudices, and for all his scathing (and occasionally murderous) dislike of the Chinese demonstrated in the pages of his diary, he subsequently had a long and distinguished career in China, reaching the level of Consul-General, and he was conferred a knighthood before he retired.⁵⁸ In the latter part of his career, he was, in fact, noted for his close working relationships with his Chinese counterparts, whom he tended to favour, much to the disapproval of some of his consular colleagues.⁵⁹ National snobberies and Great Power rivalries also feature fairly prominently in both Giles’s and Hewlett’s diaries. As essentially private documents, they were perhaps less guarded in this respect than when compared to Sir Claude MacDonald’s diary of the Siege.⁶⁰

Japan was seen as a complete contrast to China at this time. Faced with similar attention from Western colonialists, the Japanese, after the Meiji Restoration restored the Emperor to direct rule in 1868, had opened their ports and begun to modernise, but strictly on their own terms. The Japanese had already fought and won a war with the Chinese (1894–1895) and, as Akira Iriye has noted, Japan emerged triumphant from the Sino–Japanese War as a confirmed imperialist nation, both in terms of international and national self-perception.⁶¹ Subsequently, China became the arena for the competing imperialisms of the West and the East. The Japanese defeat of China in 1895 (and, moreover, their defeat of Russia in 1905) came as a shock to the prevailing geopolitical landscape.⁶² Indeed, during the Sino–Japanese War, casting a hypothetical eye to the future, a British newspaper published the following speculation:

Consider what a Japan-governed China would be. Think what the Chinese are; think of their powers of silent endurance under suffering and cruelty; think of their frugality; think of their patient perseverance, their slow

dogged persistence, their recklessness of life. Fancy this people ruled by a nation of born organizers, who, half-allied to them, would understand their temperament and their habits. The Oriental, with his power of retaining health under conditions under which no European could live, with his savage daring when roused, with his inborn cunning, lacks only the superior knowledge of civilization to be equal of the European in warfare as well as in industry. Under the Japanese Emperor the dreams of the supremacy of the Yellow Race in Europe, Asia, and even Africa ... would be no longer mere nightmares. Instead of speculating as to whether England or Germany or Russia is to be the next world's ruler, we might have to learn that Japan was on its way to that position.⁶³

Reading this, it is perhaps easy to see how readily the myth of the Boxers mixed with Western insecurities regarding modernisation in East Asia, such that the conflation of the two were later transmuted into the notion of the 'Yellow Peril' in the popular imagination.⁶⁴

At the time of the Boxer Uprising, given China's weakened position, there was a very real concern within China—for both the Chinese Government and the imperialist powers—regarding the prospect that China could well find itself broken up under the implementation of proper colonialism. Lord Salisbury himself perhaps best expressed a Social Darwinist view held by many Western imperialists when he stated that "*the living nations will gradually encroach on the territory of the dying.*"⁶⁵ It was mindfulness of this which caused the Guangxu Emperor to attempt to reform his Government and thereby set China on the road towards some sort of programme of modernisation. However, he was effectively deposed by the Empress Dowager Cixi, who sought to maintain the *status quo* by backing the Boxers and declaring war on the foreign community, thereby hoping to return China to its former policy of isolationism.⁶⁶ It was a move which, some historians have claimed, took the Powers unawares; hence why, when the touch-paper was lit at the start of the Boxer troubles, many of them—not least the diplomatic staff of the Legations—were seemingly so unprepared.⁶⁷

Similarly, it has been claimed that the Chinese could easily have overwhelmed the Legations in the first days of the Siege.⁶⁸ Certainly,

it was a puzzle when the Legations were finally relieved, as to why the Chinese had used so little of their superior firepower. Yet, had they done so, as Peter Fleming conjectures, many of the high-ranking Qing officials feared that China would have been overwhelmed by the Powers and in all probability then been broken up. To avoid this, he claims that the Chinese Minister of War, Jung Lu (Ronglu), should take ultimate credit for feigning the pretence of a hard-fought Siege against such a tiny and ill-defended enclave.⁶⁹

So, as the Boxers and Chinese soldiers disbursed after the Siege had been routed, what—or rather who—managed to keep China together in the aftermath of the Uprising? Hans van der Ven argues that this achievement was not necessarily down to the efforts of the diplomats, nor even the two Chinese plenipotentiaries, Li Hongzhang and Prince Qing, who together negotiated the Peace Settlement, but rather another man who in many senses stood as the real bridge between East and West: Sir Robert Hart.⁷⁰

As the Inspector General, in charge of the Imperial Maritime Customs Service, Hart was a Westerner employed by the Chinese Court.⁷¹ He was also one of those foreigners besieged in the Legations. Writing to his colleague, James Duncan Campbell, in London, he stated:

I am horribly hurt by all that has occurred, but there it is, and we can only try to make the best of it! I hold on to be of use to the Service, to China, and to the general interest. I think I can be of use, and only I in all three directions, at this juncture.⁷²

As Van de Ven notes, many historians have debated whether or not the Customs Service was a tool of the imperialists or whether such a cosmopolitan bureaucracy was actually a benefit to China on its road to modernisation. Certainly, John Fairbank viewed Hart as a genuinely balanced link between the East and West, maintaining the ‘synarchy’ of Chinese and Western Officials charged with administering the treaty port system together.⁷³

The Boxer Uprising can be seen as a pivotal point in China’s move towards modernity. As a leaderless, popular mass uprising, the Boxer movement can be interpreted in different ways, either as a patriotic, anti-imperialist insurgency, which gained official state backing, or as

a proto-nationalist movement with anti-dynastic roots, which helped shape China's entry as a sovereign state into the global community of nations.⁷⁴ The Boxers themselves seem to have been many things to many people. In the diaries examined here, they are perhaps made most conspicuous by their absence. Commenting on the start of the Siege, Hewlett says:

At that time we thought (some of us) there was something pathetic in the thought of these ignorant men, who believe themselves quite invulnerable, coming often singly to be shot. They advance slowly, making the most absurd gestures with their arms, burning joss-sticks, and carrying torches, refusing to move back, and making no combined rushes. They are easily shot, but now no sympathy can be found for these brutes, who murder and burn. Some of the atrocities have been too awful for words.⁷⁵

In the beginning, the Boxers were somewhat ridiculous figures, repeatedly described as 'picturesque' in their 'colourful uniforms,' like characters from a comic opera (an impression made all the more absurd by the fact that many of the gods and spirits they professed to worship were drawn from popular Chinese novels and operas).⁷⁶ Yet, as the Siege begins, they blur and blend into the Chinese Imperial Forces they are fighting alongside and it becomes the Imperial Court and the Chinese Military, as state actors, who assume the spotlight of the Westerners' collective concerns, frustrations, and anger.

Ultimately, for those within the Legations at least, the Boxers themselves become a sideshow. It is the Chinese Court whom the Westerners are really at war against and, as such, the Court and the Boxers become ciphers for China's stubborn intransigence. Yet, given the stark contrast of China with Japan, as shown in these three diaries, clearly, it was assumed, that it was merely a matter of time and attrition until China learned its lesson, given the Westerners' faith in the ideas, morals, and hierarchies which constituted their world view.⁷⁷ Hence, the diaries themselves, as well as much of the commemorative artworks and photographs generated by the West, both during and in the immediate aftermath of the Uprising, are all heavily self-referential, depicting the Westerners' strength and resilience, attesting to the might through which they believed their ideas of progress and

modernity would naturally succeed.⁷⁸

The view from the Legation was certainly a circumscribed one. Blinkered by a grand self-confidence and bolstered by a belief in the moral right of the Western imperialist project. The collective assurance that they were leading the way in terms of social and economic progress towards a greater global modernity was still somewhat unbalanced by inherently conflicted racial perceptions. Whilst it praised the Japanese on the one hand and condemned the Chinese on the other, looking down from the immovable barricades of the staunchly self-regarding colonialists' world view, it still managed to condescend towards both.

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- 28 Fleming, *op. cit.*, p. 166; see also Kit-ching, C. L., 1976, 'Li Hung-chang and the Boxer Uprising,' in: *Monumenta Serica*, 32, pp. 55–84; Hevia, *op. cit.*, pp. 288–289
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- 36 Giles, *op. cit.*, pp. 114, 138, 141, 150, and 156
- 37 MacDonald, *op. cit.*, pp. 253–255
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- grandfather, Thomas Hewlett FRCS, had been the School Surgeon at Harrow, serving in that role for some forty years. In 1922, when Hewlett was Consul-General in Chengdu, he donated a volume of the *Yung Lo Ta Tien* (Yongle Dadian), which he had salvaged from the Hanlin Library during the siege in June 1900, to the West China Union University Museum in Chengdu. Two letters relating to this volume, one by H. A. Giles and one by Hewlett, quoting the relevant passages from his diary of the siege, were later published, see: Graham, D. C., 1932, *J. West China Border Res. Soc.*, 5, pp. 150–152
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- 53 Britain and Japan later signed a formal military alliance in 1902; see Iriye, *op. cit.*, p. 143; Mishra, *op. cit.*, pp. 128–129; Darwin, *op. cit.*, p. 329
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held at the Australian National University; see 'The Giles Pickford Collection' (accessed 2 February 2017): <http://anulib.anu.edu.au/using-the-library/collections/asia-pacific-digital-collections/giles-pickford/>; see also Lucas, C. J., 1990, *James Ricalton's photographs of China during the Boxer Rebellion: his illustrated travelogue of 1900* (Lewiston, NY & Lampeter: Mellen); Sharf & Harrington (eds), *The Boxer Rebellion: China 1900: The Artists' Perspective*

THE DOLMA LING NUNNERY OF ULAANBAATAR:

A rare 18th Century Buddhist temple in Mongolia

BY M. A. ALDRICH^a

ULAANBAATAR, the capital city of the sovereign state of Mongolia, is rarely remembered as one of the historically important monastic centres of Vajrayana Buddhism.¹ Originally emerging in the early 18th Century as a secondary administrative outpost of the Qing Dynasty for Khalkha (or Northern) Mongolia, it evolved into the official residence of the Jebtsundampa Khutugtu, the leading Khalkha cleric of the ‘Yellow Hat’ or Gelukpa branch of Vajrayana Buddhism.² By the early 20th Century, the settlement had grown into one of the main Mongolian locales for the study of the Dharma. Its religious purpose was clearly evident to travellers once they spotted the glittering golden spires and ornately decorated roofs of its temples.³ However, the city’s monastic character was destroyed, root and branch, during the Communist anti-Buddhist purge of 1938.⁴ Whereas a few token relics of its Buddhist past survived the assault, the capital embarked upon a transformation into a secular city with Russian-inspired Neo-classical architecture during the 1950s.⁵ In pursuit of the same objectives as the Eastern European revolutions, Mongolia rejected Communism in 1990, embraced participatory democracy, and inaugurated an official policy of religious tolerance, which was codified in the country’s fourth constitution in 1992.⁶ Since then, the Dharma had made a come-back among the citizens of Ulaanbaatar.

The Dolma Ling nunnery is located in the Amgalan district of the Bayanzurk borough in the south-eastern part of the capital, near Sükhbaatar Park. It is little known among Mongolian and expatriate residents, and it is not mentioned in most commercial guide books to Mongolia. This oversight is a pity, since the Dolma Ling nunnery is home to one of the oldest religious structures in Ulaanbaatar, dating from the last quarter of the 18th Century. It appears to be the very last building connected to the history of the Amgalan district as a mixed Mongolian and Chinese settlement, a veritable ‘China town,’ infused with a strong Mongolian character by virtue of the many Mongolians

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who lived and worked there.⁷ The design of the main hall of the nunnery and its pair of *dharani* (invocation) pillars exemplify classical Imperial Chinese architecture and, therefore, represent a rare surviving example of 18th-Century Sino–Mongolian construction.⁸

The Dolma Ling nunnery deserves further investigation by specialists in the field of traditional Asian architecture, Sino–Mongolian history, and Vajrayana Buddhism. This article serves as a preliminary record offered to help elicit the interest in this overlooked gem of specialists and thoughtful tourists.

THE ORIGINS OF THE MONASTERY AND ITS DISTRICT

The buildings of the nunnery were constructed under the Imperial patronage of the Qian Long Emperor in 1778.⁹ It was initially named the Great Tara monastery, or *Dar'ekhiin Khiid* (Дарь Эхийн Хийд) after Tara (Дарь Эх), the female Vajrayana saint of compassion. At the time of the monastery's establishment, Tara had become conflated in popular belief with the Chinese female bodhisattva, Guan Yin (观音), among many Buddhists in the Manchu Empire.¹⁰ Accordingly, the monastery suited the religious needs of the Chinese merchant community as well as their Mongolian neighbours, reflecting the syncretic policies promoted by the Manchus in the 18th Century.¹¹

The Manchus had, at first, not envisaged Khalkha Mongolia as a destination for Chinese settlers. After an alliance between the Kang Xi Emperor and the Khalkha nobles and clergy in 1791, the Qing Court initially discouraged Chinese settlement in Khalkha Mongolia. This policy sought to retain Khalkha Mongolia as a militarised buffer zone against the territorial aspirations of Tsarist Russia or the Zungharian Empire to the west. The Manchus had wanted their Khalkha Mongolian allies to police a lightly populated region without encountering interference from Chinese settlers.¹² As the 18th Century wore on, the Qing authorities relaxed their regulations, permitting Chinese merchants to apply for licenses to trade in Khalkha Mongolia under highly restrictive terms. The issuance of licenses was subject to quotas, and non-trade activities were prohibited. The merchants were only allowed to live in Khalkha Mongolia on a temporary basis, and no Chinese could bring his wife and family with him.¹³

The Manchu objective of preventing Chinese settlement in Khalkha Mongolia was frustrated by the practical material needs attributable to the development of a sedentary monastic society. By the 1730s, Mongolians

lamas began to abandon mobile encampments and constructed monasteries in stone and wood as permanent establishments.¹⁴ The monastic sites in the Tuul River Valley were convenient for Chinese merchants to set up rudimentary fixed points of presence for the sale of manufactured necessities imported from China proper. Further, trade between Tsarist Russia and the Qing Empire had been regularised under the Treaty of Kiakhta of 1727. This encouraged Chinese merchants to establish outposts along the trade routes between Inner Mongolia and Siberia to exploit the growing Russian demand for tea.¹⁵

In the Tuul River Valley, Chinese trading houses settled near the last staging post on the trail connecting the nascent monasteries and Kalgan, the main trade entrepôt on the south side of the Gobi Desert. As the Chinese trading presence grew during the latter part of the 18th Century, the leaders of the Mongolian clergy objected to the presence of merchants close to the monasteries of *Da Khüree*.¹⁶ In compliance with these demands for ‘distance,’ the Chinese set up permanent buildings several kilometres away, forming a settlement which was called ‘Abundant Peace Village’ (or ‘Элбэг Амгалан Гацаа’ in Mongolian) from which the district takes its current name. This outlying commercial district soon came to be known by another name—*Maimachin* (Маймачин), from the Chinese *mai mai cheng* (买卖城, literally ‘buy–sell city’).¹⁷

By the 1770s, the Qian Long Emperor had put into place a policy of strictly supervising affairs in Khalkha Mongolia. A failed insurrection in 1755 and Khalkha political machinations concerning the birth of the Fourth Jebtsundampa Khutugtu dissuaded him from ever considering the ‘hands-off’ approach of his forebears.¹⁸ The Great Tara monastery, established to serve the religious needs of Chinese merchants, was a clear statement of Imperial support for limited Chinese settlement and increasing Qing administrative control in Khalkha Mongolia. Perhaps in a further show of Imperial munificence, the Emperor approved the erection of the two granite *dharani* pillars in 1783 on the main southern approach to the monastery.¹⁹

The monastery held a syncretic significance for the mixed population of Maimachin. Supported by state funds, monks took up residence in the monastery, providing religious services to those seeking solace and support from Tara or her ‘*alter ego*,’ Guan Yin. Under Vajrayana practice, Tara was one of the few deities which Mongolians could approach directly for blessings, without having to turn to the

intermediary of a fee-charging monk. For this reason, the monastery must have been popular with the settlement's Mongolians, in addition to its Chinese residents.

MAIMACHIN FROM THE LATE MANCHU PERIOD TO MODERN TIMES

As the 19th Century unfolded, *Maimachin* expanded further thanks to increased Chinese migration, which rose dramatically as a result of government corruption and failures in the enforcement of the Empire's regulations. By 1870, there were nearly four hundred separate yards enclosed by wooden palisades called *khasaa* (xашaa), which probably did not appear dissimilar to the suburban districts of Ulaanbaatar today. Within the wooden palisades were the residences, such as felt tents or *ger* (гэр), or one-story wooden Chinese houses, as well as shops, warehouses, restaurants, taverns, brothels, and hostels. In 1892, the population of *Maimachin* was 5,000, of which only 1,800 were Chinese migrants.²⁰

Maimachin replicated 19th-Century Chinese life in microcosm. In addition to the commercial establishments, a Manchu official with the title *zarguchi* (зaргач in contemporary Mongolian) was the judicial administrator with authority over the district's residents. He was responsible for handling disputes between Mongolians and Chinese, enforcing Qing law upon the district's Chinese residents, and levying local licensing fees for merchants to engage in commerce. His office was assisted by a staff of five Chinese and ten Mongolian clerks.²¹

Mongolian researchers have written that the Great Tara monastery was surrounded by three concentric rectangular walls, constructed with blue brick.²² In keeping with Buddhist custom, the main entrance to the monastery's grounds was to the south. The monastery had approximately 15 buildings decorated with wooden plaques of Chinese calligraphy. The main altar held a statue of Guan Yin, while the adjacent temples were shrines to Khasin Khaan or the Kang Xi Emperor as a patron of Mongolian Buddhism, and the Old White Man, *Tsagaan Öbgön* (Цагаан Өвгөн), a local Mongolian deity who was absorbed into the Buddhist *dharmapala* pantheon.²³ Chinese worshippers would have seen the Old White Man as the equivalent of one of the Chinese Lords of Longevity, such as the Taoist Old Man of the South Pole or *Nanji Lao Ren* (南极老人), the God of Longevity (*Shou*寿) of the Three Stars (*San Xing* 三星), the 'Laughing Buddha' Budai (布袋), or—for those trading with the Russians—Saint Nicholas of the Russian Orthodox Church.²⁴

Buddhist temples were not solely sites of religious retreat, since they often hosted events that merged the sacred and the secular. The 15th day of the sixth month in the Chinese lunar calendar was the annual Chinese festival for Guan Yin. On that day, the monks at the Great Tara monastery held a festival with Buddhist rituals for the entire community. The main gates of the monastery, decorated with lanterns, were thrown open to all visitors as the monks performed devotional music with drums and bells, and everyone burnt incense in thanksgiving. Traveling Peking opera troupes from north China performed on make-shift stages in the main courtyard of the monastery. The multi-ethnic residents of the settlement arrived in their finest clothes and jewellery, while monks offered their services at divination by interpreting the results of worshippers drawing wooden lots. Other 'street festivals' were held on Buddhist holidays throughout the lunar calendar year, too.²⁵

Depending upon one's religious affiliation, the Great Tara monastery was just one of many places of worship where the district's Chinese residents could seek spiritual solace, request divine assistance, and give thanks for having safely made the journey across the Gobi Desert. Nearby the monastery was a Confucian Temple, where Manchu officials held annual rites in reverence of China's ancient sage. Since ornate carpentry was a virtual Chinese monopoly in the city, the carpenters' guilds erected a temple to their patron saint, Lu Ban (鲁班).²⁶ To the north of the settlement was a temple dedicated to Guan Yu (关羽), a martial deity worshipped by Manchus and Chinese, who was conflated in popular belief with the legendary King Gesar of Ling, a similar deity venerated by Mongolians and Tibetans.²⁷ A mosque was also built for ethnically Chinese Muslims who were seasoned merchants along the Muslim trade routes in Central Asia.²⁸

However, *Maimachin* was not just a transplanted Chinese colony without connections to local customs and culture. It was also home to Vajrayana monasteries and shrines for its native residents. For example, the College of Auspicious Meditative Concentration (*Dashsamanlin Datsan* or Дашсаманталин Дацан) was a Yellow Hat monastery and a site of learning dedicated to Buddhist protective deities such as Mahalaka and Yama and pre-Buddhist spirits absorbed into the Dharma, such as Jamsran and Gesar.²⁹ In the early 20th Century, the College was also recognised as a shrine for an oracle, thereby increasing its prestige among the clergy and the laity. On the first day of the sixth month of the Mongolian calendar, the clerical residents of the college

circumambulated the district in a procession carrying the 108 volumes of the Kanjur, which is the Vajrayana canon of sayings attributed to the historical Buddha.³⁰ Elsewhere in *Maimachin*, two temples were dedicated to the *dharmapala* Yama and a 'Red Hat' Nyingma Buddhist monastery was set up outside the district's gates.³¹ There were even female shamans or *udgan* (удган) offering divination services to the residents of *Maimachin*.³²

After the collapse of the Qing Dynasty, *Maimachin* continued to be one of the main locales for Chinese conducting business in the newly independent country. However, in early 1921, its residents were terrorised by the invasion of the White Russian general Roman Ungern von Sternberg, who unleashed a brutal anti-Chinese pogrom in the capital.³³ After his expulsion by the Red Army and its Mongolian partisans that summer, Chinese merchants returned to revive the district. In 1927, the Chinese Nationalist agent Ma Ho-Tien arrived on a mission to Ulaanbaatar, in time to attend the Chinese New Year celebrations in *Maimachin*:

Farthest to the east stood the imposing structures of a Taoist [sic] temple, inside of which was a pair of delicately carved stone flagstaffs thirty or forty feet high. They had been erected at a cost of more than eight thousand ounces of silver. As a festival was in progress, the inside of the temple was specially decorated. A straw hut had been set up and then transformed into a mountain of ice, with an image of the seated Shakyamuni below, Buddhist images inside, and a cave behind a waterfall on top, all made of ice. Another ice mountain in the rear was topped by the figure of Hsuan-tsang collecting scriptures.³⁴ There were also several lanterns of ice, cleverly arranged so that large candles could be lit inside in the evening. Within the central hall were a few Chinese sitting on the ground at their prayers.³⁵

In 1928, the Mongolian People's Revolutionary Party began its confiscatory policies, aimed at driving Chinese merchants from the country. Within two years, *Maimachin* was a deserted shadow of its former self.

Some of the buildings of the Great Tara monastery were preserved from demolition, possibly because they had been converted to a

primary school in the 1930s.³⁶ As the decades wore on, the main loci of the capital gravitated towards Sükhbaatar Square. The Amgalan neighbourhood was slowly depopulated as the Ulaanbaatar municipal government constructed new micro-districts and modern apartment complexes elsewhere.

BUDDHIST RENAISSANCE IN MONGOLIA SINCE 1990

With the abolishment of the government's anti-religious policies in 1990, Mongolia saw a gradual rebirth of Buddhism.³⁷ During the 1990s, two Mongolian lamas revived Buddhist rituals at the ruined buildings of the Great Tara monastery and taught the Dharma to a group of Buddhist women from the Amgalan district. These lamas, O. Sodnom and his disciple Badamkhand, were clerics attached to Gandantegche Ling monastery, which was the only functioning monastery to survive the Mongolian state's atheist policies.³⁸

The year 2001 marked an important milestone for the Great Tara monastery. Sonam and Badamkhand arranged for the site to be transferred for use by the Mongolian branch of the Foundation for the Preservation of Mahayana Tradition (FPMT), which is a non-governmental organisation set up by the Tibetan lama Thubten Yeshe and his Nepalese colleague, Lama Zopa Rinpoche in 1975.³⁹ The FPMT grew from the two lamas' experience in teaching Buddhism to independent Western travellers to Nepal in the 1960s. Today it is one of the largest global Buddhist organisations and seeks to promote revived Mahayana principles emphasising faith and meditation rather than passive reliance on rites or superstitious practices.⁴⁰

As the spiritual director of the FPMT, Lama Zopa Rinpoche performed a re-consecration of the site as a nunnery dedicated to Tara under her Tibetan name Dolma. Sixteen nuns were ordained the following year. In 2004, a white 'mind of enlightenment' Bodhicitta stupa was consecrated for the nunnery by the Fourth Choden Rinpoche, another highly placed Tibetan incarnate lama or *khutugtu* (хүтүгтү) during his visit to Mongolia.⁴¹

CONTEMPORARY APPEARANCE OF DOLMA LING NUNNERY

The Dolma Ling nunnery preserves the basic design of the original Chinese temple lay-out, albeit in a truncated form. The main buildings are arranged symmetrically along a north-south axis, with the main hall facing south.



One enters the grounds through a red wooden gate on its north-eastern wall. A wooden gatehouse with a lattice design and a green gable-and-hip roof has been constructed over the entrance gate, with the ends of the four hip-eaves turned upwards. On the roof of the gatehouse is a gilded copper statue of the Eight Spoke Wheel and two deer, symbolising Siddhartha Gautama's lecture at the Deer Park in Sarnath. Once through the gate, there are several metal prayer wheels in the approach to the main hall.

Immediately to the east of the gate is a Mongolian felt tent with a green metal door decorated with a design known as Indra's Knot. Two small stone lions flank the walkway to the tent, which appears to be a chapel for the nunnery's protective deities or *choijin* (чойжин).

The main hall is accessed through a walkway on the north-eastern corner of the complex. Here we find the nunnery's assembly hall or *tsogchin dugan* (цогчин дуган). Facing the south, it is made of blue brick and wood with a grey tiled gable roof which is held in place by a magnificently decorated set of intricate wooden brackets.

Looking first at the roof of the main hall, we see that each side of the main ridge is anchored by *chiwen* (螭吻), which are sometimes called (with less specificity) *chimeglel luu* (чимэглэл луу) in Mongolian. *Chiwen* are mixed fish and dragon creatures whose jaws are clamped on the end of the ridge beams with their tails twisted to the front. This type of decorative anchor became popular during the turn of the first millennium CE and was believed to provide supernatural protection against fire, since sea dragons represent the water element.⁴² In the middle of the main ridge is a *ganjir* (ганжир) or golden vase, which

is a receptacle for Buddhist sutras and treatises.⁴³ The gable roof has a row of eaves tiles placed alongside the gable edge as rain gutters.⁴⁴ The lower end of the gable is secured by a statue of a ‘crouching beast,’ a mythical winged creature with dragon scales and the head of a bull, called a *dou niu* (斗牛). This decoration symbolised Imperial support for the monastery and also served the practical function of preventing rain seepage at the roof joint. Each corner rafter of the roof is decorated with a mythical *makara*, a mixed crocodile dragon derived from Indian Vedic legends about the Ganges river. It also symbolises the tenth sign of the Indian zodiac, which corresponds to Capricorn or the sea goat of Western astrology.⁴⁵ The function of this decoration is to draw off rain water. The tiled roof beams are supported by a row of square ‘flying eaves,’ which in turn rest on shorter rounded eaves.

The next layer of the building is the most significant in terms of



classical Chinese architecture. The weight of the roof, with its beams, tiles, and eaves, rests upon the *dougong* (斗拱) or, less precisely, *khaalt* (хаалт) in Mongolian. *Dougong* are an intricate set of inter-locking wooden brackets that shifts the weight of the roof onto wooden columns. In classical Chinese temple architecture, walls are not load bearing—the strain of the weight of a heavy tiled roof needs to be dispersed through a set of brackets and lintels before placement on wooden columns.⁴⁶ It is remarkable that the brackets and lintels are still fulfilling their function after nearly two-and-a-half centuries that have witnessed warfare, revolutions, pogroms, social upheavals, and economic crises. To the author, they represent the tenacity of the Dharma (and traditional craftsmanship) in the face of adversity.

The southern entrance to the main hall is sheltered by a portico with a smaller grey tiled gable roof supported by a similar set of *dougong* and lintels.⁴⁷ They are richly decorated with Vajrayana Buddhist symbols such as the Three Jewels (symbolising the Buddha, the Sangha, and the Dharma), stylistic variations of the Eight Spoke Wheel, clouds representing the celestial realm of the deities, and nagas, which are water-serpent protectors of Buddhism. The wooden beams on each corner of the portico are richly carved into *makaras* as parallel images for the tiled ones on the roof. Above each support bracket that is placed parallel to the lintels are beam ends carved in the shape of white elephant heads. In Buddhist iconography, elephants are symbols of the royalty of Siddhartha Gautama, as well as the pacified and disciplined mind of an enlightened being.⁴⁸

The main lintel of the portico depicts the Eight Treasures of Buddhism, an important Vajrayana symbol. The Eight Treasures are the wheel (a symbol of the Buddha's teaching as well as *samsara*), the conch shell (the voice of the Shakyamuni Buddha and the awakening from ignorance), the flag (symbolic of the victory of Buddhism over falsehood), the umbrella (an allusion to the Buddha's royal birth), the jar (a funerary urn for lamas and a reminder of the impermanence of the material world), the fish (freedom from the restraints of the earthly world), the lotus (symbolising perfection arising from the mundane, just as a lotus rises from the muddy bottom of a pond to bloom on the water's surface), and the mystic knot (symbolising the knot of Indra, or the interconnection of all phenomena and emptiness).⁴⁹

The flagstone walkway leading north to the portico is flanked by white and green stone lions, with the male and female lions arranged



correctly on the eastern and western sides of the entrance way, respectively. An incense burner of recent manufacture sits astride the walkway.

The southern wall of the main hall is a classic Chinese three-bay structure, with the main entranceway in the centre. The entrance to the main hall is a small extension with four doors similar in function to an *asar* (асап), which is an antechamber attached to entrances of Mongolian buildings to provide respite from winter cold. The doors are decorated with the six jewels and double-sceptre thunderbolt or *natsagdorj* (нацагдорж). Glass has been installed in both the windows and doors, although presumably they were once decorated with a lattice pattern and covered by thick paper instead of glass.

On the east and west side of the main hall are appurtenant structures that are shorter than the main building and appear to be structurally independent.⁵⁰ They lack a main ridge beam like the main hall and have a wave-like roof. It may be the case that the one on the west side was the shrine to the Kang Xi Emperor and the one on the east side was reserved for the White Old Man.

Inside the main hall and facing the doorway, wooden shelves are hung on the northern wall over cabinets with intricate Mongolian-style carvings of Buddhist emblems such as celestial clouds and snow lions. The shelves hold Amitabha Buddhas made of plaster of Paris and wrapped in yellow or blue robes. The ceiling is in a lattice design with green wall-papered tiles which feature dragons peering down at the supplicants. From the ceiling hang victory banners attached to circular frames with strips of cloth in five sacred colours to represent



the five Tathagata Buddhas of Vajrayana Buddhism. The wooden floor of the main hall is in need of repair. It is covered by carpets with red and yellow Mongolian designs. There are two rows of low seats, or *javdan* (жавдан), for use by the nuns during their daily services. A taller lama's chair, or 'Lion's Throne,' is reserved for Lama Zopa at the head of the *javdan* on the west side. The walls are decorated with *thangkas* depicting Buddhas, bodhisattvas, and *dharmapalas*.

On the east and west sides of the main courtyard are three simple gabled-roof structures without decorations. The one on the east side serves as meditation hall, whereas the others are used as private quarters, a dormitory, office space, and a kitchen. Their roofs are also covered by grey tiles with a main ridge beam. The walls appear to be a recent re-construction made of brick and cement.

On the south end of the courtyard, there are the two famous 11-meter granite *dharani* pillars, which were erected in 1783. *Dharani* pillars, or *jing chuang* (经幢), were introduced into East Asia from India around the second Century CE and took varying forms—octagonal, pagoda-like, or circular with carved invocations in Sanskrit, Tangut, and later Chinese. They were meant to convey Buddhist principles or signify the quasi-religious nature of Imperial authority.⁵¹

Since the main entrance way to the monastery was originally through its southern gate during the monastery's heyday, a visitor would have been greeted by the impressive sight of the two pillars. The pillars are decorated with finely carved Buddhist motifs. At the

top of each pillar is the precious jewel, a symbol of a *chakravartin* or universal ruler who embraces and supports the Dharma. This title was bestowed on Khublai Khan by the head of the Tibetan Sa-skya order in the 13th Century and was used again by the Qing Emperors to describe their relationship with the Vajrayana hierarchy. This arguably suggests that the pillars were an Imperial gift from the Qian Long Emperor.⁵²

Other carvings on the pillars are a victory flag celebrating the Shakyamuni Buddha's triumph over suffering, *makaras*, the Eight Spoke Wheel, and various deities, as well as clouds and dragons coiling around the lower end of the pillar.

The pillars set out a classical Chinese couplet on Mahayana faith:

普渡迷津济群生
大发慈悲救万苦

To Save All Crossing the Deluded Stream

To Spread Compassion to Relieve a Myriad of Sufferings

The two granite pillars are the sole examples of this form of architecture in Mongolia. By virtue of their unique status, the state granted them legal protection as national historic monuments in 1994.

Further to the south of the *dharani* pillars are two wooden columns connected by two parallel crossbeams. The columns have rectangular holes made for other interlocking beams. This appears to be all that remains of the southern gate leading into the monastery's grounds.

CONTEMPORARY SIGNIFICANCE

The re-consecration of the nunnery marks the return of the Dharma in the former *Maimachin* district after a hiatus of 75 years. At the nunnery, the resident nuns study Buddhist philosophy and rituals as well as the Tibetan language. Regular religious rituals have been revived as well. The nuns gather in the main hall for chanting each day at 08:00 and 18:00. Certain monthly rituals are held on the basis of the Mongolian lunar calendar at 09:30. For instance, on the eighth day of the lunar month, the nuns chant prayers in honour of Tara and on the tenth and 25th days of the lunar month, they hold ceremonies in honour of Tsongkhapa, or Bogd Zonkhov (Богд Сонхов) in Mongolian, the 15th-Century founder of their Gelukpa order. The 15th day of the month is the day for prayers to Manla, or Otochi (Оточи),

the 'Healing Buddha,' who is said to be a source of spiritual medicine.⁵³

The annual festivals of the Buddhist lunar calendar are celebrated once again, too. On those days, the nuns and lay practitioners circumambulate the inner walls of the nunnery while holding butter lamps, candles, and incense sticks, while also playing religious instruments, bringing back to life religious ceremonies that had seemingly vanished forever in 1938.⁵⁴

The nunnery also plays an important social role for the welfare of the residents of the Amgalan district. With funding from the FMPT, the nunnery operates a soup kitchen for the residents of the Amgalan district and provides basic medical care. Other projects include child-care support, a vegetable gardening and greenhouse project for the neighbourhood, and a women's working group to help teach knitting and sewing skills.⁵⁵

The Ulaanbaatar municipal authorities appear not to have appreciated the historical and cultural significance of the Dolma Ling nunnery or the legacy of *Maimachin*. The nunnery has not been the recipient of state largesse, unlike other monasteries, and the nuns live modest lives in their humble facilities. The lack of support may be a partial reflection of the anti-Chinese antipathy felt by some Mongolians. This indifference is reflected by the recent demolition of two 19th-Century merchant warehouses on the same street as the nunnery.

Since there are no entrance fees for the nunnery, visitors are encouraged to be generous in offering donations for the well-being of the nuns and the restoration of the temple. Donations may also be made via the Internet.⁵⁶

The Dolma Ling nunnery is an unsung architectural treasure and an unnoticed success story in the revival of Ulaanbaatar's traditions and religious practices. It deserves to be more widely known and appreciated by Mongolians and non-Mongolians alike.

I wish to thank Jonathan and Fiona Addleton for taking me to the Dolma Ling nunnery for my first visit in 2010. Jack Weatherford has also been a valuable source of information for this article. Баярлалаа.

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Endnotes

- 1 Vajrayana, meaning the 'thunderbolt vehicle,' is the Sanskrit name given to a branch of Mahayana Buddhism that emerged in northern India and Tibet in the latter part of the first millennium CE. Its name alludes to the belief that its teachings can suddenly and powerfully bring a practitioner to enlightenment, in contrast to the slower practices of Hinayana orders. The term is synonymous with Tantric, although the latter has acquired debased meaning in popular usage.
- 2 The settlement was called *Da Khüree* (Дaa Xypээ) in Mongolian and *Da Kulun* (大庫倫) in Chinese (among many other names). Initially, the Qing administrators reported to their superiors in Uliastai, the Manchu military encampment set up far to the west near the Empire's border. In 1786, the Qing authorities instructed their officials in *Da Khüree* to report directly to Beijing. While this was a significant development, Ulaanbaatar's position as a national capital is more owing to it being the site of the residence of Jebtsundampa Khutugtu. From 1778, the Tuul River Valley was the general location for the Khutugtu's mobile encampment, which finally set down roots in 1855 when the Seventh Khutugtu took a fixed site for his residence in the Eastern Monastic Settlement or *Züün Khüree* of what became the central part of Ulaanbaatar in the 20th Century. See Rupen, R. A., 1957, *The City of Urga in the Manchu Period, Studia Altaica: Festschrift für Nikolaus Poppe* (Wiesbaden), p. 159; Teleki, K., 2008, *Bogdiin Khüree: Monasteries and Temples of the Mongolian Capital (1651–1938)*, PhD thesis, Eötvös Loránd University, Budapest, Hungary.
- 3 For the impressions of early European travellers, see Price, J. M., 1892, *From the Arctic Ocean to the Yellow Sea* (London); Sheepshanks, J., Bishop of Norwich, 1903, *My Life in Mongolia and Siberia*, London; Roerich, G. N., 1996, *Trails to Inmost Asia* (New Delhi; reprint); Haslund, H., 1934, *Tents in Mongolia* (London).
- 4 For a discussion of the Communist purge, see Bawden, C. R., 1989,

- The Modern History of Mongolia* (London), pp. 328ff; Baabar, 1999, *History of Mongolia: From World Power to Soviet Satellite*, Cambridge, pp. 356ff; Jerryson, M. K., 2007, *Mongolian Buddhism: The Rise and Fall of the Sangha* (Chiang Mai); Kaplonski, C., 2014, *The Lama Question: Violence, Sovereignty and Exception in Early Socialist Mongolia* (Honolulu).
- 5 Lattimore, O., 1962, *Nomads and Commissars: Mongolia Revisited* (London), pp. 173–174.
- 6 Becker, J., 2008, *Mongolia: Travels in the Untamed Land* (New York); Amarsana, J., Batsaikhan, O., eds, 2009, *The Constitutions of Mongolia* (Ulaanbaatar).
- 7 Pozdneyev, A. M., 1977, *Mongolia and the Mongols, I and II* (Bloomington), pp. 77ff; Ma, H.-T., 1949, *Chinese Agent in Mongolia* (Baltimore), pp. 125–128; Teleki, *op. cit.*, pp. 188–191.
- 8 For a discussion of Imperial Chinese-influenced temple architecture, see Pozdneyev, A. M., 1978, *Religion and Ritual in Society: Lamaist Buddhism in Later 19th Century Mongolia* (Bloomington), pp. 67ff.
- 9 Teleki, *op. cit.*, p. 92.
- 10 Guan Yin is the Chinese personification of the Mahayana bodhisattva Avalokitesvara. According to Mongolian–Tibetan legend, Tara was born in the tears shed by Avalokitesvara for the suffering of sentient beings. Tara had 21 forms of manifestation, with the Green Tara and the White Tara as the most popular forms among Mongolians. See Powers, J., Templeman, D., 2012, *Historical Dictionary of Tibet* (Lanham), p. 626.
- 11 See Lessing, F. D., 1976, *Bodhisattva Confucius, Ritual and Symbol: Collected Essays on Lamaism and Chinese Symbolism* (Taipei).
- 12 For discussions on this chapter of Mongolian history, see, generally, Bawden, *op. cit.*, pp. 81ff; Perdue, P., 2005, *China Marches West: The Qing Conquest of Central Eurasia* (Cambridge, MA), pp. 175–180.
- 13 Baabar, *op. cit.*, pp. 92ff; Bawden, *op. cit.*, pp. 96ff; Avery, M., 2003, *The Tea Road: China and Russia Meet Across the Steppe* (Beijing), p. 73.
- 14 This custom was, in part, in emulation of the first Gelukpa monastery established in 1585 in Khalkha Mongolia, *Erden Zuu Khiid* near Kharakhorum, and the Tibetan practice of constructing monasteries based upon the existing architectural design of forts.
- 15 Avery, *op. cit.*, pp. 53ff, 121ff.
- 16 Pozdneyev, 1977, *op. cit.*, pp. 46–47; Rupen, *op. cit.*, p. 162.

- 17 Teleki, *op. cit.*, pp. 192–193; quoting Pürew, O., 2004, *Mongol Uls Töriin Golomt* (Ulaanbaatar).
- 18 Perdue, *op. cit.*, pp. 276ff; Bawden, *op. cit.*, p. 134; Atwood, C. P., 2004, *Encyclopaedia of Mongolia and the Mongolian Empire* (New York), pp. 103, 268.
- 19 Teleki, *op. cit.*, pp. 192–193.
- 20 Pozdneyev, 1977, *op. cit.*, p. 79.
- 21 *Ibid.*, p. 89. The corresponding Chinese title for the *zarguchi* is *ban shi ci yuan* or 办事司员. Hucker, C. O., 1996, *A Dictionary of Official Titles in Imperial China* (Taipei; reprint), entry no. 4413, p. 363.
- 22 Teleki, *op. cit.*, p. 192.
- 23 *Ibid.* *Dharmapala* were Vajrayana deities, perceived as lesser spiritual beings that had taken a vow to defend the Dharma against its enemies. See Powers and Templeman, *op. cit.*, p. 157.
- 24 Pozdneyev, 1978, *op. cit.*, p. 135; Heissig, W., 1980, *The Religions of Mongolia* (London), p. 76.
- 25 Teleki, *op. cit.*, p. 193.
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- 27 Teleki, *op. cit.*, p. 191; Stein, R., 1972, *Tibetan Civilization* (Stanford), p. 88; Crossley, P. K., 1997, *The Manchus* (Cambridge, MA), p. 119.
- 28 *Ibid.*, p. 195.
- 29 *Ibid.*, p. 196. For a discussion of these patron deities of the College, see Getty, A., 1988, *The Gods of Northern Buddhism* (Mineola, NY; reprint), pp. 151 (for Jamsran as Begtse), 152 (for Yama), 160 (for Mahalaka); Powers and Templeman, *op. cit.*, p. 248 for Gesar.
- 30 *Ibid.*, pp. 196–197.
- 31 *Ibid.*, p. 189.
- 32 *Ibid.*, p. 199; Pozdneyev, 1977, *op. cit.*, p. 87.
- 33 Ungern von Sternberg also massacred the city's Jewish residents and those suspected of Bolshevik sympathies. Baabar, *op. cit.*, pp. 207ff; Bawden, *op. cit.*, pp. 215–216; Palmer, J., 2008, *The Blood White Baron* (New York), pp. 161ff.
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- 35 Ma, *op. cit.*, p. 127.
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- 38 *Dolma Ling Nunnery*, undated brochure distributed by the nunnery. For Gandantegche Ling monastery, see Atwood, *op. cit.*, pp. 194–195.
- 39 Undated *Dolma Ling Nunnery* brochure; Foundation for the Preservation of Mahayana Tradition in Mongolia, <http://www.fpmt-mongolia.org/fpmt/>.
- 40 Leadership of the FPMT passed to Thubten Zopa after Thubten Yeshe passed away in 1983. Lama Yeshe is believed to have been reincarnated as a Spaniard, Ösel Hita Torres, who has been, at times, a reluctant incarnate. See MacKenzie, V., 1996, *Reincarnation: The Boy Lama* (Boston), and related works by the same author.
- 41 Undated *Dolma Ling Nunnery* brochure.
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- 44 These are called *paishan goudi* (排山溝滴). Guo, *op. cit.*, p. 42.
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- 46 Liang, S.-C., 2005, *Chinese Architecture: A Pictorial History*, ed. Fairbank, W. (Mineola, NY; reprint), pp. 12, 15. Liang believed that the earliest form of the *dougong* could be seen depicted in the decoration of bronzes from the Warring State period (468–221 BCE). Liang, *op. cit.*, p. 24. In his *Mongolian Architecture* (1988, Ulaanbaatar; not paginated), N. Tsultem does not seem to value the *dougong* design highly, devoting only one paragraph in passing to this ancient structural form. See Tsultem, fourth page of his essay in English. This is peculiar given the use of the *dougong* in major Ulaanbaatar temples of more recent construction in addition to the Dolma Ling nunnery.
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- 50 See Guo, *op. cit.*, p. 37, for a definition of these types of structures—*fujie* (副阶).
- 51 The famed marble cloud pillars, or *hua biao* (华表), by the main gate of Tian'an Men Square are examples of *dharani* pillars adapted for use as Chinese Imperial insignia.
- 52 See Liang, *op. cit.*, p. 152, for a brief description of *dharani* pillars.
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- 54 Majer and Teleki, *op. cit.*
- 55 *Ibid.*
- 56 <http://www.fpmtmongolia.org/dolma-ling-nunnery/>

KOREAN DIASPORA IN UZBEKISTAN

BY VICTORIA KIM^a

THIS YEAR MARKS the 80th anniversary of the 1937 deportation and arrival of ethnic Koreans in Uzbekistan. Many legends surround the decision to deport ethnic Koreans from the far East to Central Asia. The most widespread opinion held today is that Joseph Stalin and his closest advisors, including Lavrentiy Beria and Vyacheslav Molotov, regarded Soviet Koreans as Japanese spies. The complexity behind the Russo–Japanese relationship in the beginning of the 20th Century, until the late 1930s/early 1940s, serves as historical background, allowing us to prove this theory.

In 1905, Russia lost the war to Japan with an historic defeat of its army and navy in the battle of Tsushima and the subsequent occupation of Sakhalin Island by Japanese troops. Since the early 1890s,¹ Japan had already been moving aggressively towards the Russo–Chinese border in the far East. In the course of the first Sino–Japanese War, it acquired full influence over the Korean peninsula and—after the Russian defeat of 1905—formalised that control by annexing Korea and making it a Japanese colony in 1910. At the same time, Japan had also been strengthening its military influence over Qing Dynasty-run Manchuria in northeastern China right until it seized the region in 1931 during the Mukden Incident.²

That same volatile border between Russia and China was the area where ethnic Korean peasants from the north of the Korean peninsula had been moving to since the late 1850s and into the early 1860s, in an attempt to escape dire poverty and starvation in the feudal and rundown Korea of the time. They had been moving first to Chinese territory and then to what officially became Russian land after the Treaty of Peking, signed between the Qing Dynasty and Imperial Russia in 1860. The first 13 Korean families were found along the Tizinhe river by a Russian military convoy in 1863,³ and this is the event and date which post-Soviet Koreans or Koryo Saram (as they call themselves) consider their arrival in Russia.

We can, with full certainty, say that those regional wars fought with Japan by Russia and China along the far Eastern borders reflected

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the uneasy global situation of the times, and ethnic Koreans became the immediate victims of that situation and of those wars. Korean peasants in the Russian far East had been regarded suspicious subjects ever since 1905, when Russia started recognising the Korean peninsula as Japanese territory. Since 1907, anti-Korean laws were effectively applied against those Korean peasants residing on Russian territory; for example, their lands were seized by the Russian government.⁴

At the same time, an increasing number of ethnic Koreans from the north (mostly from Hamgyong province) were escaping the war and Japanese colonisation on the Korean peninsula by crossing the border into Russia. By the early 1920s, their numbers exceeded 100,000.⁵

After the Soviet revolution of 1917, all ethnic Koreans in the far East became Soviet citizens.⁶ They heroically fought against the Japanese during the Civil War in the far East throughout the early 1920s, and they lived mostly in the Maritime province (Primorskiy Krai) in the Korean national district of Posyet, established through the Soviet policies of Koreanisation based on the original 105 Soviet Korean villages in the Russian far East.⁷

At the same time and with the official annexation of Manchuria in 1931–1932, Japan was now populating its Manchurian territory right across the border from the Soviet Korean district of Posyet with its colonial Korean subjects, both as soldiers and as forced labour.⁸ These might have been different Koreans from those in the south; they probably even spoke a slightly different Korean dialect from the Soviet Koreans speaking Koryo mar, which is mostly based on the northern dialect of Hamgyong province. But in the eyes of the Soviet leadership they were all the same—unreliable people.

The decision to deport all ethnic Soviet Koreans from the far East to Central Asia had been in planning since the late 1920s and throughout the early 1930s, with intelligence reports speculating that the Japanese were effectively sending ethnic Korean spies to the neighbouring Soviet Maritime province. In August 1937, Stalin signed the infamous Resolution No. 1428-326CC, condemning 171,781 Koreans—the whole Soviet Korean population of the far East—to deportation to Kazakhstan and Uzbekistan.⁹

This deportation became the first population transfer of an entire nationality (ethnic group) in the Soviet Union; it took less than two months to be executed effectively. By October 1937, all Koreans had been forcefully shipped to Central Asia with almost no possessions or

resources to survive through those long and hungry winter months of crossing Siberia in cattle trains.¹⁰

Those few Koreans who were not deported with the rest of the civil population were purged and sent to the Siberian gulags, if not immediately exterminated. They mostly happened to be members of the Soviet military or party cadres, but also other highly educated Soviet Korean intelligentsia. Russo–Korean families were split up, with all Korean members deported to Kazakhstan and Uzbekistan, including children and the elderly, and Russian members left behind.¹¹

Central Asia was chosen as the site of the relocation because of its remoteness and underdevelopment. Historically, many unwanted people had been deported to the southeastern outskirts of the Russian Empire, including revolutionaries, political opposition members, and even the grandson of Emperor Nicholas I, Grand Duke Nicholas Konstantinovich Romanov, who ended up in Tashkent, Uzbekistan, at the end of the 19th Century.¹² At the same time, the Soviet regime needed a labour force to develop underpopulated lands for agricultural purposes, and Soviet Koreans were put to work in what became the Soviet Union's first forced labour camps.¹³

Their life has been extremely hard, and those Koreans paid a high price to be accepted nowadays as one of Uzbekistan's most honoured diasporas.¹⁴ The Uzbek state and people recognise Koreans for their hard work and their contributions to the economy (especially, in agriculture). Everyone is used to seeing Korean faces on the streets among Uzbeks, Russians, Tatars, and others. Korean food is an integral part of the Uzbek cuisine, with typical North Korean salads being sold in the stalls in every market across Uzbekistan.¹⁵

Thanks to its unique history, Uzbekistan has acquired and assimilated almost all of the Soviet Union's ethnic groups and nationalities. From the early 1930s, the country began receiving Germans, Poles, Russians, Belarusians, Ukrainians, Jews, Armenians, Greeks, Turks, Kurds, Chechens, Ingush, Crimean Tatars, and others.¹⁶ At the beginning, people were forcefully deported to Central Asia, mostly for political reasons; during World War II the Soviets were actually trying to save the civil population of the Union's west by moving it away from the actual war front to remote areas in the southeast not directly affected by the ongoing war in Europe.¹⁷

As a result, it became a truly multi-ethnic society, where people mutually respected each other, different cultures, traditions, and

beliefs. However, even in the present-day Uzbekistan people do not know all facts behind the 1937 deportation of ethnic Koreans. Discussions of this topic had been strictly prohibited by the Soviet state until the most recent past, and it still remains very secretive, with all those personal stories disclosed only among the closest family members—and thus passed from one generation to another.¹⁸

When the Koreans first arrived in Soviet Uzbekistan in 1937, they were forced to work in the swamps surrounding Tashkent. Under 24/7 military guard, they lived in barracks and worked, drying out the swamps.¹⁹ In about three years, they dried the swamps, cut all the cane, and turned the lands into productive fields. Nowadays, Tashkent is surrounded by cotton fields and fruit orchards. Partially, this is thanks to those Koreans. They also introduced new sorts of rice and other grain cultures and taught the locals traditional Korean agricultural techniques. As a result, Uzbekistan became the Soviet Union's granary, with rice eaten here as a staple food and still lovingly called Korean.

These humble, honest, and very hard working people slowly gained the trust of locals and even the Soviet military, under whose guard they were being kept day and night. Eventually, they were permitted to build their own houses from clay and mud on the lands they had been developing and cultivating with so much love. In time, the first Korean *kolkhozes* (collective farms) were established throughout Tashkent province. Initially, these *kolkhozes* were closed and controlled spaces, populated and managed by the same Koreans who had earlier been forced to live and work on the same swamplands where the Korean *kolkhozes* eventually appeared. Slowly, they became very prosperous and successful, and they were even commonly referred to as the 'millionaire *kolkhozes*.' Again, all of this has been achieved only thanks to the very hard work and physical labour of their Korean inhabitants and farmers. Many heroes of Socialist labour came out of those Korean *kolkhozes* with numerous awards, certificates, and medals.²⁰

The real change came after the death of Stalin in 1953, when his personality cult was purposefully destroyed by the incumbent Soviet leader, Nikita Khrushchev. In 1956, Khrushchev took the historic decision to give the deported Koreans their full rights and freedoms back, which meant that—as fully fledged Soviet citizens—their movements were no longer restricted to the region they had been deported to.²¹

Surprisingly or not, most Uzbek Koreans stayed in the same

kolkhozes they had developed, where they had built their homes and bore their children. They really had nowhere else to go. Uzbekistan had slowly become their one and only home. Their children were also coming back to the same Korean *kolkhozes* after being educated all over the Soviet Union. The new generation of managers, engineers, and agricultural experts took care of the lands their parents had come to in 1937. Slowly and painfully, this land has become truly theirs.

Nowadays, Koryo Saram are members of a unique diaspora that left Korea in the early 20th Century, when it was still a unified country. Even though most originally spoke no Russian but their local dialect, which served eventually as a foundation for Koryo mar, the Soviet regulations did not permit them to maintain their original language. Most Soviet Koreans were forced to learn Russian and study, work, and publish in Russian, too. Such was the reality of the times for all Soviet ethnicities—Russian was the official language and Soviet Russian culture was the predominant one which had to be followed in all Soviet republics, even if the population had their own centuries-old culture, traditions, and language.²²

Uzbek and other Central Asian Koreans were able to keep the fundamental traditions of all Korean people, such as their celebrations of the autumn and spring equinoxes (*Chusok* and *Hansik*), the first and 60th birthdays (*tol* and *hwangab*), burial commemorations and wedding celebrations, and certain rituals, like showing respect to the elderly in the form of traditional kneeling.²³ Some of these customs and traditions evolved, adapted to local surroundings and ingredients. The same thing happened with Korean food and the Korean language.

Currently, hundreds of thousands of descendants of the originally deported Koryo Saram live all over Central Asia and Russia. The reality of their lives is the same as that of other ethnicities populating what used to be their common motherland, and Koreans now move voluntarily, searching for better lives and a better future.

South Korea supports the Korean diasporas in the former Soviet Union, both in terms of funding and cultural and professional exchanges for ethnic Koreans. In Uzbekistan, younger people are able to learn the Korean language freely in language schools and cultural centres, mostly sponsored by South Korea. The classical Seoul dialect, however, is quite different from the Koryo mar that the older generation used to speak within their tight family circles after their initial arrival in Soviet Uzbekistan.

Some Uzbek Koreans live, study, and work in South Korea. The question of temporary and/or permanent emigration to South Korea has always remained somewhat complicated for those Koreans for a number of reasons, including language and cultural differences.²⁴ Younger and more adaptable Koreans have been able to move and grow accustomed to local life in South Korea. The older Koryo Saram probably do not see it as their real home anymore, as it had forever stayed lost and found in Central Asia, on those swamplands and steppes they had turned into productive fields.

The stories of the 1937 deportation of ethnic Koreans to Central Asia, their perseverance, and their success on the lands they originally came to develop as a labour force is part of our common history—the history of all Korean people and humanity, in general. The suffering and achievements of these Koreans must therefore never be forgotten by future generations.



Endnotes

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the late 1960s. Their families back in Uzbekistan and Kazakhstan never learnt all the details of their ordeals and disappearances in North Korea. The few lucky ones who were still able to maintain their Soviet citizenship or who were somehow related to the Soviet embassy in Pyongyang managed to escape and return to Central Asia. The majority, along with their North Korean passports and new families in the DPRK, have silently disappeared forever. Kim, V., 2016, *The Soviet Korean Who Ended The Forgotten War, The Diplomat*, 24 August, <http://thediplomat.com/2016/08/the-soviet-korean-who-ended-the-forgotten-war/> (Accessed 26 April 2017).

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GOING GLOBAL

16th-Century-style China and the Manila galleons trade

BY KATE BAKER^a

“What has been will be again, what has been done will be done again; there is nothing new under the Sun.”

—Ecclesiastes 1:9

TWENTY-FIRST-CENTURY hubris may lead to the presumption that the modern age invented globalization, given our insatiable desire for products and exotic goods at inexpensive prices. However, centuries before China was creating our wardrobes and stocking our kitchen cabinets, European demand for Chinese silk, pottery, and an abundance of unusual wares created a new shipping route across the Pacific and, for the first time, linked the East, the Americas, and Europe.

Lasting between 1572 and 1815, the Manila galleon trade was the world’s earliest global trading network. The entrepôts for this trade were Manila, in the Philippines, and Acapulco, Mexico (New Spain). Chinese goods were transported to Manila, from where they were shipped to Acapulco in exchange for silver from Peruvian mines. The remaining goods that did not sell to Mexico City and Lima traders subsequently travelled by land across Mexico to the port of Veracruz, and then sailed across the Atlantic to Cadiz, Spain, where they were traded in Europe.

Estimates vary, but it is generally agreed that, between the 16th and 18th Centuries, 150,000 tons of silver, 80% of the world’s production, was produced in the Americas. All of it was involved in the global trades. What drove this demand for silver, making it the dominant currency of the time? The demand came from China, where silver held a significantly higher value than in any other country in the world. It was China’s demand for silver and the West’s demand for Chinese silk that, for 250 years, drove the first global trading network.

TRADE ROUTES

China’s trading prowess, both on land and by sea, has a long and rich history. While sea travel followed ancient seafarers’ ocean routes,

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northern and southern land routes carried goods to the subcontinent, the Arabian Peninsula, and as far as eastern Africa. The Silk Road, as the trading route is now known, was not one single thoroughfare, but it altered over time during various dynasties and rulers. It was during the Yuan Dynasty (1271–1368) that the route was most developed, during the era that Marco Polo made his famous trek. After the fall of the Yuan Dynasty and the establishment of the Ottoman Empire, the trade routes collapsed, although the demand for goods did not. The ongoing lust for wealth and the exotic goods of the East was one of the main forces that drove the advancement of maritime technology in Europe.

In 16th-Century Europe, the Spanish and Portuguese dominated trade in Southeast Asia. The Treaty of Tordesillas, signed in 1494, established two spheres of influence in the world between Spain and Portugal. The newly discovered lands in the East were conceded to Portugal and the lands in the West to Spain. Whereas the Portuguese sailed around the Cape of Good Hope, the Spanish sailed westward and rounded Cape Horn. The Portuguese established both a base in the Moluccas and trade pacts with China through the port of Macau, becoming an intermediary between Japan and China from the entrepôt of Nagasaki. Searching for its own trading base, Spain's Magellan landed in the Philippines in 1521. However, Spanish discoveries in the new lands failed to yield much bounty until the conquest of Peru and Mexico and the discovery of their rich silver mines. This offered a temporary distraction until the lure of the exotic East pulled the Spanish back to the Philippines.

CHINA'S DEMAND FOR SILVER

In 1375, during the Ming Dynasty (1368–1644), China was the first empire to introduce the concept of paper money. Printing more currency than it collected, government policies soon depreciated the *baochaos*' worth, and they lost control of the currency's value. By 1433, many provinces began to require that land taxes be paid in silver, and others soon followed suit. The population had lost complete faith in the government's currency, thus increasing China's demand for silver. Whereas China's own mines produced very little silver, Japan was the principal source of the element, until their mines also depleted. Thus, the value of silver in China was at least double that in other kingdoms throughout the world. Further attempts at securing revenue sources

led the Ming government to introduce the Single Whip Tax in 1581. Previously, small farmers and merchants were able to pay their taxes in kind and collection deadlines varied. With the Single Whip reform, collection of taxes was not only centralized, but all taxes were paid in silver, placing a huge burden on the local population. Meanwhile, the new taxation policies allowed the Ming government to decentralize and enhance its silk-weaving centres, increasing production fourfold. China's demand for silver exploded just as the silver mines in the Americas were booming and Europe's passion for silk increased, creating a perfect storm for the silver for silk trade.

MANILA BECOMES AN ENTREPÔT

Although the Philippines was 'discovered' in 1521 and named after Spanish Prince Philip II in 1542, a return route eastward proved illusive until 1565, when a passage from Manila to Acapulco was finally charted. This route allowed the Spanish to begin trade with the far East.

The Spanish were in Manila for religious as well as economic reasons. A major motivation for royal support of the colonization of the Philippines was to convert the local population to Catholicism. They also hoped to find a source of wealth, as the Spice Islands had become for the Portuguese. However, the islands offered little hope, since neither farming nor mining had been developed. But there was a robust commercial trade with Southeast Asia, facilitated by a large community of Chinese traders.

After a short-lived period of seafaring success in the early 15th Century, by the early 16th Century the Ming Dynasty had become very insular and banned all sea travel. Fujian province, a coastal area known for its merchants and seafarers, had become particularly overcrowded and land-hungry owing to a population explosion during the Ming Dynasty and because of regional wars which forced people southwards. This, in turn, drove thousands of Chinese to the Philippines, where they set up profitable trading businesses. Although the numbers vary, by the early 1600s, the Chinese population in Manila had already reached 20,000 to 30,000. The number of Fujian merchants who went to Manila is modestly estimated at about 33,000 per year. Many of them stayed in Manila and married with the local population, cutting off their familial ties with their relations at home, while others traveled back and forth.

Once the Spaniards discovered that trade between China and the Philippines had been flourishing for centuries, they decided to capitalize upon trade with China as well. However, before the galleon trade was fully established, the Spanish made attempts to trade in Macau and Canton, but they were thwarted by the Portuguese. They even entertained ideas of christianizing China through war, but this was quickly abandoned. Eventually the Spanish realized that they could get better prices for Chinese goods from the Chinese intermediaries in Manila.

The Spanish regarded the Chinese as economically necessary, but culturally threatening; additionally, they were also intimidated by their numbers and their economic power. From 1565 to 1898, the population figures for the Spaniards residing in the Philippines ranged from as low as 400 in some years to as high as 4,000 by the 19th Century. In the 17th Century, there were only about 2,000 Spaniards living in the Philippines. As Manila's population increased with many different groups of people, the Spanish were outnumbered and were constantly trying to increase their own population.

The Chinese were required to live in an area known as the Parian (see Figure 1). They were allowed to roam the city by day, but by night, they had to be in the Parian area, the economic hub of the city. The Spanish wanted the Chinese far enough away from their own living quarters in the walled city, Intramuros, but close enough to reach by cannon. Although the Spanish valued the Chinese for their skills as tradesmen



Figure 1: The Manila market, known as the Parian, by Juan Francisco de Ravenet y Bunel. (Collection of drawings and engravings made on the Malaspina Expedition, 1789–1794). This is the only known drawing of the Chinese quarter in Manila, before its demolition. Many of the people included in this drawing were painted individually by the artist himself. (Downloaded from <http://www.skyscrapercity.com>)

and merchants, they taxed the Chinese heavily and subjected them to periodic massacres. In 1628, the Spaniards allowed the Christian Chinese who were married to Christian Filipinas to spread to the area known today as Binondo and Tondo where they continued to live and run their businesses. After converting to Christianity, the Chinese were exempt from paying taxes to the government for a period of ten years. At the end of that period, they paid a lower tax rate than even the Filipinos.

THE SPANISH COLONIAL GOVERNMENT

The Philippines came under the jurisdiction of New Spain. Colonial New Spain was ruled by a Viceroyalty, appointed by the King, who was a member of Spain's nobility. He, in turn, appointed a governor from New Spain to rule over the Philippines. But a governor only stayed for two years—and sometimes without his family. His business and his life were in New Spain. He simply came to Manila to make money, returning home with wealth amassed from the galleon trade. For this reason, developing and investing in the Philippines served no purpose for the Spaniards. Priests, on the other hand, usually came for life. They were also interested in amassing wealth, and they participated enthusiastically in the galleon trade.

The income of the Spanish royal government was derived from taxes on the Filipinos and the Chinese, as well as on other inhabitants in the archipelago. While the Chinese were required to pay in silver, the Filipinos paid in kind with food supplies, products for the galleons, and other provisions used for the sailing ships. Even so, the taxes were never able to cover the expenses of the colony and subsidies, in the form of taxes on the galleons, were required to keep the colonial government solvent. Thus the investors in the trade were indirectly paying the subsidy for themselves sending 250,000 silver pesos back to Manila each year. How much was the tax? 14% plus duties of 9% on imported goods, also an additional 3% customs duty on goods brought to Manila by Chinese trade vessels. Nevertheless, most of the money made from the galleon trade was owing to corruption: bribes, smuggled goods, and all manner of profiteering.

The Spanish built their own vessels in Cavite, across the bay from Manila, and began to purchase goods for the galleon trade. As the galleon trade grew, so did the Chinese population. Not only did merchants come from China, there was also an influx of traders,

gardeners, craftsmen, and fishermen to support the growing economy. And since few Spaniards participated in any commerce, the economics of the country was soon in the hands of the Chinese, whereas production of food and cloth was managed by the Filipinos. The Spanish did not pursue any form of employment or enterprise, with the exception of relying on the profits of the galleons or accepting bribes for favours.

Had the Spaniards developed the Philippine economy and infrastructure instead of depending totally on the galleons, they would have created a much more stable financial system for the archipelago. Having said that, businessmen and artisans who came from Spain to start their own businesses often found competing with the Chinese hopeless. The Chinese could offer good quality work at cheaper prices, thus thwarting the dreams of many a Spanish businessman.

THE GALLEON TRADE IN MANILA

With its exceptional harbour and central location with respect to China, Japan, and Southeast Asia, Manila soon became the entrepôt for goods traveling from the Orient to New Spain. In addition to the China trade, merchandise was brought in from India, Sri Lanka, Thailand, Vietnam, and Cambodia. Goods also arrived on Japanese and Portuguese vessels from Nagasaki.

The Spaniards turned the galleon trade into their own private monopoly. Legally, only Spanish residents of Manila were allocated space on the vessels. Because few of them had the wealth and resources to invest in the cargoes, they often acted on behalf of the Chinese investors, serving as middlemen and receiving commissions or shares. Members of the clergy were deeply involved in the trade, lending money to individuals who wished to participate, at 50% interest rates, while also investing in the trade themselves. The Spanish and Chinese investors could earn as much as 300% profit during one galleon voyage. Such high stakes resulted in unbridled corruption, gambling, and often bankruptcy. Although the Spanish government tried, many times and in many ways, to remedy the situation, profiteering prevailed. The stakes were just too high.

Everyone in Manila was involved in the galleon trade. The Spanish government owned the vessels and was responsible for building them and providing them with a captain and crew. The Chinese controlled the economy of the city and provided most of the goods shipped on

the galleons. The Filipinos worked on the ships and provided materials for the sails, ropes, and provisions for the journey. Thus, all three groups had a vested interest in the success of the galleon trade. Junks from China would arrive between March and May, the voyage from Fujian taking about two weeks. When the ships arrived, the Spanish authorities boarded them for inspection and demanded bribes. After an appraisal of the goods, taxes and anchorage fees were exacted. Cargo intended for the galleons was transferred to government warehouses. Leftover merchandise was sold to the local merchants in the Parian. The Chinese would take only silver for payment. The galleons would set sail in June, making the next month a flurry of activity as the ships were carefully registered and packed for a safe voyage. Stores and live animals were supplied for the six- to seven-month journey. The cook, with his pots and pans, and the doctor, with his medicines and surgical equipment, were loaded on board. Goods were smuggled onto the ship even after it had been overloaded with cargo. One overloaded and overweight boat even sunk soon after it left the port of Cavite.

Space on the galleons was allocated according to one's station in society, with mayors and alderman receiving eight units, whereas widows and destitute Spaniards received a share of one-sixth of a unit. Usually, they combined their tickets and sold them as a single unit.

The post of captain of a ship was a very coveted position. He was not chosen for his navigation ability. Instead, he was chosen at the whim of the governor and received a salary of up to 100,000 pesos to command the ship. He also received 1,000 pesos from each passenger on the ship and 500 pesos from each returning patron. Additionally, he surreptitiously received a 4% commission from each merchant who shipped merchandise after the ship was already fully loaded.

Initially the galleon trade was run without regulation. As many as four ships would sail together, with no restrictions on the quantity of cargo on each vessel. In the late 16th Century, the Spanish government was forced to pass regulations in response to complaints from the merchants in Spain. The flood of Oriental goods into the markets of Mexico became all the rage in the New World. This impacted the profits of the silk merchants in Cadiz and Seville, Spain. Chinese silk was of better quality and cheaper than Spanish silk and, therefore, more in demand, despite the regulations.

The Spanish tried to impose regulations and limitations. The galleons were limited to two per year, then one per year. Cargo



Figure 2: Trade routes from the Philippines to New Spain and beyond. (Credit: <http://www.gov.ph>; image in the public domain)

weight limits were also imposed, but the restrictions were ignored. In an effort to enforce their policies, the Spanish government created an extraordinarily bureaucratic shipping process, registering each galleon with the House of Trade and requiring inspections, licensing, and submitting a very detailed three-page document. When the ship reached Acapulco, all passengers and crew were required to stay on board until the customs officials had inspected the cargo and levied their duties; to no avail, however, as everyone had smuggled silk aboard the ship. Although the Spanish continued to regulate and institute penalties for smuggling, the chance of extreme wealth was just too tempting—and corruption just too easy.

The profits earned when the goods were actually sold at the Acapulco trade fair were staggering. There were millions of pesos at stake every time a galleon sailed from Manila to Acapulco, and if the ship was lost for one reason or another because of the weather, poor construction, or an attack by enemy vessels, the loss of profits in Manila was devastating. (Several British commanders became excessively wealthy after capturing a galleon on the open seas.)

ARRIVAL IN ACAPULCO

Acapulco was chosen as port city for the galleons because of its deep waters and protection from storms (see Figure 2). Although Acapulco was a rustic fishing village most of the year, when the galleon arrived from Manila and the annual trade fair commenced, the population doubled in size with people from all over New Spain.

Sentries notified the mayor when they spotted the galleon sailing towards port. A small boat was dispatched to accompany the ship into the harbour as far as it could safely anchor while cannon fire saluted the relieved travellers, who had survived the six- to seven-month voyage.

Then the celebrations began. Church bells rang even in Mexico City and the whole of New Spain celebrated. Before the weary passengers and crew could disembark, the lengthy bureaucratic processes and scrutinizing by customs officials had to take place. Meanwhile, baskets of oranges and lemons were sent out to the passengers, since many of them were suffering from scurvy after their long voyage.

Acapulco was immediately transformed into an international centre of trade. Messengers travelled from Acapulco to the viceroy in Mexico City and to other towns, to inform government officials of the galleon's arrival. The 286-mile road from Mexico City to Acapulco became known as the 'China Road.' News spread throughout New Spain and especially to the thriving city of Lima, Peru, where the galleon's merchandise was hugely popular. Vessels began arriving from those areas at the port to participate in the town's trade fair, which was also known as the '*Feria annual de los naos en Acapulco*' that is, the '*Annual fair of the galleons in Acapulco*.' Thousands of people—rich and poor, nobles and commoners, Indios and Spaniards, and nuns, caballeros, and señoritas—all were fascinated by the magnificent exhibits of goods from the Asian world.

The fair was held in the town's main square, which was converted into a large outdoor marketplace. Sails from the galleon were used to form tents, and merchandise was placed on mats on the ground or on tables to showcase the goods for sale. One passenger quoted

The Manila galleon supplied New Spain's markets and fairs with exquisite porcelain dishes, lacquer-work screens, rugs, fans, silk bedspreads, lacquered trays, silk cushions from Peking, boxes of Philippine mahogany, silk carpets, canopies for beds, garnet jewelry, ceramic bowls, and wooden chairs, all from China.

Goods going to Europe were transported overland to Veracruz, loaded onto one of the galleons of the Atlantic fleet, sailed to Havana, and then to Cadiz, Spain. Since the galleon arrived in late December to early January, the fair was usually held in January and February, for about six weeks.

On the return journey to Manila, which took only three months, the galleon transported many passengers, government officials and their families, priests, nuns, missionaries, merchants, military personnel, as

well as anyone else who wanted to travel to the far East. Some of the passengers were travelling to Guam, a port of call before sailing on to the Philippines, but the majority traveled to Manila. The crew which arrived on the galleon from Manila usually remained with the vessel for its return voyage to the Philippines. They were paid upfront only a part of their salaries in Manila as an incentive for them to remain with the vessel. When they returned to the Philippines, they received the rest of their salaries. However, there were always some crew members who abandoned the galleon and decided to remain in Mexico. Each galleon carried a government official known as the 'Silver Master.' He was in charge of the safekeeping of the huge amounts of silver transported from Acapulco to Manila.

Upon the galleon's return to Manila, there was great jubilation and celebration and thanking of God for its safe arrival. Church bells rang out and great balls and festivities were planned. However, first the bureaucratic procedures had to be followed, taxes and bribes levied, and so forth.

THE BEGINNING OF THE END

In the mid-18th Century, the British and French engaged in the Seven Years War. In 1762, the British declared war on Spain and sent a force from India to capture the Philippines, hoping to expand her trading Empire. After a short battle and looting spree, and conducting what is known as the first Rape of Manila, the British failed to occupy any other parts of the Philippines. When the treaty of Paris was signed to end the war, all lands were returned to Spain. However, the Spanish colony was changed forever after this invasion and the two-year occupation. The Spanish recognized their vulnerability and realized that they could not return to business as usual.

A Spanish economist, Leandro de Viana, recommended several visionary and innovative ideas to make the Philippines profitable for Spain, including exploiting her natural resources, developing agriculture, and the establishment of a trading company similar to the British and Dutch East India Companies. The majority of his recommendations were ignored, except for the establishment of the trading company. By then, it was too late, and it only existed for less than 50 years. After a long monopoly, foreign trade houses were finally allowed to operate in Manila.

By the first decade of the 19th Century, Mexico was engaged in

a struggle to gain independence from Spain. During this time, the galleons arriving from Manila were no longer able to sell their cargo. In 1812, the War of Independence began, and the Mexicans captured the town of Acapulco to disrupt the trade completely. On 13 April 1815, Ferdinand VII abolished the Manila–Acapulco galleon trade by royal decree.

CHINA TRADE AFTER 1785

The Royal Philippine Trading Company ended the direct trade with Chinese traders coming to Manila. Chinese merchants began selling their goods to other parts of Southeast Asia, particularly to Indonesia. The Chinese community in Manila was reduced to about 10,000 heads at this time. Many were forced to leave the colony, fleeing to Batavia (Jakarta), and others settled in Mindanao and Sulu (Philippines). Chinese residents who stayed settled in Binondo and Tondo. From 1785 onwards, China was already involved in direct trade with European countries and even with the United States. From 1848, during the time of the California ‘Gold Rush,’ China provided a large quantity of exports to the prospectors.

In Manila, large numbers of the Chinese community had either dispersed or married with the local population. But some would contend that the impact of the trade is still felt today. The Filipinos became expert shipbuilders and seafarers. The Catholic Church was successful in converting some 90% of the population to Catholicism. Spanish customs, culture, colonial governance, foods, and numerous Spanish words became part of Filipino culture. For 250 years, the commercial activities of the galleons influenced every aspect of life in the Philippines. They served as the main source of revenue for the Spaniards and Chinese. For them, the galleon trade had become a way of life and it dominated their lives. Consequently, the Philippines was never developed as a commercially successful economy. The attitude of corruption and personal accumulation of wealth rather than investment in infrastructure and a thriving economy still plague the country today.

As a result of the multitude of goods that flooded the marketplace in Mexico City, a demand for more affordable models developed. This led to the production of knock-offs that were mass-produced in Mexico and resembled the original items for less affluent customers. These articles had a strong influence on the decorative arts and local

crafts of Mexico. Chinese lacquers were imitated in Michoacan wares. The ornamentation of urns and chinaware was produced on Talavera ceramics in Puebla. Of course, Chinese fireworks and cockfights added excitement to town fairs. The Manton de Manila—the Spanish Shawl—was originally crafted in China.

Filipino and Chinese mariners and merchants set up businesses in Mexico and remained there. Descendants can still be found in the country, especially in the towns along the west coast of Mexico. The galleons from Manila also brought slaves from China, Malaysia, India, and Japan, all of whom arrived with their own sets of practices, beliefs, and traditions.

As the first transpacific commercial link of its time, the galleon trade left a lasting impression on the world economy of the 17th and 18th Centuries.

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MAO'S LAST CHEERLEADER:

Han Suyin and the muddying of modern Chinese history

BY SUSIE GORDON^a

ABSTRACT

This paper questions Han Suyin's contribution to the writing of Chinese history for an Anglophone readership using Saul Friedländer's historiography as a framework. It employs two specific events as a locus for analysis: the Cultural Revolution and the Tian'anmen Square protests of 1989. These two episodes have been selected due to the controversy of representation that was fomented in their wakes both in China and beyond. Han wrote about the Cultural Revolution in the last two volumes of her memoir, and in her 1967 political treatise, *China in the Year 2001*; she covered the Tian'anmen protests in a 1992 addition to her autobiography and in her 1990 essay, *Two Weeks in Beijing*. Alongside Han's own depictions of the two events, the paper considers accounts of the same in mainstream Anglophone history texts to assess the extent to which the narratives differ. Scholarly work on representations of the events are also reviewed, along with Han's own opinions about the nature of history and truth. The paper concludes with a comparison of Han's legacy to that of Edgar Snow—a similarly polarising figure with links to Mao Zedong, whose writings about Chinese affairs engendered equally varying receptions.

In his *History, Memory, and the Historian: Dilemmas and Responsibilities* Saul Friedländer writes:

In the face of simplified representations of the past, the historian's duty is to reintroduce the complexity of discrete historical events, the ambiguity of human behavior, and the indetermination of wider social processes.¹

While Friedländer's work deals mainly with European history and historiography, this specific statement seems universal enough to be applied more widely, and it bears particular relevance when considering the writing of Han Suyin.

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Han (1916–2012) was a memoirist, novelist, and self-professed historian² whose Eurasian ethnicity³ allowed her to act—and write—as a bridge between China and her Anglophone readership in the West.⁴ Despite spending most of her adult life outside of China, she considered herself “*a Chinese intellectual of my generation and of my time*”⁵ with an “*inescapable passion and obsession with China*.”⁶

At the time of her death in 2012, Han’s work was out of print, and she was remembered mainly for her 1952 autobiographical novel *A Many-Splendoured Thing* and its 1954 Hollywood adaptation. Her fall from popularity was mainly owing to the pro-Mao stance she espoused in the later volumes of her memoirs and in her socio-political writings,⁷ for which *Wall Street Journal* critic Hugo Restall accused her posthumously of being “*an egregious avoider of the truth*”⁸ and “*a cheerleader for Mao’s Cultural Revolution*.”⁹

Even during her lifetime, Han came under attack for her unreliably partisan treatment of Chinese affairs, not least by Simon Leys in his 1980 essay, *The Double Vision of Han Suyin*, in which he illuminates fourteen instances of blatant contradiction in Han’s depictions of events in China and speaks of her vacillating political leanings: “*She is consistently loyal to everybody and anybody, providing that they are safely in power*.”¹⁰ Han’s two-volume biography of Mao Zedong¹¹ was poorly received by contemporary critics. Victor Funnell called it “*an extraordinary melange, in which the author employs all her novelist’s skills... to defend Mao against all his detractors in China and outside it*.”¹² According to Alan P. L. Liu, “*no interested scholar and lay-man can take [it] seriously, for it is an extremely partisan book designed to deify Mao Tse-tung*.”¹³

Situating Han Suyin as an historian and a writer of Chinese history is therefore problematic in several respects. Since she wrote mainly for an Anglophone¹⁴ readership, her work was not widely read on the Chinese mainland. If she did indeed contribute to the writing of a Chinese history, it can thus only be evaluated as a ‘Western’ one. Within this paradigm, her own political and familial affiliations exerted a strong bearing on the version of events she elected to memorialise.¹⁵

Saul Friedländer places the historian’s mission “*in the face of simplified representations of the past*.” If modern historians’ accounts are to be viewed as sound, the events of the Cultural Revolution and Tian’anmen Square have indeed been simplified. Michael Dillon writes that it is “*one of the most difficult periods to interpret in the whole of*

modern Chinese history,”¹⁶ while Jonathan Spence warns against mere “*simple classification*”¹⁷ of the complex movement. Of Tian’anmen, Jeffrey Wasserstrom writes:

... in many instances, the details have become scrambled in Western memory, with the complex story of Tian’anmen reduced to a stand-off between a male ‘student’—though the man in question was probably a worker—and a line of tanks.¹⁸

In these two cases, events were purposefully simplified in the West to suit certain political agendas—a process in which, as I will claim later, Han played a part. Julia Lovell writes that “*perceptions of the Cultural Revolution in the US and Western Europe tell us far more about those countries than they do about the Cultural Revolution itself*”¹⁹ and “*American identification with the aims of the Cultural Revolution in 1968, therefore, is far more informative about the preoccupations of these distant observers of Chinese politics than about Chinese politics itself*.”²⁰ Randolph Kluver claims that “*Westerners viewed the movement through a prism of Western conceptions of governance, political values, and ultimately democracy*.”²¹

In demarcating the duties of an historian in light of this simplification, Friedländer demands an understanding of “*the ambiguity of human behavior*.” Han Suyin appears fully aware of this ambiguity, particularly in the context of China. In *Phoenix Harvest* she claims, “*in feudal Asian countries... the gap between fact and fiction, truth and lies, is so very small*.”²² Her own views on the telling of history seem equally ambiguous. In her memoir *My House Has Two Doors* (1980) she writes:

The human capacity for self-persuasion is infinite. The human soul is an assembly of contradictions. And therefore both your versions, the one of those years, and the one you give today, are correct.²³

For a memoirist this stance is acceptable; for an historian, less so. However, it was history Han tasked herself with writing, along with autobiography. In the first volume, *The Crippled Tree*, she states, “*I wanted to write a book about my father and my mother and about*

China,”²⁴ which she believes will be “*more true than all the ideal books written about China*”²⁵ by dint of her Chinese ancestry. Throughout her career she was known as an historian in her writing as well as her general outlook; in the foreword to *Tigers and Butterflies* Amer Hussein refers to “*the firm historicism of her world-view.*”²⁶

In terms of Han’s political leanings, she stated in a 1982 interview with the *Christian Science Monitor*, “*The cause that I believe in is the cause of the Chinese people. I don’t care if China goes red, white, blue, or yellow... your people are your people and your country is your country,*”²⁷ which seems both to negate accusations of partisanship and simultaneously warrant them. In *Phoenix Harvest*, the fifth volume of her memoir, she displays similar permissiveness: “*I shoulder and make do with systems, with ideologies. I am not committed to any.*”²⁸ While this seems to invite a certain measure of trust in her historic writings, her claims to a non-partisanship of representation fall down in the face of her alliances with Chinese leaders and politicians.

This links with Friedländer’s necessity to acknowledge “*the indetermination of wider social processes*” when attempting to write history. Han does not deny the mutability of political situations. She is willing to admit a variety of outcomes and conclusions. This is most convincingly reified in *Phoenix Harvest*:

There is no doubt that the Cultural Revolution, in its juggernaut churning and stumbling, brought to a lot of people something different, deep and stirring and seminal. Never mind if it was also directed, mobilized, conducted...²⁹

Friedländer’s ‘wider social processes’ could be extended to cover Han’s own ethnic and physical positioning within the situations she depicted, as well as her intended readership. She was neither a Chinese citizen nor permanent resident, and she did not write for Mainland Chinese circulation. While highly valuable scholarship has been undertaken on the memorialising of the Cultural Revolution within Chinese literature³⁰ and about its implications on collective social history in China,³¹ Han’s work cannot be viewed in these lights. Her mixed racial heritage discounts her from the realm of diasporic writers (about whom Belinda Kong has written convincingly³² in relation to the Tian’anmen Square protests); despite her resolute loyalty to

China, Han's physical distance afforded her freedoms of expression that many writers did not enjoy. Moreover, her confusion over her racial identity frequently collided with her desire to curry favour with Chinese leaders³³ as well as her vested interest in publishing success in the West.³⁴ All of this contributes to the idea of Han as a less than trustworthy historian.

A comprehensive analysis of Han's treatment of the two events compared with Western historians' accounts is not feasible given the space constraints of this study. I have thus chosen to focus on one specific aspect of each, namely discussions of the purpose of the Cultural Revolution, and depictions of the student protest leaders at Tian'anmen Square.

In her writings about the Cultural Revolution, Han Suyin at once espouses ambitiously hopeful views, and maintains an allegiance with the most powerful echelons of Chinese political system, to which she had direct access thanks to her heritage and reputation.³⁵ A reviewer of her political essays speaks of "*the author's disingenuous admiration for those who tally with her own naïve belief in a simple peasantry hungry for progress and governed by a noble avant garde.*"³⁶ In *Reflections on Social Change*, written in the early days of the movement, she predicts:

The revolution to make China a modern, scientific, socialist state goes hand in hand with a cultural revolution which will transform the attitudes and motivations of 700 million for the better.³⁷

Such high-handed language suggests that Han saw herself as an authority on China, all too willing to don the mantle of a spokesperson to the West. This rhetorical register is one she uses throughout her non-fiction opus.

Han viewed the decade-long tumult as a move towards a socialist utopia helmed by Chairman Mao, whom she held in high esteem.³⁸ However, Western historians see it differently. Michael Dillon writes that it "*was not in fact a struggle about culture but was a battle for the leadership of the Chinese Communist Party.*"³⁹ In postulating the movement's effects, namely that it "*revealed the Chinese people to themselves,*"⁴⁰ Han veers even from the official Party line as stated in the 1981 *Resolution on Certain Questions in the History of our Party since the Founding of the People's Republic of China*:

The ‘cultural revolution,’ which lasted from May 1966 to October 1976, was responsible for the most severe setback and the heaviest losses suffered by the Party, the state and the people since the founding of the People’s Republic.⁴¹

Han’s admiration for the Party and its mission seems to have blinded her even to its own handling of history. Her stance is at best ill-thought and at worst quixotic.

In the case of Tian’anmen Square, the Party quickly consigned the incident to history. Their *modus operandi*, according to Louisa Lim, was “to flood all channels with official propaganda painting the protests as ‘counter-revolutionary riots,’” after which “information about 1989 gradually disappeared.”⁴² However, it was impossible to control outside views. Gina Marchetti writes that

The media spotlight placed on Beijing during the spring of 1989 created repercussions that continue to affect how China is seen globally, how it sees itself, and how the Chinese outside the People’s Republic see themselves.⁴³

While accounts by Chinese writers were quashed, Han Suyin took advantage of her favourable position to visit Beijing in the aftermath of the protests. Although she claims to have empathised with the protesters and their mission – “*I felt the student movement represented genuine popular grievances*”⁴⁴ – she writes unsympathetically about the activists, calling their placards ‘strangely hostile’⁴⁵ and accusing protest leaders Wuer Kaixi and Chai Ling of becoming “*inflated by their own success*.”⁴⁶ A more measured view comes from Andrew J. Nathan:

To be sure, there was a provocative edge to the students’ behaviour, attributable to the relatively freewheeling atmosphere the government had tolerated during the strong reform push of the previous few years.⁴⁷

Further negative views from Han include her insertion of a detail that is found in no other accounts, describing Wuer Kaixi breaking his hunger strike by “*eating a bowl of noodles at night, seated in the back of a car*.”⁴⁸ In light of Wuer Kaixi’s undeniable bravery, Han’s

inclusion of this episode within her depiction of the protests seems cruel and unnecessary. She also takes pains to describe the waste left by some of the protesters when their initial occupation ended: “*The Health Department cleared the heaped filth and excreta. They sprayed disinfectants and emptied the latrines.*”⁴⁹ Jonathan Fenby also writes of the ‘accumulated garbage,’⁵⁰ but suffixes it with a more positive slant—its replacement by nylon tents sent from supporters in Hong Kong.

While many other examples could be cited, an episode in *Phoenix Harvest* proves axiomatic in unveiling Han’s unreliability. Her own admission of skewing facts seems to represent the final nail in the coffin of her attempts to function as an historian. She recounts, somewhat cavalierly, the chaotic editing process of *China in the Year 2001*, in which she removed vital quotations from deposed president Liu Shaoqi on the advice of a friend. At first she believed that the omissions would “*not make much difference to the book*” but realised after the book was published that “*the effect would be to leave Lin Biao the soul expounder of the military point of view of Mao.*”⁵¹ These are not small, insignificant details in modern Chinese history; the Lin Biao/Mao Zedong rivalry was a lynchpin of the Cultural Revolution and changed the course of political events.⁵² Since Han was, as Hugo Restall claims, “*one of the most prominent interpreters of modern China in the West,*”⁵³ her tampering with the truth places her dependability in question.

It seems notable, then, that Han chose to open *China in the Year 2001* with a quote from Dick Wilson’s *A Quarter of Mankind*:

Where China is concerned, we have in the past formed the habit of ignoring her, ignoring what she really thought and felt. We preferred our own build-up and our own fanciful images.⁵⁴

Han’s use of this passage could point to earnestness on her part for what she believes to be her mission: a recalibration of Western perceptions about China. However, her endeavours seem only to have muddied the waters. While her unique ethnic identity might very well have allowed her to uphold Friedländer’s precept to “*reintroduce the complexity of discrete historical events,*” her tenuous relationship with the truth served to engender unforeseen complexities that were highly damaging in terms of writing history. Hugo Restall claims “*the conceits and constraints that*

tainted her work affect China scholarship to this day."⁵⁵

Unfortunately, while Sinologists have been able to analyse Han's work and isolate its flaws, her general readership was not so disposed. Critics and commentators may have decried her in her lifetime, but she was widely admired among her general readership. Even her most outspoken detractor Simon Leys admitted in 1980, "*Madame Han Suyin is very popular in the West.*"⁵⁶

In the *New York Review of Books* in 1968, John K. Fairbank wrote, "*although many Americans lack even a rudimentary knowledge of China's history, Dr. Han's message is so shrill that it will prove salutary even to them.*"⁵⁷ Han's voice—the 'raw voice' of her pseudonym⁵⁸—was heard and accepted because it was held to be trustworthy, due to her own claims and to the facts of her ethnic heritage and allegiance with China's leaders.

Yet, while Han Suyin has been consigned to the doldrums as something of a Eurasian Malinche, excoriated for the partisanship that compromised her potential to be a true bridge between cultures, the same cannot be said for her contemporary, Edgar Snow. American journalist Snow lived from 1905 until 1972 and made his name as the author of *Red Star Over China*,⁵⁹ which he wrote after spending four months with Chairman Mao at Bao'an during the Long March. As close to Mao as Han Suyin was to Zhou Enlai, Snow was present on the rostrum beside the Chairman in 1970 at the 21st anniversary celebrations of the founding of the People's Republic.⁶⁰

In fact, Snow did not escape criticism for his support of Mao. Jonathan Fenby writes of the Long March, "*In contrast to the glowing portrait enshrined in Maoist history and delivered to the West by the American writer Edgar Snow, the soldiers sometimes acted like bandits...*"⁶¹ and refers to the 'propaganda boost'⁶² afforded to the Communist Party by the publication of *Red Star Over China*. However, Snow's posthumous reputation remains relatively intact compared to Han Suyin's. Despite censure from Jung Chang and Jon Halliday in their biography of Mao,⁶³ Snow has been widely rehabilitated, his flaws exonerated.

John K. Fairbank, who had railed so scathingly against Han in 1968, wrote of Snow in *The New York Review of Books* in 1989:

Ed had begun as a journalist, not a professor, and was very conscious of the code of his craft. He wanted to pay his

own way, accept no favors, and be his own man. Integrity was the coin of his realm. Yet he found himself the reporter of the new China.⁶⁴

This article was a response to an earlier piece by Jonathan Mirsky⁶⁵ in the same publication, in which Mirsky had flagged up Snow's lack of transparency regarding the catastrophic famine that followed Mao's Great Leap Forward. Fairbanks counters:

Snow's factual reporting, even under the suffocating blanket of the guest–host relationship, made a useful contribution that we generally refused to accept. Snow did what he could as a professional journalist.⁶⁶

Nowhere, and from no one, has Han Suyin received similar reprieve. This is perhaps because of her own unabashed stance regarding her attempts to historicise. While Snow explained and apologised for his opaque accounts of the Great Famine in his 1963 book *The Other Side of the River*,⁶⁷ Han never made such concessions. In an interview with the *Washington Post* in 1988 she said:

I'm not going to change one sentence, one word... I don't understand why people have to justify themselves. I'm not saying I'm right. I'm not saying I'm wrong either. I just stand behind my work.⁶⁸

Recalcitrant at best, ungracious at worst, this statement cannot have endeared Han to many critics. However, Hugo Restall ends his otherwise condemnatory *Wall Street Journal* obituary with something close to a vindication, blaming Han's stance on geo-political constraints: "*Ultimately Han Suyin's tale is a sad reminder that in the field of Sinology, intellectual honesty is a liability.*"⁶⁹

Friedländer writes of history as "*a domain so wide open to extraordinary flights of imagination or malicious denials in interpretation.*"⁷⁰ This seems highly pertinent to Han, given the criticism levelled against her for her partisanship and parsimony with the truth. It is easy, then, to conclude that even though she shouldered (at least in part) the duties Friedländer prescribes, her sullied reputation and tarnished legacy suggest that she was, as has been claimed, "*a novelist,*



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THE DEVELOPMENT OF RUGBY FOOTBALL IN THE FAR EAST FROM THE MID-1860s TO THE FIRST WORLD WAR

BY SIMON DRAKEFORD^a

ABSTRACT

Starting with a review of the historiography of rugby in the far East, this paper sets out to fill a gap in the available literature. Using research from archive newspapers and from books about rugby clubs in the far East, supplemented with the few resources available in the Rugby Football Union (RFU) library at Twickenham, England, the paper documents the development of rugby in the far East from the mid-1860s to World War I (WWI) in five far East settlements—Shanghai, Hong Kong, Yokohama, Singapore, and the Malay States. The year 1914 has been chosen as a cut-off point, because it marks the point in most locations when rugby stopped being played for six years owing to the RFU directive for clubs to stop playing and to encourage their players to serve in the military forces. The essay firstly explains how and why Rugby School and rugby football influenced the men who left British shores in the 19th Century, and how it shaped their social and sporting behaviour. After briefly examining the codification of football and its separation into the rugby and association codes of football, the paper explains the historical background to each of the five settlements, placing them in the context of their early sporting history prior to the arrival of football, and noting when ‘football’ was first played. It then considers when ‘football’ was first differentiated in the far East between the rugby and association codes. The essay continues by showing how the association code became the most prominent form of football in the far East in the 1890s, moving on to consider how rugby managed to re-establish itself in the decade leading to WWI. Finally, the essay reviews the unique circumstances which led to Japan being the only country out of the five discussed where rugby was also played by the native population before WWI.

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ABBREVIATIONS

FA	Football Association	SFC1	First Shanghai Football Club (1867–1871)
FMS	Federated Malay States	SFC2	Second Shanghai Football Club (1881–1889)
HKFC	Hong Kong Football Club	SFC3	Third Shanghai Football Club (1889–1892)
KRAC	Kobe Regatta & Athletic Club	SFC4	Fourth Shanghai Football Club (1892–1950)
RFU	Rugby Football Union	SRFC	Shanghai Rugby Football Club
SCC	Singapore Cricket Club	WWI	World War One
		YCAC	Yokohama Country & Athletic Club

HISTORIOGRAPHY OF RUGBY IN THE FAR EAST

The final chapter of an early book written about rugby football in 1896 discussed the topic of rugby football overseas, acknowledging its growing popularity.¹ The chapter briefly mentioned that rugby was played in such faraway places as China, India, and Buenos Aires, adding in passing that, closer to home, it was gaining popularity in France and Germany. It saved most space for reviewing the state of rugby in the dominions of Australia, New Zealand, and South Africa. Today, the principal rugby-playing nations are extensively covered by thousands of books across a wide spectrum, ranging from academic studies such as Collins’ study of the social history of the English rugby union² and his recent book about global rugby,³ Smith and Williams’ authoritative account of the history of Welsh rugby,⁴ Ryan’s edited collection of articles considering how in New Zealand rugby and society are entwined,⁵ to the decidedly light-hearted in scope. Unlike in 1896, France is now a world rugby power and so has spawned a sizeable literature in French, as well as a few books in English—for example, Dine’s cultural history of French rugby.⁶

Today, as was the case in 1896, the literature about rugby in the far East remains sparse. In Huw Richard’s, *A Game for Hooligans*, Japan’s early history is covered in one lengthy paragraph,⁷ while the rest of

the far East merits just a few sentences.⁸ *The World of Rugby*, a book which accompanied the 1979 BBC Television series of the same name, only briefly mentions the pre-WWI rugby history of Japan.⁹ Even Collins' *Global History of Rugby*, to date the most ambitious attempt to document rugby's far Eastern history, is far from comprehensive, incorporating the far East in the same chapter as the rest of Asia and Africa.¹⁰

The final paragraph in the 1896 rugby book written by B. Fletcher Robinson concluded with the words,

Thus has the great game, which sprung from the English school, spread over the world. How far it will extend, and how far it will maintain its popularity, is 'in the lap of the gods',¹¹

and so, it seems, is the recorded early history of rugby in the far East. The 'gods' have so far relied upon local amateur historians to research and document the histories of rugby clubs in the far East. Published in small numbers, primarily for the benefit of members of their own club, they remain largely inaccessible to the wider rugby-reading public. This paper seeks to redress the balance. Using primary source material from contemporary newspapers, now more readily accessible online, it is possible to construct a clearer picture about how 'football' developed in the five settlements, allowing conclusions to be drawn about differences and similarities of the development of the game in the far East to the start of WWI.

THE IMPORTANCE OF RUGBY SCHOOL AND RUGBY FOOTBALL TO THE SPORTING IMPERIALISTS

The game of football as played at Rugby School gained prominence in the mid-19th Century thanks to the reformist educational philosophy of its headmaster, Thomas Arnold, and the remarkable success of *Tom Brown's Schooldays*. From his appointment in 1828 until his death in 1842, Arnold pioneered a new model of education at Rugby School. He believed that Christian principles were inseparable from everyday life. One of his main concerns was to mould his pupils to have 'character', to equip them to provide leadership in Britain and its Empire. Arnold's focus of educating his boys first on religious and moral principles, second on gentlemanly conduct, and last on their intellectual ability

evolved into a philosophy known as Muscular Christianity.¹² Dunning and Sheard argue that Arnold succeeded in reforming public schools where others failed “because his reforms were consistent with the early stage of embourgeoisement reached by the 1830s.”¹³ That is to say, Arnold, who was no fan of the aristocracy, succeeded in responding to the change in the balance of power from the aristocrats and gentry to the bourgeoisie (i.e., the urban middle classes) set in motion by industrialisation. Holt noted that “[e]ven the great Thomas Arnold of Rugby ... had no time for games himself.”¹⁴ Rather, it was the men that he chose to be his school masters who “saw the potential of sport as a source of discipline and morality.”¹⁵

The success of *Tom Brown's Schooldays* shone a spotlight on Rugby School, enhancing the reputation of Arnold's reforms. Published in 1857, it vividly portrayed the game of football played within Rugby's walls and established a new literary genre of schoolboy fiction.¹⁶ Arnold and *Tom Brown's Schooldays* were, therefore, a huge influence in the 1850s, a decade that Holt called “the crucial decade in public school sport.”¹⁷ In the following decade, Rugby School received the ruling elite's seal of approval via the 1864 Clarendon Commission report. The Commission, established in 1861 by Queen Victoria following complaints about the finances, buildings, and management of Eton College, investigated the nine leading public schools of England. The final report was effusive in its praise for Rugby School. The school, it declared, had

... become in fact a national institution, as being a place of education and a source of influence for the whole Kingdom... It instructs everywhere, is known everywhere, and exercises an influence everywhere.¹⁸

After the Clarendon Report, Rugby School became the model for the mid-Victorian public school. Old, established public schools reformed their curricula to fall in line with Rugby, and new schools modelled themselves on it, while newer schools such as Clifton and Haileybury, both founded in 1862, adopted Rugby School's educational philosophy completely.¹⁹

The men who were posted around the British Empire and satellite territories in the final quarter of the 19th Century were predominantly educated at the recently reformed public schools. For decades, the

academic veteran Tony Mangan has written extensively on the topic of the games ethic and imperialism, leading the ever-growing ranks of academics who have turned their attention to the social history of sport.²⁰ In her essay reviewing Mangan's contribution to the field, Roberta Park concluded that it was not only for his extensive list of writing that he should be applauded,²¹ but also since

... [h]is editorial capacity to bring many academics from many parts of the world to publication standard in English is an unsung but major part of his contribution to the history of sport.²²

In his seminal book, *The Games Ethic and Imperialism*, Mangan argued that

... the nature of the Empire would scarcely have been the same without the public-school games ethic.

He stated that the 'games' "*were the wheel around which moral values turned,*" adding that "*[t]hey were the pre-eminent instrument for the training of a boy's character.*" The 'games' gave the boys the basic tool kit for imperial command, "*courage, endurance, assertion, control, and self control.*" Mangan argued that not only did the 'games' promote initiative and self-reliance, the sport also taught loyalty and obedience and was therefore well suited for men travelling into the colonial world. Men such as Frank William Strange and Francis Kingdon Ward, who will be discussed later, would become the prototype of a "*universal Tom Brown: loyal brave, truthful, a gentleman and, if at all possible, a Christian.*"²³ As we shall see, it is no accident that *Tom Brown's Schooldays*, adapted to Japanese students by omitting some of the fight scenes and published in 1899, became probably the most popular English textbook for Japanese high-school students in the Meiji era, extending its influence to the oriental world.²⁴

DIFFERENT FOOTBALL CODES

The first mentions of football being played in the five settlements did not differentiate between rugby, association, or any other code of football. In 1860, neither the rules or the actual written form of the word 'football' had been codified. It was variously written as, 'football,'

‘foot-ball,’ or ‘foot ball.’²⁵ In 1863, it was decided to try to unify the variants of football into a single code with commonly agreed rules. Harvey goes into considerable detail about the process.²⁶ In summary, the first meetings of the newly established Football Association (FA) formed a committee and codified football rules based on those in use at the University of Cambridge. The main rugby-playing schools, such as Rugby and Marlborough, continued playing football using rugby rules, as did famous old rugby clubs such as Richmond and Blackheath, whose old boys were often posted around the Empire. Eventually, facing similar difficulties in the interpretation of rules that had led to the formation of the FA eight years earlier, in January 1871 a meeting was called to establish the RFU. Within months, the laws of the game of rugby, drafted by three old Rugbeians, were agreed.²⁷

THE ESTABLISHMENT OF FAR EAST SETTLEMENTS, THE GAMES THEY PLAYED AND THE FIRST MENTIONS OF FOOTBALL

Before discussing the emergence and growth of rugby in each of the five settlements, it is useful to briefly explain how it was that British men came to reside in these far-off settlements, the importance of the ‘games ethic’ in the colony, and the first mention of football being played.

Shanghai – Because of their defeat in the Opium War in 1842, China was forced to sign the *Treaty of Nanking*, which—among other things—ceded Hong Kong to Great Britain as a colony and created five treaty ports, one of which was Shanghai.²⁸ British sojourners quickly established themselves. By 1865, Shanghai’s population was composed of 5129 foreigners living with 77,500 Chinese.²⁹ At this time, the typical foreign resident was a younger man with plenty of time for recreational pursuits. He had opportunities to play cricket, baseball, rowing, gymnastics, or to go shooting up country or riding in the surrounding countryside. Horse racing was very important; the spring and autumn races were the highlights of the social season. It was possible to play racquets, fives, and to go bowling.³⁰ The last two were the foci of the first sports clubs formed in Shanghai, their land having been purchased in 1848.³¹ An *ad hoc* game of cricket was played on a piece of land in 1858, and the Shanghai Cricket Club was founded in 1864.³² The first race course was built in 1859; with the rapid growth of the settlement, this was replaced by a second and then a third in 1862. The baseball ground, where football was first played,

was located within the grounds of the third race course.³³ Shanghai's first football club (SFC1) was founded in 1867,³⁴ lasting until 1871.³⁵

Hong Kong – There was a similar pattern of development in Hong Kong. The 1865 census showed that the European population was 2034 and that there were 118,895 Chinese.³⁶ Horse racing started in Hong Kong in 1845, with the first meeting at Happy Valley in 1846, where it is still run.³⁷ A cricket club was founded in 1851.³⁸ An annual sailing regatta had been held since 1861 and a bathing house was erected in 1866.³⁹ The first reference to football being played dates from 1865.⁴⁰ By 1867 there were already five gentlemen's clubs in existence, as well as two Masonic lodges.

Malay States – British traders had been present in Malay waters since the 17th Century. As the opium trade with China became more important in the early 19th Century, they sought to establish themselves in a territory between India and China. British Malaya, which included Singapore, was first established under the *Anglo-Dutch Treaty* of 1824 which carved up the Malay Archipelago. In 1826, the British East India Company grouped Singapore together with Penang, Dinding, and Malacca to form the Straits Settlements. With the growth of the rubber plantations in Malaya, Singapore prospered, aided by the opening of the Suez Canal in 1869. The British government agreed to establish the Straits Settlements as a separate Crown Colony on 1 April 1867. In 1895, the Federated Malay States (FMS), a *de facto* British Colony, was created with Geri Sembilan, Pahang, Perak, and Selangor as members, while Johor, Kedah, Kelantan, Perlis, and Terengganu formed the Un-Federated Malay States.⁴¹ In British Malaya, from the 1870s, Westerners also introduced their sports. Clubs were established in Kuala Lumpur, combining sporting and social activities, the most notable being the Selangor Club, which was founded in 1884.⁴² The first interstate cricket match was played in the same year between Penang and Perak.⁴³

Singapore – In 1860, the population of Singapore had grown to 82,000 with immigrant Chinese accounting for 50,000, immigrant Indians 13,000, and Malays 12,000. There were just 2345 Europeans.⁴⁴ The first formal sporting club set up in Singapore was the billiards club in 1829, the first sailing regatta was organised in 1834, but it took until 1880 to establish a rowing club. Also in 1834, a huge multi-sport festival was introduced called the 'New Year Sea-Sports festival.'⁴⁵ A five's court was built in 1836. The first formal horse races were run in

1843. The first mention of cricket being played in Singapore dates from 1837.⁴⁶ The Singapore Cricket Club (SCC) was founded in 1852.⁴⁷ The first reference to a game of football being played in Singapore was in October 1878. The *Straits Times* newspaper recorded that a group of athletic young men emerged from the cricket clubhouse dressed in a variety of costumes, ready to play a game of ‘football’ on the Esplanade.⁴⁸

Yokohama – In a similar way to China, Japan was forcefully opened to the West through the establishment of treaty ports. In 1853, Commodore Matthew Perry arrived just south of Yokohama with a fleet of American warships, demanding that Japan open several ports for commerce. Eventually, the 1858 *Treaty of Edo* allowed foreigners to reside and trade in Yokohama (and elsewhere), opening the port in June 1859.⁴⁹ The sleepy fishing village grew quickly to become Japan’s main trading port with the West. In response to violent attacks on foreigners in 1862, the British Army was garrisoned in Yokohama.⁵⁰ The first cricket match in Yokohama (and Japan), was played in 1863, with half the men carrying revolvers in anticipation of mob violence.⁵¹ Yokohama Foot Ball Club was founded in 1866, the first in Japan. In 1884, it merged with other sporting clubs, including the Yokohama Cricket Club, which had been founded in 1868, to become the Yokohama Country and Athletic Club (YCAC), still in existence today.⁵²

Table 1 summarises the narrative above, so that conclusions can be drawn about the establishment of sport in the new territories.

Table 1. First evidence of cricket and ‘football’ being played in early far East settlements			
Settlement	Date settled by Westerners	First cricket game noted	First ‘football’ game noted
Shanghai	1843	1858	1867
Hong Kong	1843	1841	1865
Singapore	1819	1837	1878
Malay states	1819	1887	1899
Yokohama	1853	1863	1866

The description of the introduction of sport in Singapore described by Horton can be equally applied to Shanghai, Hong Kong and Yokohama. He wrote,

The diffusion of sport in the settlement of Singapore followed what had become a typical pattern in the British colonies, first sojourners took part in personal recreation leisure pursuits and then they began to organise social sporting events and then established institutional exclusive sports clubs.⁵³

The experience noted above in the five locations followed the same pattern as typically happened throughout the British Empire. The colonialists replicated the institutions from 'home,' thereby creating an environment where they could work and 'play the game' which they had learnt at school. The early establishment of a race course was essential, gentlemen's clubs featured very early in a settlement's life. The first sports clubs were billiards, racquets, and five's. The first games of cricket predated the first football matches by years or decades. Cricket's uptake occurred significantly earlier than that of football. This was because cricket was a much more established game in the early to mid-1800s when the five locations were founded. It had even embraced professionalism, anathema to either code of football in the 1870s.⁵⁴ For this reason and the more prosaic fact that men played cricket longer than they played the much rougher sport of football, cricket was much more likely to be played in the early years of a settlement than football.

So pervasive was the urge to construct their own 'little England's,' wherever they settled, an 'England' that incorporated the sporting philosophies and games learnt at school, that even men whose passions lay beyond sport participated in the replicated 'home.'

An interesting example is the revered botanist Francis (Frank) Kingdon Ward (1885–1958). Educated at St Paul's School and Christ's College, University of Cambridge, he arrived in Shanghai in 1907 to take up a teaching post. Ward's eventual legacy was perhaps best summed up by Sir George Taylor, the Director of the Royal Botanic Gardens, Kew, from 1956 to 1971, who wrote that he was

... in a class of his own. No one travelled more widely in the area, wrote more perceptively about it, collected more discriminately, and marshalled his observations so effectively. His record of publications on the region is

unsurpassed, his reputation as one of the most eminent of horticultural collectors secure, and his geographical discoveries and stimulating topographical interpretations of the very highest order.⁵⁵

Reviewing his time in Shanghai, Charles Lyte, Ward's biographer, briefly describes the time that Ward spent in Shanghai as "*a mercifully short episode which he scarcely ever mentioned in later life.*"⁵⁶ The biography goes on to paint a picture of Ward as being a reluctant member of the 'European residential sector,' whose "*inhabitants fastidiously maintained a strict, almost ritualistic Western way of life, as though in terrible fear that they might be infected with some incurable oriental virus and 'go native,'*" being there to "*shore up this expatriate way of life by teaching the sons of wealthy businessmen.*"⁵⁷ This characterisation, however, was far from the truth. Ward, a product of his education, dutifully immersed himself fully in the social and sporting world: he not only played rugby regularly and was the Honorary Treasurer and Secretary of the SRFC, he also rowed, played cricket, and joined the socially prestigious Mi-Ho-Loong Company of the voluntary Fire Brigade.⁵⁸ It was only the unsolicited receipt of a letter asking him to embark on a solo expedition collecting plants for the seed firm *Bees*, that he managed to escape what he later saw as his "*humdrum life with every prospect of becoming a quiet and respectable citizen of Shanghai.*"⁵⁹

THE FIRST GAMES OF RUGBY FOOTBALL IN THE SETTLEMENTS

In the 1870s, rugby was the preferred sport for men educated at public school and for the new 'office bound' middle classes in the south and north of England. Association football was geographically restricted to eastern Lancashire and south Yorkshire.⁶⁰ It is therefore likely that the matches referred to as 'football' in the early years of the settlements were of the rugby variety or a variant thereof. Consequently, there was a time lag between the first *ad hoc* games of 'football' being played and the playing of a game specifically referred to as rugby (see Table 2).

Table 2. The first evidence of football and rugby being played in early Far East settlements		
Settlement	First 'Football' game noted	First rugby game noted
Shanghai	1867	1881
Hong Kong	1865	1885
Singapore	1878	1887
Malay States	1899	1899
Yokohama	1866	1879

In Shanghai, every match in SFC1 was played as a 'football' match. Similarly, a one-off game played in Shanghai in 1875 was simply termed a 'foot-ball' match.⁶¹ The first time football was identified as either rugby or association was when the second Shanghai Football Club (SFC2) was founded in 1881. The report announcing its founding emphatically stated that "*The game will be 'Rugby Union,' and according to its laws all disputes will be settled.*"⁶²

In the available literature,⁶³ after 1865, there are no references to football being played in Hong Kong for another 20 years. When the Hong Kong Football Club (HKFC) was founded in 1886, the variant of rugby was explicitly referred to. In the first meeting, Stewart Lockhart noted that a few games had been organised in 1885 and urged that the new club should not purely be a rugby club, but that games should also be played under association rules.⁶⁴ In subsequent months, both codes were played.

After the first mention of football being played in Singapore in 1878, there is no further mention of football being played in Singapore until February 1887. The match, once again played on the Esplanade, was played under rugby rules between the Singapore Football Club and a 'Straits Recreation Teams' [*sic*].⁶⁵ The first reference to association football comes from June 1889, when the SCC responded to a challenge by the 58th Regiment to play a game of association football. The match report focussed strongly on the fact that, of the 11 players representing the SCC, most were 'greenhorns,' that is to say, new to the association game, and that association was the game preferred by the 58th.⁶⁶

Despite Galbraith's assertion that a rugby club was founded in Yokohama in 1866, five years before the RFU was founded, the evidence in his *Japan Times* article suggests that the club played

'football' in the wider sense. His references to subsequent matches offer no evidence that it was rugby that was being played.⁶⁷ A report in a Shanghai newspaper about a football game in Yokohama in 1879 suggests that around this time the YCAC was playing association rules by preference. It read,

... a foot-ball match was played on Saturday afternoon—Yokohama vs. The Fleet. The rules of the game were, for this occasion and for the sake of the naval team, those of the Rugby Union, which in practice, seemed to work better than those the Club is in the habit of using.⁶⁸

Playing in this game was Frank William Strange, a man who, as described later, went on to become an important figure in Japanese sport history and a living embodiment of Muscular Christianity.⁶⁹

Across four of the five settlements (Malaya started playing football later), from 1879 to 1887 football started to be distinguished as either association or rugby. This corresponds with what was happening in Britain. Collins noted that

... it was only once the FA Cup became popular in the mid-1870s that differentiation between the various sets of football rules began to harden.⁷⁰

In England, apart from the influence of the introduction of the FA Cup on the growth of association rules, another oft-quoted reason is that soccer was the sport of the engineering and technical professions, which were becoming more prevalent at this time. Although it is beyond the scope of this essay, and perhaps not even possible to identify the professions of the football players in the five locations in the 1880s, in Shanghai at least, some evidence exists suggesting that the changing demographic of the sportsmen was in part responsible for the move towards playing and growth of association football noted below, notably, the emergence of the highly successful Marine Engineers football team in 1886.⁷¹ By 1891, with the introduction of the Marine Engineer's Challenge Cup, the annual match against the SFC3, and later SFC4, became the winter season's sporting highlight. Certainly, in the soccer teams which had emerged by the early 1900s, the players were from the working and lower middle classes, coming

from the Police, Dock workers, and pupils of the Shanghai Public School, which despite its name catered for lower middle class pupils.

Perhaps, however, the reason may be more prosaic. As was the case in Yokohama, the reason why association football became more successful was the simple fact that it required fewer players. At a YCAC meeting in December 1886 to discuss football's prospects for 1887, the meeting adopted Association Rules because it was "*considered more suitable as it required fewer players.*"⁷² Substantially more research is required before any solid conclusions can be drawn about the changing demographics on the popularity of association football in the far East.

In the early 1880s, there appears to be no dominant preference for one code over the other in the five settlements. In Shanghai, SFC2 was specifically set up to play rugby but swiftly started playing association rules. In Hong Kong, both codes were played. In Yokohama, there was perhaps a preference for association rules, but they also played rugby. In Singapore, the SCC appeared to have preferred rugby rules but pragmatically played association rules, the code preferred by the opposition available to them.

THE RISE OF ASSOCIATION FOOTBALL

Despite the SFC2 having been founded to play rugby rules, within months, concessions were being made to the association code, "*to allow every member a fair chance of playing.*"⁷³ In 1883, a full match was eventually played under association rules.⁷⁴ From this point, football matches of both varieties were played either against Navy opposition or in intraclub fixtures, i.e., matches organised for members of the club to play each other by making up teams from the membership base.

The SFC2 was originally established as a club under its own management, but it joined forces with the Shanghai Athletic Club in 1882. This led to a period of 10 years when football was variously under the stewardship of the Shanghai Athletic Club, the Shanghai Gymnasium Club, or the Shanghai Recreation Club.⁷⁵ Because of interminable arguments regarding the management of the clubs and its junior partner status, football of both codes suffered although association rules less so. In this decade, only 17 games of rugby were played. Many more association rules were played, for example in 1886–1887, 12 games of association were played versus only one game of rugby.⁷⁶

Eventually, the footballers took back control of their own destiny, creating a fourth Shanghai Football Club (SFC4) in 1892.⁷⁷ From this point forward, rugby matches were played on a more regular basis. However, in the sporting context of Shanghai, rugby diminished in influence; more association teams were founded, but there remained only one rugby club. In SFC4's first season, five rugby games and three association games were played.⁷⁸ In the following season, the numbers were equal at four games each.⁷⁹ The opposition remained virtually the same, intraclub games were played, as well as fixtures against visiting Navy ships. Association rules started to dominate in the 1894–1895 season when five games of rugby were played against nine games of association.⁸⁰ New association teams were formed and association leagues established. As noted above, the annual match between the Marine Engineers, who only played association rules, and the SFC4, started in 1891. By 1894 the match was called 'the classic event of the Football season,' attracting large crowds, with the winners awarded "*an exceedingly handsome trophy*."⁸¹ The Shanghai Public School fielded an association team as early as 1895.⁸² By 1902, other association teams existed, such as the Shanghai Rangers, the Dock Company, and the Shanghai Police.⁸³ In 1903, Shanghai had enough association teams to warrant its own football challenge cup, presented by an ex-Shanghai rugby player, Edmund Skottowe.⁸⁴

In HKFC's first season, (1885–1886) a total of seven games of football were played,⁸⁵ followed by nine in the second season, both seasons probably mostly under rugby rules.⁸⁶ Hong Kong could arrange regular matches against the Garrison but in common with other teams in the far East, it still relied on its creativity in forming intraclub teams. Teams such the 'A to K's vs. 'L to Z's and the 'Irish vs. the Scotch' kept the rugby ball rolling. The third season saw five games in each code played but the following year, owing to problems with the condition of the Happy Valley pitch, all football activity was reduced until the Polo Club could offer playing space, but only for the association players.⁸⁷

After its forced sabbatical, rugby was played again in the 1890–1891 season when the HKFC took to the field a record 30 times across both codes. Two seasons later (1892–1893), rugby once again played a secondary role to association, playing only two matches out of the total of 17.⁸⁸ Despite the impact of the 1894 bubonic plague,⁸⁹ by the 1894–1895 season, rugby was still the minor code, with association

playing 12 games and rugby seven. The following season, the numbers were association, 21 games to rugby's six.⁹⁰ Echoing the situation in Shanghai, association football was flourishing in the last decade of the 19th Century at the expense of rugby. As was the case in England, Scotland, and Shanghai, the introduction of a Challenge Cup provided impetus for the soccer code. In 1895, the *Hong Kong Daily Press* reported that the HKFC had contributed a cup to be played for by the association teams of Hong Kong. Seventeen association teams entered in the first year of the association challenge cup.

As in Shanghai, Singapore played regular matches against Navy ships, but unlike Shanghai, the soldiers in the Garrison were able to field a rugby team to regularly play against the SCC. The earliest United Services rugby game in Singapore was played 13 years before the similar fixture in Shanghai.⁹¹ After a flurry of rugby matches in the first half of the 1890s, rugby activity diminished. In December 1895, a rugby match was cancelled "*owing to the inability of Singapore to raise a team.*"⁹² The 1896 annual report of the SCC reported that "[*t*]he Association football game has fully maintained its hold on the interest of the Club and of the Public."⁹³ In May 1898, a rugby game between SCC and the West Yorkshire Regiment was "*[t]he first game of 'Rugger' which has been played on the Esplanade for a very long time indeed.*"⁹⁴ In July 1899, a game of rugby was played, this time between HMS *Grafton* and the SCC. The reporter noted that rugby was too seldom seen in Singapore, adding that

'Socker' is firmly established with natives and Europeans alike, and a match under the modern rules attracts far more than under the older form of the game [i.e. rugby].⁹⁵

With respect to rugby in Yokohama, there is less information for the two decades preceding 1900. In more general terms, the team at Yokohama started playing football earlier and, as discussed above, the limited evidence points to them favouring association rules as opposed to rugby. Galbraith observed that it appeared that rugby was not so popular with the regiments who were at the Garrison in the years following the club being founded in 1866.⁹⁶ On the other hand, some of the senior members of the club were old Rugbeians. While the YCAC would have preferred to play rugby, the opponents available to them were association players, and therefore the YCAC players simply

switched codes. This was not at all unusual. For a football player of the 1870s–1880s it was quite normal to play both codes, alternating from week to week. In Shanghai, for example, during a week in November 1886, the SFC2 played one game of rugby and one game of association, of the 30 players who played in the rugby game, 12 also played in the association game. Similarly, in a match list of 21 players for an association game in December 1886, 14 were regular rugby players.⁹⁷

Drawing together the themes common to the development of rugby in the far East, in the 1880s and 1890s, in each location, there was only one fixed team which played rugby, i.e., the SCC, SFC, HKFC, and YCAC. The games they played were either intraclub affairs or matches against the visiting or garrisoned British Navy or Army units which were present protecting British interests. As was the case in Britain, in the late 1880s through to the turn of the century, association football had overtaken rugby as the dominant form of the game. In each location, new association teams were formed which, as it did in England, led to the introduction of association football challenge cups, consolidating the association game's growth. Whether the growth in the far East was also caused by the growing working and middle classes, as was the case in England, requires more research before conclusions can be drawn.

RUGBY IN THE FAR EAST FROM 1900 TO 1914

In the years leading to WWI, the domination of association football in the far East was consolidated. Despite this, in each location, rugby managed to move beyond the difficult 1890s, establishing itself on a much firmer footing in the new century.

In Shanghai, in the first four years of the 20th Century, rugby continued to diminish within the confines of the SFC4. Minutes of the club's Annual General Meeting in 1903 show that the rugby football section felt themselves underrepresented in the club.⁹⁸ By the time of the 1904 Annual General Meeting, the rugby section had broken away from SFC4 and created the Shanghai Rugby Football Club (SRFC).⁹⁹ From this point forward, rugby activity increased in Shanghai. In their last season under the control of SFC4, rugby was played just six times, in the first season as SRFC, 11 games were played. The pre-war SRFC fixtures peaked at 26 in the 1911–1912 season.¹⁰⁰ The fixtures played were almost exclusively intraclub games or against an increasing number of Royal Navy ships that visited Shanghai.

Aside from rugby now managing its own affairs, the other reason rugby activity in Shanghai significantly increased in this period was the introduction of rugby interport fixtures. The enthusiasm for rugby increased when the sporting reputation of Shanghai was at stake. The player's loyalty and pride in their city was an echo of the pride that they would have felt playing football in their school teams. Competition for places in the rugby team increased, and interport trial matches added extra 'spice' to intraclub matches. The first rugby interport match was played in Shanghai against Tientsin [Tianjin] Football Club from the north of China, in February 1907. The local newspapers reported extensively about the preparation for the game and the match itself, even the lady's magazine *Social Shanghai* filled several pages with photographs of the encounter.¹⁰¹ Before WWI both teams played each other six times, alternating the venue between Shanghai and Tientsin. An additional three interport fixtures were played against two rugby-playing regiments, the Royal Inniskilling Fusiliers and the South Wales Borderers.¹⁰² In 1908 the Shanghai team travelled to Japan to play a match against 'All Japan' at Kobe. The 'All Japan' team comprised only of European players from the YCAC and the Kobe Regatta and Athletic Club (KRAC).¹⁰³

Denis Way notes that thanks to the efforts of the Hong Kong rugby section captain, James McMurtrie, rugby's fortunes in Hong Kong started to improve. In 1901, his replacement, W. W. Clark was facing the same problem as his rugby compatriots in Shanghai—lack of attention. He observed that

The rugby section should have the use of the field on alternate Saturdays with the Association section... instead of playing on weekdays or an odd Saturday when it suited the [soccer] XI's convenience!¹⁰⁴

His assertiveness paid off; more games were played in the following season, the 1902–1903 season saw HKFC field a second XV, while the first XV played 14 fixtures. Similar levels of rugby continued for the next few years. In 1909, a Rugby Football Challenge Cup was initiated, subscribed to by members of HKFC and both Armed Services. This was the start of the annual triangular tournament between HKFC, the Army, and the Navy; the tournament ensured rugby firmly established itself as an important sport in the years leading to the start of WWI.

Ng noted that rugby was first played in Malaya in the 19th Century and that the game was most popular in Selangor. Based on the small amount of evidence he managed to unearth, he concluded only that rugby was played in Selangor at least as early as 1892.¹⁰⁵ With access to online archived newspapers, it is possible to dig a little deeper. Early indications of rugby being played beyond the confines of Singapore date from a report in 1899; “*The Rest have played ‘The Planters’ at Rugby football at Kuala Lumpor.*”¹⁰⁶ In April 1901,

The first Rugby Team to leave Singapore for an out-station match went up by the Ban What Hin on Thursday and returned on the Malacca, after a most enjoyable trip.¹⁰⁷

The interport rugby game was played at the grounds of the Selangor Club in Kuala Lumpur. The post-match activities were reported in detail.

A very enjoyable ‘smoker’ took place after dinner and the hospitality of Selangor was conspicuous. They not only ‘tiffined’ and put up the Singapore team, but they even brought down a bucket of ‘slings’ to the early morning train to ‘buck up’ the Singapore representatives for their return journey.¹⁰⁸

In February 1902, a second visit was made by Singapore to play Selangor in Kuala Lumpur, resulting in a win for the Malayan team.¹⁰⁹ The interport fixture benefitted the rugby scene, leading to an increase in media coverage and the incentive to play representative rugby.

As well as the Selangor vs. Singapore interport fixture beginning, other district teams also started to play each other more frequently. In February 1909, there is a first mention of a team from the FMS of Negri Sembilan being scheduled to travel to Kuala Lumpur to play Selangor.¹¹⁰ At the start of that 1912–1913 season, the status of the, by now, annual match between Selangor and Singapore was elevated. A very elaborate solid silver trophy designed by Mappin & Webb was presented, to be awarded to the winner of the match.¹¹¹ In November 1912, Singapore sent a second XV to play Malacca. The match marked the official christening of Malacca’s new Padang. The newspaper journalist reported,

'All went merry as a marriage bell,' and on Sunday our jolly visitors left us amidst universal wishes for a return game.¹¹²

The return game was played the following month.¹¹³ Also in that month, the SCC's horizons and rugby-playing opportunities continued to broaden as they travelled to Seremban, the capital of Negri Sembilan.¹¹⁴ An SCC XV turned out a few days before Christmas to play a Johore team from the Un-Federated Malay States, which, it was said "*with a little more practice together... should be able to turn out a very useful fifteen.*"¹¹⁵ The inter district fixtures continued into the following 1913–1914 season. In November, it was reported that Malacca played Negri Sembilan in a return fixture,¹¹⁶ while Negri Sembilan travelled a few weeks later by train to Singapore to play rugby. After the game, the teams dined together at the Raffles Club and the following day most of the team spent the day at the Swimming Club.¹¹⁷

In Japan, the year 1902 saw the first rugby interport match between KRAC and YCAC.¹¹⁸ The fixture was played annually from the 1906–1907 season until 1915–1916.¹¹⁹ Furthermore, as noted below, from 1901 YCAC started playing annually against the team of Japanese men from Keio University. Already commented on was Shanghai's trip to Kobe in 1908 to play against an 'All Japan' team, adding an overseas interport flavour to the sport, albeit one that excluded Japanese players!

Some broad conclusions can be drawn about rugby in the far East in the period 1900 to 1914. Rugby's fortunes significantly improved in each location. In Shanghai, Singapore, Malaya, and Yokohama the organisation of interport fixtures increased the interest of rugby players and the public alike. In Hong Kong, the creation of the triangular rugby series also ensured that rugby's popularity increased. In the years before the war, only in Japan did the native population form their own clubs, choosing to manage their own rugby affairs.

COLONIAL EXPANSION AND THE CREATION OF A NON-CHRISTIAN 'UNIVERSAL TOM BROWN'

This raises the question; *Why was Japan the only far Eastern nation where rugby become established in the native population before WWI?* One of the reasons was the transmission of sports culture from the

East to the West by Japanese students who had studied in the West. From the 1880s, many wealthy Japanese families sent their children to be educated in English and other overseas schools and universities, where they were exposed to rugby and other Western sports. One such person was Tanaka Ginnosuke, who, in 1888 at the age of 14 was sent to public school in the UK and from there to the University of Cambridge. On his return to Japan, Tanaka and his old Japanese primary school friend, Edward Bramwell Clarke, himself born in Japan but later educated in England, introduced rugby at Keio University in 1899. The sport blossomed to the extent that Japanese players from Keio played their first game of rugby against the foreigners of YCAC in December 1901.¹²⁰ Shiggy Konno, a trained Kamikaze pilot and important post-World War Two Japanese rugby figure,¹²¹ noted that the Keio fixture against YCAC was played annually and that Keio also started to play KRAC in the same year.¹²² The establishment of rugby at Keio University was repeated at other elite private universities, starting with Doshisha in 1911, Waseda in 1918, and Kansai in 1919. Many more followed in the 1920s. Rugby also filtered down to the elite Japanese schools as they sought to prepare students to become ‘English gentlemen.’¹²³

This reason alone, however, does not answer the question posed above. In the other four locations, the local native elites also sent their sons to be educated overseas. The narrative below will show that Western-educated Japanese certainly were involved in the introduction of rugby into Japan, but that there were other factors which ensured that the game of rugby extended beyond the foreign population and took a hold independently of it.

Following the end of over two centuries of isolation, the Meiji Revolution (1868–1912) heralded the dismantling of the feudal system in 1871. This led to the wholesale adoption of Western institutional models, as Japan rushed to close the gap between itself and the Western, industrialised nations.¹²⁴ In 1873, the ban on Christianity was lifted, leading to an influx of foreign missionaries into Japan, often into academic institutions. Whether they came from America, as many did, or Britain, both countries believed in the role of Muscular Christianity within education. The Americans very quickly introduced baseball to Japan, preceding the introduction of rugby into academic institutions by 27 years. Hand in hand with baseball, the principles of Muscular Christianity were also introduced into Japan.¹²⁵

One man, Frederick William Strange, was especially influential in promoting the concepts of Muscular Christianity in Japan and in introducing it to the local population. Having arrived in Japan in 1875, he worked at Tokyo's *Daigaku Yobimon*. In 1883, he organised the first athletic meeting for the students of Tokyo University and the *Yobimom*. Years later, one of his acolytes, Chiyosaburo Takeda, recalled that before the event, Strange told the students that

The aim of the exercise is not only to discipline the animal spirit of the human being, but also to cultivate the intelligence and morality of man... the moral training of the playing field evokes human qualities far more than the disciplines of the class room.¹²⁶

These are clear evocations of his strong belief in the virtues of Muscular Christianity. Over the next few years, Strange was very active in foreigners' sport, but he was also passionate about involving Japanese students. At the first athletic meeting, he presented copies of his recently published book, *Outdoor Games*, as prizes to the winners. In that book, which strongly espoused the Muscular Christianity philosophy, he wrote that the youth of Japan need to strike a balance between mental and physical exercise. In his view, Japanese students did far too much of the former and far too little of the latter. His book became very influential. Strange was awarded a decoration by the Meiji government in 1888, the year before he died.¹²⁷ His obituary in the *Japan Weekly Mail* described his impact on Japan.

During the last six or seven years of his career, he devoted himself to the task of encouraging a love of athletic sports and outdoor exercise among the students of Tokyo University and its Principal Schools, with results of permanent value to the nation.¹²⁸

After Strange's death, the aforementioned Takeda continued to promote Strange's vision of sport in Japan, and he became one of the first Japanese men to start to adapt the ideas of Muscular Christianity to accommodate the specific circumstances in Japan at the time. Writing about Strange and his ideas about sportsmanship in *Athletics*, a leading physical education magazine, Takeda listed eight requirements

of 'sportsmanship,' all closely aligned with Muscular Christianity. The eighth requirement read,

Be your own master; be your own champion. Do what is right; do what is just. Above all, do what is noble.¹²⁹

Takeda began to link these very British ideals to those of Japan. Years later, he explained his evolving ideas. "*Regarding the spirit of exercise, English 'sportsmanship' is equivalent to the qualities of the bushi [samurai].*"¹³⁰ As Abe and Mangan observed,

This was an important statement in an age of imperialism. This 'English Sportsmanship' was, in Takeda's view, able to inspire, instruct and motivate Japanese youth—physically, morally and politically. For Takeda, impressive 'English Sportsmanship' went hand in hand with impressive English Imperialism.¹³¹

In 1904, Takeda further developed these early hybrid ideas, giving it the name *kyogido*.¹³² *Kyogido* encapsulated many aspects of Muscular Christianity, for example, saying that the correct way to bring up a youth to be 'a manlike man' was by means of disciplined athletic exercise, but it did more than this; it aligned the perceived success of Britain as a colonial power with Japan's own colonial aspirations. Believing that English sportsmanship was a significant reason for its imperialist success, in a time of Japan's own imperialist ambitions, he argued that if Japanese men followed *kyogido*, it would enhance Japan's status and chances of imperial triumph.

Kikuchi Dairoku was another person who knew Strange. He had also spent eight years in England immersing himself in University athletics. He later became President of Tokyo Imperial University, a position of considerable influence. While there, he too sought to align oriental and occidental ideas of sport, emphasizing that they fitted in with ancient Japanese traditions. Writing in 1899 he said,

... the characteristics of fair play are consistent with the samurai spirit for which our ancestors are held in high regard. From ancient times, the real and ideal samurai have possessed these characters.¹³³

Another influential person from this period was Dr. Inazo Nitobe. His famous book, *Bushido: The Soul of Japan*, was published in America in November 1899, and it was translated into Japanese in 1900. Nitobe had studied for many years in America and Europe. He clearly knew and was significantly influenced by the Muscular Christian movement, using it to “*articulate and to mediate his new hybrid conception of Bushido to the West and to Japan alike.*”¹³⁴

Despite having been coerced by the West to open treaty ports, unlike the other settlements discussed in this essay, which remained firmly under colonial rule for decades, Japan broke away from foreign influence. The success achieved by the Meiji rulers was that after looking to the West, first copying and imitating their ways, they later adapted the lessons learnt to more successfully integrate the ideas into Japanese society to meet the nation’s needs. The lessons learnt from sport were no exception, *kyogido* was developed, through “*the transfer of the late-19th Century values of the English public school encapsulated in the term ‘athleticism’, [which were] suitably adapted to Japanese tradition, to ensure an imitative imperialism.*”¹³⁵ In other words, because “*19th Century British colonial expansion and military power was widely attributed to the moral strength of its leaders developed through a games education,*” if Japan was educated in the same way, it would deliver to it imperial success.¹³⁶ These actions started Japan’s long journey of colonial acquisition, initially by negotiating the end of the Westerners’ treaty ports in 1899, leading to gaining military victories over China in 1895, Russia in 1905, and the annexation of Korea in 1910.¹³⁷

Under these conditions, rugby in Japan enjoyed a period of growth throughout its universities and schools, sowing the seeds that still bear fruit today. This, then, was the primary reason why rugby was successfully introduced into Japan, not by the existing Western rugby culture in the YCAC and KRAC, which had been playing the sport there for decades, but rather through the elite private universities, which were educating a new and increasingly nationalistic and militaristic Japanese elite in ways learnt from the West but adapted to align with Japan’s needs, in the case of rugby by aligning it with the bushido/samurai spirit.

In Japan in the early 20th Century, rugby was therefore not seen as the sport of a conquering power as it was elsewhere in the far East. Rather, it was a perfect vehicle to inculcate Japan’s youth, and I paraphrase the sentence quoted above, with the values to mould

its pupils to have ‘character,’ to equip them to provide leadership in Japan and its Empire. Japan used rugby to create its own version of a ‘universal Tom Brown.’ An adapted, but still recognisable version, which went on to serve its purpose in the increasingly militaristic Asian power. The Japanese version of the legacy of ‘Tom Brown’ was adopted by its military in 1929 as a form of physical and *moral* training because of the game’s “*co-operative and sacrificial spirit as well as the dashing spirit of action and bravery the game fosters among the players.*”¹³⁸

CONCLUSIONS

The diffusion of rugby in the settlements of the far East followed a common path from the 1860s to WWI. The well-defined values and strong ethos of rugby football, nurtured in Rugby School and reinforced by *Tom Brown’s Schooldays*, created the ‘games ethic’ and Muscular Christianity which, through the new bourgeois educated elite, spread throughout the British Empire and beyond.

Wherever British colonists settled, they played sport. Initially, horse racing, cricket, racquets, fives, and billiards were introduced and from the mid-1860s footballers started to take to the field. Initially, the games were described as ‘football,’ but in the 1880s the football games played were differentiated between the association and rugby codes. In both cases, the early games played (in fact, throughout the whole period under review) were almost exclusively intracub or against the local British military teams which were posted to protect British interests.

In common with football in Britain in the late 1880s into the 1890s, association football was significantly more prominent in the far East than rugby football. As the settlements grew, the new men who arrived from Britain were keener to play soccer and created new teams to do so; in the 1890s, rugby in the far East fell a long way behind association football. In the years from 1900 to 1914, rugby managed to regain some lost ground. The rehabilitation of rugby was owing to initiatives such as the playing of interport fixtures and the establishment of new teams and league-style fixture lists.

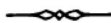
Before WWI, in four of the five settlements, only foreign settlers played rugby, perhaps with a sprinkling of Eurasian men educated locally in elite private schools or in their European parent’s home country. It was only in Japan that rugby spread to the native population and, furthermore, stood separately with its own independent

organisation.

After the Meiji Restoration, Japan looked westwards. It embraced the Arnoldian educational philosophy which stressed that sport was an essential part of education in building an upright and moral man, i.e., a Muscular Christian. Believing that Britain's elite education system was the foundation of its vast empire, several prominent Japanese men adapted this philosophy to align it more closely to Japanese culture by linking it to the ancient Samurai culture and emphasising the nationalistic advantages that would accrue from 'playing the game.'

In the years that Japan grew stronger, diluting Western influence by adapting what they had learnt and flexing their imperial muscle overseas, the elite universities and schools established rugby as their Number One winter sport, ensuring that they not only ruled their own country free from foreign interference, but also developed their own rugby establishments, free from foreign meddling but built solidly on Rugby's foundation stones and rugby's spiritual soul—a state of affairs that B. Fletcher Robinson would surely have approved of.

Simon Drakeford is a British-born freelance sports history writer. He lived in Hong Kong and China from 1998 to 2013, the last seven years in Shanghai, where he was a member of the Royal Asiatic Society in Shanghai and for a while its Honorary Treasurer. His first book, *It's a rough game but good sport: The life, times and personalities of the Shanghai Rugby Football Club*, was published by Earnshaw Books in 2014. On his return to the U.K., he obtained a Master's Degree in Sport History and Culture from De Montfort University. He is now writing his second book, *The Thundering Herd*, which tells the remarkable story of the U.S. Fourth Marines' rugby-playing adventures in China from 1927 until 1940.



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Section 2: Serendipity

SERENDIPITY IN LINHAI

BY ALAN BABINGTON-SMITH^a

Serendipity, in Chinese *yuanfen*, guides and charms life in China. This is a story of how *yuanfen* led to some surprising discoveries about my family and a remarkable building in rural China, and how it enhanced the memory of an important episode of World War 2 (WW2) and, in particular, the Japanese occupation of China.

It all started in the autumn of 2015, as I was settling into my bus seat for a three-hour journey across Zhejiang Province. The bus carried me and several companions from a beach near Ningbo to the city of Linhai, one of the 150 ‘small’ cities in China with a population of over one million inhabitants.

After having lived in China for 15 years—the first three in Liaoning Province, and another twelve in Beijing—I was used to expecting the unexpected. But this journey carried me beyond all possible expectations.

We were on our way to visit an old hospital building in Linhai, known as the ‘Enze Clinic,’ where—more than 70 years earlier—some of the young American airmen known as the ‘Doolittle Raiders’ had received medical treatment. In April 1942, their aircraft had crash-landed near the Chinese coast and, with the help of local residents, they had made an adventurous escape from Japanese-occupied China. In perhaps the most dramatic episode, Doolittle Raider pilot Ted Lawson received such serious injuries to his legs when he was thrown out of the plane that his life was in jeopardy. Local Chinese helped carry Lawson and other members of his crew 200 km in sedan chairs to the Enze Clinic, where a Chinese doctor and a Raider (who was also a doctor) amputated one of Lawson’s legs. Despite a severe shortage of medicine, the surgery saved his life.

Many Americans reading this narrative will have heard of the Doolittle Raid, an iconic WW2 episode of conceptual daring, technical ingenuity, operational skill, and individual bravery. The Raid, the 80 Raiders, and then-Lt. Col. Jimmy Doolittle, who led the mission, are all celebrated in films—such as ‘Pearl Harbor’ and the earlier ‘Thirty Seconds over Tokyo,’ which won an Oscar in 1945 and was based on a

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book of the same title written by the same Lawson—as well as in many histories, memoirs, and biographies.

The raid was a gesture of defiant retaliation after Japan's 7 December 1941 surprise attack on Pearl Harbor. On 18 April 1942, sixteen B-25 bombers, one piloted by Doolittle himself—who was twice as old as the other airmen—were meant to take off from the aircraft carrier *Hornet* in mid-Pacific to bomb Tokyo and other Japanese cities. Their plan was to fly on to China after the attack and land in an airfield beyond Japanese control.

The plan went awry from the start, however. While on the *Hornet*, the Raiders had to launch much further from Japan, and much earlier, than planned. The U.S. task force had been spotted by a Japanese fishing vessel stationed 600 to 800 miles from Japan, under instructions to look out for enemy intruders. The Japanese trawler radioed the *Hornet's* position to Tokyo before it was sunk itself. A decision was taken to launch the B-25s as soon as possible—in the certain knowledge that they were so distant from Japan that the Raiders would inevitably run low on fuel and might not reach the Chinese coast after the bombing, or they might instead be forced to land in Japanese-occupied areas of China. The mission, which had already begun as extremely perilous for the 80 airmen, now seemed suicidal.

After successfully bombing Japan, and flying for some 15 hours, fifteen of the bombers had just enough fuel—with help from a fortuitous tailwind—to reach China's east coast. Their crews bailed out or crash-landed in the mostly mountainous terrain of today's Zhejiang, Jiangxi, and other provinces. The 16th aircrew survived by flying to the Soviet Union, from where they eventually escaped through Iran. The Raiders' original plan was to land at airfields in or near present-day Quzhou, but because the Raid launched early, as well as for other reasons, the planned homing beacons never materialized.

The 15 crews bailed out or crash-landed over a wide swathe of wild Chinese countryside, where they faced formidable challenges: horrible weather, unknown terrain, language difficulties, and in some cases severe injuries—and above all, the very real threat of capture by Japanese troops. Not all survived. Two airmen drowned after their planes crash-landed. One died immediately after bailing out. Eight Raiders were taken prisoner by Japanese troops. Of the latter, three were executed by the Japanese; one later died of starvation and disease in a prisoner-of-war camp; and the remaining Raiders survived

to return home after the end of the war, having endured torture, malnutrition, abuse, and solitary confinement.

The other 64 American airmen were forced to rely on the kindness of Chinese strangers, who provided many of them with shelter and food, tended their injuries, and led survivors on perilous journeys to evade Japanese patrols. Most of the Americans reached safety and their ultimate destination of Chongqing (then called Chungking), the seat of the Chinese Nationalist government. There they were hailed as heroes by Generalissimo Chiang Kai-shek and his glamorous wife, Song Meiling. Many continued flying on the front lines of the allied war effort in North Africa, Europe, and Asia until the end of WW2.

In September 2015, just before our bus journey in Zhejiang, the Beijing government had organized a massive military celebration to mark the 70th anniversary of the end of WW2. Among those invited were representatives of the Allied forces. These included Americans who had served in China, such as surviving members of the Doolittle Raiders, of General Claire Chennault's 'Flying Tigers,' and of the airmen who had flown the hazardous Himalayan transport route known as the 'Hump.'

Neither of the two surviving Doolittle Raiders—Col. Richard Cole, who had just turned 100 years old, and SSgt David Thatcher, then 94—could make the trip to China. Instead, David Thatcher's son, Jeff Thatcher, came to China to represent them. He stayed in China after the celebrations, at the suggestion of my wife Melinda Liu, to follow the route taken by his father in 1942. Melinda's late father, Tung-Sheng Liu, had led some of the Raiders to safety and, after moving to the USA, had himself been named an Honorary Doolittle Raider.

Jeff's father was engineer/gunner David Thatcher on the Raiders' #7 plane, nicknamed *Ruptured Duck*. Ted Lawson had been the pilot of crew #7. This crew's story is perhaps the best known thanks to Lawson's book and the subsequent Hollywood film. Jeff's father had been only been lightly injured after their crash-landing. Assisted by local Chinese, he scrambled to transport his wounded mates to safety shortly before dozens of Japanese troops appeared, hot on their trail. For his heroism, Thatcher was awarded the Silver Star.

Jeff's first stop was at the beach where his father's B-25 had crash-landed more than seven decades earlier. Jeff gathered some sand to take home to his father (who lived just long enough to hold it and hear Jeff's account of his pilgrimage). Local Chinese gathered around

Jeff, many apparently familiar with the Raiders' story thanks to a beachfront stone stele on which the Raiders' mission was explained in Chinese. An elderly woman ran home and rushed back to present to Jeff with a metal fragment—a long thin tube—which, she said, her husband had salvaged from the *Ruptured Duck* in 1942. She handed it to Jeff, refusing remuneration and declaring, “*His father helped China.*”

His warm grassroots reception was testament to the deep reservoir of Chinese gratitude for the sacrifices made by the Doolittle Raiders. Until recently, the story of the Doolittle Raiders had focused largely on the U.S. pilots and their mission's impact on America at war. But in the past five years, the Beijing government and many ordinary Chinese have begun to focus on the Raiders in China, the role of the Chinese people in rescuing the Americans, and the consequences of this act of bravery for them.

Increasing numbers of Chinese people are coming forward to commemorate the Chinese civilians who selflessly helped the American flyers—and paid a terrible price. Before the raid, Nationalist Chinese leader Chiang Kai-shek had warned that Tokyo would exact terrible revenge against Chinese suspected of helping the Raiders. Tragically, Chiang was right. Japan launched a three-month ground and air assault that included biological warfare agents unleashed on entire towns.

The devastation in areas of Zhejiang (then Chekiang) Province, where many of the U.S. airmen had landed, was dreadful. Chiang Kai-shek sent a cable to the USA, reporting that “*Japanese troops slaughtered every man, woman, and child in these areas,*” and his government estimated that up to 250,000 Chinese civilians died. This aspect of the war is vividly remembered at the Germ Warfare Museum in Quzhou. Graphic photographs, rusted artefacts, and vivid dioramas evoke the dark horrors of Japan's wartime biological warfare. Some elderly Chinese in and near Quzhou still suffer from leg ulcers that resulted from exposure to toxic biological agents.

While this consequence of the Raid was disproportionately awful, the mission's overall impact on the war was equally disproportionately good. The Tokyo government was so shocked by the stunning and unexpected attack on their homeland—even though, in military terms, damage to Japanese installations was not great—that it revamped its homeland defence strategy, withdrew forces from elsewhere, and resolved to focus on destroying the American aircraft carriers that had

not been at Pearl Harbor on 7 December 1941.

The resulting Battle of Midway, in June 1942, was decisive; four Japanese aircraft carriers were sunk, giving U. S. forces dominance of the sea and air across the Pacific. From that point onwards, Tokyo suffered difficulties in supporting its Pacific military effort in terms of both material and the availability of well-trained troops. That turning point brought the ultimate Allied victory in WW2 closer, as well as the end of China's suffering under Japanese occupation.

This history alone was sufficiently compelling for me to want to visit the old Enze clinic. After leaving the beach and getting back on the bus with Jeff, Melinda, and Quzhou historian Zheng Weiyong, who has written a Chinese-language book about the Raiders, I found myself sitting across the aisle from Huang Miwu, who introduced himself as the Director of the Enze Clinic Memorial Hall, a newly completed museum. He explained that the Enze Hospital Group had recently spent more than RMB 6 million to restore the original building, which was more than 100 years old.^b

I asked him what he knew about the history of the old clinic. He showed me a finely illustrated brochure, in Chinese. Since I don't read Chinese, I asked him if they knew who had founded the clinic. Imagine my astonishment when he said that the founder was an English doctor, with the Chinese name 'Baimingdun.' This sounded remarkably like part of my own surname, 'Babington.'

Imagine my even greater astonishment when he showed me a photo of doctor Baimingdun, taken at the opening ceremony of the clinic in 1905. To me and to all my travelling companions—including Huang—the man in the photograph bore an uncanny resemblance to me. Was it possible that one of my relations had come to China in 1901? Since my family tree has many roots and branches, I began to believe that this almost unbelievable coincidence might be possible.

Our visit to the clinic's museum far exceeded our expectations. The building and most of its architectural features have been most beautifully and faithfully restored, with great attention to authentic detail. Several rooms were restored exactly as they were when they hosted the wounded Raiders in 1942, including vintage medical equipment.

But there was more serendipity to come. In one room we saw three photos with contents of seemingly supernatural coincidence. One

^b See the accompanying article about the restoration by Huang Miwu in this issue.



was of Jeff's father, the highly decorated Doolittle Raider SSGT David Thatcher. One included Melinda's father, Tung-Sheng Liu, along with Raider crew #2 for whom he had been translator, fixer, and guide. And one was of my possible relation or ancestor, Dr. Stanley Noel Babington!

I decided to find out about this Dr. Babington. After a cursory search on the Internet, I had discovered enough to ask my cousin Jamie—the member of my immediate family most familiar with our history—for help in taking me deeper down this path into history. He connected me to Terry Sheppard, an amateur genealogist who had undertaken a very detailed study of the Babingtons, going back almost 600 years. He, in turn, connected me to a grandson of Dr. Stanley Noel Babington, Peter Babington.

Melinda and I met Peter Babington and other relatives in England. Through these links, curator Huang and his colleagues at the Enze Clinic Museum were able to contact Dr. Babington's great granddaughter Meg Coleman—herself also a doctor. Later, in December 2016, Huang arranged for her, her father, her husband (also a doctor), and their three lively young children to travel all the way from Britain to Linhai as honoured guests at a gala celebration of the 115th anniversary of Enze Clinic's founding.

These Babingtons turn out to be remote relations of mine—we

were close relations probably 600 years ago. Babington is not an uncommon name in England, and the various branches of our family tree boast figures of some degree of historical importance. I know of only two places in the U.K. called *Babington* (Babing's town). One is a posh hotel called 'Babington House,' set in 18 acres of Somerset countryside; there may have been a village of the same name, which was demolished to build the present house. The other is a bed-and-breakfast called Babington's on the Scottish borders.. Along similar lines, you may have visited the Babington Tea Rooms at the bottom of the Spanish Steps in Rome—which was indeed co-founded by a Babington.

There is also a village called Bavington Parva (population: 100) in Northumberland, in northern England on the border with Scotland, and the Babingtons are believed to have been Normans—that is, Vikings—who were posted there to keep out the Scots. They gradually moved south, to the Midlands, and were successful enough to have contributed two knights to the Battle of Bosworth in 1485, the battle that ended the War of the Roses with the death of King Richard III. These knights were John Babington of Dethick, my ancestor, and John Babington of Chilwell, his cousin.

Dethick is specifically mentioned in the 'Ballad of Bosworth Field' as one of 10 knights in King Richard's army; he was killed by Sir James Blount, who was Henry Tudor's Provost Marshall and a neighbour of John Babington of Chilwell. The story goes that Blount either had a feud with Chilwell or wanted his lands, but that he killed the wrong man—easily done in the heat of battle, especially since everyone wore visors.

The Dethick Babingtons prospered gently for the next century, until in 1585 a 25-year-old Antony Babington fell for the charms of an older woman. She happened to be Mary Queen of Scots, who was ultimately executed for plotting to take the throne after the planned assassination of Queen Elizabeth I. For his part in the unsuccessful 1587 plot—also called the 'Babington Plot'—my distant (and, by many accounts, somewhat gullible) ancestor was hanged, drawn, and quartered.

Perhaps not surprisingly, for the next 200 years the Babingtons kept their heads down, and on. In the 1780s, Thomas Babington, was a leading member of the Clapham Sect, which helped create the new Victorian morality in Britain. He played a leading role particularly

in the campaigns to abolish slavery and, a generation later, the slave trade. His nephew, Thomas Babington Macaulay, was one of the most distinguished people of his century—popular historian and poet, brilliant orator, and reformer of government in both Britain (where he introduced exams for the Civil Service) and India.

One of Macaulay's nephews, Charles Cardale Babington, was another remarkable Victorian, son of a Fellow of the Royal Society and co-founder of the Entomological Society, known in his youth as 'Beetles Babington' because of his work on the entomology discovered during the voyage of the *Beagle*—the voyage that revolutionised our understanding of natural history and evolution. He was Professor of Botany at Cambridge University; the founding author of the definitive '*Manual of British Botany*,' a keen supporter of the Church Missionary Society (CMS) and Dr Barnado; and regular host of a Muslim missionary, Jani Alii.

Other recorded Babingtons include a Vice-Chancellor of Oxford University (as recently as 1441), and a President of the Geological Society whose name was commemorated in the mineral Babingtonite when it was discovered in 1824. To date, it has no special use or value, except to collectors, and as the official emblem of Massachusetts, where there are large deposits, most notably at Blueberry Hill. Other places where Babingtonite can be found include Poona in India, Devon in England, and Qiaojia in Sichuan, which boasts the largest crystals.

The Dr. Stanley Noel Babington who founded the Enze Clinic is probably a descendant of the other branch of my family tree, the Babingtons of Chilwell. The photo that I saw on the bus, and which originally stimulated my research, in fact turned out not to have been of Dr. Babington but of a more senior Western missionary. However Dr. Babington indeed does appear in the same ceremonial 1905 photo, standing behind his older colleague. He is a young man, and good looking—although he does not look much like me!

These Babingtons seem to have a medical gene. One invented the laryngoscope, which enables doctors to inspect the throat. Another founded the Epidemiological Society. Stanley Noel Babington himself was the son of a doctor. One of his sons, Gilbert Cleary Babington, served in the Royal Army Medical Corps. He died in June 1945, serving on the Burma frontier, and is buried in Chittagong. Another of his sons, John Herbert Babington, was awarded the George Cross—the civilian equivalent of the Victoria Cross—for his work on defusing

bombs, and his son is a retired anaesthetist. Meanwhile Stanley Noel Babington's great-grand-daughter Meg and her husband Will are both doctors in UK's National Health Service.

Stanley Noel Babington came to China in 1899 under the auspices of the CMS. Founded in England in 1799, the CMS set up many missions in China and other parts of the world. In 1899 alone, the CMS sent over 100 missionaries overseas.

Dr. Babington's wife Sarah, who came with him to China, was a trained nurse. She belonged to a group known as 'Nightingale's'; his descendants showed me a vintage photograph featuring Sarah with Florence Nightingale herself as well as with other nurses, taken to mark the nurses' graduation. In the decade during which they lived in China, Sarah and Dr. Babington had three children, one of whom died and was buried in Linhai. They later had five more children.

The Babingtons' time in China was as interesting as anyone could wish. They arrived in Shanghai just before the Boxer uprising—and Sarah was judged too heavily pregnant to be evacuated from Shanghai—and they experienced the 1911 Revolution. At that time, they were warned that the revolutionary Guomindang (then Kuomintang) planned to seize Linhai and kill not only all ethnic Manchus, symbols of China's collapsing Imperial Qing dynasty, but also all other non-Chinese they encountered. Sarah had an emergency bag packed just in case, but ultimately the Imperial regime collapsed quietly. The general mood was reflected in a typical Annual Report by Dr. Babington to the CMS: "*The district was quieter this year, due in large part to better harvests, so fewer bullet and knife wounds were treated.*"

Sarah returned to England in 1913 with their two surviving children. Dr. Babington stayed on alone until 1915, when he left to serve as a military doctor, initially based in Salonika, dealing with the wounded from Gallipoli. Sarah returned to England with the children. After the war, he also returned to England and continued practising as a doctor until he died there in 1935.

When he bade farewell to Linhai, Dr. Babington was praised by Chinese colleagues and acquaintances for his good work. He was presented with two silk banners covered with delicate embroidery, including the names of Chinese assistants who had worked under him. In 2016, when his descendants visited for the first time the clinic their ancestor had founded, they presented the hospital with the original

silk banners, returning them to their place of origin.

While researching the Babington family story, I also became curious about the history of the old clinic building. By a further turn of serendipity, one of my close cousins, Joanna Cox, the daughter of two architects, had herself been much involved with the CMS, training their missionaries and other workers slated to go overseas. She managed to access the CMS Archives in Birmingham, U.K., where she found some original letters written by Dr. Babington from more than 100 years ago. These included his initial proposal for the construction of the clinic and his original hand-drawn architectural plans, as well as his annual reports.

Joanna persuaded the Archives to allow her to photograph the documents.^c She sent them to me, and I passed them on to Huang Miwu, who at the time was writing a book about the history of the old clinic, its building and restoration, and its organisational transformation over the decades into a thriving modern hospital group. (The modern hospital functions out of contemporary buildings at a different site; the old Enze clinic is now used solely as a memorial hall.) Curator Huang created a magnificent presentation scroll based on Dr. Babington's hand-drawn diagrams, and this was the centrepiece of the December 2016 Enze Hospital Group's celebration of its 115th anniversary, in the presence of some 3,000 people.

Dr. Babington had made an earnest appeal for backing to build the clinic in a letter to the CMS 115 years ago:

It has been a most trying summer down here, one has been brought into contact with case after case one could have cured if there had been in-patient accommodation. There are great opportunities for doing good work down here if we can only get our hospital. I do trust that your committee will earnestly consider these plans and if possible consent to them, they have been worked out not with the idea of making a great show but simply to supply the need of this great mission. Please remember me in your prayers.

Ultimately, Dr. Babington obtained approval from the CMS for his clinic, but the project was not easy. The process of buying the land took

^c Library file reference CMS/M/FL1/CH11 at the Cadbury Research Library Special Collection, University of Birmingham.

two years. Petty theft was such a problem that all bricks and stones had to be whitewashed; if anything went missing, it could be detected easily. At various critical moments in the clinic's construction, local Chinese workers announced that they had to return to the fields to tend to urgent farming requirements. The most dramatic moment came when the roof was about to be built. The Chinese foreman walked off the job—despite having been one of Babington's patients. Ever vigilant, however, Dr. Babington had personally checked every piece of timber as it was delivered, and so he could construct the roof himself. He did so just before the seasonal rains. This gave him lasting fame in the eyes of local Chinese residents.

How did the clinic turn out, more than a century ago? Babington had been trained as a doctor, not as an architect, so what inspired Babington's architecture is not known. But he designed a strikingly attractive, harmonious, and efficient building, with five-metre-tall ceilings and airy verandas. A visiting CMS inspector gave his overall impression of the hospital in a report written at the time:

We passed on from there to Dr. S. N. Babington's medical mission. Our road lay first of all along the city wall. This wall, which completely encircles the city, is about twelve feet thick and is pleasant to walk upon. Mosses grow prettily over it, and it is in an excellent state of preservation. Leaving the wall, we ascended a beautiful green hill by rock steps. Up the slopes and after a big climb we found ourselves at Dr. and Mrs. Babington's house. This is the prettiest and most pleasing medical mission we have yet seen. Hang Chow hospital, for example, is crowded within the high walls and dwellings of a thickly populated city, while here was a Mission in pure air, far above and looking down upon the city, and having much in the surroundings to please the eye. Dr. and Mrs. Babington are enthusiasts in their work. It is difficult to believe that this Mission is only a little more than four years old. It is astonishing to find that they get 300 outpatients in a week who are glad to come up the hill to be healed. Dr. Babington did for a time have dispensary work down in the town, but he found it too laborious for the staff to continue it. The beds for both men and women were well filled and apparently

well supported. I read over the beds the names of parishes, Gleaners' Union Branches, Sowers' Bands and individuals. The beautiful cleanliness of everything must impress vastly the Chinese, who, however, quietly say of benevolent work like this, that they are glad to be able to furnish to the missionary an opportunity of accumulating merit! This would be very vexatious if it were really the thought at the back of their minds which surely is not the case!

Something must be said here about missionaries' houses. We have already been in many, and we find that their outward appearance gives an impression of size and comfort and possibly extravagance that on closer inquiry is not sustained. Much is left after all to the missionary, whose refined feelings show themselves in many little and inexpensive ways in the details of the house and garden. How can we home-staying people grudge him the happiness of coming in out of hot, malodorous streets to find himself in a walled-in (for everything is walled-in here) oasis! Missionaries tell me that it makes all the difference between lasting and breaking down. I have never in all my life seen such awful streets or smelt such awful smells as in these Chinese cities, and, as we can bring no effective pressure to bear upon maladministration and non-administration, it seems to me to be our plain duty to make our missionaries as safe and as comfortable as circumstances will allow.

Those of us who visited the old clinic in 2016, following that memorable bus journey, had an equally favourable impression of the Enze Clinic. With a serene courtyard and mature trees—Huang said the garden had been renovated to resemble precisely what pilot Lawson had described as the scene outside his hospital window—it seemed like a sanctuary from the bustle and traffic of the town below. The old building has a new lease of life; it is where the larger hospital group now holds many of its formal ceremonies, from inductions and graduations to retirements. Dr. Babington's ethos of ministering not only to his patients' physical pains but also to their spiritual and psychological needs is quoted to today's hospital employees as a source of inspiration. And the museum exhibits dedicated to the Doolittle

Raiders will be expanded, Huang said.

In this way, two figures from very different eras, British missionary doctor Stanley Noel Babington and Doolittle Raider SSGT David Thatcher, are both appropriately honoured and remembered, with the Chinese people who also served, and Melinda and I have enjoyed sharing the powerful yet invisible hand of serendipity in bringing them and us together.

Introductory note: This article is excerpted from *One Hundred Years of Enze*, a Chinese-language book published in late 2016 about the Enze Clinic in Linhai, Zhejiang Province. Written by Enze Clinic museum curator Huang Miwu and translated by Lyn Zhou, this article recounts the clinic's recent history and restoration as a cultural heritage site. A companion article in this *Journal* issue, *Serendipity in Linhai*, tells of the clinic's earlier history, including its design by British missionary doctor Stanley Noel Babington and its medical assistance to American airmen of the Doolittle Raiders after their April 1942 mission. Both articles reflect the idea that healing requires spiritual as well as medical components.

REVIVING ENZE CLINIC: Humanistic care and heritage protection

BY HUANG MIWU
(ENZE CLINIC MUSEUM CURATOR)

In August 2011, workers renovating a missionary-built hospital, the Enze Clinic near Linhai City in Zhejiang province, made a mysterious discovery. “*Look! There’s something hidden in the plaster!*” one exclaimed. The grimy, blackened wall had obscured a carved, arched doorway with inscriptions dating back to the late Qing Dynasty. Why had it been sealed and forgotten? I held great regard for protecting historical relics, and instructed the workers, “*Be careful, let’s behave like archaeologists.*” As a result, they worked meticulously, using small knives instead of hammers, to uncover the archway. Beautiful images emerged—Chinese symbols intertwined with Christian images—as if expressing messages from the past.

Established in 1901, Enze Clinic was the first Western medical hospital in Taizhou, Zhejiang province. It was one of three sister hospitals built by the Church Missionary Society of Britain, which had its China headquarters in Shanghai, and it is the only one of those three that remains today. The Enze Clinic represented the best of Eastern and Western architecture. The quality of its building materials was unmatched, even in the mansions owned by wealthy city fathers. During the 1966–1976 Cultural Revolution, however, the building had been occupied by members of the Taizhou Literary and Art Group.

These occupants had feared that the Western imagery on the arch would be reviled as examples of ‘the four olds’—old thoughts, old culture, old habits, and old customs—and destroyed. Hiding it, they felt, would be the only way to protect the arch. And so it lay hidden for 50 years.

The Enze Clinic’s transformation from a missionary hospital to a key cultural heritage site spans 115 years. Designed and built in 1901–1904 by Dr. Stanley Noel Babington, a British missionary doctor, it is unusual not just because of its age and excellent condition but also because of the atmosphere of warm and humanistic care pervading its graceful corridors and verandahs.

In the early 20th Century, the Enze Clinic was the first medical facility using corridors to connect separate buildings. The upper floor of the two-story building known as Qingqi Yuan—which had been an in-patient department and was arguably the most comfortable ward in the province at that time—was connected to an outbuilding by a suspended wooden corridor 1.6 metres wide. A similar corridor connected the outbuilding and the main building, known as Yangbing Yuan. The Western-style windows were made entirely of wood, with wooden blinds on the outside.

The spacious corridors kept patients from exposure to the wind, sun, and inclement weather. They reflect the clinic’s compassionate and soothing design. The layout evokes a sense of space, allowing people to enjoy scenic views, mature trees, and soft breezes. Tall, simple colonnades contributed to the beauty of the buildings.

Chinese were amazed by fireplaces in the late Qing Dynasty, when people were kept warm through the use of a raised bed-platform known as a ‘kang’ and woven ‘fire baskets’ with terra-cotta bowls holding hot coals. The clinic’s fireproof bricks were imported from England; trademark impressions in the bricks are still visible.

In the VIP ward and the first-class ward, chimneys kept the smoke out; the rooms were warm and the air pure. These fireplaces were still working in 1942, when U.S. airmen of the Doolittle Raiders underwent surgery and medical treatment here.

Due to adequate daylight and ventilation, the building has not been ruined by wind and rain, even after more than a century. The wooden windows have no lintels and use brick arches at the top, brightening each room. Wooden louvres—still functioning today—allow air into the rooms. A basement kept the buildings dry and free

from mould during the rainy season (usually during April and May). Features such as vents, corner windows, and dormers kept the air in each room fresh and pure.

One of the most evocative architectural features was the archway, which had been covered over with lime and plaster for half a century. During restoration, workers carefully uncovered its carved symbols; the unique mixture of Eastern and Western iconography on the arch came back to life.

The symbol ‘shou’ in the centre represented good wishes of happiness, wealth, and longevity. There were also carvings of a peony—the national flower of China—and a vine. In Christianity, the vine symbolises the foundation of everything. As Jesus said “*I am the vine; you are the branches. If a man remains in me and I in him, he will bear much fruit; apart from me you can do nothing.*”

Delicately carved angel wings on the arch evoke the decoration of Gothic cathedrals during the Middle Ages. The ‘ruyi’ symbol represented the traditional scholar-officials’ pursuit of a happy life. Cloud symbols carved on the stairs evoked auspiciousness.

Every carved pattern, every image, every specific detail expressed the design concept of the rooms, the creative use of building materials, and the skilful layout. This allowed people to believe the clinic was not only a place for treatment but also a good place for living.

On the ground floor of the main building was the Church Missionary Society chapel, which could accommodate 100 people. Decorated with Christian symbols, the chapel has a spacious arcade, a high dome, a hanging lamp, a cross, and beautiful stained-glass windows—all enhancing the religious aura of the room and creating an atmosphere of purity.

According to hospital records, physicians and patients gathered together every day to read the Bible. First people accepted the president’s or pastor’s teachings, then they went about their daily routines. Every Sunday, missionaries from local areas and other places came to share Bible readings and purify human souls.

ENDURING HARD TIMES

Inside the museum, an old, yellowing document records important milestones in the hospital’s history from 1949 to 1985, including the 1966–1976 Cultural Revolution. In 1967, turmoil at the national level seriously affected the health-care system. Ignoring the slogan to

conduct ‘class struggle’ at the time, physicians continued to work hard to protect and treat every patient.

Mao Zedong had instructed people to ‘focus on rural medical care’ back in June 1965. Based on this, the hospital sent doctors and nurses to rural areas where they lived, ate, and worked with farmers. They treated patients, trained local physicians, and fostered ‘barefoot doctors.’

The hospital also sent out mobile medical teams to enhance rural medical care. At the time, village health care was in a bad state. Farmers lacked medical knowledge. Doctors had little free time. They picked wild herbs in the mountains when they lacked medicines. They delayed meal times when there were too many patients waiting for treatment. They helped collect food when storms approached.

The medical teams stayed with farmers, and were treated just like family members. They placed a priority on nurturing local doctors and health workers. The medical teams trained ‘barefoot doctors’ who, although they had not received professional training, were a source of inexpensive, basic health care.

At one point a national slogan was put forward: “*Tumours can be prevented and cured.*” Encouraged and guided by that instruction, the hospital began tumour outpatient treatment in September 1970. The Surgery Department and Gynaecology and Obstetrics department contributed 12 beds to support this effort. The next year, a Tumour Treatment Department was established, the first in Zhejiang province.

Also in 1971, the hospital began a program known as the ‘three E’s’—early discovery, early diagnosis, early cure—aimed at detecting and treating uterine cancer among 350 female workers in the Dongfeng cotton spinning factory.

In 1973, the hospital sent a special team to Baita Xianju to investigate patients with carcinoma of the oesophagus and stomach cancer. The following year a 600-square-metre space was allotted for tumour radiology treatment rooms. During these hard times, hospital staff worked together to make achievements in tumour research.

During this period, the hospital reopened its nursing school, educating a new generation of nurses. It also invited 22 experienced teachers from Hangzhou for the purpose of re-opening the medical school in 1971. Gradually, things began returning to normal.

Hospital beds increased from 250 to 350 in 1973. By the end of the Cultural Revolution several years later, every position in the hospital

had adopted the responsibility system. Strict attendance and a system of penalties were enforced to improve the hospital's capabilities.

BECOMING AN HISTORIC AND CULTURAL SITE UNDER ZHEJIANG PROVINCE PROTECTION

The beginnings of Enze Clinic date back to the 1901, the 27th year of the Imperial reign of Guangxu. Two sister hospitals were set up in the region by the Church Missionary Society (CMS) of Britain. However the other two missionary-built hospital buildings in the area—the Guangji Hospital in Hangzhou and the Renze Hospital in Ningbo—no longer exist today. Only Enze Clinic has survived.

Enze Clinic suffered and changed a great deal over the decades. It was merged with the Taizhou Public Hospital to become the Taizhou Convalescent Hospital in 1951. The Taizhou Health School was built nearby. (Today the clinic is part of the modern Zhejiang Provincial Taizhou Hospital.) Some vintage structures were torn down. Other parts of the clinic, such as the main building and an outbuilding, were used as staff dormitories by the Taizhou Literary and Art Group.

By the late 20th Century, the clinic was in shockingly poor condition. It had lacked maintenance and repair for more than 50 years. Parts of the internal doors and roof were falling apart. The well was full of silt and weeds. Without repair, the structures would eventually disappear into dust and debris.

A DECISION TO RESTORE

Zhejiang Provincial Taizhou Hospital President Chen Haixiao, who had worked there since his graduation in 1983, knew about the presence of the beautiful old Enze Clinic buildings behind the hospital's contemporary structures. He knew it had been called the 'Small Peach Colony' because of its magnificent views. President Chen had read the article *Enze Clinic* by the late Chen Shengji who had purchased the clinic back in 1932. In it, Chen Shengji described the old clinic at night, viewed through moonlit trees, as a 'crystal palace' and wrote: "*During the four seasons here, spring is full of peach blossoms and people feel cool in summer owing to the shade of the trees. As autumn turns to winter, the mountain is covered with red autumnal leaves ... The weather is so warm I don't realise its winter.*"

In September 2001, President Chen read an old file recounting the history of Enze Clinic. He wanted to dig deep into its history, to help

bring about a new incarnation and image for the hospital. He invited several experts to discuss the clinic's background. It turned out the hospital was around 100 years old, not just 60.

Everyone knows once a building becomes totally dilapidated, a reconstruction is just a copy—not the original—no matter how wonderful the rebuilding technique is.

So President Chen was deeply concerned when he discovered that the building was endangered and urgent repairs were necessary. He wrote a *Report on Protection and Rehabilitation for the Enze Clinic* to the government, which published an official document that clearly outlined the building's function, its property rights, and who has the right to protect the structure.

Before restoration work could begin, however, the first task was to persuade staff still living inside the old structures to move out.

GOOD THINGS NEVER COME EASY

Seventeen families had been living there; it was difficult to convince them to vacate the building. This stressful job fell to me. Every time I met with residents, I spoke with genuine emotion and hoped they would be moved by my words.

Six years later, with help from the Historical Relics Protection Committee of Linhai, I had persuaded all families residing inside the old clinic to move out.

Then the Taizhou Gucheng Research Centre was hired to assess the structural and architectural damage. According to the 'Historical Relics Protection Law of the People's Republic of China,' unmoveable ancient buildings should maintain their *status quo* during restoration and maintenance. All procedures had to be taken extremely seriously.

I knew how important it was to restore the structures with care. A single careless act could ruin the renovation efforts. I took many photographs, communicated carefully with the workers, and educated everyone about the serious nature of their task. The mission was to strengthen, not substitute. Original parts were not to be replaced, unless absolutely necessary. If something needed replacing, it would be made of the same material as the original. Even slogans left over from the Cultural Revolution should be preserved, as they too reflected the spirit of the times.

Much discussion focussed on restoration techniques. Restoration experts and I had different opinions about the plaster, for example.

Some felt that simple whitewash could be used. However I thought it should conform to old pictures by using oyster-shell mortar, made by burning oyster shells to create lime, then slaking the mixture with water, sand, ash, and broken shells in an ancient and labour-intensive process. Ultimately, the walls were returned to what they had been.

COMING UNDER ZHEJIANG PROVINCE HERITAGE PROTECTION

Restoration took five years. After completion, the Enze Clinic became a Key Cultural Relics Protected Site under Linhai City in 2011. Then, in 2016, the hospital applied for its designation as an Historic and Cultural Site under Zhejiang Province—in other words, that it should be upgraded to provincial-level cultural heritage protection status. Sixteen experts led by Wu Zhiqiang, vice-director of the Zhejiang Province Historic Protection office, conducted a field assessment of the clinic. In the main building, which had been turned into a museum, they saw images and artefacts introducing the basic concept and layout of the clinic. Then they were briefed on specific features such as the old well, door hinges, wooden louvres, handmade latches, and the burnt oyster-shell mortar.

When they saw the elegant combination of Western and Chinese styles, the beautiful carvings on the arched door of the century-old Qingqi Yuan, the washroom in the wards, and an original water-filtration system, everyone was amazed by the quality of the restoration. They asked many questions: “*Has the layout changed throughout the years?*” “*Is this feature the same before and after re-plastering?*”

They agreed that everything should be well maintained, and broken parts should be carefully repaired to what they would have been in their original state.

“*Century-old structures are indeed rare. Enze Clinic is a treasure for the entire hospital as well as for our entire province,*” the team concluded, “*What’s more, it is witness to the friendship between Chinese and Westerners. Everything must be well protected. It should be not only a provincial-level historical relic, but also a national-level one. It must be passed on for the benefit of coming generations.*” The clinic was subsequently elevated to a provincial-level cultural heritage site, and now receives visitors from all over China—and even the world.

Section 3: Shanghai

RESURRECTION OF THE GERMAN COMMUNITY IN SHANGHAI AFTER THE FIRST WORLD WAR AND HOW CHINESE FRIENDS LAID THE FOUNDATION STONES

BY CHRISTINE MAIWALD^a

Hermann W. Breuer (1884–1993) worked for Melchers China, one of the most prominent German trading houses, eventually becoming pay partner, head of the import department, and financial advisor. From 1946 he was contracted by the Chinese Tai On (Wing On) Company as their consultant for overseas trade. In 1949, he was elected chairman of the German Residents' Association. When Breuer arrived in Shanghai at the age of 22, China was still an empire reigned by the Manchu Qing dynasty, and when he left at the age of 68, China had become communist. During his lifetime then, he encountered several lives: his life was entwined with Chinese history and also with the history of the Germans in China, with politics and economics, society and sport, and shaped by friends of all nations. A closer look at historical events, social conditions and at his Chinese friends during his lifetime sheds light on historical episodes that have so far been neglected in history books. This is especially true for the years after both World Wars.

The following study highlights some aspects of the Chinese–German experience in Shanghai during the years 1919 to 1929 that have, as yet, not been observed in detail. After briefly looking back at China's joining the War, we will see

- how, even before the signing of the first equal treaty, Chinese partners helped German merchants and entrepreneurs to regain their footing in China;
- how, through the equal treaty the relationship of the two nations developed, although trading conditions were unfavourable compared with those under which the former Allies operated; and
- how this reinvigorated the German community and made Germany a strong partner in the China trade, while the Chinese were taking steps to regain sovereignty in all of China.

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China engaged in the First World War in August 1917. German institutions and facilities like schools, clubs, and newspapers were closed immediately; German employees of Chinese public enterprises were dismissed. The worst blow for the community was the sequestration of the German Asiatic Bank (DAB). German businesses had, especially after the beginning of the war, put all their money into the DAB. They could no longer access their accounts. The individual enemies, i.e., the members of the German community, could not either. They had to submit a list specifying the members of their households, the amount they needed for rent and subsistence and their credit balance. Then they were allocated a fixed sum they could withdraw per month. Among the enemies was Hermann Breuer, called 'eitsch doubleyou bee' by his friends. He had been employed by one of the oldest German trading, industrial, and shipping companies in China, Melchers & Co. Now he had no income, he had to report twice weekly at the police station (daily from mid-February 1919¹). He was twice given notice to quit his residences because, by the end of the year 1918, new *King's Regulations* forced English landlords to cancel the leases of German tenants, private as well as businesses, within one month. The French authorities followed this example. In December 1918, Hermann and his wife had to leave their flat at 3 Yang Terrace off Weihai Road. They moved to Avenue Joffre (Huai Hai Lu) in the French concession, only to have to move again early in 1919. On Avenue Road (today Beijing Road West) they could stay—they had probably found either a Chinese or an American landlord. Directly after those *King's Regulations* were published, there must have been Chinese protests of conspicuous proportions. The British Chinese-language newspaper, *Shen Bao* (*Sinwan pav*), felt obliged to report these protests in order to defend the decree:

Many Chinese (...) were astonished to hear that a number of German families living in British-owned houses were expelled, even after the signing of the ceasefire. This has caused criticism. Many Chinese said: 'Since this newspaper has repeatedly stated the Germans acted brutally though they had always been treated fairly (...), this action shows that the British, when they gain the upper hand, are just as vindictive as the Huns.'²

Those were pin-pricks in comparison with the final liquidation of the DAB, the heart of German trade in China. It was towards the end of 1918 that China conceded that the British China Association (i.e., British traders) was put in charge of the Bank's liquidation. This resulted in the liquidation of German property as such. Nobody could pay their mortgages within the set deadline of one month—accounts being frozen, the time too short to have money sent from Germany—and private and business real estate was put up for auction.

Also, from at least July 1918, the Allies had tried to persuade the Chinese authorities to repatriate German nationals. On Christmas Day 1918, the *North China Daily News* came with a headline "*China Resolves to Repatriate the Germans.*" In March 1919, Britain sent ships to fix matters. Only 'old and ill' Germans were allowed to remain in China—as an English newspaper put it, as if apologising that anybody was allowed to stay. Hermann, neither old nor ill, was exempted 'pro term' from repatriation because his wife was pregnant at the time. The moment he knew he was exempted, he sat down and wrote a letter to his brother, my grandfather, asking him for money. Germans not being allowed to send letters, he wrote in Dutch, and he did not dare mention that he was not being repatriated (that would have given him away). Since his brother lived in Dutch Sumatra, the letter made it to its destination.

By mid-1919, of the 296 pre-war German firms there were just two left and only about 750 of formerly 3,000 Germans remained in all of China. The European Allies had gotten rid of a potentially strong competitor in the China market. But, in actual fact, many Chinese did not agree with the proceedings of their government and its allies. Many businessmen preferred to remain loyal to their former partners or employers.

Perhaps the loyalty drew from more sources than just good business sense and individual esteem. There might have existed an historical aspect, the memory of a constructive German–Chinese relationship which had been established long before Germany joined the colonial powers in China. In her Master's thesis, *Shanghai and the Germans*, Liu Wenyin showed that articles in the Chinese Newspaper *Shen Bao* during the second half of the 19th Century favourably described German representatives and individuals in China, giving examples of German honesty, of just behaviour and selfless support for others. They also described how Germans were kinder than the British and

the Americans.³ Even the British Consul in Shanghai observed in 1868 that the Germans had the particular favour of Chinese customers “*because the German people are not as haughty as the other colonial powers,*” and a Chinese provincial governor spoke in high praise about his experiences with the representative of a German firm, observing that ...

exactly like the other honourable Germans, he is not at all haughty and sly. (...) having met a month ago, I can now deal with him fairly well, because he also places great value on friendship.

That was in 1880. It almost seems that, in 1919, after the Japanese occupation of Shandong, the relatively short-lived time of German colonialism in China was forgiven, if not forgotten.

In a spirit of trust, mutual honesty, and mutual advantage, there were many Chinese attempts at rescuing German property, many of them successful. Writing about Melchers & Co., Jin Baoshan⁴ wrote in the 1970s about their principal comprador in Hankow: Wang Bonian was “*very tactful und resolute and was fully trusted by German[s]. During World War I, all German(s) were recalled to Germany. (...) Wang organized all departments.*” When the properties were officially given back in 1923, Wang remained with Melchers as their Comprador.

Similarly, Carlowitz & Co. had entrusted Chinese (and English) friends with looking after their real estate, the shipping company, the goods in stock, and their gold holdings. There was no written contract, but when, after the signing of the peace and trade treaty, Carlowitz was given most properties back, they found that their real estate had been maintained very well. There had even been an attempt to save Carlowitz’s real estate in Shanghai when one of their former Chinese business partners paid off their debt with the DAB—but two weeks later the Bureau of Liquidation brought forward a new claim, and eventually the Hong on the corner of Kiukiang (Jiujiang) and Jiangxi Roads was lost.⁵

When it became known in China that the Versailles peace treaty did not include handing back the former German concession of Kiaoutschou (Jiaozhou) in Shandong province to the Chinese, but granted it to Japan, the Beijing government was deeply disappointed in its belief that joining the Allied cause ought to have been recognised

by treating China as an equal, that extraterritorial rights ought to have been revoked. Student rallies against the humiliation of China began on 4 May 1919. The anti-imperialist and anti-feudal May Fourth Movement was born. Soon afterwards, supporters of the movement would establish the Chinese Communist Party, while others became liberal-minded businessmen. Instead of signing the Versailles peace treaty, the Chinese government pronounced the 'reconstitution of peace with Germany' in September 1919. "*China open to Germans*," read the headline of *The Times*.⁶ Not quite: At the same time, the East Asian Society in Hamburg and the German–Chinese Society in Berlin repeatedly approached the German Foreign Office to help reinstate trade connections with China. But without any German diplomatic representation in China or a Chinese representation in Germany, they could offer neither legal nor financial protection. Thus, German trade and commerce embraced the risk and took the lead in reviving contacts with China. It was the time-proven principle: Where commerce leads, the flag will follow.

Despite the declaration of peace, German property in China was still being confiscated and offered for sale. But the Chinese, or so it seems, did not always put a lot of effort into the procedure. There were various ways in which the sell-off of German property did not go through. In March 1919, the *North China Herald* hinted at a soft boycott describing how ...

certain foreign interested parties in China tried to buy up [certain properties in Amoy (Xiamen) and Foochow (Fuzhou)]. However, their attempts to contact an official in this matter were unsuccessful because nobody seemed to know who was responsible. This is typical of the Chinese approach,

commented the journalist.⁷

Often, prices asked at auction were set too high and as a consequence nobody was interested in the lots and they remained unsold. In late October 1919,

The facilities of the firms Diederichsen & Co. and Schnabel, Gauner, & Co. [in Hankow] were being offered at public auction for a second time and did not find a buyer.

Neither in December nor in March 1920, when the property was up for auction a fourth time, a buyer could be found. Finally, in June 1920, it was sold to a Chinese buyer. It was assumed at the time that the former owners had bought it back under Chinese cover. My guess is that this method was practised more often than once. Likewise in Tientsin: In May 1920 it was reported that many of the sequestered properties had not sold because the limits were put high to deter Japanese buyers.⁸

Officially the sell-off of German firms ended only with the trade and peace treaty in 1921.⁹ By that time, an undercover resurrection of German firms in Shanghai had already taken place. This was effectively helped by Chinese businessmen. The German Foreign Office reported as late as 1922 that of the 12 firms in Shanghai representing ‘German interests’ under cover, six were operating under a Chinese name.¹⁰

The Commissioner for the control of enemy aliens in Hankow had been one of the first to suggest the practice. When Siemens approached him about reopening their offices in Hankow, the Chinese official did not dare to offer authorisation, but advised Siemens to reopen under the name of a Chinese agent, in which case he would be able to grant a licence.¹¹ In this instance, however, the support was withdrawn three weeks later with the explanation that “*it was too soon.*” This was in September or October 1919. In any case, the idea flourished.

In May 1920, the German secretary in the Dutch consulate in Hankow wrote about the “*joy and interest shown by the Chinese merchants in the re-immigration of the Germans.*” He went on,

Resuming business is, as yet, out of the question. An exception is Schnabel in Changsha, who came back in early February. He is really busy and supposedly earning quite well. [...]. Externally, he is being covered by wealthy and enterprising Chinese from Ningpo [Ningbo].¹²

Other firms were screened by Russians or by Americans. Melchers had assumed an American cover. *Melchers Corporation*, registered in New York, was only a thin disguise for Melchers & Co. China. The decision to revive the old Melchers firm—first set up in Hong Kong in 1866—had been made in Bremen as early as the autumn of 1919. At the time, this could only be qualified as a daring decision. Well aware of this fact, the gentlemen organised a celebration lunch with first-class red

wine, and they had their picture taken. The winning argument had been that the three former Melchers employees still in Shanghai—one of them Hermann Breuer—had already received considerable support from the Chinese business community, and they had been offered loans from Chinese banks and from business friends. In the firm's history which Breuer wrote in 1941, he described what he himself had experienced:

During those hardest times (there was less than 2.000 Mex\$ left in cash) long-standing Chinese business friends proved loyal and faithful. They handed over considerable sums [...] so that those employees who had not been repatriated could, with their help, tie on to former networks and begin to re-start the firm.¹³

From Bremen, Widmann immediately set off for Shanghai. Germans were only allowed on board Dutch ships, and he travelled to Java first. There, he was stuck for weeks, because shipping companies would not take Germans on board, afraid of British companies black-legging them. Nevertheless, on 27 December 1919 he arrived in Shanghai. Thus, they were ready when, in early February 1920, China revoked the trade embargo with Germany, allowed general correspondence, telegrams in cipher, and freedom of movement in China. Private trade between China and Germany was again officially possible. Chinese businessmen had been waiting for this.

For the Melchers firm, it was a decisive step when business partner Karl Lindemann arrived in Shanghai in October 1920. Having travelled via Rotterdam and the United States, he had encountered “*the hostile attitude of the whole world towards the German people*,” and it was with immense relief that in China he experienced “*kindness and help with the reconstruction*.” He was especially touched by his reception when disembarking in Shanghai. In his memoirs he wrote,

When I arrived I was greeted (...) by my veteran Compradore from Hankow [Wang Bonian, see above]¹⁴ with his Shroff number one and my long-term Hankow Boy number one. The three had come ten days previously from Hankow to Shanghai to welcome me and had then asked each day ‘What day he come?’ Those three welcomed

me so warmly that I could have embraced them.¹⁵

In New York, Lindemann had contracted an American agent and set up *Melchers Corporation China*. With a working capital of only US\$ 1,000, this was more or less a letter-box company, but very welcome as a cover for Melchers China's international trade. With the start of this 'American' venture, Hermann Breuer was given full power of attorney of the new firm. It must have helped Melchers' standing with Chinese partners and friends that Breuer had used his ample spare time during the war to learn Mandarin and even some phrases in the Shanghai dialect—a phrase book that once belonged to him still exists in a private library. *Melchers China Corporation* was the name under which Melchers would be operating in Shanghai for the next six years. For a start, a Chinese insurance company let rooms on the ground floor of 6A Hong Kong Road, which Chinese friends helped furnish.¹⁶

Eagerly awaited in China and in Germany was the signing of a formal peace and trade treaty between the two nations. This took place on 20 May 1921. The treaty stated that it was “*contracted according to the principles of total equality and absolute reciprocity according to general international law (...)*”¹⁷ and which both parties regarded as the first equal treaty between a Western power and China.¹⁸ Under the conditions of the treaty, Germany relinquished territorial rights in Jiaozhou (which had, in fact, already happened in Versailles) and consular jurisdiction in China. Most important for the business community was the settling of war reparations and the waiving of customs privileges. This meant that German importers had to pay between 10% and 20% import duty on German goods instead of the 5% treaty states paid.

As to settling war reparations, China would restitute dispossessed or sequestered property either in kind (when it had not yet been sold) or in cash under the condition that Germany pay China half the value either in cash or in railway bonds. Exempted from this settlement were the DAB and a mining company; it took until 1924 to more or less solve those problems.¹⁹ This meant that the bank was not active when trade and industry restarted transactions and former customers had to transfer business to other banks. The bank would never regain its former standing.

The treaty did not make trading conditions quite as equal as it seemed. In actual fact, only imports of goods from non-treaty states

(including Germany) by German or Chinese merchants were affected. As to legal actions, only court cases between German and Chinese citizens would be brought before a Chinese law court. But although this was true, the treaty would build the basis for a fruitful exchange between the two countries. It generated considerable good will from the Chinese community towards the German people and German firms. When, in 1924, an influential British civil servant approached the German Consulate in Shanghai, suggesting that Britain help Germany regain treaty port rights, the German reaction was negative. The reasoning was “[w]e would lose all those sympathies and benefits which we now enjoy because we have (...) relinquished extraterritoriality.”²⁰

On the day after the signing of the treaty, *The North China Herald* gave an insight into the “*Chinese View of the Situation*” (this was the headline), quoting from an article in the newspaper *Shen Bao*:

German merchants in Shanghai are very active and their former commercial standing is gradually being restored. Although the Allied nations have made a rule that all German exports must pay an export duty amounting to one-tenth of their value, the quantity of indigo, nails, and other merchandize arriving in Shanghai is very large.” The article goes on, “Most of the men who were formerly managers of German export firms have returned to Shanghai, among them the managers of (...) Melchers. They are endeavouring to resume business with the assistance of their old compradores.”²¹

With the signing of the treaty, the liquidation of German property ended officially and restitution started. Whenever possible, the properties themselves were handed back, most of them in 1922. The building of the Kaiser Wilhelm School Shanghai²² was given back to the German Community in February/March 1922, the tea merchants Siemssen & Krohn got back their ‘castle’ in Foochow with all its contents in place and Melchers’ huge holdings in Hankow were henceforth a staple in the revival of the firm.²³ In December 1922, the German Foreign Office recorded that China had indeed restituted the larger part of the sequestered properties and that Germany had paid China 4 million Mex\$ in compensation. At that time, Ambassador Adolf Boyé counted 41 German firms, including three that “*if foreign*

in name, can be labeled German.” Among those was Melchers. He reported that the demand for German merchandise, and especially for machinery, surpassed all expectations. Inflation in Germany and the exchange rate between the German and Chinese currencies worked in favour of the fledgling trade relations. German products were cheap despite the comparatively high import duties.²⁴ Export figures looked a lot less encouraging; they were 10% of those in 1913.²⁵

China took further steps in regaining sovereignty. By the end of 1922, all foreign post offices were closed and from then on postal traffic was regulated by China only. The newly built General Post Office (1922–1924), a huge building in the classical style on the north side of Souzhou Creek, made a proud statement. Most importantly, in December 1922, China celebrated the rising of her ensign in Qingdao. During the Washington Naval Conference (1921/1922, a conference on disarmament and spheres of influence in the Pacific²⁶), the United States had mediated the return of the sovereignty of Shandong to China.

In the following year (1923) Melchers reopened their office in the British colony of Hong Kong, reporting to Bremen,

Today, on the 1st of August the firm of Melchers & Co. has been reopened in one room of the former office and in the presence of our former Chinese compradore and his staff. All long-standing Chinese friends and acquaintances (...) gladly remember our former business relationship and have promised to powerfully support the firm in its reconstruction.²⁷

In spite of this proud announcement: When arriving in Hong Kong half a year later, in February 1924, 22 year-old Carl Gerhard Melchers was shocked by the measly conditions under which Melchers’ Hong Kong operated. He had been brought up listening to glowing stories of his father’s 19th Century days in the British Crown Colony.²⁸ Melchers Jr. went on to Shanghai, where things looked much brighter.

The German community in Shanghai, which had been dissolved in 1919, re-emerged in March 1921, at a time when the peace agreement between China and Germany was in the wings.²⁹ This community reinvented itself in April 1924, when a General Assembly passed reformed articles of association. Formerly, the German Consul General

had, by virtue of his office, also been head of the community. Now, the chairman and the members of both arbitration boards were elected by majority vote. The new community statute allowed anybody to join who had command of the German language.³⁰

Melchers was also developing. In 1924, the Corporation moved to the third floor of a princely new office building on Kiukiang (Jiujiang) Road, in the business district west of the Bund. It was purpose-built by the architects Palmer & Turner for the investor Silas Aaron Hardoon.³¹ The front of the building rises in 14 bays from a rusticated first floor, the centre accentuated by two grand-order columns and a turret. The late colonial design evokes the Italian renaissance, a time when trade flourished, making a statement of time-tested reliability. It was here that Melchers & Co. would, three years later in December 1926, shed the 'corporation' coat and reopen under their own name. Their NDL shipping department opened an office on the ground floor. After a similar rebirth, Carlowitz moved, in 1925, into a fine building on Szechuen (Sichuan) Road.

Back to Carl Gerhard Melchers. Arriving in Shanghai on a Sunday morning in early March 1924 (after the shock he had suffered in Hong Kong), he went straight to the Melchers office on the third floor on Kiukiang Road. Even on a Sunday, about half the European and Chinese employees (25 in the office) were at work. He would have been greeted, for instance, by Hermann Breuer, head of the import department, and the Import Compradore Simpson Sung and their staff. On one of the next days, he was shown the import department's increasing exhibition of samples for a growing consumer market: textiles and paper, clocks and watches, optical instruments, stoves, kettles, metal goods, porcelain (toilet bowls and washstands), pharmaceutical pills and lotions, and the famous kerosene lanterns.³² The most important imports at the time were machinery, dyes, and needles and nails.

While Germany was slowly regaining commercial standing in China, other foreign powers were inciting revolt. The most serious clash during the 1920s started on 30 May 1925. In connection with industrial action in a Japanese factory where a worker was killed, the imminent court case against strike leaders in the Mixed Court gave rise to mass protests in front of the Laozha police station near Nanjing Road. The British head of the station ordered weapons free and 13 Chinese protestors, students, and workers, were killed. This incident brought about violent demonstrations and led to a general strike

and a boycott of English, Japanese, and French goods. It might seem cynical, but similarly to earlier clashes with Japan in 1923 and 1924, the boycott had a positive effect, not only on Chinese producers and traders, but also on trade with Germany.³³ And indeed, during 1925, German exports to China reached almost pre-war status.

It was then that Germans were tentatively accepted back into the international community of Shanghai. In 1925, 1100 German nationals lived in Shanghai, amounting to 3% of its foreign population and less than 0.1% all inhabitants, where at that time they lived alongside 1.1 million Chinese.³⁴ In October 1925, the *North China Daily News* observed that Germans were again admitted as members of British Clubs.³⁵ The German Consul General sent this newspaper article to the German Embassy in Beijing, commenting that the English were now anxious to renew contact.³⁶ One is tempted to think that they felt the need for imperialist solidarity. For HWB, acceptance within the wider European community had already become apparent when, in December 1924, the international Paper Importers Association was established, and he became one of seven board members, the other members representing firms from Britain, the USA, and the Netherlands.³⁷ He would later be made Vice-President.³⁸

While Melchers and other firms made plans for development and investment in the future, C. G. Melchers went to Hong Kong to make the most of Hong Kong's position as a duty-free port, and HWB made a long trip to Qingdao and other northern destinations, Chiang Kai-shek had started his *Northern Expedition* from Guangzhou at exactly this time, i.e., in July 1926, with the aim of re-unifying the country. He advanced slowly, anti-foreign propaganda as well as bloody 'incidents' accompanying his progress. In March 1927, everyone in Shanghai expected a siege. Britain sent in additional troops and so did the French, the Americans, and the Japanese. There was also the Shanghai Volunteer Corps and a Home Guard ready to defend the foreign concessions. Battleships were anchored on the Huangpu river, fighter planes were on alert on the race course. Barricades were placed around the foreign enclaves, business came to a standstill. The conquest of Shanghai ended in mid-April with the *Shanghai Massacre*. But this did not affect the foreign community. Chiang's men, in conjunction with Shanghai's drugs mafia, *Green Gang*, murdered the members of their Communist allies in the campaign. Afterwards, Chiang assured the Shanghai business community that he would not infringe on their

interests—he was in need of their support and their money.

Since this was a period of war, it was also a period of arms trade. Before the First World War, Germany had been China's pre-eminent supplier of weapons. After the war, Sun Yat-sen had approached the German Foreign Office from his military government in Guangzhou (1921–1925) with an offer of support, arguing that ...

The safest way to shake off the Versailles yoke is the involvement in the build-up of a large, powerful modern army in China; and then let China speak for you.³⁹

The German specialists he had hoped for did not come (as yet; for a time, specialists from Soviet Russia filled the gap), but from 1922 Germany again sold arms to China. While in 1923, 20% of all imported weapons were shipped from ports in Germany, in 1925 the number had risen to 60%. Beijing tried to put a stop to the trade by issuing an arms embargo. The shipments continued under cover. In 1929, the international embargo was repealed, because the situation was judged to be more stable.⁴⁰ By then, Chiang Kai-shek was already recruiting German military advisors. China was now world leader in weapons' imports and Germany her most important supplier.⁴¹

The Chinese German relationship was boosted by a new trade treaty, signed in Nanjing (the Chinese capital at that time) in August 1928. It confirmed the principle of complete mutual equality, but a *most favoured nation clause* was added in which both nations pledged that in their sovereign territory they would not place one another at a disadvantage in comparison with any other nation.⁴² The treaty immediately boosted Chinese exports to Germany by 15%.⁴³

The next phase of comparative peace and prosperity was made visibly use of by the German Community Shanghai. Having restructured their communal representation, they now started to outwardly show it by constructing new buildings. One of the first opening festivities took place when, in January 1928, the new Garden Club, built by the Hungarian–Austrian architect Laszlo Hudec, opened its doors on Avenue Haig. But when they planned and built the new school and community hall, this new building (on the corner of Great Western Road and Avenue Haig, today Yan'an Road West and Huashan Road) was to show that Germany adopted new ideas: the Architect Busch had designed a complex in modern international style.

While planning and building, the community used every opportunity to celebrate, with a ground-breaking ceremony in July 1928, the laying of the foundation stone in October, and an inauguration ceremony the following year in May. As if that was not enough, there was a ceremony to celebrate the re-erection of the Iltis monument in the school yard one month later, in June 1929.⁴⁴

Melchers also contributed to the round of ceremonies. In 1928, the foundation stone was laid for a new 'godown'⁴⁵ and, in May 1929, this new godown on Broadway East (near Chaufoong Road) was ready for a festive inauguration. The building had a wide front facing the Huangpu river; it was six storeys high and free-standing for access. It was built of reinforced concrete and fitted with all 'mod cons' like modern fire protection, an electric lift, and a ramp up to the roof. The warehouse was built for storing imported goods, but also for sorting and controlling goods (like tobacco or rhubarb) prior to export. Passengers' luggage and goods to be conveyed by the North German Lloyd would also be put in storage there. The opening ceremony on 27 May 1929 (only two days after the new school building had been opened) with addresses by the acting German Consul General and the Chairman of the German Chamber of Commerce⁴⁶ was presided over by Adolf Widmann, Partner of Melchers China, and attended by the architect Busch (who had also designed the school), guests from the business community, compradores, partners, and employees. An article in the *China Press* mentions—as Widmann had probably done in his speech—that ...

The original site of Melchers & Co., comprising of offices and godowns, was on the French Bund, but in 1917 it was confiscated by the French authorities and sold.

It was a proud day when the China firm could report to the partners in Bremen that "*Melchers' banner streams again over the Huangpu.*"

In 1929, with 319 firms residing in China (70 in Shanghai), Germany had finally regained its share in China's foreign trade. There were the Chamber of Commerce, the reorganized Community, two Clubs, the Amateur Dramatic Society (inaugurated in 1925 with HWB as its chairman), several benevolent funds, and, to show it, the new German Centre. Germans had regained their standing within the international community and, in the spring of 1929, they had

even been allowed back as participants in the Shanghai rowing club's boat races. A newspaper article in August 1930 featured the headline "*Getting back the Ground They Lost. Interesting Revival of the German Community*" and it said,

... in spite of its comparative (sic) small forces ... Germany has become a powerful and important factor in commercial trade in and with China and has well re-established its former friendly and extensive relations with the Chinese nation.⁴⁷

In the early days, this had been invited by a keen sense of justice on the part of the Chinese people and the loyalty of the Chinese business community. In the years to follow, the loyalty of Germans living in China was with the Chinese people against Japanese aggression, although the fascist government in Germany would decide otherwise.

At this particular moment in history, the Chinese future also looked quite bright. Following promises given in conjunction with the 30 May protests, mixed courts had been abolished, three seats in the SMC were taken by Chinese members and, in January 1929, China was conceded her customs' regime.⁴⁸ It seemed as if those were steps towards regaining sovereignty.

In Germany, the 1920s are now called the 'Golden Twenties.' We have seen that everything 'golden' for German inhabitants of China during those years, they owed to individual Chinese tolerance, kindness, and cooperation during and after the First World War.

Christine Maiwald studied German Philology and History of Art. She served in the cultural administrations of London and Hamburg. While based in Hamburg, she also worked at the Museum für Kunst und Gewerbe (Museum of Applied Arts) and was Deputy Director of the Museum für Völkerkunde (Museum of Ethnology). Since her retirement she has done research in archives in Germany and Shanghai. Currently, she is preparing a book about the German experience in China on the eve of globalisation.

This paper was given as an Explore Shanghai Heritage lecture at the German General Consulate in Shanghai in November 2016. The insights are part of the author's research into the biography of Hermann W. Breuer, her great uncle. Breuer (1884–1973) lived in Shanghai from 1906 to 1952.



Source materials:

Archives

BA ZLA Bundesarchiv, Akten der Heimatauskunftstelle

EZA Evangelisches Zentralarchiv Berlin, ZA 5121/13

GSTA PK Geheimes Staatsarchiv Preußischer Kulturbesitz

MA Archiv C. Melchers & Co. KG, Bremen.

PA AA: Politisches Archiv des Auswärtigen Amtes, Berlin.

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North China Herald

Der Ostasiatische Lloyd

Periodicals

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Endnotes

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2 *North China Herald*, 7 December 1918. From 15 January 1919, enemy telephones were being confiscated. *Municipal Gazette*, 4 January 1919, in: Die Ausweisung der Deutschen aus China p. 144.

3 Liu, W., 2011, *op. cit.*, p. 70.

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- 10 PA AA 15 December 1925, German General Consulate to Foreign Ministry Berlin.
- 11 PA AA R85450, p. L463962, Frederking, 15 September 1919.
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- 13 BA ZLA 7–34/116, pp. 4–5; Breuer, 1941, History of Melchers (125th anniversary).
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- 21 21 May 1921, *North China Daily News*.
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- 23 MA: Firma Melchers Kasten 1, 1.1. Geschäftsinhaber und Teilhaber, 1.1.1. Firma Melchers & Co., Bremen, Mapped 3, Karl Lindemann. Memoiren 1958, pp. 24–25.
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- 26 Participants: USA, Japan, China, France, Britain, Italy, Belgium, the Netherlands, and Portugal.
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- 28 Father: Gustav Adolf Melchers, partner 1894–1899.
- 29 A German community was first re-constituted on 25 March 1921; there were 139 members.
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- 32 Import Compradore Simpson Sung. MA, Fotoarchiv Firma 2, Fotoalbum Melchers & Co. China 1925 .
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- 48 ... lost in 1842.

THE SCRIBE OF RUSSIAN SHANGHAI:

Vladimir Zhiganov and his perennial masterpiece

BY KATYA KNYAZEVA^a

“We are not in exile, we are on a mission.”

—Nina Berberova

ABSTRACT

Vladimir Zhiganov (1896–1978)—photographer, archivist, author, and philanthropist—lived his professional life amid the Russian diaspora in Shanghai, China, and his energies were singularly devoted to his community. He produced only one work: an illustrated atlas, *Russians in Shanghai*, published in 1936. Few histories are as fundamental to the study of their subject as is this book. It is a photographic index of Russian people, organisations, and businesses in Shanghai, and it remains the most comprehensive and, in many respects, the sole source of information on the diaspora prior to the Second World War. Zhiganov was his community’s only biographer, but his own career remains enigmatic, and the only accounts we have of his life are his own. This essay traces the rise of the Russian community as reflected in Zhiganov’s definitive historical portrait of Shanghai’s ‘Little Russia,’ and examines the early years of Communist Shanghai through the eyes of the last remaining Russians.

INTRODUCTION

Vladimir Zhiganov¹ (1896, Khabarovsk–1978, Sydney)—photographer, archivist, author, and self-styled philanthropist—lived his professional life amid the Russian diaspora in Shanghai, China, and his energies were singularly devoted to his community. The pace of his activity was relentless, but he produced only one work—an illustrated atlas of the Russians in Shanghai, published in 1936. Few histories are as fundamental to the study of their subject as is Zhiganov’s atlas. The book is a photographic index of people, organisations, and businesses in Russian Shanghai, and it remains the most comprehensive and, in many respects, the sole source of information on the diaspora prior to the Second World War. Zhiganov was his community’s only biographer; he was also perpetually in debt and in conflict with

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everyone around him. He was entirely dedicated to the celebration of his compatriots, who were oddly circumspect regarding him. The only accounts we have of Zhiganov's life are his own; no one else ever acknowledged the man in any memoir, press, or print. His historical portrait of Shanghai's 'Little Russia' is definitive, but his own career remains enigmatic.

The Russian community in Shanghai emerged in the early 1920s with the arrival of a decimated Czarist fleet from Vladivostok. In the following years, more Russians relocated from China's north. By 1940, the community had reached a peak population of about 25,000. About 80% of the refugees were ethnically Russian,² but the boundaries of the Russian Empire had included territories populated by the Polish, Czech, Jewish, Greek, Latvian, Estonian, Lithuanian, German, Armenian, Georgian, Ukrainian, Tartar, Hungarian, and other ethnicities. When they converged in Shanghai, they considered themselves Russian, while simultaneously engaging in associations which varied along the lines of faith, ethnicity, and politics. The scale and characteristics of the diaspora remained vague to its members, who mostly saw their exile as temporary.

In Shanghai, residential and business directories (*Hongs*), published twice a year, were full of Russian names ending with -eff, -off, -sky, and -ich, but there were also large numbers of exiles with uncharacteristic last names. Motivated to end their statelessness, Russian women married foreigners and adopted new citizenship. The society pages in the *North China Daily News* were filled with wedding announcements, like the marriage of Miss Vera Candiba to the British officer George Rouse, of Angela Kriloff to Raymond Besset of Massachusetts, or of the shoemaker's daughter Selina Toochinsky to the French Baron Reginald d'Auxion de Ruffe. Hundreds of other, more modest marriages went unpublicized in press. Many Russians became naturalized Chinese citizens.

Large numbers of Russian children attended French, German, and English schools in the foreign settlements. While some maintained a Russian linguistic identity, many grew up in homes where Russian was intentionally not spoken; frequently, parents reasoned that the future of their children lay the West, not back in Russia. Having settled in Shanghai, the refugee community was integrating and even dissolving in the complex fabric of the cosmopolitan port. It took a certain obsessive investigative chauvinism to identify and record only the

'Russian' characteristics and genealogy among Shanghai's refugees—but obsessive documentation was Zhiganov's métier.

MUTUAL MEDICAL ASSISTANCE SOCIETY

The methodical intelligence Zhiganov provided about other people contrasts with the chaotic sequence of annoyances and miracles by which he narrates his own life. He emerged from the horrific battles of the First World War unscathed. He narrowly escaped imprisonment by the Bolsheviks. He found himself trapped in Shanghai for 38 years. He witnessed the formation and dissolution of the Russian community, the Japanese occupation, the war, and the arrival of the Communists. He was one of the very few Russians left behind in Shanghai after Liberation and able to give an account of life as a foreigner in Communist China.

Vladimir Zhiganov was born in 1896 in an officer's family and grew up in Port Arthur, Chefoo, and central Russia. Having joined the Russian army in 1914 as a volunteer, he fought on the western front during the First World War, then joined the anti-Bolshevik White Army and retreated with it all the way across Siberia. After the civil war, he remained an inveterate Czarist and one of the last White officers to openly wear his epaulets in Soviet Vladivostok. In 1922, after working as a poster artist in Harbin and a Bible teacher in Vladivostok, Zhiganov became involved in a commercial fishing enterprise in Kamchatka. In 1925 Soviet authorities arrested him for anti-Bolshevik activities and put him on a ship bound for Vladivostok. During a stopover in Hakodate, Japan, Zhiganov managed to mix with a crowd of fishermen and escape. After four months in Japan, Zhiganov boarded a ship for Shanghai.

He landed in Shanghai on 25 December 1925. He was ready to start a new life, away from Russia—and from Russians. Unexpectedly, in 'the faraway, foreign city' he found thousands of his compatriots, many of whom he already knew. He duly registered as a 'White Russian' in the Emigrants' Committee, the extra-legal body which managed the affairs of the exiles, and found work as a night watchman in an English company (most probably, Jardin, Matheson & Co.). By 1927, Zhiganov's younger brother, Georgy, found his way out of Communist Russia and joined Vladimir at the same company.

Zhiganov's sense of civic mission was inflamed after he fell sick and had to spend several days in a Russian charity hospital.



Figure 1: Zhiganov (centre) unloading fish in Kamchatka, 1922.
(*Review of the Past*, No. 14, p. 151)

“Having tried their garbage-like soup and frozen in the unheated room, I felt deeply the poor emigrants’ plight.”³

In 1928 the former officer and fisherman started the Mutual Medical Assistance Society, so that “*none of us would have to pawn his or her golden crucifix to pay the doctor anymore.*”⁴ He set the minimal membership fee at one dollar a month. The poorest members were entitled to free medical services, while those with a steady income paid reduced doctor’s fees. Russian doctors and hospitals collaborated with the Society, which provided a range of medical services from dentistry to hospice care. Laboratories offered the members tests at discounted rates, while family doctors allocated work hours for house calls.

Zhiganov anticipated that Society membership fees would eventually pay for the construction of a large free hospital, an affordable pharmacy, and a public summer resort in Qingdao. To recruit new sponsors, he frequented charity balls, dinners, and celebrations, where he was identified as a particularly tenacious panhandler. He also stalked addresses where Russians lived, going door to door and enquiring with Chinese owners whether any Russians were living there:

If the Chinese answered ‘yu’ and pointed at the door,
I would go in, introduce myself and try to persuade the

residents to join the Society.⁵

Soliciting fees from households in the evenings, after seven-hour shifts as a watchman, took all of Zhiganov's free time, so he quit his job and plunged full-time into the Society administration. By spring 1929, over 1200 adults and 600 children were listed as members.

The Society never thrived. A third of the contributing members failed to pay their fees. The majority of Russians were unable to afford any kind of monthly payment. Some made the minimal contribution to get a free visit to the dentist, but "*upon learning that the Society was not yet rich enough to offer golden crowns, they would quit.*"⁶ Zhiganov expected the Society to become sustainable if membership reached 3000, but this goal was never attained.

One delays his membership until we open a hospital; the other one will not join until we hire an ophthalmologist; the third one wants his favorite doctor; the fourth never falls ill and does not want to pay the membership fees; the fifth has left because we could not provide free X-ray; [...] the eighth has left because she was not elected a vice-chairperson; the ninth was disappointed when she did not get free tickets to the masked ball; the tenth did not pay his fees for a year in spite of having a steady job. The members would leave, fall ill, come back and ask to join the Society again.⁷

"*Oh the humiliations I suffered on this job!*" Zhiganov recalled forty years later, writing from Australia.

One time I rode my bike all the way to the edge of the city, to visit one Russian lady and get her to pay me one dollar. She only counted as a lady because she married a French police sergeant, when in fact she was barely literate. Her Chinese 'boy' opened the door and told me: 'Missy sleep.' She had danced all night long in the French Club, and he refused to wake her. I turned around and rode my bike to the opposite part of the city to collect more fees. I came back by noon, and her 'boy' told me: 'Missy chow.' That is, she is having lunch, and during the meals she never touches the money because it is filthy. When I came back

again at four the 'boy' informed me: 'Missy go.'⁸

On another occasion, Zhiganov helped place a poor member of the Society in the prestigious Country Hospital free of charge. Three days later he paid him a visit and asked how things were. The patient replied:

I like the hospital alright, but I don't like the English food. All these chocolate cakes and coffee, I cannot stand them. I prefer borscht and buckwheat cereal.

After three weeks in the hospital, the fastidious Russian recovered, but when Zhiganov reminded him of his membership fees, the former patient claimed poverty and asked to be sent back to the hospital. Eventually, the patient slammed the door in Zhiganov's face.

The Society limped on for two years. In the meantime, the Russian expatriate community was growing larger and richer, and competing charities flourished. Endorsed by the Orthodox Church, military unions, and merchant associations, they offered shelter, meals, medical treatment, and education to disadvantaged compatriots. Generous one-off donations for a particular cause and the patronage of figures of authority proved a better mechanism for charity among the Russians than the equal distribution of cost that Zhiganov had envisioned. He resigned in January 1931 and resolved to never do public work again. Without him, the Society dissolved within a month.

THE NEW MISSION

The summer of 1931 was unbearably hot. Most foreigners and their families had abandoned the city and headed to summer resorts. Commercial and social life seemed to stop. Vladimir Zhiganov was in his room on the second floor above a little Russian store on the Avenue du Roi Albert. He was broke and owed several months' rent. As he looked around his room, he noticed a stack of illustrated supplements to Russian dailies, *Shanghai Zaria* and *Slovo*. He had been saving the pages with portraits of prominent Russians, as a souvenir of his time in Shanghai.

And then the idea struck me. I do not need to look for work. These photographs will give me work and money. I will produce an album about Russians in Shanghai.⁹

This new endeavour was meant to be small and commercial: several pages of portraits and brief profiles of the most influential and wealthy Russians and a page-long overview on the state of the community. Although there were no millionaires among Shanghai's Russian entrepreneurs, Zhiganov believed that dozens were close to this mark, and they would be the subjects of the album.¹⁰ He calculated that, at a price of five dollars, he could easily sell several thousand copies in Shanghai, Harbin, Changchun, as well as in Europe and North America.

With a notebook, a pencil, and twenty cents in his pocket, Vladimir Zhiganov stepped out of his house on the Avenue du Roi Albert and walked south, towards Avenue Joffre. Since his arrival in 1925, an enormous change had come to this part of Shanghai, once disparaged as 'the Arabian desert' in local Russian-language periodicals. Articles recalled that around 1925 Avenue Joffre was ...

a dusty country road sparsely dotted with bungalows,¹¹
"there were fewer than five Russian shops, [...] no neon
ads, no shop displays of quality undergarments and no
Tkachenko's Café."¹²

By 1931, the neighbourhood had blossomed. Gone were the two-story 'bungalows' set back from the street, once inhabited by Belgian and Spanish missionaries, French exporters, and American traders. In



Figure 2: Anna Iskandrian's store in Grosvenor Gardens.
(University of Wisconsin System © The Board of Regents; National Geographic Society)

their place, commercial façades lined both sides of the thoroughfare. Behind them, new residential lane house compounds (Russians called them 'passages') were filling up with Russian residents, who were arriving from Manchuria at a rate of about a thousand people a year.¹³

The corner of Avenue Joffre and Avenue du Roi Albert became a destination after the construction of the Parc des Sports, also known as the Auditorium ('Promoters of Pelote Basque, Sound and Talking Pictures, Boxing, Skating, Athletic Games, etc.').¹⁴ Buildings fronted with Russian stores lined the street. Behind them was the grid of almost 200 townhouses, called Joffre Terrace. The majority of these houses with miniature walled-in gardens had middle-class Chinese residents, but over 50 Russians lived here as well, among them the well-known painter Victor Podgoursky and the police detective and spy Vladimir Kedrolivansky (also known as Eugene Pick and Hovans). On the north side of Avenue Joffre, past a small cluster of Russian shops and offices, the Chinese-owned Far Eastern Butchery and an American gas station, there was another sports emporium, the Cercle Sportif Français, built in 1926.

In the French Concession, roads had been laid out before any buildings were built or planned. A construction boom marked the beginning of the 1930s and new houses filled the empty lots. The intersection of Avenue Joffre with Route Cardinal Mercier became the cultural centre of the French Concession, anchored by the new Cathay Theatre. Stretching north along Route Cardinal Mercier,¹⁵ the new commercial and residential strip, called Grosvenor Gardens, was filling up with tenants. When Zhiganov started his project in 1931, fashion and cosmetics boutiques with Russian, French, German, and Dutch proprietresses had begun to claim these storefronts. Among them was the atelier of Nina Gingeroff, whose Salon Des Modes had operated at various locations in Shanghai since 1926. Responding to the emergence of a new prestige retail area, she moved her boutique into a double storefront at Grosvenor Gardens. New York's latest fashions displayed in huge glass vitrines received regular coverage in the press.¹⁶

Gingeroff's level of success was an exception among Russians in the garment trade, who were mostly at-home tailors, but a fair number did rise to prominence. Among them were Anna Iskandrian (the owner of Scarlett Gowns in Grosvenor Gardens and the official representative of the luxury brand Elisabeth Bock), Tamara Linoff

(the owner of Maison Arcus in Hamilton House) and Eleanora Garnett, who climbed out of abysmal poverty to become the darling of Shanghai's fashionable elite. Targeting Western clientele, Russian businesses assumed European-sounding names, like Maison Lucile, Grand Magazins de Paris, and Femina Silks. However, the majority of Russian tailors served their native community, operated from homes (or shared storefronts with other businesses) and never expanded the scope of operations past their alleyway.

When Zhiganov began his investigation, Russian tenancy and commerce concentrated on four blocks along Avenue Joffre, from the Avenue du Roi Albert to the Rue du Lieutenant Pétiot.¹⁷ If one walked past the modernist corner of the Cathay Theatre eastwards on Avenue Joffre, the streetscape became indistinguishable from a Czarist-era town in central Russia, with its interrupted row of stores with striped canopies and Cyrillic signs. Next to the Cathay, the signage in the windows of Piotr Grigorieff's fashion store promised moderate prices and timely arrivals of English woolens and French angora for tailor-made dresses and coats. Further east, the Shanghai branch of the old, established Harbin textile emporium Petroff & Co offered a range of "*woolen, silk and cotton piece-goods*,"¹⁸ and also positioned itself as "*the only place to find ready-for-wear suits and dress, as well as moleskin, mink and leopard fur coats*."¹⁹ Next in line was Avenue Joffre Flower Shop of Mrs A. P. Medem, one of the few confirmed aristocrats among the Russians. The next course of shop windows belonged to the Haberdashery of Leontiy Baranovsky's, an old-timer in Russian Shanghai.

Like other successful Russian entrepreneurs, the store's proprietors came to Shanghai with some capital, having prospered in Vladivostok and Harbin. Arriving in 1923, Leontiy Baranovsky first opened a small shop near Shanghai port, and then moved his business to the French Concession following his clientele's gradual relocation. By 1934, he operated a large storefront at a prime location on Avenue Joffre, with five floor-to-ceiling windows. The haberdashery sold English wool, Chinese silk, Indian cotton, and European lace sourced directly from its manufacturers. Fabric could be turned into coats, suits, dresses, and children's garments directly on the premises; there were also sections for ready-for-wear men's clothing and accessories.

To include Baranovskys' business in his album, Zhiganov paid him several visits. He interviewed the owner and wrote down his history. He

Русскія Коммерческія предприятия в Шанхаѣ. Мануфактурно-Галантерейный Магазин Л.Я.Барановскаго.

Фигура Л. Я. Барановскаго, владельца, на первом плане для удобства посетителя изображена на небольшом предмете (оформленном как статуя и 1705 г. — старинный магазин на Бродской, магазин Л. Я. Барановскаго, основан в 1875 г., в 1927 году перешел на Ивана Кутуза и волею судьбы, впрочем, в 1928 году перешел на Ивана Кутуза, в котором по настоящее время находится).

В 1928 году, когда и это изображение служило основой для прославленного предприятия его владельца Л. Я. Барановскаго снимает рисунок со своим названием



Здание Л. Я. Барановскаго Магазин на Бродской улице.
Для удобства посетителя на первом плане изображена статуя.



Галантерейный отдел магазина Л. Я. Барановскаго.

показывает в таком образе имеет закончено описание его предприятия.

Пять отделов: мануфактурный, галантерейный и бумажный, магазинный, ювелирный и отдел для большого стада; сами деловые порядки и устава галантерейного отдела в заключение статьи, что во втором разделе и третьем, магазин Л. Я. Барановскаго является самым большим русским мануфактурным и галантерейным магазином в Шанхайском Китае.



Семья и работники Л. Я. Барановскаго Магазина в Шанхае.
На первом плане: Барановский, магазин Л. Я. Барановскаго.



Мануфактурный отдел магазина Л. Я. Барановскаго.

Figure 3: Page 163 from the book *Russians in Shanghai*, featuring Baranovsky's Haberdashery

made him pose for a photograph at the door of his store. He arranged 17 people—from the proprietors’ family to the last ‘boy’—to pose inside the store, in front of shelves overflowing with bolts of fabric. The illustrated write-up on Baranovsky’s business became the first in a sequence of 32 pages that represented 60 of the most important Russian enterprises, complete with their addresses, photographs of their exteriors, the history of their development, and information on their owners. Among them there were clothing, jewelry, fur, and shoe stores; pharmacies and beauty parlors; retailers of household goods and providers of services; bakeries, restaurants, vodka distilleries, and sausage factories. Additionally, Zhiganov designed several pages of small portraits and brief biographies of 82 merchants and business owners. He named this survey ‘Russian Industry and Commerce in Shanghai.’

As the project progressed, the book developed a new emphasis.

It became evident that it was text, not photographs, that would set the tone for the book – the text that would make the Russian heart rejoice one hundred, two hundred and one thousand years later.²⁰

The commercial incentive for the production of the album gave way to a preoccupation with creating an “*historical monument to the Russian diaspora*.” Zhiganov had forgotten his resolution to eschew civic-minded ventures. He now set himself to chronicle the Russians’ exile from Communist Russia and their tortuous path to Shanghai, their struggle for survival, their outstanding self-reliance, and tenaciousness in the face of powerlessness and poverty.

More sections were added to the book. The first one traced the dangerous voyage of the White Russian fleet from Vladivostok to Shanghai, with a separate page on the Far Eastern Cossacks. The next 10 pages were devoted to the Russian Orthodox Church in Shanghai: biographies of the clergy, histories and photographs of every Shanghai building that had ever served as a Russian prayer hall. Zhiganov decided to omit the numerous mosques, synagogues, temples, gurdwaras, Lutheran, Catholic, Baptist, and Presbyterian churches where exiles of the Russian Empire prayed, married, and received the last farewell from the community.

The author’s personal preferences and experiences informed the order of the chapters and their level of detail. The work of Russian watchmen and bodyguards received an expansive section, complete with the breakdown of ranks and salaries. An overview of Russian benevolent societies included a lengthy and emotional history of the Mutual Medical Assistance Society (somewhat out of proportion as regards its effect on the community). A detailed survey of Russian schools and four pages of portraits of emigrants’ children and babies (nude, posed, dressed up for masked balls) was followed by sections on Russian literary workers, musicians, artists, sculptors, and theatre actors in Shanghai.

Zhiganov recorded that for the first two years he worked 14 to 16 hours a day, every day, even on Sundays. He set aside his domestic troubles,

with what to fill the stomach, where to find money to buy photographs, how to order printing blocks, how to pay the

typography for printing and where to store the expensive paper (I ended up filling my whole room with three tons of paper).

He had to keep his mind on what he considered essential:

The relic of what saint was laid at the foundation of the Orthodox Cathedral? Who was the first director of the Russian Commercial College? What English spelling of his name does the activist Ivanoff prefer? What year did Petroff's textile company open in Harbin? Who was the first Russian Consul in Shanghai?²¹

Working completely alone, he spent an entire month just on research for a two-page essay on Russian industry and commerce. In addition to doing all the investigation and writing, he added about 1600 photographs to the manuscript. He commissioned portraits of prominent Russians at George Photo Studio, bought ready-made city views from Denniston & Sullivan and Ah Fong Studios, and took photographs of family celebrations, public holidays, charity balls, and weddings. He developed his photographs, printed, and retouched them at home.

Progress on the book was slow and there were countless setbacks. On one occasion, Zhiganov lost the notebook where he had collected English spellings of the names of about 800 Russians; his public appeal, begging the subjects to submit the information again, published in a local newspaper, yielded only one response. On another occasion, he decided to include the full names of Russian elementary school students on the class group portraits taken two years earlier. In an attempt to track down the names, he repeatedly circled the city, relying on vague directions from neighbourhood children:

If you go to so-and-so street, you'll find a friend of that student on the picture, and he might remember her name.²²

The Russian Shanghai that Zhiganov was documenting was constantly changing. In addition to the old Russian-inhabited lane compound Linda Terrace, at 833 Avenue Joffre, new compounds were becoming majority Russian as well, like Harmony Terrace and

Louis Terrace, built in 1934 next to Joffre Terrace. Spreading in all directions from the central blocks of Avenue Joffre, Russians came to dominate Route de Grouchy, Rue Bourgeat, and Route Vallon (the latter was nicknamed 'Nahalovka,' or 'The Squats'). Newcomers from Harbin were relocating their businesses with them. New stores and production facilities were opening, old ones expanding, changing hands, or closing. The Tchakalian brothers' French Bakery opened several outlets around the city and became the leader among Russian bakeries in turnover and, eventually, in longevity. Tkachenko's Restaurant, the sacred institution for the Russians, moved into a new building and immediately collapsed under its debt, just before the book was released, rendering obsolete the whole page dedicated to it. Zhiganov created a new 'General Section' at the end of the book to include previously uncovered personalities and events, like the page dedicated to Feodor Chaliapin's visit to Shanghai in February 1936.

Several thousand acquaintances Zhiganov had made during his work in the Mutual Medical Assistance Society proved to be useful for research, but he had a gift for alienating his potential collaborators. In the afterword to his book, he complained that he "*had to beg for information because nobody believed in the project*" and that "*the book was produced in the atmosphere of mistrust and hostility.*" Forty years later, however, he acknowledged the help he had received in Shanghai. Several stores purchased advertising space in the future book and offered him goods on credit. The largest Russian publishing house, *Slovo*, rescued him from dire financial straits during the third year of his work and offered to print the book on credit. One hundred people prepaid 10 silver dollars each for their copies of the book. Zhiganov's landlord allowed him to live rent-free for five years.

RUSSIANS IN SHANGHAI

In April 1936, under the mounting pressure from creditors, Zhiganov released his much-anticipated book. It was a luxurious leather-bound volume of almost 300 pages, with stamped metal corners and silver-coloured cloth spine. Raised metal letters spelled *Russians in Shanghai* on the front. The cost of the production was 18,000 dollars, and at the time of the release, the author was 7000 silver dollars in debt. He had to increase the planned price from 3 to 25 dollars, at a time when "*a dinner of three courses with a shot of vodka cost 40 cents,*" and a volume by a classical Russian writer cost four dollars.²³ The book sold slowly,



Figure 4: Title page of *Russians in Shanghai*

and most buyers chose to pay in installments. Of the 1100 copies that Zhiganov had printed, he managed to sell about 700, which barely allowed him to pay off his debts. Later, during the war, Russians were not in a position to buy expensive books, and the remaining 400 copies were left unbound.

The atlas was not finished to Zhiganov's satisfaction. He had planned to include a long essay on the Russian theatre, but this plan went unrealised in spite of an enormous amount of preparatory work: he indexed 2500 issues of *Shanghai Zaria* and copied all references to Russian performances, stage direction, and actors.²⁴ Another comprehensive essay, on Russian press and literary work, also never materialised. Many pages were missing at the end of the Industry and Commerce section, where Zhiganov planned to add more businesses and personal profiles. He ended up adding a framed notice to the last page, promising to print and send the new pages to everyone who had purchased the book.

Omissions notwithstanding, the book was obsessively comprehensive and diverse. There are biographies and portraits of the Greek pastry chef Kyriaco Dimitriades (owner of the Astoria confectionary), of Polish hairdresser Joseph Wziontek (owner of Jan's Beauty Parlour), and of Armenian photographer George Odjagyan (of George Photo Studio). Many influential exiles were ethnic Germans: the former Russian Consul Victor Grosse, the Vice-Consul Karl Metzler, the furrier Summer Fluss, the sausage maker Adolf Lang, the pharmacist Hugo Baruksen, the doctor Georg von Bergmann, and many others. Russian Jews were numerous among furriers (Grigory Klebanoff, Moisey Lipkovsky, Isay Goldwasser, Aron Peisahov, A. Blackman, and others), pharmacists (Osip Goldberg, Benjamin Shmulevsky, Harion Shohor, Mikhail Ioffe), doctors (Semion Furstenberg, Semion Helfenstein, Isabella Goldberg, Samolik Ioffik, Ida Leiboshetz, etc.), jewelers (Anatoly Beerbayer, A. Ginzburg), beauticians and hairdressers (Sam W. Levy, Jacob Rosenbaum), as well as among all other occupations (the photographer Sam Sanzetti, the wholesaler Wladimir Zimmerman, the bookseller Boris Rimmerman, the wine importer Isaak Mechik, the baker Mikhail Halian, and others).

The book is also filled with Zhiganov's idiosyncrasies. The section on the Russian visual arts begins with an essay decrying the waning interest in classical painting. The author blames ...

the propensity of the Shanghai public to furnish their apartments in the 'modern style' that prescribes decorating the walls with framed photographs instead of paintings.

He goes on to observe that, luckily, the fascination with art deco is on the wane. A gallery of portraits and biographies of 35 artists follows the essay, starting with Georgy Sapojnikoff, a.k.a. Sapajou, the famous cartoonist of the *North China Daily News*. Not only was Sapajou the most popular Russian in Shanghai, he was also one of the first to arrive, having landed in 1920. As an organising principle, Zhiganov deemed the order of arrival in Shanghai far more important than accomplishment or celebrity. Biographies in the book tend to highlight the qualities peculiarly relevant to the Russian community: Sapajou is represented as a former White Army officer, then as a founding member of the Cossacks' Union, and then as a philanthropist.

Sapajou, incidentally, owned the publishing house *Slovo* that printed Zhiganov's *opus magnum*.

The line-up of painters and sculptors includes many personalities known outside of the diaspora. Victor Podgoursky, at the top of his fame, is introduced as the designer of the dome mosaic of the HSBC building on the Bund, but his authorship of the glass mosaics and greyhound ornaments in the Cathay House is not mentioned; this information might not have been available to Zhiganov. Another famous painter, Vladimir Tretchikoff, the 'world's first pop artist,' was captured at the beginning of his global career: the 21-year-old had just completed his five-year stint in Shanghai as an apprentice of the classical oil painter Mikhail Kichigin. He had also worked as the cartoonist for the *Shanghai Evening Post* and as designer of advertisements. In Shanghai in the 1930s, art and advertising departments of foreign companies were mostly staffed with Russians.

Tretchikoff proposed his design for the title page for Zhiganov's book, but the author chose the work of the traditional oil painter Nicolay Zadorojny, who had a predilection for religious and historic imagery. The title page features a portrait of a solemn Russian maiden in a folk crown decorated with pearls. She is resting her arms on the Cyrillic letters for *Russians in Shanghai* that rise like skyscrapers behind the Bund skyline. An ethereal Kremlin fortress floats in the sky behind the maiden's shoulders. Two flags, one for the Russian Empire and one for the Shanghai Russian Regiment, surround a laurel wreath emblazoned with the symbols of various cardinal vocations: a caliper, a caduceus, a torch, a sword, and a lyre.

The book also devotes pages to the work of Russian sculptors. The most successful of these was Yakov Lehonos, whose work can be seen on many Shanghai buildings. Zhiganov included many lesser-known sculptors as well. The biography of Mrs Isabella Karsnitsky, printed under her portrait, informs the readers that she designed the flamboyant sculptures of Hermes, Eros, and Aphrodite on the tower of the Central Post Office, completed bronze ornaments for the War Memorial on the Bund, and authored "*hundreds of memorial busts and bronze bas-reliefs.*"

There is a relative lack of distinction given to Russian architects, who are scattered in the Arts, Charity, and Industry sections along with general contractors, civil engineers, and interior decorators. It appears that Zhiganov did not have contacts among professionals,

especially those who worked in foreign companies, and so he failed to attribute many buildings to Russian architects. Alexander Yaron, the most successful and prolific among them, appears in the Charity section of the book as a church benefactor. His largest architectural projects are acknowledged (St. Nicholas Church and the ballroom of the Majestic Hotel), but his authorship of a handful of famous apartment houses and lane compounds is omitted. Zhiganov might not have been aware that Yaron had designed Linda Terrace (1925), Washington Apartments and West Park Mansions (both 1928), Bishop Apartments (1932), and a number of urban villas. Vladimir Livin-Goldenstaedt, Shanghai resident since 1922 and the architect of Astrid Apartments (1933), is absent from the book altogether. Also missing is Alexander Reyer, whose firm completed the general works and plumbing service in Astor House, Majestic Hotel, and Country Club, and built Cavendish Court and a number of factories, wharves, and godowns. Reyer is only mentioned in passing, as an important donor for the Orthodox Cathedral (which was still under construction at the time of the book's printing).

In his research, Zhiganov relied exclusively on oral testimony and the local Russian press; otherwise he would have known that Reyer was the only Russian included in the directory *Men of Shanghai and North China* (1933) by George W. Nellist. That publication listed such celebrities as Du Yuesheng, T. V. Soong, and George 'Tug' Wilson, among other "men of all races and creeds who, in various fields of endeavor, have contributed in some substantial measure to the material and cultural advancement of Shanghai and North China."²⁵ But unlike the chauvinist *Men of Shanghai*, Zhiganov's book could never be entitled *Russian Men of Shanghai*, for since the establishment of the diaspora, women worked, created jobs, and were often the sole breadwinners of their families. Russian professional women are widely represented in the book as business owners, artists, writers, actors, doctors, and charity activists.

The section on industry and commerce was the most prominent, and it had a lasting impact on the scholarship of the Russian diaspora. The long opening essay covers the history of Russian enterprise in China. Biographies of various businessmen were frequently narratives of intrepid transformation: from their early years as itinerant vendors who took dangerous trips inland, at a risk of being robbed and killed by bandits, to becoming owners of exemplary storefronts on Avenue



Figure 5: Interior of G. M. Klebanoff's Siberian Fur Store. (*Russians in Shanghai*, p. 175)

Joffre. The most unique part of the book is, no doubt, the abundant photographic documentation of Russian businesses: to these pages we owe the most detailed views of Shanghai storefronts that ever existed.

In spite of its focus on raw data, the book is also utopian. The author does not dwell on the widespread poverty, the rampant rates of prostitution, high rates of alcoholism, crime, and suicide among the Russians. Nor does he acknowledge the escalation of Soviet propaganda and the violent political currents among the diaspora. The exalted, solemn tone of the writing suited the community, and, according to Zhiganov...

the book delighted everyone. Even those who paid in advance four years ago and called me a crook for not releasing the book were now shaking my hand and expressing their admiration. It was quite unheard of among Russians abroad: thousands of people were saying nice things about someone who was not dead. [...] Is there a higher reward than this?²⁶

The timing of the release proved auspicious. The Russian diaspora in Shanghai lasted only about 25 years, and its peak period, when high numbers of Russians were living in relative prosperity and stability, spanned less than a decade. Zhiganov's book became a snapshot of a renaissance of Russia in exile, even though it predated some of the personalities and venues that later became inseparable from the idea of Russian Shanghai: the success of the famous émigré singer Alexandr Vertinsky, the rise of Oleg Lundstrem's jazz band, the career of the dancer Larissa Andersen, and the popularity of the new venues like *Arcadia*, *Renaissance*, and the *Soviet Club*.

BLACK SATURDAY

On the afternoon of 14 August 1937, Zhiganov and his friend, the painter Nikolay Noskoff, had lunch near the Bund and then went to the river's edge to look at the Japanese armoured cruiser Izumo, anchored in the Huangpu River. All morning, the Chinese warplanes had been trying to hit it with bombs, but the most they achieved was to send giant waves splashing onto the embankment.²⁷ The two Russians found themselves in the company of a "*half a million Chinese*" who had been driven out of the northern district and were now squatting on the Bund. As more Chinese bombers flew over the river, the Izumo launched a deafening fusillade of anti-aircraft fire, and the refugee crowd ran away from the riverbank in a panic.

My friend Noskoff could not stand this hell any longer and dragged me away from the Bund. I proposed we run toward Nanking Road and wait between the Palace Hotel and the Cathay Hotel: I thought it would be an excellent place to continue watching the Chinese fight the Japanese, with Izumo less than 400 paces away from us. So we joined thousands of refugees and ran toward Nanking Road.

Before they reached the corner the warplanes were already overhead, and Zhiganov heard an invisible voice ordering him to "*get down.*" He obeyed the voice, and crouched among the refugees, ducking his head. After half a minute he got up and dashed towards the hotels again, unaware of the bombs that had been released from the planes. Before he could reach his observation place on Nanking Road, the first bomb had exploded there, killing dozens of people who happened to be between the entrances of the two hotels. The second bomb damaged the roof of the Cathay.

By then the friends had separated, and Zhiganov decided to go home. Hesitant to take the "*corpse-strewn Nanking Road,*" he ran around the Palace Hotel, stopping on the way to carry some injured girl into a shop. This delay saved his life for the second time that afternoon. Following the widest street in Shanghai, Avenue Edward VII, together with a large crowd, he reached the Racecourse and saw that two more bombs had exploded in front of the Great World amusement centre, killing hundreds and injuring thousands. It had

happened just minutes before his arrival.

Zhiganov had long believed he had a special relationship with death. When he was seven years old and living in Port Arthur, two Orthodox nuns paid a visit to his mother. One nun gave him a little icon of St. Vladimir (the Kiev prince credited with converting Russia to the Eastern Orthodox faith). She said, “*If you never lose it, you will live a long life and die an old man.*” The mother kept the icon for her son, and when 18-year-old Vladimir went to fight in the First World War as a volunteer she gave it to him. Later, Zhiganov was able to tell his mother that he was the only survivor among 12 officers of his battalion. During his fight against the Red Army in the Ural Mountains, he was the only one unharmed among his 12-strong artillery squad. Writing from Australia, Zhiganov mused:

It has been over 70 years since that encounter with the old nun in 1903, and I’ve seen a lot during these seven decades. I’ve kept the icon and survived all the altercations. God bless the memory of that pious nun.²⁸

Among those killed on the Black Saturday on 14 August 1937, there was someone Zhiganov knew—the Russian musician A. Estrin, who had been performing with the Cathay Hotel orchestra and “*stepped outside to look at the war.*”²⁹ Overall, the Japanese attack and the subsequent invasion of the Chinese areas in Shanghai seemed a distant event for Shanghai Russians; it was seen as a conflict between Asians that had no practical connection to them. Events of the following year, however, affected them deeply. In March 1938 Austrian and German Jews began to arrive in Shanghai. Within two years, they numbered in the thousands and competed directly with the Russians in crafts, medicine, commerce, and the service economy. They opened stores that attracted everyone—even Russians—with low prices. One Russian observer called this a “*reverse economic miracle.*” people without money baked cakes and tried to sell them to people who could not pay; they, in turn, made dresses and tried to sell them to the bakers who could not pay for them either.³⁰

In the years leading up to the total Japanese occupation of Shanghai, Zhiganov enjoyed a steady income as a teacher of Japanese. In the middle of 1939, he spent several months in Hokkaido and Tokyo, “*escaping Shanghai summer heat.*” He had always loved Japan,

its people, and its culture; it was a sentiment many foreigners in China had acquired since the emergence of the treaty ports and the advent of regular tourist voyages across the East China Sea. He praised Japan's "*order in all areas of life, strict discipline, courteousness to each other and visitors of the country, exemplary cleanliness, and patriotism.*"³¹

His travel notes are euphoric:

 Ginza is like a magic kingdom! Over two kilometers of the most beautiful buildings with grandiose vitrines flooded by millions of electric and neon lights. A picturesque, cheerful and – most importantly – courteous crowd. Colorful advertising, animated fiery hieroglyphs with world news, artful neon displays of the kind that our great international Shanghai has never seen. All of it charms you with its beauty.³²

 Japan's department stores are regal and grandiose, like palaces. Our Shanghai Wing-On and Sincere stores look pale and pathetic in comparison with these marble walls and balustrades, mosaics from floor to ceiling, plaster sculpture, bronze colonnades, ornaments, and crystal chandeliers. The only building in Shanghai that can compete with them is the Shanghai and Hongkong Bank.³³

In his eyes, a granite shore and asphalt highway along the Pacific Ocean surpassed the Bund. Tokyo's beer halls, resembling cozy living rooms of fine European houses, were a cut above those in Shanghai. Japan's best restaurants were so good they compared only to "*our former Majestic.*"³⁴ He was especially pleased to discover that, unlike the restaurants in Shanghai, customers in Tokyo were asked to pay after the meal, not immediately after ordering, and that tips were not expected. He was deeply impressed by the Japanese urban rail culture: cashiers always made change for passengers, and passengers, in turn, obeyed instructions:

 I imagine what would happen in Shanghai if the buses and trams stopped using their grill doors to constrain passengers.



Figure 6: With students of Tokyo University in 1940. (*Review of the Past*, No. 14, p. 149)

Among the Japanese, Zhiganov found many national traits common to Russia, such as the forfeiting of national architectural style in favour of a European neoclassicism which brought to mind Saint Petersburg, or the habit of removing one's shoes when entering the house. He condemned Chinese and Russian habits of rudeness to strangers and punitive parenting. He praised Japanese patriotism which, he believed, inspired common people towards virtuous unquestioning support of their government. He believed that the absence of this quality weakened Russia's unity and allowed it to fall prey to Bolshevism. Zhiganov did some research regarding Russian residents of Japan, who numbered about two thousand. He found that they lived mostly in Tokyo and were entrepreneurs who owned their own houses and operated clothing, deli, and jewelry shops. Russians living in the north ran fox fur farms and owned raspberry plantations, from which jam was exported to Shanghai. Russians in Japan were well off, many were rich, and almost everyone was satisfied with their new country.

Upon returning to Shanghai, Zhiganov published his impressions in both Russian and Japanese-language newspapers. He founded the 'Society for the Promotion of Study of Nipponese Language' in April 1940,³⁵ and then left for Japan again, spending most of the year in Tokyo, teaching Russian. There, he befriended a student surnamed Mito, and it was from Mito that he heard the news of Japan's occupation of French Indochina and the capitulation of the French

General-Governor:

This news was a shock to me. I felt pity for this charming country.³⁶

In November 1941, the Russian publishing house *Slovo* announced the termination of the eponymous daily newspaper after 12 years of publication and over 4000 issues. All the printing equipment that Zhiganov used to print his book was sold off. The closure of the second largest Russian newspaper had to do with *Slovo's* critical stance on Germany's war on the Soviet Union which broke out in June 1941,³⁷ an event which instantly charged and antagonised Shanghai Russians. Patriotic youths began escaping to North China, crossing the border, and tried to join the Soviet army (they were accused of espionage and perished in labour camps). Among the monarchists, to whom Zhiganov belonged, it was customary to view the Nazi invasion as the welcome liberation of Russia from Bolshevism. The 'defeatist' expatriates cheered Hitler, but Zhiganov had a different opinion:

The Germans ought to have saved Russia 20 years ago. The Red Army had to be destroyed when it consisted of red Internationalists, but not now when innocent Russian youth make up its ranks.³⁸

In August 1941 Zhiganov published a manifesto 'In Defense of the Motherland: the Chronicle and the Call for Reflection.' In the text he claimed, with the confidence of someone "*who knows the Shanghai Russians the best,*" that all young Russians and the majority of those of a more advanced age supported the USSR in the war. He condemned the Axis powers, but his faith in Japan remained unshaken:

I hope with all my heart that my treasured Japan does not turn against Russia in the same way. I want Russia and the Land of the Rising Sun to live in peace.³⁹

His wish was realised: as the Japanese gained control of Shanghai and nationals of Allied countries were being arrested, stripped of their properties, and interned in camps, Shanghai Russians—stateless and Soviet citizens—remained free, owing to the fact that the USSR and

Japan maintained neutrality throughout the European war.

Being free in wartime Shanghai meant being poor and hungry. Isolation, food shortages, and inflation were accompanied by massive unemployment, as Western-owned companies closed and their Russian employees were sacked. Many Russians chose to openly ally themselves with the Japanese, especially entrepreneurs operating clubs, bars, and restaurants which coveted the patronage of the occupying army personnel. Responding to the changing times, the long-standing Baranovsky's Haberdashery on Avenue Joffre converted to a nightclub popular with Japanese officers.⁴⁰ The café DDs, on the opposite block of Avenue Joffre, became a favourite haunt of black market brokers. The singer Alexandr Vertinsky (reduced to singing for food in the Russian restaurant *Renaissance* next door), described the DDs' clientele as "*ship commissioners, heroin addicts, bartenders from Qingdao, buyers of stolen goods, Portuguese, Chinese, and women.*"⁴¹ The scope of the brokers' interests included soap, Camel cigarettes, whiskey (made in Hongkou), bras, lighters, gold, clocks, and prostitutes. To stay afloat, the owners of DDs revitalised their kitchen by employing the cooks from the Italian ocean liner *Conte Verde* which sunk in the mouth of the Huangpu in September 1943.⁴²

At that time, Zhiganov could not afford a restaurant meal and had nothing to sell; he lived by teaching Japanese language. Still, he would frequent the pastry shop *Mignon*, on Route de Soeurs, operated by his friend from Vladivostok, Pavel Petrovsky. One morning, over a cup of tea, Petrovsky told him of the previous night's incident: a gang ripped the mink coat off a Russian woman in front of his shop. This gave Zhiganov an idea to organise a self-defense unit to patrol the streets of the central French Concession, where the majority of Russian stores were. Two hundred fifty stores signed the contract for protection, and Zhiganov hired a team of watchmen:

It was so hard to find work at that time. Among those who joined my guard (just for a piece of bread to eat) there were interesting and intelligent people – the opera tenor George Kudinoff, the general Khrushchhoff, the archdeacon Egoroff, the engineer Yudin, the voice teacher Yakimoff, the former British police inspector Voschikoff, and many others. They guarded other people's goods from dusk till dawn, in the cold and rain."⁴³

On nights with the mandated blackout, the guards walked along a route of about two kilometers long, covering seventeen blocks on Avenue Joffre and the adjacent streets, passing over 700 stores along the route. After the war, Zhiganov asked store representatives to sign a letter confirming that not a single robbery or break-in happened during the two years of the night guard's service, whereas on all other streets crime was rampant.

After the victory of the USSR over Germany, in May 1945, Shanghai Russians rejoiced, but kept their celebrations private until the end of the Pacific War; then they celebrated together with the rest of Shanghai. On 3 September 1945, the city welcomed the Guomindang troops: the streets were decorated with Nationalist flags and festive crowds were everywhere. Zhiganov and a couple of friends walked all the way to the Bund, hoping to catch a glimpse of the American fleet rumoured to be arriving. Passing a store, each of the Russians bought a Nationalist flag, red with a white star in the top corner, and waved it as they marched. The news of the Americans' arrival proved to be false, and the Russians walked back on Nanking Road. A Chinese crowd started to follow them, evidently mistaking them for recently released prisoners of internment camps. At the streetlight Zhiganov addressed the followers with a brief "*Long live Chiang Kai-shek!*" and continued marching. By the time he reached his home in the French Concession over 30,000 people were parading behind him—or so he claimed.⁴⁴ Having heard of Zhiganov's walk with a red flag, some hard-line White Russians labeled him a Communist. He, in turn, accused them of hypocrisy, pointing out an elliptically phrased ad published by one of the accusers: "*Congratulations on the great victory over the treacherous enemy. A. A. Shliapnikoff's Sausage Factory, 126–128 Route Dufour.*"

There was no more need for night patrols, and Zhiganov returned to teaching Russian, English, and Japanese to Chinese students. This was his occupation in the next 16 years. He continued living in his little apartment on the Avenue du Roi Albert, renamed South Shaanxi Road, and from his window on the second floor he watched the dramatic changes in the city. Shops around the former Avenue Joffre were closing, the Russian shop signs replaced with Chinese characters. The Russians were leaving Shanghai, heading to the West or to the USSR. Soviet propaganda worked relentlessly, luring people into mass repatriations, and Zhiganov admitted: "*The postwar patriotic hypnosis*

was about to drag me into the Soviet noose.” Many Russians leaving for the USSR bought a copy of Zhiganov’s book as a souvenir; the books would be confiscated at the Soviet border.

As the Communist People’s Liberation Army approached Shanghai, Russians frantically applied for any visa that would permit them to leave China, but many applicants failed to meet the medical criteria, since years of poverty and malnutrition made them test positive for tuberculosis. Some time in 1949, Zhiganov’s younger brother Georgy and his sister Tamara emigrated to the U.S. and settled in San Francisco. But Vladimir Zhiganov was well-known as a Japan sympathiser, and his visa was denied. The final mass exodus of Russians from Shanghai took place in spring 1949, when over 5000 refugees sailed to the Tubabao island in the Philippines. When the Communists entered Shanghai, about 400 Russians were still stranded there, and Zhiganov was among them.

NO EXIT

Having failed to get an American visa, Zhiganov applied for a visa to Australia, but with the Communists now in charge of the immigration bureaucracy, determined to right colonial wrongs and extract as much capital from the foreigners as possible, leaving China became next to impossible. Zhiganov described people receiving their coveted visas and then the Chinese authorities deliberately impeding their departure. One family he knew received their exit permits together with a two-week mandate to leave China. They sold all of their properties “*down to the last tea kettle*,” and then the authorities revoked their permits and made them wait again; in the meantime, their Australian visas expired. In the 1950s, emaciated Russian ‘leftovers’ were seen as far as the former Chinese City, attempting to peddle soap, matches, and thread.⁴⁵ The only safety net left was mutual support and camaraderie among the remaining compatriots.

Russians often lived on 10 dollars a month sent from Hong Kong by relief organisations. Food rations were introduced. They were impossibly meager, and only after a 1960 increase did Zhiganov begin to receive “*5 pounds meat, 3 pounds of fish, 3 pounds of sugar, 12 ounces of vegetable oil, 20–25 pounds of rice, and two pounds of crackers.*” Russians were allowed to exchange their rice quota for bread. (Zhiganov believed that the Chinese population could have access to bread only with a doctor’s prescription.) Foreigners were entitled to



Figure 7: Vladimir and Olga Zhiganov in Shanghai in the 1960s.
(*Review of the Past*, No. 14, p. 149)

a pound of potatoes a week, when the designated ‘foreign’ store had potatoes.⁴⁶

Chinese special police agents haunted the apartments of the remaining Russians and tried to drive them out of the country to the only available destination, the USSR. Those that still lingered in Shanghai, however, would rather gas themselves and their families than

go there. When the rumour spread that all Russians would be hauled to the open sea and drowned there, several people killed themselves. The threat did not materialise, but the oppression intensified:

The police paid daily visits and humiliated us with insulting inquiries. They checked our cooking pots to see what we eat. They did not allow us to take jobs. Writers were forbidden to publish. We had to write a report on every visit we paid to each other and describe in detail everything we talked about.⁴⁷

Zhiganov's impressions are supported by other accounts. Larissa Andersen, who appeared as a promising poet in his book, had to wait five years for her chance to leave China. She was repeatedly denied her exit visa and interrogated with a lamp pointed into her face. One of the most successful dancers in Shanghai, Larissa resigned to spend her life in loneliness and obscurity. She even considered herself lucky for having a job as a dancer in the former *Arcadia*, the last restaurant in the city to have a floorshow. Her chance to leave for Brazil evaporated as soon as she tested positive for tuberculosis. Thankfully, in 1956 she married a French citizen, one of the last foreign trade representatives who still gathered in the French Club. With the new passport, Andersen's exit visa was immediately granted and the couple left China.⁴⁸ Her new life unfolded amid paradisiacal islands of the Pacific Ocean, Indian palaces with armies of servants, and an heirloom villa in the Provence. But since she had met her husband late, she could not have the daughter she had always dreamt of. (Andersen lived to be 101 and died in 2012.)

Zhiganov was in his late forties, or possibly fifties, when he married for the first time; his wife Olga had no children. The only available income in Communist China was through teaching Russian: the language was in high demand thanks to the ties with the Soviet Union. Zhiganov gave lessons to professors of the Franco–Chinese College in the storefront of the former Russian shop where he lived upstairs. Passersby often threw rocks at his window, and one night someone smashed the storefront glass. Every time he had to give lessons at the college campus, students hissed abuse: “*European pig, foreign dog, tramp.*” All stateless emigrants were issued Soviet passports, but the policy of anti-foreignness made no distinction between Soviet or

Western. Towards the end of the 1950s, even groups of kindergarten children on their way to the park automatically shouted “*foreign pig*” in unison while their teachers smiled approvingly.⁴⁹

According to Zhiganov’s memoirs, Chinese authorities punished foreign men for amorous connections with Chinese women. By the early 1960s, several of his friends were imprisoned for affairs with local girls. He claimed that a Norwegian diplomat who had lived not far from his house was arrested for an alleged relationship with his housemaid.⁵⁰ Russian women who had affairs with visiting foreigners would be rounded up and sent to re-education camps, without a trial or any release date. According to Zhiganov, an American citizen, Margery Fuller, spent 13 years in such a camp and developed a mental illness.⁵¹ He named two Russian journalists, Drozdov and Kaminsky, who were suddenly released after five years of prison detention, grey-haired and with no property left in their names; their wives had, by then, remarried and left the country.⁵² The Russian charity home, once created by merchants and still operational under the Communist management, became the last resort for such unfortunates.

Imprisonment in China was often accompanied by torture. Arrests were staged for public dramatic effect and usually involved numerous policemen. The arrested were transported in jeeps left by the American Army. Zhiganov observed interminable motorcades along the former Avenue Joffre from his window, with jeeps blasting their sirens and armed policemen beating gongs. Most Russians did not know what they were arrested for; nor did their families receive any information about those who went missing. Zhiganov was convinced that the local population was far from happy with their government, and he recalled Chinese students being punished for reading a letter from Hong Kong or for having foreign magazines at home. The surveillance regime was equally suffocating for everyone. Zhiganov regularly filled out multi-page questionnaires and provided updated lists of his Chinese students, with their complete addresses and occupations, standing in long queues to submit each report.

Zhiganov witnessed the degradation of the old French cemetery (*Pahsienjao*) on the eastern end of Avenue Joffre. He remembered the place as an oasis of urban calm, with gravestones submerged in flowers and interspersed with marble statues, overhung by a leafy canopy of old trees. After 1949 it was deliberately turned into a depot for sewage

collection carts. Zhiganov saw ...

over two hundred wheelbarrows with large sewage collection boxes attached to them, piled on the graves and stacked along the alleys. At night, cesspool workers carted the refuse to the nearby fields for fertilisation. The stench at the cemetery was overwhelming.

Here he met a weeping Russian woman who unsuccessfully tried to persuade the wheelbarrow worker not to wash his cart on her mother's grave.

Zhiganov was convinced the filthy depot had moved there from the city's edge specifically to spite the memory of the foreigners. He also believed that foreign consuls sent a note of protest to the First Premier of the PRC, Zhou Enlai, who, allegedly, responded that "*today China is interested in living Chinese, not dead foreigners.*" The cemetery was destroyed and all gravestones excavated by 1958; the site became a park. Another malicious act, in Zhiganov's view, was the construction of a public restroom right across from the Orthodox Cathedral (that toilet at the intersection of Xinle Road and Xiangyang Road survived until 2016). The other Russian church, dedicated to St. Nicholas, became a Communist Party meeting hall. Mao's portrait replaced the icons at the altar, but the golden crosses on the domes were left untouched, to allow foreign tourists to take photographs of 'free' Shanghai. The last synagogue to be built before the war, on Route Tenant de la Tour,⁵³ became a concert hall, and "*the Star of David over the entrance was replaced with a Satanic five-pointed star.*"⁵⁴

By 1964, Zhiganov thought the Communists were in a hurry to evict the last foreigners "*so that nobody would know what is going on in China.*" That year, he and his wife were finally granted their exit visas and left China for Australia. On the day of their departure, out of the tens of thousands of Russians "*only 19 old ladies and 11 men remained, who eventually left or died.*"⁵⁵ During the exhaustive customs search before boarding the ship, the custom's officials ("*Mao Zedong's bandits*") went through Zhiganov's papers and confiscated everything: his writing, the collection of magazines, photographs, and the remaining unsold copies of *Russians in Shanghai*.

In Australia, the Zhiganovs settled in small house near the rail tracks, in a suburban neighbourhood in Burwood, near Sydney. A

sizeable community of Russians from China had already settled there. In spite of his advanced age, Zhiganov became a factory worker in the Pressed Metal Corporation. Three years into his new life, he started to print a magazine, *The Review of the Past*, subtitled ‘The almanac of historical facts and ideas.’ He personally authored every article, typed the pages on a typewriter, bound the issues, and distributed them through Russian shops in Burwood. New issues appeared twice a year, and he worked on them “*seven days a week from the morning tea until eleven at night*,”⁵⁶ financing the production out of his own savings.

Although Zhiganov solicited writing contributions from other Russians, there were not many like-minded writers. On the pages of his magazine, he gave full rein to his monarchist reveries, anti-Semitic tirades, and conspiracy theories, all interspersed with reminiscences of his life. Between lengthy, messy narratives, there were ads for Burwood’s Russian stores, where Zhiganov had found old acquaintances from Shanghai. His old ‘enemy’ Shliapnikoff, who continued to accuse him of Communism, advertised his sausage factory on the pages of the *Review of the Past*. Another old friend was George Odjagyan, of George Photo Studio, now advertised as ‘the Shanghai portrait photographer.’ Zhiganov was happy in Australia, a developed capitalist country where his income was sufficient to support a family of two. But he

still managed to antagonise the Russian community, as he had in Shanghai. He began to publish protracted denunciations of individuals in his circles, accusing them of Communism, conspiracy, and embezzlement. Among the targets of his soliloquys were his advertisers, his church committee, and Russian storeowners.

Issue No. 14, dated January 1975, had double the usual number of pages. Zhiganov announced that it was the last issue. It was filled with accounts of his youth as a fisherman in Kamchatka, a Bible teacher in



Figure 8: Vladimir Zhiganov in 1936.
(*Review of the Past*, No. 14, p. 150)

Vladivostok, an army officer, a charity organiser, and a member of the Volunteer Corps in Shanghai. The issue ended with a plea to the readers:

Since the previous issue, I am no longer able to distribute the magazine. Up to now I have not visited any church community gatherings or tea parties where I normally distribute copies. Those who used to help me have either died or are ill. Please try to sell a couple issues – it is not that hard. If you cannot spare a dollar, just give the magazine away. By doing so, you will help me very much, one last time. I wish you a long and happy life! Vladimir Danilovich Zhiganov.⁵⁷



Endnotes

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- 5 *Ibid.*, p. 65.
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- Shanghai: North China Daily News & Herald, p. 29.
- 15 Today's South Maoming Road.
- 16 *North China Daily News*, 1864–1951.
- 17 Corresponding to today's Middle Huaihai Road, between South Shaanxi Road and Old Chengdu Road.
- 18 *The Directory and Chronicle for China, Japan, Corea, Indo-China, Straits Settlements, Malay States, Siam, Netherlands, India, Borneo, the Philippines, [etc.]*. Hong Kong: The Hongkong Daily Press Office, 1890–, 1938, p. 288.
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- 21 *Ibid.*, p. 74.
- 22 *Ibid.*, p. 74.
- 23 Zhiganov, V., 1972, *Kartiny proshlogo (Review of the Past)*, No. 10, April 1972, p. 76.
- 24 Zhiganov, V., 1975, *op. cit.*, p. 73.
- 25 Nellist, G., 1933, *Men of Shanghai and North China: A Standard Biographical Reference Work*. Shanghai: University Press.
- 26 Zhiganov, V., 1975, *op. cit.*, p. 76.
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- 30 Smolnikov, V., 2001, *Zapiski shanhaiskogo vracha (Memoirs of a Shanghai physician)*, Moscow: Strategia, p. 25.
- 31 Zhiganov, V., 1970, *Kartiny proshlogo (Review of the Past)*, No. 8, December 1970, p. 93.
- 32 *Ibid.*, p. 133.
- 33 Zhiganov, V., 1975, *op. cit.*, p. 132.
- 34 *Ibid.*, p. 134.
- 35 According to the print on the back of Zhiganov's registration card issued by the Shanghai Municipal Police, microfilm copy of Russian emigrant registration cards and certificates, 1940–1952, National Archives, College Park, USA.
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- 50 *Ibid.*, p. 94.
- 51 *Ibid.*, p. 97.
- 52 *Ibid.*, p. 95.
- 53 Today's Yueyang Road.
- 54 Zhiganov, V., 1971, *op. cit.*, p. 109.
- 55 *Ibid.*, p. 92.
- 56 Zhiganov, V., 1975, *op. cit.*, p. 78.
- 57 *Ibid.*, p. 178.

CENSORING LADY CHATTERLEY IN SHANGHAI:

The censorship of Western culture and entertainment in the Shanghai International Settlement, 1940/1941

BY PAUL FRENCH^a

ABSTRACT

In the Republican period, cultural censorship was a serious issue in the Shanghai International Settlement. However, usually it involved differences of opinion between the Nationalist government in Nanking (Nanjing) and the Shanghai Municipal Council in the foreign-controlled Settlement, empowered by the specific rights of extraterritoriality. Invariably, the most contentious cases involved attempts by the Nationalist government to censor the Chinese media in the International Settlement. However, in the summer of 1940 and into 1941 the Shanghai Municipal Council's Translation Office and the Shanghai Municipal Police (SMP), in the form of Special Branch Section Five (S5), which dealt with newspapers and translations in the Settlement, launched a crackdown on certain English language book titles sold in the Settlement. This crackdown occurred at a time when the long-standing censorship structures of the International Settlement authorities were challenged by Japanese and pro-Nazi German interests, notably in the media of cinema. The result was that the Settlement authorities found themselves both imitating and extending censorship of English language books beyond that pertaining in other nations, while also seeing their own censorship regime regarding cinema challenged by the Axis powers and effectively rendered impotent in a large portion of the Settlement.

LAUNCH OF THE BOOK CENSORSHIP CAMPAIGN

In September 1940, the Shanghai Municipal Police (SMP) launched a concerted campaign to ensure that no English-language books deemed 'unfit for public sale' (or 'salacious') should be available in the territory of the International Settlement. The campaign began by seizing several copies of various D. H. Lawrence novels available in both foreign- and locally operated bookstores. In the autumn of 1940,

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with the Japanese encirclement of the foreign concessions of Shanghai complete, the International Settlement, often termed the 'Solitary Island' (*Gudao*), saw relations between the Settlement authorities and the Japanese military reach an all-time low.

However, the SMP's Special Branch, officially charged with 'providing an orderly environment for foreign trade and commerce,' chose this moment to mount considerable resources, time, and effort in seizing and confiscating English-language books (and, if they were not voluntarily surrendered, then spending the further time and effort of raising warrants for seizure) deemed unsuitable for both Shanghailanders and the local English-language-reading Chinese population to consume.

The books that had to be voluntarily surrendered by booksellers, or which were seized by the police, were nominated by the Translation Office of the Shanghai Municipal Council (SMC)—referred to invariably as 'the censors.' Special Branch in Shanghai was divided into six sections: S1 dealt with general enquiries as well as Russian, Japanese, and Jewish affairs; S2 with Chinese liaison; S3 with film censorship; S4 with Indian affairs and gathering information on subversive activities among the Settlement's British Indian population; S5 dealt with newspapers and translations (as well as books and publishing); and S6 dealt with boarding houses, shipping matters, and general license applications.

The offices of S5 were based in Room 606 of the Municipal Council offices at 185 Foochow Road (now Fuzhou Road). These offices were shared with S3, responsible for film and theatre censorship. The translation and censorship units translated pertinent articles from the Chinese-language daily press, issuing morning and afternoon editions, for senior SMP officials; by 1940, these units also censored all Chinese-language materials generated officially in the Settlement before their publication. In addition, they scrutinized the English-language press for 'offensive' material.

In autumn 1940 these censorship activities broadened out to include the confiscation of book titles, both fiction and non-fiction. This raised the question not just of what published materials could and could not be sold in the International Settlement but also the question of what could be distributed both out from, and into, the Settlement from, and to, the 'outports,' meaning the other treaty ports on the China coast. Starting in September 1940 the campaign

SHANGHAI MUNICIPAL POLICE.

Translation Office,
Room 606,
185 Foochow Road.

This is to certify that one copy of _____
_____ was removed from the
_____ on _____ for
the purpose of examination by the Police.

Signed _____

continued until March 1941 with books being seized and confiscated throughout the six-month period of the crackdown.

Events began on 5 September 1940 when the Chinese-owned and managed Modern Book Company's branch at 357 Szechuan Road (now Sichuan Middle Road) in the Settlement was visited by SMP officers. A number of English-language books were confiscated and delivered to Detective Superintendent (DSI) S. A. (Stewart Arnold) Young at Special Branch, S5. Titles confiscated included D. H. Lawrence's *Lady Chatterley's Lover*, Alexander Kuprin's *Yama: the Pit*, James Joyce's *Ulysses*, Theodoor van der Velde's *Ideal Marriage: Its Physiology and Technique*, and a book entitled *Sex Life in France*.

Officers then returned to the Modern Book Company and confiscated, 'for the purposes of examination by the police,' a number of other titles, including Lawrence's *Women in Love*, *The Rainbow*, *The Woman who Rode Away*, *Aaron's Rod*, *The White Peacock*, *Sons & Lovers*, *Lovely Lady*, *The Ladybird*, and *The Lost Girl*, as well as a collection of Lawrence's short stories, *A Modern Lover*. As books were confiscated, so the SMP officers in attendance issued the bookshop manager with official receipts from the SMP Translation Office.

Several books not by Lawrence were also confiscated, including Ely Culbertson's *The Strange Lives of One Man*, a rather racy (for the time) memoir by a contract bridge player and rampant self-publicist. Additionally, a number of non-fiction titles were also seized, including Theodoor van der Velde's *Sex Hostility in Marriage: Its*

Origin, Prevention and Treatment and Sex Techniques in Marriage, as well as Victor Robinson's *Encyclopaedia Sexualis* and, finally, a book entitled *The Power to Love*. All of these books were, essentially, early sex manuals.

Eventually, all of these titles were deemed 'OK' by the SMC Translation Office, with the exception of Lawrence's *Lady Chatterley*, Kuprin's *Yama*, and Joyce's *Ulysses*. And so the police moved to other bookshops in the Settlement and proceeded to seek out copies of Lawrence, Kuprin, and Joyce.

On 20 September 1940, SMP officers visited the Chinese-owned and managed Far Eastern Book Company's Sales Shop at 104 Central Arcade on Nanking Road (now Nanjing West Road). The officers seized a copy of Lawrence's *Lady Chatterley* from the store's General Manager, Mr. K. Y. Hsia. Additionally, a copy of Kuprin's *Yama* was seized. Both copies, along with the information that the shop had previously sold two copies of *Yama*, were passed along to DSI Young at S5. It was noted by S5's, obviously rather well read, officers that although the edition of Lawrence was described as 'unabridged,' it was indeed abridged, while the copies of *Yama* had been bought on consignment from the Modern Book Company.

Following these raids, the Modern Book Company sent DSI Young seven copies of *Yama* and five of *Lady Chatterley* with a letter authorising the SMP to destroy them. They also informed Young that a number of copies of Joyce's *Ulysses* which had been in stock had been returned to a publisher based in Tientsin (Tianjin) who had originally supplied them.

The Modern Book Company was a Chinese-owned firm based in the Settlement, with several branches selling both English- and Chinese-language books. Modern Book Company's Assistant Manager, Mr. Y. Y. Koo, claimed to have been unaware of the content of either the books by Lawrence, Kuprin, or Joyce. It appears that DSI Young was notified of the problem by the SMP Translation Office after they saw Modern Book Company's *Fall Catalogue* listing the three titles as in stock. Koo, in his correspondence with Young while surrendering the remaining copies, considered himself 'obliged' and apologised for "*any trouble caused*." Mr. Koo's letter was accompanied by a second letter from the Modern Book Company's General Manager, Walter Woo, stating that he was voluntarily surrendering five copies of *Lady Chatterley* and seven of *Yama* for destruction as being of "*an indecent nature*."

***New Shipment of the Latest Editions is
arriving on***

FRIDAY, JUNE 7

FRENCH BOOK SHOP

357 Szechuen Road Telephone 16651

The one foreign-owned bookstore to be investigated was the French Book Store, run by a Monsieur Bonardel, a French national. The store, which shared premises with the Modern Book Company at 357 Szechuan Road, sold French- and English-language titles as well as materials in some other European languages. DSI Young visited the premises and interviewed M. Bonardel, who informed him that the business was registered with the French Consulate in Shanghai and that he owned the lease on the premises and sublet part of the building to the Modern Book Company.

The French Book Store contained a number of books of concern to the Translation Office and S5, in particular a range of titles, displayed in the shop's window, from the notorious Obelisk Publishing Company. Obelisk was an English-language press based in Paris from the 1920s and run by the novelist Jack Kahane. Kahane and Obelisk were self-proclaimed publishers of 'dbs' (dirty books), and the company's list mixed serious literature with smut. There were various legal loopholes regarding English-language books published in France, and Obelisk exploited these to publish editions of Henry Miller's *Tropic of Cancer* (banned in the USA upon publication in 1934 and with only smuggled copies reaching the UK) and Radclyffe Hall's *The Well of Loneliness* (banned in Britain in 1928 for its lesbian themes). Actually, although controversial, none of Obelisk's books were officially banned by 1940, except in Canada. Indeed, the company had ceased to trade in September 1939 following Kahane's death. In this instance DSI Young asked M. Bonardel not to display the Obelisk titles in the store's window. Bonardel complied.

None of these cases appear to have made the papers—neither the local Shanghai press (the *North-China Daily News*, *China Press*,

etc.) nor the China Coast media in Hong Kong, Tientsin, or Peking appeared interested. Only the *China Weekly Review*, edited by J. B. Powell, showed concern for the censorship measures and reported them in some detail. By the end of 1940, Lawrence, Kuprin, and Joyce were not to be found on any bookstore shelf in the International Settlement.

SHANGHAI BOOK CENSORSHIP IN THE NANJING DECADE

Book censorship was entirely new to Shanghai. In 1927 the Nationalist government under Chiang Kai-shek secured control of Shanghai, outwith the international settlements. Thus began the so-called 'Nanjing Decade,' with the Nationalist Party (*Guomindang* or KMT) attempting to censor and control both printed materials and the cinema. In 1931 it was made a crime to criticise the *Guomindang* in the press, and it was also deemed seditious to publish and disseminate 'reactionary printed materials.' In 1929 the Nationalist Chinese Public Security Bureau (PSB) suppressed 1876 publications, including 484 by direct order of the government in Nanjing and 1392 of their own suggestion. These included titles deemed 'reactionary' (*fandong*), 'Communist,' and 'anarchist.'¹

From the start, the authorities of the International Settlement, through the auspices of the SMC, the SMP, and Special Branch, colluded and cooperated in this censorship by working with the Chinese police to close down bookshops and confiscate banned materials. In 1931 joint SMP/Chinese police raids closed down a total of 20 bookshops and confiscated a range of publications including *Materialistic Philosophy*, *Materialism and Religion*, *Oulinoff: The Materialist* and *Soviet Farmers*, and *Women*.² At the same time, the Nationalist government proposed opening state-run bookstores in Shanghai with content that reflected their viewpoints.

This process of banning, censorship, and suppression accelerated in February 1934 with the launch of the New Life Movement (*Xin Sheng Huo Yun Dong*), a civic education movement established by Chiang and his wife, Soong May-ling. Citing the new regulations ushered in by the New Life Movement the *Guomindang* banned a total of 149 books across Shanghai and suppressed circulation of 76 magazines and periodicals, including *Beidou* (*The Dipper*, published under the auspices of The Chinese League of Left Wing Writers) and *Wenxue zhoubao* (*Literature Monthly*). A total of 25 bookstores selling

titles by Chinese authors deemed leftists, including Lu Xun, Guo Moruo, Mao Dun, and Ba Jin, were threatened with closure, unless they withdrew their stock. However, the suppression was not long-lasting, since The New Life Movement was relatively short-lived and by June 1935 was already slowing down. Despite this relaxation, a new law made it compulsory for publishers to submit all manuscripts for books, magazines, and periodicals to a specially formed committee for inspection before they could be officially printed, distributed, and sold.

NEWSPAPER CENSORSHIP AND CIRCUMVENTION STRATEGIES

Similarly, the Nationalist government fought hard to control cultural and entertainment products they disapproved of on moral or political grounds. In the late 1920s they attempted to control the content and exhibition of motion pictures in Shanghai. This intensified in the 1930s as the government came to believe that many foreign films (especially those from Hollywood) contained distorted and unflattering images of China and its people. Various demonstrations targeted Hollywood films, including those by Douglas Fairbanks and Harold Lloyd,³ as well as Fu Manchu films and others deemed to contain damaging representations of China and/or Chinese people (including adaptations of popular books, such as the 1935 film version of Alice Tisdale-Hobart's China-set bestseller *Oil for the Lamps of China*). Punishments could be wide-ranging, and there were threats by Nanking to ban all films from certain studios—for instance, Paramount was threatened with this (although ultimately the ban was not enforced).⁴ Additionally, there were demonstrations against visiting American Chinese actors, notably Anna May Wong in 1936, who the government felt portrayed Chinese characters and stereotypes in an unflattering light.⁵ To circumvent this censorship, Chinese and foreign audiences watched many of these films in the cinemas of the International Settlement and, while the government objected, crowds of local Chinese turned out to see Anna May Wong wherever she went in Shanghai.

Similar problems occurred with printed newspapers, magazines, and periodicals, which were subject to different censorship regulations both within and outside the Settlement. Many Chinese newspapers circumvented the Nanking censorship regime by becoming majority-owned foreign companies, usually Delaware-registered companies,

which allowed them to claim the protection of extraterritoriality under the country of their ownership's treaty port rights. Local Shanghailanders newspaper entrepreneurs helped Chinese publications register themselves with foreign consulates. For instance, American citizen Carl Crow, a former editor of the American-owned *China Press* newspaper and owner of a leading advertising agency in Shanghai, helped several Chinese Delaware-registered newspapers by sitting on their boards of directors, although taking no part in either the daily management of the newspapers nor their editorial line.⁶ Others registered with the British, French, Portuguese, and other treaty port powers for protection.

However, in November 1940, the situation changed following the Japanese invasion of China. The Nanking government, now relocated to Chungking (Chongqing) was subsequently powerless to influence the Settlement, which was under the titular control of the collaborationist (and so-called Reformed Nationalist Government) Wang Jingwei. Wang was permitted by the Japanese occupiers to take control of the Shanghai Press Censorship Bureau, based on Nanking Road. This significantly increased the pressure on the Chinese-language press in Shanghai, but did not ostensibly affect the foreign media in Shanghai.⁷

In the Nanking Decade, some foreign newspapers believed themselves to come under some coercion from the Chinese government in the form of concerted letter-writing campaigns calling for the removal of some troublesome foreign correspondents.⁸ Additionally, some Shanghai Settlement-registered English-language publications had had their right to use the Chinese mail system temporarily suspended following articles unfavourable to Nanking. This happened to the *Shanghai Evening Post* for several months in 1929/1930 and several other publications in the 1930s.⁹ However, the book raids of 1940 and 1941 were conducted by the Settlement authorities themselves without any coercion or suggestion from the Chinese government (either legitimate in Chongqing or the puppet government of Wang Jingwei). These raids appear to have been solely about the Shanghai Municipal authorities regulating the reading materials of Shanghailanders and concentrated only on books by Western authors in the English language.

CENSORING THE MOVIES

While the Nanking government had sought to regulate the cinema outside of the Settlement, there was also regulation within by the treaty port authorities. The SMC maintained its Translation Department to look at all printed materials in a range of languages—primarily Chinese and English, but also other, minority languages, prevalent in the Settlement, including Russian, Ukrainian, Polish, Yiddish, French, and German, among others. Theatrical productions were also subject to censorship within the Settlement. However, it was the censorship of cinema that seemed to raise most anger among Shanghailanders, and this was the form of everyday cultural censorship that most Shanghailanders appear to have been most acutely aware of.

Across all media who exactly were the censors was not widely known among the public. For instance, film censorship was the responsibility of S5 and its Film Censorship Department, which was run for many years by Detective Sub-Inspector George E. Darters (known locally as ‘Two Gun’ Darters). Darters, originally from Gloucestershire, England, had joined the SMP in 1926. It was only upon his retirement in October 1941 that many, even within the Force, learnt that Darters was Shanghai’s primary film censor. This was probably best for Darters, since the job was not an altogether popular one; upon his retirement, the *China Weekly Review* described the Film Censorship Department as a body that has, “... prevented Shanghai from seeing many of the world’s best films.”¹⁰ Review editor J. B. Powell’s acerbic anger at Darters and the Department was understandable at the time, since many popular and patriotic war-time films from England were never shown in the Settlement for fear of stirring up trouble between different nationalities, an excuse used to enforce cuts and deletion of scenes from a number of Hollywood films too. Additionally, news reels, including most British ones and America’s *The March of Time*, containing content depicting the progress of the war in Europe, and the further deterioration of the Asian situation, were also often banned in Shanghai by Darters’s Department.

Amongst the Shanghaileander media most ire was saved for censored films rather than news reels or books. The *China Weekly Review* in August 1941 dedicated several columns to an attack on the Film Censorship Department for banning the 1940 United Artists film of Eugene O’Neill’s *The Long Voyage Home*, set aboard the freighter *Glencairn* and detailing the lives of the crew in their fear, loneliness,

suspicion, and camaraderie. The men smuggle drink and women aboard, fight with each other, spy on each other, comfort each other as death approaches, and rescue each other from danger. The film was directed by John Ford and starred John Wayne. *The Long Voyage Home* was banned on 'moral' grounds because of depictions of 'immorality.' The *China Weekly Review* was outraged:

It was reported that the Shanghai censors objected to the type of dancing engaged in by sailors at a South American port. If this is correct, one can only speculate where the Shanghai censors spend their evenings. Surely they have never visited such places as Jimmy's Winter Garden during a jitterbug contest, or, for example, Ella's Bar, or any of the Blood Alley resorts on a Saturday evening.¹¹

During the 'Solitary Island' period from 1937 to late 1941 (Pearl Harbor), many other films were censored. In 1940 a large number of scenes were deleted—on the censor's instructions—from Alfred Hitchcock's *Foreign Correspondent*. With this film and others either cut or banned, it was portrayals of the direct conflict between the Allies and the Nazis, as much as morality, that moved the censors to act. *Foreign Correspondent* was a film dealing with the presence and nefarious activities of Nazi agents in England, and so, naturally, the

film was objected to by the German (Nazi) authorities in Shanghai. That this was the case is shown in the long list of banned 'escape' films—basically any film that showed anyone trying to escape the Nazi regime in Germany or occupied Europe. This despite the influx at the time of Jewish and other refugees from Nazi-controlled Europe into the Settlement. The *China Weekly Review* noted that these films had been shown in Hong Kong, Singapore, and Manila (the former two territories being British colonies, of course, while the Philippines was closely aligned to the United States).

FR. 1
Memorandum.
POLICE FORCE,
MUNICIPAL COUNCIL.
Shanghai, 194.....
To.....
Received from Mr. Young send. one copy of 'Sexual Life of Savages' taken away for examination.
Y. T. Kao
12.10.40
Modern Book Co

Clearly, when it came to films, the S5-controlled Film Censorship Department was looking to avoid conflict within the Settlement between Allied and Axis opinion. Across the world, German diplomats, representing the Nazi regime, were attempting to influence film studios, distributors, and cinemas in their choice of presentations just as they were censoring foreign films in Germany—Tarzan films (seen by the Nazis as male of dubious ethnicity involved with white women tales) movies were banned, as was the 1932 Howard Hawks film *Scarface* (too violent and starring Paul Muni—an actor disliked by the Nazis, having been born Frederick Meshilem Meier Weisenfreund to a Jewish family in Austria), Charlie Chaplin’s 1936 *Modern Times*, and all the later films of Marlene Dietrich (German born, but avowedly anti-Nazi).¹² However, the censorship in the Settlement does not appear to be the result of German diplomatic pressure, but rather resulted from internal decisions within S5’s Film Censorship Department.

This occurred despite control of the censors being under the SMC, SMP, and S5 by citizens of Allied nations (overwhelmingly British). The tone of the *China Weekly Review* on these various cinematic censorships was clear—it was appeasement within the Settlement—“*Is it possible that subtle Nazi propaganda has frightened our censors?*” asked one article.¹³ The *China Weekly Review* also pointed out that, while British and American films were being censored, pro-Nazi films were being screened throughout the Settlement and not subjected to any censorship.

SCREENINGS OF PRO-NAZI FILMS IN SHANGHAI

Throughout 1940 and into 1941, German-made pro-Nazi films were shown in Shanghai, primarily in Hongkew (Hongkou) under the protection of the Japanese military and usually with free entry to the cinema or films screened outside in Municipal parks during the humid summer months. The film censorship regulations of the Settlement, supposedly enforced by the Film Censorship Department, stated that no film, “*tending to have an inflammatory nature*” should be screened. This had been the argument against permitting many British and American films that described Nazi atrocities, espionage, or attacks on the Allied nations and in occupied Europe from being shown. Additionally, any films that could cause riots, civil disturbance, or interfere with the “*orderly environment for foreign trade and commerce*” were banned.

These regulations had been tightened up, since there had been a number of fights in Shanghai during the late 1930s involving foreign troops, mainly Italian, objecting to their portrayal in films. For instance, in 1937 Italian troops at the Isis Cinema in Hongkew rioted, smashing up the cinema and several premises on the small street outside, after objecting to their portrayal as brutal invaders of Abyssinia in the 1931 Soviet documentary of the same name. However, interests showing pro-Nazi films argued that British war films had been shown and that a wide range of films reflecting a range of opinions were shown in the French Concession (which, from June 1940 and the Fall of France, was under Vichy collaborationist control).

Typical of the large free summer screenings was one on a Saturday night in August 1940. The screening, reported in *The China Press* on 23 August, apparently attracted “over 2,000 people” to the free showing of a German film that was introduced by a performance from a Japanese military marching band in Hongkew Park (now Lu Xun Park). Unfortunately, not being able to speak or read German, the newspaper’s correspondent was unable to tell which film it was the crowd, of mostly local Chinese, were watching.¹⁴

The free open-air screenings continued throughout the humid summer weekends of 1940. SMP officer William Dow of the Dixwell Road (now Liyang Road) Station attended another free screening in Hongkew Park on 24 August. A concert by the Japanese Naval Landing Party Band took place from 8.30 pm to 9.30 pm, and then a German war film was screened, finishing at 11 pm. Dow reported an attendance again in the region of 2,000 people and noted the presence of 100 local schoolchildren (i.e., Chinese). Also recorded was the presence of several non-Asian foreigners, described as ‘German Jews and Russians,’ probably from the Hongkew area, according to Dow’s report filed the next day and forwarded to S5. Although unable to divine the name of the film, Dow (a Scotsman) did report that images of British planes being shot down in dogfights with German planes was conspicuous, while other scenes showed the training of German police dogs to catch British spies in Nazi-controlled Europe. However, it appears that Dow was not in Hongkew Park in an official capacity—indeed, he concludes his report by stating that “*I cannot give any other details than above as I had to leave at the request of my wife.*”¹⁵

What had emerged by the summer of 1940—and at a time when the Nazi war machine in Europe appeared unstoppable—

was, as the *China Press* identified, that two film-censorship regimes had emerged in the Settlement, despite the fact that the guidelines for what could or could not be shown were applicable to the entire Settlement. South of the Soochow (Suzhou) Creek, Special Branch's official Film Censorship Department was still active banning films and news reels while insisting on cuts to others, most notably those depicting the war, 'escape' films portraying Nazi-occupied Europe in an unfavourable light, as well as German and Italian propaganda films. However, north of the Creek, where Japanese control was far stronger throughout Hongkew and much of the SMP's so-called Eastern District of Tilanqiao and Yangtzsepoo (Yangpu), Nazi films were being screened free to large audiences, supported by the Japanese military in contravention of Settlement guidelines and censorship regulations. The SMC, SMP, and S5 appeared unable to do anything about this except observe and report. To all intents and purposes, their power as censors able to enforce their writ north of Suzhou Creek ceased in the summer months of 1940. From that moment on, until the Japanese occupation of the Settlement in December 1941, the Axis powers—Germany and Italy with the backing of Japan—sold, distributed, and screened exactly what they liked with impunity in a large portion of the Settlement.

THE PROBLEM WITH *LADY CHATTERLEY* AND STEPHEN DEDALUS

Still, it cannot be argued that the confiscation of D. H. Lawrence, Aleksandr Kuprin, and James Joyce, or some sex manuals, was appeasement. This censorship of printed matter appears to have a different root.

Lawrence's *Lady Chatterley* had originally been published privately in Italy in 1928. The book had become instantly notorious for its depiction of a sexual relationship between an aristocratic lady and a working-class man, descriptions of sex, and then unprintable words. An obscenity in trial in England caused it to be banned for 11 years. A heavily censored edition of *Lady Chatterley* had appeared in the USA in 1928, and unexpurgated editions appeared on the Continent from 1928, including an edition by the German publishers, Tauchnitz. The book was not to become available legally in the UK until after a court trial in 1960.

Similarly, Joyce's *Ulysses* was first serialised in the American journal, *The Little Review*, in 1920 and then published by Sylvia Beach

in Paris in 1922. However, owing to various scenes and language being declared obscene, the book was banned in the UK until the 1930s and in the USA until 1934. Unlike *Lady Chatterley*, which was still officially banned in the UK in 1940, *Ulysses* was no longer under any ban in Europe or America by that time. Indeed, in America Random House reissued a revised and corrected edition of their original 1934 text in 1940. Certainly, the book had caused offense, particularly to some Roman Catholic readers who objected to the considerable blasphemy in the book—particularly in the masturbation scenes. In this case, by confiscating *Ulysses* and destroying copies, the Translation Office, and by extension the SMP and S5, appears to have been making judgements independently of those being taken in other countries.

Kuprin's novel *Yama* was written in 1915 and dealt with the lurid lives of a group of prostitutes in Odessa. Kuprin is slightly different from Lawrence and Joyce, since his book was not banned until 1930, when it appeared in an English translation from the original Russian. It remained on the UK banned list until 1953.

THE END OF A COHERENT CENSORSHIP POLICY IN THE INTERNATIONAL SETTLEMENT

There appears to be no official record why *Lady Chatterley*, *Yama*, and *Ulysses* were specifically targeted. As noted above, the Settlement's censorship decisions did not simply mirror image those of the US or UK. Similarly, copies of Joyce's *Ulysses* that were returned to Tientsin were placed back on sale in that treaty port, which had its own, separate, censorship regime, municipal police system, and local government organisations. It is notable, perhaps, that Shanghai's global image, particularly back in Europe, as a city with a somewhat louche and sinful reputation, may have been on the minds of the censors. Certainly all the books targeted by the campaign in 1940/1941 had content of a contentious sexual rather than political nature. Did the Translation Bureau worry about the overtly sexual reading habits of Shanghailanders as much as their night-time habits in a city of proliferating Badlands casinos, nightclubs, and brothels in the 'Solitary Island' period? Another theory is that the censors were concerned with books that could fall into Chinese (or Japanese) hands which showed Europeans as decadent and European women engaging in sex.

What is clear, and important in terms of understanding the

wider issue of the management and governance of the International Settlement during the ‘Solitary Island’ period, between August 1937 and December 1941, is that by the summer of 1940, the authorities—both administrative and police—were simultaneously losing control of a coherent and Settlement-wide censorship policy as it was challenged north of Suzhou Creek, and particularly in regards to cinema, while at the same time attempting to crack down on English-language reading materials in what had hitherto not been an overly contentious area of dispute—English-language bookshops.



Endnotes

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TUSHANWAN ORPHANAGE CRAFT SCHOOL IN SHANGHAI:

Its history and artistic significance

BY JULIE CHUN^a

ABSTRACT

With the exception of Shanghai history specialists and the curious wayward wanderer, even some of the city's local residents have never entered the small building inscribed 'T'ou-se-we Museum' (also known as Tushanwan 土山湾 Museum) on its red façade. Located at 55 Puhuitang Lu (蒲汇塘路) off the busy Caoxi Bei Lu (曹溪北路), the remnant of the former Spanish-styled compound of dormitories, classrooms, and workshops on a sprawling 5.5 hectares is now but a mere shadow which once housed, fed, and taught destitute young Chinese boys. While rich in history, the quaint and well-kept museum unfortunately possesses only a few actual artefacts produced during the period when the orphanage was instituted in 1864 until its formal closure in 1962. The craft school, which was distinctly tied to the identity of the orphanage, served a crucial social and artistic need in Shanghai for about 80 years during times of both political turmoil and commercial prosperity. Regrettably, the few available books in the English language, especially those published by Shanghai's Xuhui District (徐汇区) tend to be outdated and offer a statist narrative. This article strives for a renewed examination of the Tushanwan orphanage craft school. By incorporating the evidence of recent scholarship, as well as a critical assessment of the artworks produced, this continuing research seeks to re-address and re-evaluate the legacy of Xuhui's understudied history which remains relatively insular to the world-at-large.

HISTORICAL CONTEXT

In 2015, the Xuhui District (徐汇区) of Shanghai rehabilitated the memorial hall dedicated to Xu Guangqi (徐光启; 1562, Shanghai–1633, Beijing) located within the Xu Guangqi park on 17 Nandan Lu (南丹路).¹ The restoration of the rectangular hall framing a small courtyard was significant for two reasons. First, it replaced the

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static and molding plaques from the late 20th Century with the sleek and digitized 21st Century visual media to assert the progressive ideals of the Xuhui government in reclaiming its local history. Second, the new enhancements, as exemplified by the wording of the wall texts, underscores the determination to arouse nationalism by re-dedicating this prominent figure of Shanghai's past to foment civic pride. In addition to the newly refurbished memorial, the neatly kept burial mounds of Xu Guangqi and his progeny sustain a well-groomed and unblemished narrative of Xu Guangqi as an upright scholar and scientist who had an influential role in transforming the locality in which the city and the district is named after his family. The literal translation of Xujiahui (徐家匯) is the 'gathering of the Xu family' and Xuhui (徐匯) is the shortened version for 'Xu gathering.' Often the word Zikawei (also spelt Ziccawei or Siccawei) is also used, referencing the local Shanghai dialectic for Xujiahui.

Brought up in a small farming household, where his parents were not affluent, Xu Guangqi's father nonetheless managed to provide his son with a classic Confucian education from the age of six. Xu managed to study well into his thirties and eventually became a *jinshi* (進士), a successful candidate in the Imperial examinations. He went to Beijing and served at the Ming Dynasty court during the terms of Emperor Wanli (萬曆帝; reigned 1572–1620) and Emperor Chongzhen (崇禎帝; reigned 1627–1644). The timing of Xu Guangqi's term at court was fortuitous, for it led to his meeting with the Italian Jesuit Matteo Ricci (1552–1610). Xu had already been at the Imperial court for almost a decade when Ricci, who was ten years his senior, came to be employed at the court. The period during which the two men worked and collaborated on translations of important treatises lasted only six years before Ricci's death. Yet, the output of their scholarship was to have a reverberating impact on Chinese culture and society. Their collaboration led to the translations of Euclid's *Elements of Geometry*, books one through six, as well as of Confucian classics into Latin. The close working relationship also inspired Xu Guangqi to be baptized into the Catholic faith in 1603, taking on the name Paul Siu. When Xu made a trip to Shanghai in 1607 for his father's funeral, he converted his household to the new faith. As the leading savant of the Imperial court, Xu came to be held in high regard by the community in Shanghai. When Xu Guangqi passed away in Beijing on 8 November 1633, he left behind an immense compilation of research

on agricultural studies, which Chen Zilung (陈子龙) and assistants published posthumously in 1639, entitled *Complete Collection on Agriculture*. Following Chinese customs, after his death, Xu Guangqi's body was transported from Beijing to his hometown in Shanghai. Emperor Chongzhen called for a special Imperial retinue for the journey and bestowed articles and fees for Xu's funeral. Because of the turbulent political unrest which ensued during the final decade of the Ming Dynasty, it was not until 1641 that Xu was given a proper Catholic burial, which lasted three days.

Xu Guangqi's life and death had a lasting effect, especially in Shanghai. Having served the Imperial court for over four decades, Xu's family was bestowed prestige and wealth which allowed his descendants to purchase available lands around Xu's tomb. Subsequently, after the Treaty of Nanjing, the Jesuits who arrived in Shanghai managed to negotiate the restitution of the former Catholic properties and succeeded in purchasing available lands extending over 600 hectares in Xujiahui.² Eventually, a vibrant Catholic community developed. The College St. Ignace opened during the winter of 1849, providing instruction by priests in Chinese classics, religious studies, mathematics, and physical education to local Chinese children. In 1852 a Minor Seminary was added with additional curriculum in Christian philosophy, theology, French, and Latin, and the Major Seminary opened in 1878 to foster future novitiates. Various other edifices for religious and scientific purposes continued to be established, including the St. Ignatius Cathedral, the General Courtyard of the Society of Jesus (the living and office quarters for the missionaries), Zikawei Observatory (a meteorological station), Heude Museum of Natural History, and the Tushanwan (土山湾; also known as T'ou-se-we) Orphanage.

The dates and years associated with many of these establishments are not altogether clear in whether they mark the beginning or the completion of the institutions. Thus, in many available accounts, representing official sources, the year associated with the Tushanwan Orphanage is frequently cited as 1864 (third Tongzhi 同治 reign of the Qing Dynasty).³ According to Joachim Kurtz, an orphanage was initially established in the early 1850s at Caijiawan (蔡家湾), located about 18 kilometres west of Shanghai, to care for abandoned babies and children. When this orphanage fell victim to the intruders of the Taiping Rebellion (1851–1864), resulting in the killing of a priest,

the children were moved to Dongjiadu (董家渡) in 1860 and then transferred to the new site of Tushanwan in the winter of 1864. Tushanwan literally translates as ‘earth/soil hill at (river) bend.’ The area was formerly a mudflat, resulting from the numerous canals that carved through the city of Shanghai. In 1852, the Spanish Jesuit Johannes Ferrer (1817–1856) appealed to his superiors for funds to acquire the marshland to establish an orphanage for boys.⁴ A convent for girls, called the Holy Mother’s Garden, began construction in 1868 not far away (present-day 201 North Caoxi Road) by the Helpers of



Figure 1: Photograph of Tushanwan, undated (*Photo courtesy of the Tushanwan Museum*)



Figure 2: Photograph of Tushanwan, undated (*Photo courtesy of the Tushanwan Museum*)

the Holy Souls to relocate the girls from the older and dilapidated orphanage in Qingpu District (青浦区).⁵ There was a strict division of the sexes at Xujiahui for lodging and craft training, yet eventually a small village was formed near Tushanwan to provide basic housing for wedded couples whose marriage was authorised or arranged by the nuns and priests.

The orphanages for boys and girls were built to accommodate many of the infants and children who became destitute in the aftermath of the Taiping Rebellion. The death toll—estimated at around 20 million, resulting from the civil war which took place mostly in Nanjing and Shanghai—had the effect of breaking down the traditional family unit. Widowed mothers who sought to remarry or find employment consigned their child or children to the care of the church with a binding contract, while the rest of the children who entered Tushanwan orphanage were true orphans bereft of parents or family.⁶ Over time, buildings and facilities were added at Tushanwan in 1866 and 1869 to become the sprawling 5.5 hectares (5500 square metres) compound of Tushanwan orphanage and the craft school.⁷ Old photographs reveal the Spanish-styled architecture and utilitarian block-styled dormitories and the workshop, which was closely linked to the identity of the orphanage.

THE WOODEN PAILOU AND THE PAGODAS

Today, the remaining vestige of the former building is an historical museum located at 55 Puhuitang Road, only a little over one block south on North Caoxi Road from the site of Xu Guangqi's tomb. It is difficult now to imagine Puhuitang as a canal waterway which flowed to join the Zhaojiabang Creek. Xujiahui is now a bustling hub for sophisticated shopping and commercial enterprises in the great expanse of the Shanghai metropolis. The three-floor red-brick building is currently wedged between a municipal electrical office and a high school. Some of the upper floors of the Tushanwan Museum still function as classrooms for the high school, which provides historical continuity as an educational facility. On the street, one can easily pass by this unassuming, three-story structure, despite the rain-washed silver metallic lettering 'T'ou-se-we Museum' (hereafter referred to as Tushanwan) directly above the ticket-office window. An immense glass-encased structure was added in 2010 to join the first floor of the administrative office block to the museum, and specifically to

accommodate the 5.8 metre wooden archway which has become the symbolic centerpiece of Tushanwan Museum.

The architectural term for this type of Chinese wooden archway is *pailou* (牌楼), also known as *paifang* (牌楼). It serves as both a decorated ceremonial gateway and an entrance leading to a high-ranking or prestigious building. The purpose of the ornate *pailou* produced at the Tushanwan craft school was to mark the Chinese Pavilion at the 1915 Panama–Pacific International Exposition, a global world fair which was held between Presidio and Fort Mason (in the present-day Marina District) in San Francisco from 20 February to 4 December 1915. The intricately carved Chinese archway was built under the direction of Aloysius Beck (1854–1931), a Bavarian-born German Jesuit who had arrived in China in 1892 and was appointed director of the woodcraft workshop in 1894. Beck was responsible for designing and supervising the carvings of not only the wooden archway, but also of the 1:50 scale replicas of 86 famous pagodas in Asia which were exhibited at another site of the 1915 Panama–Pacific Exposition, at a locale called the ‘Palace of Education.’ Beck oversaw these major carving projects, involving 300 Chinese boys ranging in age from six to 16.⁸ The stately, unpainted archway exudes the grandeur of ancient Chinese architecture construction in which no nails were used. The wooden timbers were crafted to conjoin through a system of mortise and tendon, known in Chinese as *dougong* (斗拱).



Figure 3: Wooden archway created for the 1915 Panama–Pacific International Exposition.
(Photo: Julie Chun; Tushanwan Museum, 2015)

The decorative surface carvings illustrate the most famous war scenes from the 14th Century novel, *The Romance of the Three Kingdoms* (三國演義), while ten lions stand guard in dynamic poses at the base of each pillar.

The Chinese archway and the wooden pagodas, carved from blocks of teakwood, were conceived and crafted for the express intent of being showcased overseas.⁹ Along with the archway and pagodas, four painted scrolls, each measuring 1.2 metres, were also sent to the expo in San Francisco.¹⁰ The coloured ink paintings depict the four famous religious men of science: Matteo Ricci, Xu Guangqi, Ferdinand Verbiest (1623, Flanders–1688, Beijing), and Johann Adam Schall von Bell (1592, Cologne–1666, Beijing). Above each portrait is a description of the scientist, written in Chinese calligraphy, by the Chinese Jesuit educator Ma Xiangbo (马相伯; 1840–1949). The original paintings are now housed at the Ricci Institute for Chinese–Western Cultural History at the University of San Francisco, while faithfully reproduced copies can be viewed at the Memorial Hall in Xu Guangqi Park in Shanghai.

The wooden arch was also submitted to the Chicago World Fair from 27 May 1933 to 31 October 1934, and then to the New York World Fair from 30 April 1939 to 27 October 1940. Afterwards, the arch “*disappeared after being sold to an American businessman following the New York Expo.*”¹¹ In the years leading up to the 2010 Expo in Shanghai (May to October 2010), city officials increased their efforts to achieve large-scale urban gentrification. A bid was undertaken to institute new museums and cultural establishments. Thus, an international search for numerous relics produced during the 98 year history of the Tushanwan craft school was begun in earnest by Song Haojie, the deputy director of the Xuhui District Cultural Bureau. In August 2008, a forum on Tushanwan, entitled ‘T’ou-se-we in Old Shanghai’ was convened and notices of the search for the craft school’s artefacts were uploaded online. A Chinese collector residing in Sweden came upon the online request and responded by expressing interest to locate the wooden archway. After more than nine months, a shipping container brought the two-thirds remains of the original *pailou* to the Tushanwan Museum, designated to open in May 2010. Many of the wooden pieces had been broken off and sold, including the 10 original lions at the base of the archway. Using old photographs as a guide, repairs to the archway took more than seven months,



Figure 4: Wooden pagodas created for the 1915 Panama–Pacific International Exposition.
(Photos: Julie Chun; San Francisco International Airport, 2015)



Figure 5: Viewers examining the wooden pagoda created for the 1915 Panama–Pacific International Exposition by the boys of the Tushanwan craft school
(Photo: Julie Chun; San Francisco International Airport, 2015)

employing a team of master woodcarvers. The total cost of rebuilding the arch amounted to 1.8 million yuan (estimated at US\$ 266,000).¹²

Unlike the archway which roamed the globe for 95 years, the 86 wooden pagodas were firmly secluded in storage in the U.S. after the 1915 Panama–Pacific Exposition. It was not until 100 years later that a near-full set turned up for the first time at the San Francisco International Airport. After the 1915 Panama–Pacific Exposition, the pagodas as a set were purchased for US\$ 5000 by the Chicago Field Museum and retained in the museum’s storage vaults. In 2007,

the Field Museum retained three and deaccessioned the remaining pagodas, which were acquired by an anonymous collector from Boston and never heard from again until they were unearthed on 18 December 2013, after a four-month search, by a group of Boston University undergraduate students of Jeremy Clarke S.J.'s Chinese history class.¹³ While the students had cast a large net in their World Wide Web search, no one had expected to find the actual objects of their search in a large warehouse in Somerville, just six miles northeast of their campus.¹⁴ The students were allowed to select three pagodas, which were displayed at Boston University's O'Neill Library from 28 March until 28 April 2014. A year later, beginning on 4 April and lasting until 25 October 2015, the 83 pagodas (minus the three from the Field Museum in Chicago) were displayed for the first time as a near-comprehensive set in the main hall of San Francisco Airport's International Terminal to commemorate the 100th anniversary of the Panama–Pacific International Exposition.

In June 2015, I made a stopover at San Francisco International Airport specifically to view the wooden pagodas. After lecturing about and researching these wooden sculptures from grainy black-and-white images of old photographs, I was taken aback to encounter an outburst of colours. Each pagoda is intricately carved and painted to reproduce the famous pagodas throughout China, as well as a few from Japan and Korea. Some of the models are accurate reproductions rendered at a 1:50 scale, but since the boys worked from black-and-white photographs without even encountering the pagodas in person, many are 'more imaginatively rendered.'¹⁵ Yet, even through the display-case glass, the attention to detail is exceptionally striking. Some of the models which replicate the stone prototype appear like stone and not painted wood. It seems that while the core frame is composed of wood, clay or granite was overlaid to reproduce the quality of stone. Even the wear and tear, as likely portrayed in photographs of the original pagodas, was carefully captured and detailed in their crumbling condition with broken and missing panels and the growth of weeds in the crevices of the roof and walls. Although I have not come across any documents thus far which note that the wooden pagodas were hand painted, the meticulous use of colouring must indeed have been the work of the students at the painting department. In addition to the woodcraft workshop, the Tushanwan craft school had numerous other departments which fostered the techniques of painting, silver

smelting, carpentry, photo-engraving, stained glass production, printing press, and even shoe cobbling.

These craft courses were in addition to the compulsory academic classes of French, mathematics, and Chinese classics which most children were taught from the age of six. According to D. J. Kavanagh, S. J., the classical Chinese lessons were provided “so as to enable them to compete in the [Imperial] examinations.”¹⁶ Until the abolition of the Chinese examination system in 1905, those who aspired to become civil servants at the court were required to possess extensive knowledge in the classics. By preparing the boys for this archaic yet obligatory exam, the Jesuits were hoping to foster religious men who may have influence at court, as exemplified by Xu Guangqi.

When Johannes Ferrer began instructing some of the youths in the art of sculpting and carving, the practice was initially devoted in its entirety to the production of religious artefacts for the churches in Shanghai and even beyond, such as the Sheshan Basilica (officially known as a National Shrine and the Minor Basilica of Our Lady of Sheshan) located outside of Shanghai in Songjiang District (松江区). Similar to the printing house, as religious orders were satisfactorily fulfilled and greater numbers of boys came into the orphanage and consequently entered the craft school, the workshop

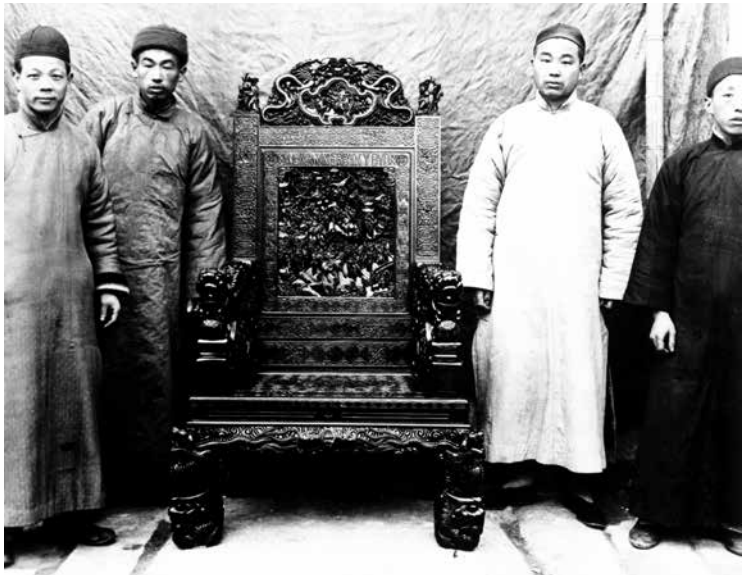


Figure 6: The 1933 Eisteddfod Chair. (Courtesy: National Museum of Wales)

could accommodate special requisitions from private patrons. Large cabinets, dining chairs, and tables were crafted for the expatriate community in Shanghai as well as to fulfill overseas commissions. Dr. John Robert Jones was one such patron. A Welsh barrister and a leading figure in the Shanghai branch of the Royal Asiatic Society, he had arrived in Shanghai in 1924. Obviously recognising the craftsmanship by the young men at Tushanwan, in 1933 he commissioned the Eisteddfod Chair to be awarded as a prize for the National Eisteddfod at Wrexham—a Welsh national festival of music, song, and poetry competition. The 1933 Eisteddfod chair, which entered the collection of the National Museum of Wales, was modelled after the 1926 Swansea Eisteddfod Chair, which was also constructed by the Tushanwan woodcraft workshop.¹⁷

Another unique commission was the wooden panelling for the opulent Chinese Pavilion and the open octagonal lawn pavilion on the site of the Museum of the Far East in Laken, Belgium. The request came from King Leopold II after he had viewed the small-scale wooden model of Xujiahui at the Fifth World Exposition in Paris, France, in 1900. The boys' exceptional carving skills became widely known, whether as novelty or necessity. By 1937, an English-language advertisement featured in *A Guide to Catholic Shanghai* states "*personal orders can be filled at moderate prices*" for various goods and services from the Tushanwan craft school, thus exemplifying the expanding commercial viability and sustainability of the various workshops.¹⁸ To date, sources point only to foreign, or more specifically, Western patronage. Is this because the objects articulate a Chinese essence and reinforce an exotic cultural reference? Could it be that the cultural construction emanating from the Tushanwan workshops appealed to what the scholar Edward Said has defined as the West's colonialist gaze of Orientalism?¹⁹

Sinologist Rudolf G. Wagner argues that the International Settlement in Shanghai which existed from 1850 to 1949 was a site of technical and cultural innovation due to the liberties arising from the separation of Chinese society and state.²⁰ In comparison to the walled city centre of Shanghai, the Chinese populace in the foreign concessions took bolder risks and fostered more dynamic ideas to reap higher gains socially and economically. While finely crafted objects came out of the Tushanwan workshops, the craft school nonetheless operated in its own sphere of foreign influence. Even

with first-hand knowledge and technological advances imported from the West to the orphanage workshop, a great majority of the young boys were manufacturing goods according to proscribed standards and directives as set by their Jesuit teachers. Within its own walled community of the orphanage and the workshop, there existed the division of society from the Chinese state, but not necessarily society from church. In its own hierarchies of a stratified system, where all children entering the orphanage were baptised regardless of their will, a great majority of the boys would have obediently followed the orders of the elders, especially in the absence of their own parents who had



Figure 7: (top) Shoe cobbling workshop. (bottom) Choir performance.
(Photos courtesy of the Tushanwan Museum)

left them temporarily or permanently. A section of the orphanage guideline states,

“All orphans are under the custody of the teachers at the orphanage. If a child breaks the rules, he will be strictly reprimanded. If any misfortune befalls a child, the child’s family must not interfere and must leave it to the will of God.”²¹

Those who may not have been able to withstand the living or working situation in the orphanage could have escaped, but the reality of poverty on the streets, as some might have already experienced first hand before entering the orphanage, was probably a major discouragement for any who might have considered running away. Based on the showing of numerous chubby boys’ faces, as revealed in many of the old photographs displayed at the Tushanwan Museum, the children were well fed and warmly dressed in cold months. They even had the luxury of having shoes when most poor children on the street had to go barefoot. And while play was encouraged through band concerts and drama performances, those performative arts still required the child to follow the dictates of the score or script. The basic education and training within the Catholic system provided at Tushanwan, in many ways, does not seem exceptionally different from the rote learning the boys would have been indoctrinated with at Confucian schools, especially since the greater part of their learning required memorisation of Bible verses and foreign words, especially for their lessons in French and Latin.

AN ART HISTORICAL ASSESSMENT

What the wood carved panels and the oil paintings and the silver tea sets that were the products of Tushanwan craft school reveal is the fortitude of the young boys to follow directions and spend many hours in repetitive tasks until mastery was eventually achieved. Every piece of art produced by the boys, young and old, from Tushanwan was an instruction in fabricating a replica from a given model. Working from the designs established by their director and teacher, the boys had little room for creative maneuvering. Yet, this was not symptomatic of the Tushanwan craft school but prevalent throughout the education system which would last through the late-20th Century



Figure 8: (top) Silversmith workshop (Photo courtesy of the Tushanwan Museum).
(bottom) Tushanwan painting workshop (Photos courtesy of the Tushanwan Museum)

even in developed nations.

Even after rigorous training in drawing, tracing, and copying at the painting workshop, most of the ‘artists’ were still only receiving meager wages for producing religious paintings or portraits for the wealthy. Zhang Junmin, who had entered the orphanage in 1935 at the age of nine, notes,

Important people in Shanghai came to Tushanwan all the time, asking the teachers here to paint their portraits. I recall the head of the French police station in Shanghai came with his wife for a one metre portrait in oils.²²

It appears even the best-trained students may not have met the requirements of the elite patrons, since their teachers were called upon for high commissions.

This is not to imply that the Tushanwan craft school did not meet the requirements of an educational institution. Without a doubt, all manner of training at Tushanwan craft school provided the students with the necessary skills to find gainful employment, whether in the field of visual culture as illustrators, lithographers, engravers, theater set painters, or as technical professionals in Shanghai's burgeoning world of commercial print. In one of the galleries at the Tushanwan Museum, there is a section highlighting its prominent artists. Curiously, there are only four listed: Zhou Xiang (1871–1933), who went onto open four art schools teaching Western-style painting, Xu Yongqing (1880–1953), who opened up a water-colour painting studio, Zhang Yuguang (1885–1968), a successful commercial artist, and Zhang Chongren (1907–1998), one of the most renowned sculptors and painters, who experienced added fame as featured cartoon figure in Tin Tin. There is also a small tribute to the masters of woodcarving where, along with the foreign instructors Leo Mariot (1830–1902) and Aloysius Beck, their Chinese students Pan Kegong (1852–1917) and Xu Baoqing (1926–2008) are recognised. Adding to this list, I would also include Hang Zhiying (1899–1947), who after leaving the Tushanwan craft school, went on to open his own successful commercial press, producing calendar pictures. Yet, the totality of the numbers of notable artists pale when according to the official records published by Xuhui District, "*Over more than a century, the Orphanage took in nearly 10,000 orphans and children.*"²³

China's famed modernist artist Xu Beihong's oft-quoted phrase is circulated to proclaim that the Tushanwan painting workshop "*initiated the development of Western painting in China.*" The students were indeed taught the new-to-China but traditional-to-the-West techniques of producing naturalism through single-point perspective, modelling, and shading. This realistic way of visualising the world had been introduced earlier in China's history by foreign Jesuits, such as

Giulio Alenio (1582, Brescia–1649, Fuzhou) and Giuseppe Castiglioni (1688, Milan–1766, Beijing). Yet, respectively, the impact of their art was isolated to Jesuit tracts and confined within the sphere of Imperial court culture. Despite the Western forms of academic education and vocational training the boys at Tushanwan received, the constraints of the temporal and religious reality in which they subsisted, did not necessarily provide the grounds for fostering liberal thinking or creative innovation. Yet, the foundation was set and the course was established for few of the boys to enter Shanghai society and affect transformations, which will be examined in the next part of this ongoing research.

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Endnotes

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LASZLO HUDEC, FIVE LANDMARKS OF SHANGHAI'S MODERN ARCHITECT

BY JAMES H. BOLLEN^a

IN ITS 1920S and 1930s heyday, Shanghai was arguably the most global metropolis on Earth: a citywide census conducted in 1936 counted a total of 56 different nationalities. This is also reflected in its contemporary buildings. From *Art Deco* to *Streamline Moderne*, the architect who may have best encapsulated the city's structural *Belle Epoque* is Laszlo Hudec. He was born in Banska Bystrica, then part of the Austro-Hungarian Empire, although presently located in Slovakia.

While celebrated in Shanghai, outside of the city and his country of birth, Hudec is not as well-known. Local Shanghai writer Michelle Qiao, co-author of *Hudec Architecture*, has written extensively about him and his work. With reference to his architectural style and uniqueness, she cites a report in *The China Press*, a contemporary newspaper which wrote of him, "the architect may borrow from a hundred sources, but the result is his very own."¹ From 1927 to 1930, Hudec made several overseas trips to countries including the United States, France and Germany. The architecture he saw and closely studied there influenced his work in Shanghai. Some 60 buildings in Shanghai are attributed to Hudec; all were built over a period spanning approximately 20 years, from 1919 to 1941. Echoing his talent and versatility, they include factories, hotels, hospitals, residences and churches. More than half survive today, including some of his masterpieces.

As a young man, Hudec fought in the Great War for Austro-Hungary. He was captured by the Russian army and, en route to a prisoners-of-war camp in Siberia, he jumped off the train transporting him, near the border with China, from where he made his way to Shanghai. Hudec was a polymath. In addition to his contributions as architect and draughtsman, his son Theo commented in an article published in *The Hungarian Review* that he did "*everything from design to engineering, to statistics, to taking care of the workers.*"² Moreover, he was fluent in a dozen languages, a painter (one of his watercolours, titled *Vignola*, is on display in a room in one of his former homes in Shanghai), a cinematographer and a photographer. A prolific writer

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of letters, he enclosed photographs with his missives home to relatives in Hungary.

Many of Hudec's clients were prominent Chinese. He built a house for the Kuomintang's Finance Minister H. H. Kung (Chiang Kai-shek's brother-in-law), once said to be the wealthiest man in China, who was married to one of the Song sisters. He also built one for Sun Ke, the only son of Dr. Sun Yat-sen. His work aside, another explanation for Hudec's popularity as an architect among the Chinese is that he was not a citizen of one of the loathed colonial powers which occupied zones (known as 'concessions') in Shanghai and beyond. Citizens of those countries were subject to the laws of their own lands. As a result of the dissolution of the Austro-Hungarian Empire, Hudec could not access any consular protection in Shanghai. Consequently, he did not have any extraterritorial rights and so was subject to the Chinese rule of law, implying that he could be sued in a Chinese court if he did not meet his contractual obligations.

In 1940 Hudec was granted a Hungarian passport, and the following year he became Honorary Consul of Hungary in Shanghai. During this time, and at great personal risk, he used his position to save the lives of several hundred Jewish refugees until the Second World War had ended in 1945. He did this by issuing passports to Jews who were in some way connected to the old Austro-Hungarian empire, enabling them to travel to Canada and the United States. In addition, according to the same article in *The Hungarian Review*,³ he also took an independent stand against the Hungarian Arrow Cross (Nazi) government, which came to power in October 1944 "by issuing a statement that the Hungarian Consulate no longer pledged allegiance to the government. It was a hugely risky move for which he was nearly arrested." The same article includes a letter of thanks to Hudec, which was written by a Jewish businessman he had helped leave Shanghai.

China's war with Japan put an end to Hudec's architectural career. History then repeated itself when—according to architect Luca Ponceolini, who wrote his PhD thesis on Hudec and who published a book about him in Chinese—he was imprisoned in 1947 by the People's Liberation Army. He managed to escape a second time.⁴ Moreover, after Hudec had left Shanghai and moved back to Hungary, he became a refugee himself when the Communist government took over in 1948. He, along with his wife and daughter, was granted asylum in the United States as political refugees that same year. He lived in



Figure 1: The Normandie Apartments, now Wukang Mansions
(Photo credit: James H. Bollen)

California until his death in 1958.

After 1949, many of Hudec's buildings became government offices and they remain so to this day. While access to them is restricted, the Shanghai municipal government has in recent years acknowledged the importance of Hudec's work. In 2008, jointly with the Hungarian embassy, the Shanghai Urban Planning Administration Bureau initiated the 'Year of Hudec.'

In 2013, the Hudec Memorial Hall, a small museum-like space dedicated to his life and work, opened in Shanghai. Now owned by the local government and a property development company, the memorial hall is located on the ground floor of a restored Tudorbethan-style villa

which Hudec built. Completed in 1930, the architect lived there with his wife, daughter and two sons. The mother of Hudec's half-German wife Gizela came from an aristocratic British family, and it is likely that Gizela deliberately chose this style of housing. As his daughter Alessa recalled in an interview with a local Shanghai magazine, "My father used to tell me that he thought the most important thing for an architect is to produce what his client wants."⁵

On display in the memorial hall are old photos of Hudec's then-new designs, which include the villa itself. In addition, there are some architectural blueprints, as well as personal letters written by and photos of the architect. A sculpture of him is found at the building's entrance. A plaque in English behind the statue states that many of his edifices are "*Shanghai Municipality Outstanding Historic Buildings. This is the reason why Shanghai people recall and commemorate Hudec.*" At least two other archives contain albums of his architectural designs, as well as various other documents and artefacts: the Hudec Heritage Project Archives in Budapest, Hungary, and the Hudec Collection at the University of Victoria in British Columbia, Canada.

The Hudec Memorial Hall is the only building of its kind in the city dedicated to commemorating a foreigner. Given China's modern history, the fact that Hudec was not a citizen of one of the former colonial powers was likely important in the decision to establish the memorial. Together with some of Hudec's buildings in the city, the opening of the memorial hall provides an intriguing insight into Shanghai's history and one of its architectural iconoclasts.

The apartment block known as the 'Normandie Apartments' (Fig. 1) has maintained its original function throughout its history. One of his earliest Shanghai landmarks which was constructed when Hudec worked for the American architect R. A. Curry, in 1924, it was named after the French Battleship Normandie, which was sunk during the First World War. Built in a mixture of French and Neo-Italian Renaissance styles, it resembles New York's Flatiron building.

Around two thirds of the building's rooms were abandoned during the Second World War, since their mostly British and American occupants were sent to internment camps by the Japanese army.⁶ One can imagine this as the abandoned mansion Jim, the protagonist, stays in after becoming separated from his parents in J. G. Ballard's novel *Empire of the Sun*.

By chance, Ballard and his family lived a little further down the



Figure 2: The Park Hotel (Photo credit: James H. Bollen)

road from the Hudecs. The Hudecs resided on Columbia road, now Panyu road, which runs north to south, while the Ballards resided on Amherst Avenue, now Xinhua road, which runs east to west. The two roads intersect, and the former home of the Ballards is both visible and can be accessed from either. The author was born in 1930, the same year the Hudecs moved into their new home, where they lived for seven years. It is not known whether Ballard's family ever had any contact with their near neighbours. Nevertheless, it is a curious coincidence that a number of the central characters in his short stories and novels—for example, Anthony Royale in *High Rise* and Maitland in *Concrete Island*—are architects.

In addition, Ballard's sister, Margaret Richardson, is an architectural historian herself. She has served on the Historic Buildings Council

and was Curator of the Sir John Soane's Museum in London, UK. Margaret recalled in an interview with writer Duncan Hewitt, who has researched and written extensively on the family and their time in Shanghai, that “*one thing I think is important from my brother's perspective, is that my mother was always very, very interested in buildings. I don't mean architecturally, but she loved looking at them... so we were always looking at buildings, and I'm sure she would have done that with my brother.*”⁷ More than likely, those buildings would have included Hudec's, whose constructions were fêted at the time.

More recently, the building was one of a small number of high-rise structures in west Shanghai, which during the Cultural Revolution became known locally as ‘The Diving Board,’ because of the number of people who jumped off it to their deaths, including the actress Shangguan Yunzhu. Alleged to have had an affair with Chairman Mao, she leapt to her death from her seventh floor apartment in 1968.

Construction of the Park Hotel, shown in Fig. 2, was completed a year after that of its neighbour, the Grand Theatre, in 1934. Another of Hudec's buildings, the Grand Theatre is still a cinema today, and it was one of the first buildings in the world to have air conditioning and a sprinkler system fitted. A mixture of *Art Deco* and Neo-Gothic elements, the Park Hotel was not only Shanghai's but also Asia's first skyscraper, and it remained the tallest building in the city until the 1980s. It is said to have been the headquarters of Nazi generals when they visited Shanghai; it later became popular with Mao Zedong and



Figure 3: Former Woo House (Photo credit: James H. Bollen)



Figure 4: Shanghai Writers' Association (Photo credit: James H. Bollen)

Henry Kissinger.

Michelle Qiao and Hua Xiaohong note in their book *Shanghai Hudec Architecture*, “Most of the buildings on the Bund were built by foreign companies. But the Park Hotel... was a source of pride for Shanghai and China. It was owned by the Chinese and built by local constructors with home materials.”⁸

As an adolescent, the architect I. M. Pei played pool in the area when the Park Hotel was under construction. There is a small display about Hudec and the building's construction on the hotel's second floor, which includes a framed photograph of Pei, saying that the hotel “*was my favourite architecture at that time, I was deeply attracted to its height. It was during that moment [that] I decided to become an architect.*”

The Park Hotel also features in *Empire of the Sun*, where Jim watches its neon sign “blur and fade” from an open-air cinema. Given the amount of abandoned hotels scattered throughout J. G. Ballard's fiction, perhaps the Park Hotel had an effect on the author's unconscious mind the way it did on I. M. Pei.

The *Streamline Moderne* building shown in Fig. 3, which was constructed in 1935, was once home to D. V. Woo and his family. Woo, an uncle of I. M. Pei, was a dyeworks tycoon, who made his fortune chiefly by selling green pigments used in China's Nationalist army uniforms. Woo considered green his lucky colour, and hence his former residence is also known as the Green House. Once one of the most luxuriant homes in the Far East, it boasted air conditioning, a lift (one of the first to be installed in a private residence in Shanghai), a billiard room, a bar and an ancestral hall.

After the People's Republic of China had been established in 1949, the ground and first floors housed the Shanghai Association for



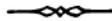
Figure 5: Country Hospital (Photo credit: James H. Bollen)

Industry and Commerce. At the start of the Cultural Revolution in 1966, D. V. Woo and his mistress committed suicide in the house.

The house currently occupied by the Shanghai Writers' Association (Fig. 4) once belonged to Liu Jiansheng, another business magnate and owner of many large Shanghai companies. Hudec designed its garden and gave a statue of *Psyche*, sculpted in Italy, to Liu's wife, Rose, as her 40th birthday present. It still stands there today. In 1948, Liu and most of his family left Shanghai for Hong Kong. One of their daughters stayed in the house until 1952, when it was repurposed as the offices of the Shanghai Writer's Association. The Association continues to occupy the building today. According to Michelle Qiao the statue escaped destruction during the Cultural Revolution thanks to a gardener who hid it in a greenhouse and buried it under straw.⁹

Built at the behest of an anonymous, wealthy businessman, the Italian Neo-Renaissance country hospital shown in Fig. 5 was established as a deed of gift in 1926. It was the first to have air conditioning, not only in Shanghai, but in the Far East as a whole. A letter written in 1947 by the American Consul General in Shanghai, Monnett B. Davis, to the U. S. Ambassador to China, John Leighton Stuart, notes that the donor originally "*intended that the hospital should be used for the benefit of foreign residents in and around Shanghai, and that the hospital should be controlled and managed by foreigners.*"¹⁰ The hospital's patients are now exclusively former senior officials and dignitaries. Similarly to Hudec's other buildings housing Chinese Communist Party cadres, the interior is strictly off limits to lesser comrades. Given that he was the 'go to' architect for some of China's most wealthy and powerful, this is in keeping with Hudec, the man, himself.

James H. Bollen is the author of *Jim's Terrible City, a photographic depiction of Shanghai through the lens of J. G. Ballard's work.*



Endnotes

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THE SEARCH FOR CHINESE ARCHITECTURE:

From Liang Sicheng to Wang Shu

BY CAROLYN HERD ROBERTSON^a

ABSTRACT

While Liang Sicheng, the first architectural historian in China, laid the groundwork for the future of Chinese historic preservation in the first half of the 1900s, Wang Shu, the 2012 Pritzker Prize laureate, is leading the way for modern Chinese design today. They form a unique pair: Liang Sicheng is known by every architect in China, whereas Wang Shu is known by every architect in the world. Even though the times have changed, Wang Shu raises the same questions as Liang Sicheng—what is Chinese architecture? And how can China’s architectural heritage be protected from the pressures of demolition and historic trends? This essay explores the lives of these two Chinese architects, their similarities and differences, and the lasting impact they both have made and continue to make on the future of Chinese architecture. Both Liang Sicheng and Wang Shu’s achievements were, or continue to be, in collaboration with their architect wives: Liang Sicheng with Lin Huiyin, and Wang Shu with Lu Wenyu.

INTRODUCTION

Else Glahn notes in *Chinese Traditional Architecture*,

Although the record of Chinese history spans more than two millennia, the historiography of the nation’s architecture is less than a century old. The architectural profession did not exist in imperial China. Buildings, public and religious alike, were erected by craftsmen, mostly anonymous, who were also responsible for their maintenance. Because timber was the most important building material, the task of building fell largely to carpenters, whose skill and responsibility for maintenance was in turn handed down to their sons or apprentices. Unlike painting and calligraphy, building was not regarded as one of the fine arts, and hence Chinese

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historians were not interested in the subject.¹

It is against this backdrop that the Chinese architect first appeared, in the beginning of the 20th Century.

Yang Yongsheng, in his book *The Four Generations of Chinese Architecture*, asserts that the first generation of Chinese architects was born in the late Qing dynasty or before the 1911 Revolution, such as the American-trained Liang Sicheng, Tong Jun, and Yang Tingbao (all trained at the University of Pennsylvania); the second generation was born during the 1910s and 1920s, including Feng Jizhong, Hua Lanhong, Mo Bozhi, Xu Zhong, and Zhang Kaiji; the third generation was born during the 1930s and 1940s and educated in Communist China, including Cheng Tainin, Dai Fudong, He Jingtang, Qi Kang, and Peng Yigang; the fourth generation of Chinese architects was born during the 1950s and 1960s, including Wang Shu, and also Bu Bing, Han Tao, Liu Jiakun, Qingyun Ma, Urbanus, Yung Ho Chang, and Zhang Lei.

Looking back at the first generation of Chinese architects, Yang Yongsheng's list could also include Cai Fangyin, Chen Zhi, Dong Da You, Fan Wenzhao (Robert Fan), Li Jin Pei (Poy Gum Lee), Lu Qianshou (H.S. Luke), Lü Yan Zhi, Xi Fu Quan, Yang Xiliu, Zhao Shen, and many others born between 1890 and 1910.

The second generation would not be complete without mentioning I. M. Pei, who was born in China in 1917, went to the United States in 1935, completed his undergraduate degree in architecture from the Massachusetts Institute of Technology (MIT) in 1940, and his Master's degree from Harvard University in 1946. Not long after earning his degrees, Pei became an American citizen, in 1954. Twenty years would pass before Pei returned to China, in 1974, with a delegation of American architects. At a lecture on that visit, Pei urged Chinese architects to search China's traditional architectural heritage for inspiration and not to rely on imitating Eastern European styles. Pei won the Pritzker Prize in 1983 as a Chinese–American citizen.

Considering the third generation became adults at the time of the Cultural Revolution, between 1966 to 1976, this is a complex group with only a few of those architects still practicing today. One notable example is He Jingtang, who designed the China Pavilion at the 2010 China Expo in Shanghai and recently participated in the 2016 Venice Biennale of Architecture.

Around 2000, government rules changed in China, and Chinese



Figure 1: Foguang Temple, 857 CE.



Figure 2: Wang Shu, China Academy of Art, Hangzhou, 2012. (Photo by Iwan Baan)

architects were allowed to establish their own practices and pursue more creative architectural designs. Along with the list noted by Yang Yongsheng above, this prolific fourth generation of architects born in the 1950s, 1960s, and 1970s could also include Deshaus, Li Xiaodong, Ma Yansong (MAD), Rural Urban Framework, Scenic Architecture, Standard Architecture, TM (Tony Ming) Studio, Vector Architects, and many others.

Liang Sicheng and Lin Huiyin were architects many generations before Wang Shu and Lu Wenyu, yet there are many connections in their approach to Chinese heritage and architecture. While Wang Shu is quoted seeing himself as “*a scholar, craftsman, and architect—in that order,*” Liang Sicheng was also a scholar, architectural historian, and architect. Liang Sicheng searched for China’s heritage so he could record it for future generations; Wang Shu searches China’s heritage alongside craftsmen so he can create modern Chinese architecture—both new and restored. Above are two images that exemplify their discoveries and designs.

EARLY LIVES

Liang Sicheng was born in Tokyo in 1901. He was the eldest son of Liang Qichao and Li Huixian. Liang Qichao was a scholar-turned-political reformer who fled to Japan after the Empress Dowager’s coup d’état crushed the Hundred Days’ Reform movement of 1898. After the 1911 Revolution, the Liang family returned from Japan and eventually moved to Beijing when Liang Sicheng was about 10 years old. Liang Qichao’s former courtyard-style home is still standing and located at 23 Beigouyan Hutong, but now used for public housing.² While



Figure 3: Lin Huiyin and Liang Sicheng



Figure 4: Wang Shu and Lu Wenyu

a student at Beijing's Tsinghua Xuetang (now Tsinghua University), Liang Sicheng started his life-long studies in design and architecture.

Born in Hangzhou in 1904, Lin Huiyin was the daughter of Lin Changmin—a worldly politician and scholar—and his second wife, He Xueyuan. Lin Changmin's eldest son with his third wife was named Lin Huan and is the father of American architect Maya Lin. In the summer of 1920, Lin Changmin was sent to London as the director of China's League of Nations Association. Lin Huiyin accompanied her father and enrolled at St. Mary's College where she studied writing and poetry and also became known as Phyllis Lin. While Lin Huiyin was later a student at the University of Pennsylvania, her father was assassinated during the political turmoil in Beijing in 1925.

Wang Shu was born in Urumqi (Xinjiang Province) in 1963. When he was a young boy, he also moved to Beijing and lived in a *siheyuan* or courtyard-style house in a traditional lane neighbourhood, called a *hutong*. After an interview with Wang Shu for *Dezeen*, Amy Frearson reported,

His father is a musician as well as an amateur carpenter (in Urumqi). His mother, whose home is Beijing, is a teacher for young children as well as a school librarian. His parents' pursuits sparked an interest in Wang Shu for materials, crafts, and literature. When he was a teenager, he had to travel between Urumqi and Beijing by train, a distance of 4000 km, a four-day and four-night train ride. These travels afforded him the opportunity to grow up with a broad and changeable nature. Without any teacher of art, he began to draw and paint on his own. Those early interests at first seemed to be leading him toward a career as an artist or writer. Many of his drawings were left on the walls of the narrow street adjacent to the courtyard of the home where he once lived in Beijing. Even many years after he moved away, his neighbors protected the drawings on the walls, waiting for his return.³

During Wang Shu's lecture to the Royal Academy in London in 2016, he noted that as part of the trip to Beijing in May 2012 to collect the Pritzker Prize, he took his son to see the neighbourhood and house where he grew up, but it was being demolished for a new high-rise

tower. Wang Shu showed the audience a photograph of the demolition site and explained that Beijing had cut its relationship with him; and he could find nothing that held memories for him there.⁴ The issue of memory continues to be an integral part of Wang's design work.

Lu Wenyu was born in China in the 1960s. She and Wang studied architecture together at the Nanjing Institute of Technology. They eventually married and moved to Hangzhou. Lu is a very private person and is often quoted saying she does not want to be famous. In an interview with the Spanish newspaper *El País* Lu Wenyu said,

In China, you lose your life if you become famous. I want a life and I prefer to spend it with my son [...] I'm happy to be able to do architecture that I believe helps our towns and cities to be better. I'm convinced that to talk about this awakens interest in others—not being famous.⁵

ACADEMIC BACKGROUND AND ARCHITECTURAL RECOGNITION

Liang Sicheng and Wang Shu, both scholars, continued to study architecture even after they had received their degrees. On the way to becoming deans of prestigious university architecture departments in China, they both married architects and carried on their work with their wives as partners.

In the 1920s, more than 20 Chinese students went to the University of Pennsylvania in Philadelphia (USA) to study architecture under Paul Philippe Cret and the influence of his Beaux Arts programme. Liang Sicheng was part of this group, completing both a Bachelor's and Master's of architecture by 1927. Lin Huiyin was not admitted to the all-male School of Architecture so instead received a Bachelor's of Arts from the University of Pennsylvania's School of Fine Arts in 1927, while also working as a part-time assistant in the architecture department. Liang Sicheng continued his studies of Chinese architecture at Harvard University's Graduate School of Design, only to discover that very little was known or published about Chinese architectural history. At the same time, Lin Huiyin enrolled in the Yale University School of Drama to study stage set design. The young graduates, married in 1928, travelled through Europe on their honeymoon and returned to China on the Trans-Siberian Railway.

Upon his return, Liang Sicheng was asked to establish an architecture department in Manchuria at Northeastern University, in

the city of Shenyang (formerly Mukden). Liang Sicheng was joined on the faculty by Lin Huiyin and the next year, in 1929, by Chen Zhi (Benjamin Chen), Tong Jun, and Cai Fangyin—all University of Pennsylvania graduates. Unfortunately, this time of peace and academic growth would not last long. After the *18 September 1931 Incident*, Japan continued its invasion into northern China and the Northeastern University was evacuated.

Liang Sicheng and Lin Huiyin began the first of many moves. Their first stop was in Beijing, where Liang Sicheng became the director of research at the Institute for Research in Chinese Architecture, with offices located within the Forbidden City.⁶ The Institute's objective was to study traditional Chinese architecture through understanding oral traditions and by decoding ancient building manuals to learn past methods of construction. Liang also spoke with many carpenters who maintained the Palace buildings so he could understand and document their knowledge of traditional building skills. A few generations later, Wang Shu's approach to understanding building construction, materials, and methods would build on Liang's deep curiosity and pursuit of understanding the evolution of Chinese architecture.

During the more peaceful years from 1932 to the first half of 1937, Liang and Lin travelled all over China with colleagues from the Institute in a quest to document as many ancient structures as possible. In 1934, Harvard professor John Fairbank and architectural historian Wilma Fairbank invited Liang and Lin to join their research team in Shanxi province. When the Fairbanks and Liangs were not recording ancient Chinese structures, they lived in the same *hutong* neighbourhood in Beijing and became very good friends. By 1937, the Japanese army advanced south into China, forcing Liang and Lin to evacuate their home in Beijing and move west to Changsha, then Kunming, and eventually—in 1941—to Lujiang in Sichuan province. In Lujiang, Liang Sicheng became a research fellow at the Academia Sinica. Far from war, Lujiang also became a cultural centre for many displaced academics from all fields of study. Soon after, the Institute for Research in Chinese Architecture became part of the Academia Sinica. During their Kunming and Lujiang periods, Liang and Lin continued to write, research, and survey architectural sites. In 1943, Liang asked John Fairbank, now stationed at the United States Embassy in Chungking, to microfilm his vast collection of architectural drawings which would later become *A Pictorial History of Chinese Architecture*.

After World War II ended, Liang and Lin returned to Beijing in 1946. Liang Sicheng was asked to establish and head the new department of architecture at Tsinghua University. If Peking University was considered the Harvard University of China, then Tsinghua was its MIT or Massachusetts Institute of Technology. At this time, Liang was the most respected architect in China, receiving many international honours. Yale University invited him to be a visiting professor during the 1947 spring term. During this time, Liang Sicheng was also asked to be part of the design team for the new United Nations building in

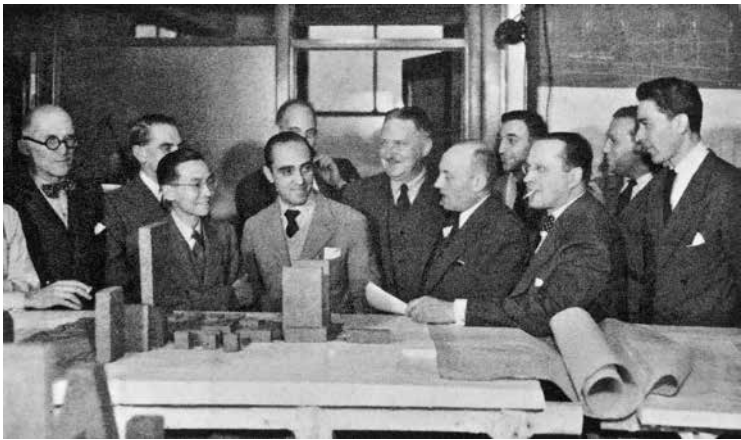


Figure 5: Liang Sicheng, United Nations Board of Design, New York, 1947
(third from left)



Figure 6: Wang Shu receiving the Pritzker Prize, Beijing, 2012

New York alongside Le Corbusier, Oscar Niemeyer, and many other distinguished architects.

In April 1947, Princeton University gave Liang the honorary degree Doctor of Letters for being ...

[a] creative architect who has also been a teacher of architectural history, a pioneer in historical research and exploration in Chinese architecture, and a leader in the restoration and preservation of the priceless monuments of his country.⁷

This time of high honours and respect for Liang was coming to an end with the founding of the People's Republic of China in 1949. At this time, Liang Sicheng was 48 years old.

Unlike Liang Sicheng, Wang Shu did not leave China to study architecture. In 1985, he received his undergraduate degree from the Nanjing Institute of Technology (now Southeast University). By 1988, Wang Shu completed his Master's of architecture degree also at the Nanjing Institute of Technology. After graduation, Wang worked for the Zhejiang Academy of Fine Arts in Hangzhou (now the China Academy of Art), pursuing research on architecture and the environment in relation to the renovation of historic buildings. Wang later received his Ph.D. in architecture from Tongji University, in 2000.

Before founding Amateur Architecture Studio in 1997 with Lu Wenyu, Wang spent eight years working with craftsmen and learning how to build. Wang Shu and Lu Wenyu insist on a collaboration among their office staff at Amateur Architecture Studio, their architecture students from the China Academy of Arts, and the construction workers for their ongoing projects. In a 2013 interview at the Architectural League in New York, Toshiko Mori asked Wang Shu and Lu Wenyu about the way they build. Lu Wenyu explained that it is a collaboration,

... it's a basic condition for working on the project. Every time the client and the construction company must agree to the collaborative methodology, otherwise we will refuse the project. It's very important to us." In the same interview, Wang Shu noted that he is "more focussed on the workers; Wenyu is more focussed on the students. She

is also a professor of architecture at the China Academy of Arts, teaching a first-year course about traditional joinery and carpentry.⁸

By 2007, Wang Shu had been appointed Dean of the Architecture School at the Chinese Academy of Art. When the architecture department first opened, there were only two professors, Wang Shu and the artist Ai Wei Wei. The China Academy of Art's architecture school is known for its unique teaching philosophy which requires hands-on learning about craftsmanship with real materials, including wood, bamboo, metal, brick, and concrete. Students learn architecture theory, urban design, history, and landscape design, but also drawing, calligraphy, carpentry, and even brick-laying. The school is unique, because it mostly enrolls art students seeking to become architects. While Wang Shu is still its dean today, he has also been a visiting professor at many international architecture programmes.

In 2011, Wang Shu became the first Chinese architect to become the *Kenzo Tange Visiting Professor* at Harvard University's Graduate School of Design. In the autumn 2011 term, Wang Shu and Lu Wenyu were both instructors for their course, entitled "Landscape Wooden (Hill and Water) House – A Natural Form of Architectural Narration and Construction In Ancient Landscape Painting." In *shanshui* (hill and water) painting, the buildings are secondary to the landscape. Part of the course description noted, "*The existence of buildings in the paintings shows the desire of coexisting with nature ... a humble attitude facing nature.*" The students were asked to design a building for a site in Hangzhou along an ancient canal which had been partially ruined by commercial development, with "*an architecture and landscape approach to remedy this renowned area both in historical poetry, and hill and water paintings.*"⁹

Wang Shu and Lu Wenyu first gained international recognition in 2006 at the 10th Venice Biennale of Architecture with their installation *Tiled Garden*, made from thousands of salvaged roof tiles. By 2010, the German Schelling Architecture Foundation prize was awarded to Wang Shu and Lu Wenyu, with the citation

In the shadow of the spectacular manifestos of China's new architecture, Amateur Architecture Studio is demanding a return to the historical tradition of Chinese architecture

in its dialogue between crafts and landscape. The office is consciously working with local resources and materials to derive its poetic and atmospheric energy. Beyond the global boom of vain icons, architecture thus returns to the point from which it has always started anew: in the use of local resources and the incorporation of local traditions. This attitude is thus a paradigm for every other region of the world. Perhaps it is a paradox that such a powerful counterposition is being formulated in the realm of the very world power which is accelerating global development today.¹⁰

In 2012, Wang Shu was the first Chinese citizen ever to be awarded the highest architecture honour, the Pritzker Architecture Prize, “*for his consistent careful consideration of Chinese architectural heritage, traditions and the local environment in all of their designs.*” Part of the jury citation read,

The question of the proper relation of present to past is particularly timely, for the recent process of urbanization in China invites debate as to whether architecture should be anchored in tradition or should look only toward the future. As with any great architecture, Wang Shu’s work is able to transcend that debate, producing an architecture that is timeless, deeply rooted in its context and yet universal.¹¹

In an interview with the *Los Angeles Times*, Wang Shu expressed his sentiment that “*Lu deserved to share the Pritzker Prize with him.*”¹²

Like Liang Sicheng, Wang Shu was 48 years old at this time of high architectural recognition—but the times could not have been more different. While Liang faced decades of China becoming more isolated from the world and less open to creative thought and debate, Wang is living at a time of a more experimental and inquisitive China. From around 2000 onwards, architects in China have been able to build site-sensitive, uniquely Chinese designs while at the same time challenging and rejecting mundane Chinese ‘modern’ architecture and nondescript ‘government-approved’ buildings.

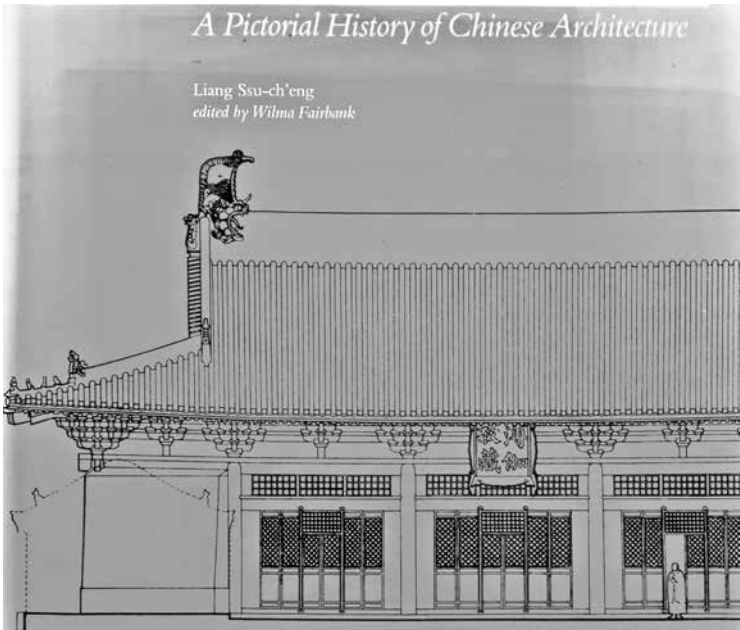


Figure 7: A Pictorial History of Chinese Architecture, book cover, 1984

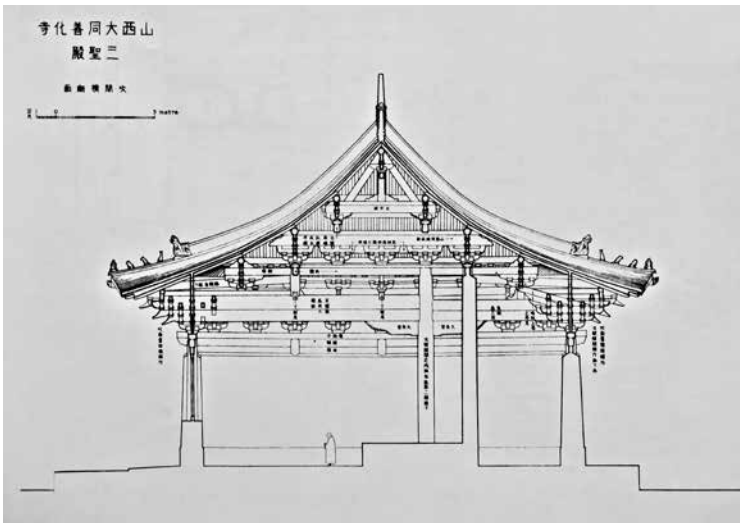


Figure 8: Cross-section, Shan-hua Ssu, Liang Sicheng

PARTNERSHIPS, PROJECTS, AND PUBLICATIONS

In 1929, Liang formed the design partnership *Liang, Chen, Tong, Cai Architects* in Shenyang with fellow University of Pennsylvania graduates Chen Zhi, Tong Jun, and Cai Fangyin. Unfortunately, this

creative foursome was disbanded with the increasing aggressions of war from Japan.

After Liang and Lin returned to Beijing in 1931, they worked together or individually on only a handful of projects, including two buildings for Peking University: the 1934 Geological Department building and the 1935 Women's Dormitory building. Both buildings are examples of the *Streamlined Moderne* style, with the Geological Department building using the flat Chinese arched entrance and the Women's Dormitory integrating the more ubiquitous Chinese arched gate. Both the Geological Department and the Women's Dormitory buildings use the traditional Chinese grey brick typical of Beijing and the Chinese courtyard form or tower gesture. It is noteworthy that neither of these 1930s buildings have Chinese-style roofs—a design feature that was very popular on university campuses in China at this time. This 'Chinese Renaissance Style' was criticised by Liang in 1935, when he accused American architect Henry Murphy and others of copying the Chinese roof (without the correct proportions) and placing their attempt at a Chinese roof on a Western building without understanding Chinese structural differences in architecture.

For Liang Sicheng and Lin Huiyin, their greatest achievement as architects was not the buildings they designed, but the buildings they discovered, measured, and recorded in their 1946 book, *A Pictorial History of Chinese Architecture* (collected and edited by Wilma Fairbank and published by MIT Press in 1984). Liang wrote in the Preface,

The Chinese building is a highly 'organic' structure. It is an indigenous growth that was conceived and born in the remote prehistoric past, reached 'adolescence' in the Han dynasty, matured into full glory and vigor in the T'ang dynasty, mellowed with grace and elegance in the Sung dynasty, then started to show signs of old age, feebleness, and rigidity, from the beginning of the Ming dynasty. Though it is questionable how much longer its lifeblood can be kept flowing, throughout the thirty centuries encompassed in this volume the structure has retained its organic qualities, which are due to the ingenious and articulate construction of the timber skeleton where the size, shape, and position of every member is determined by structural necessity.¹³

Liang and Lin, along with colleagues from the Institute for Research in Chinese Architecture, discovered and documented many historic sites that still stand today, including the Zhaozhou Bridge or 'Great Stone Bridge' (581–618 CE), the Foguang Temple (857 CE) and the Dúlè Sì, also known as the Temple of Solitary Joy (984 CE). But many other ancient temples and structures were lost during the war with Japan, the Chinese civil wars, and the Cultural Revolution. *A Pictorial History of Chinese Architecture* documented both existing and demolished buildings, and it is also considered one of the most invaluable collection of drawings, photographs, and text on Chinese architectural history ever written.

In April 1947, the *Daily Princetonian* reported on an interview with Liang at Princeton University:

The discovery of the oldest dated building in China (Foguang Temple, 857 CE), culminated a 16 year search among the cave temples of the T'ang dynasty ... which eventually was to take him into 15 provinces, Mr. Liang found that a principal source of information was the local records known as *chihs*. He found that there were *chihs* in each province and county and that other *chihs* had been preserved in the case of famous monasteries and even mountains. They served him as 'sort of a local Baedeker or guide book.'

The *Daily Princetonian* interview continued,

Since 1931, Mr. Liang has covered 15 of the 28 Chinese provinces extending this search through 200 counties and 2,000 smaller provincial units. He has discovered approximately 500 temples and ancient structures. Most of the temples were built in several units and some are in an excellent state of preservation. One basic characteristic of virtually all of these buildings, Mr. Liang said, is that they consist of a raised platform on which is erected a structural frame or skeleton supporting a pitched roof with overhung eaves. The spaces between the framework were filled with walls that carried no weight, or with windows and doors,

or were left entirely open. This gave the buildings a high degree of adaptability and flexibility which make them suitable for any of the diverse climatic conditions from the South China Sea to the Siberian border. Mr. Liang feels that architectural students who are familiar with this type of architecture will catch the spirit no matter what medium they may use in their own designing. He doesn't believe in copying architectural designs, but believes that some of the features of these structures will appear in future modern architecture.¹⁴

Seventy years later in 2017, Wang Shu and Lu Wenyu are fulfilling Liang Sicheng's vision with their modern Chinese designs.

In 1934, Liang also published his translation and interpretation of the 1730s Qing-era building manual, *Qing Structural Regulations*. This book also became a standard textbook for understanding the building rules and methods of Chinese architecture and established Liang as China's first architectural historian. News of this publication also attracted keen interest from architects and academics in Europe and the United States. Liang continued his studies of ancient building manuals with his work from the 1940s to the 1960s on the Song dynasty-era *Yingzao Fashi* (*Treatise on Architectural Methods*).

Unfortunately, the Cultural Revolution put a hold on this project and again another of Liang's greatest works was not published until after his death—in this case, Liang's *Annotated Yingzao Fashi* was published in 1980 by Tsinghua University. Liang and Lin's efforts as scholars, architectural historians, and architects was to share their deep appreciation and understanding of Chinese architecture in hopes of the continuation of Chinese building traditions but also to preserve China's architectural heritage and ultimately laying the foundation of historic preservation in China.

Twenty-five years after Liang's death, in 1997, Amateur Architecture Studio was founded in Hangzhou by Wang Shu and Lu Wenyu. Wang Shu says they chose Hangzhou because of its natural beauty and the way buildings and nature blend together. He sees Hangzhou as a region known for scholars, poetry and painting. At the Royal Academy lecture in London in 2016, Wang Shu laughed when he was once told, "he has no future as an architect if he lives in Hangzhou."

Wang Shu and Lu Wenyu often state that they do not want to be

professional architects.

Their office name, Amateur Architecture Studio, references the approach an amateur builder takes – one based on spontaneity, craft skills and cultural traditions. The firm utilizes everyday techniques to adapt and transform materials for contemporary projects. The unique combination of traditional understanding and experimental building tactics defines the foundation of the studio's architectural projects.¹⁵

They chose the name as a reaction against the 'professional, soulless architecture' practiced in China, which they believe has contributed to the large-scale demolition of many old urban neighborhoods.¹⁶

As self-described amateurs, Wang Shu and Lu Wenyu can engage in their practice more as artists or craftsmen.

When asked about 'the strong spirit of informality' in the designs of their Amateur Architecture Studio, Wang Shu replied,

It is always a dialectic between the formal and the informal. We are most interested in that relationship. They have to coexist. I hate 'perfect' things. To me, the perfect things are just a lot of imperfect things put together. Some people design too cleanly. They remove imperfections, everything disappearing perfectly into a line. It is perfect. But it is not real life.¹⁷

By 2000, Amateur Architecture Studio had completed the Library of Wenzheng College at Suzhou University. The building was designed with careful consideration of the mountainous environment, the relationship to water, and the traditions of Suzhou's cultural heritage. In 2004, Amateur Architecture Studio received the Architecture Arts Award of China for the Library of Wenzheng College—their first major project.

Amateur Architecture Studio has continued to design many unique structures, including college campus buildings, art museums, housing projects, exhibition halls, and installations at different Venice

Biennales. The firm is also conserving historic buildings in their current project in the rural village of Wencun. Some of their projects include the San He Residence/Housing Prototype, within Sifang Park's campus (2003), the Xiangshan Campus of the China Academy of Art (2004–2007), the Ningbo Contemporary Art Museum (2005), the Ceramic House in Jinhua (2006), Ningbo History Museum (2008), and the Ningbo Tengtou Pavilion at the Shanghai Expo (2010). These buildings are all unique to purpose, site, and environment, but all share an imaginative and poetic essence that evokes Chinese heritage combined with new, creative forms.

In an April, 2016 interview, Lu Wenyu was asked about the future of rural architecture in China. Lu expressed serious concerns about China's interest in rural urbanization or 'New Rural Construction.' She said,

What we want to do is to try to show local governments a different approach to developing rural areas in order to attract people from cities—an approach that doesn't involve constructing tall buildings and skyscrapers.

Lu also explained that after many discussions with local farmers and city officials,

... the number of villages that the Hangzhou government decided to preserve has grown from 1,000 to 10,000.¹⁸

In 2017, Wang Shu and Lu Wenyu are nearing completion of the Huang Gongwang Museum, Contemporary Art Gallery, and Archives Building in the city of Fuyang, near Hangzhou.¹⁹ But before they accepted the commission in 2014, Wang Shu first asked for three



Figure 9: Library of Wenzhong College, 1999–2000, Suzhou



Figure 10: Huang Gongwang Museum, Fuyang, 2017. (Photo by Iwan Baan)

months to study Fuyang and the surrounding area. He returned to the Fuyang city officials and agreed to design their urban cultural complex, but on the condition that Amateur Architecture Studio would also renovate part of Wencun, a small village near Fuyang, with the idea of reconnecting urban and rural projects through thoughtful design. As Wang Shu noted at the Royal Academy in 2016, “*Old buildings keep the hope for the future and memories of the past.*”

The Fuyang cultural centre uses a palette of local materials, recycled brick, and tiles to create a Fuyangese collection of courtyards and pavilions with rolling rooflines. In an April 2017 interview with *Architectural Record*, Lu Wenyu noted that she and Wang Shu saw the new Fuyang buildings as part of a landscape which includes Wencun village. “*They form a new painting in a larger geographical space,*” she says.²⁰ Chinese art is often a source of inspiration for Wang Shu and Lu Wenyu.

Like Liang Sicheng, Wang Shu is also putting his ideas into print. In 2012, *Wang Shu: Imagining the House* was published by Lars Müller, the internationally known Swiss publishing house. In a time when most architecture drawings are done on computers from beginning to end, this book is about Wang’s artistic process of design and hand drawing with a sensitivity to scale, detail, and Chinese calligraphy. Liang Sicheng was also engaged in hand-drawing his images of Chinese architecture but in a more measured and technical way. Both architects’ drawings search to capture, revive, and share their common search for understanding the past.

VISIONS FOR THE FUTURE

At the beginning of the Communist era, Liang was appointed Vice Director of the Beijing City Planning Committee. In this role, Liang tried to persuade Mao Zedong to preserve the Old City walls in Beijing and to build new government buildings outside of Beijing’s historic city centre. Ahead of his time, Liang proposed transforming the top of the Old City walls into a city pedestrian park. Liang lost this battle and many others related to historic preservation. Under pressure of extreme policy swings in China, Liang’s views on architecture varied as he tried to survive the complex and cruel political environment which surrounded him.

After the national and international recognition Liang received in the 1930s and 1940s, he went through phases of respect but mostly

extreme humiliation during the rest of his life in China. Both Lin and Liang died in Beijing: Lin from tuberculosis in 1955 and Liang in 1972 from both illness and the inhumane abuses by the Red Guard. Liang Sicheng has now been 'rehabilitated' and restored to the highest level of honour in China. Lin Huiyin is gaining new recognition as China's first female architect and for her writing and poetry. Even with this recent respect for two of China's most significant 20th Century architects, their protected 'immovable cultural relic' courtyard home in Beijing at No. 24 Beizongbu (formerly No. 3 Pei-tsung-pu) *hutong* was illegally demolished by developers during the lunar New Year holiday in 2012.

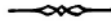
Wang Shu and Lu Wenyu continue to build on their visions of Chinese architecture. Not only do they have the freedom to explore their ideas, they are able to gain the support of their clients and the collaboration of their construction workers and students. By being spontaneous yet true to their unique process and methods of building, they continue to be recognized by China and by the international community for designing in a uniquely modern Chinese style rooted in Chinese heritage.

Liang Sicheng and Lin Huiyin documented ancient Chinese architectural sites, started the heritage movement in China, and shared their deep understanding of China's past in their many documents. Wang Shu and Lu Wenyu are creating new designs which are Chinese but based on ideas of understanding the past, the materials, and also the belief that history does not need to be demolished to make way for new development.

Liang Sicheng and Lin Huiyin started the search for Chinese architecture almost one hundred years ago. It is reassuring to see Wang Shu and Lu Wenyu continue this search with their creation of modern Chinese architecture today.

Carolyn Herd Robertson, a graduate of Vassar College and the University of Pennsylvania (USA), with a Master's degree in Architecture, is a published author of walking tour guide books of Old Shanghai. When not an expat in China (since the 1990s), Princeton, NJ (USA), is her home base, where she has worked on historic restoration projects while also serving on the town's Princeton Historic Preservation Review Committee. In Shanghai today, Carolyn serves on the Council of the Royal Asiatic Society and leads the Shanghai Expatriate Association

Architecture Study Group (which she founded in 2007).



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Figure credits

1. Foguang Temple, 857 CE; Liang S.-C., 1984, *op. cit.*, p. 45
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FROM SOUP TO NUTS:

Eating in old Shanghai

BY BILL SAVADOVE^a

On 7 July 1934, diners at the Canidrome Ballroom in the heart of Shanghai's French concession sat down to a sumptuous 17-course banquet from soup (tomato bouillon) to nuts (salted almonds). Serenaded by the American jazz orchestra 'Buck Clayton and His Harlem Gentlemen,' patrons started with olives, celery, and bread rolls, before moving on to heartier fare.

The meal showcased the international nature of the cuisine in Shanghai and the vibrancy of the dining scene in the 1930s, a phenomenon now repeating itself in the city today. And despite the Sino-Japanese War and poverty in China at the time, the feast was bountiful.

From 1842, following its development as a treaty port, Chinese merchants and foreign settlers brought their home cooking to Shanghai, creating what scholar Mark Swislocki has called a "*national and international culinary marketplace*."¹

The Canidrome menu included everything from American lettuce with Thousand Island salad dressing and California grapefruit to French-style canapes and petit fours. Meat choices were grilled chicken with bacon, and steak. In 1933, Shanghai's Municipal Council opened a slaughterhouse to supply meat to the international settlement, an *art deco* building which survives as commercial complex in Hongkou district.

The menu also featured poached 'Samli' fish, a type of shad caught locally. The waters near Shanghai lacked cod and salmon, so indigenous fish often featured on menus. "*The steamed (Samli) fish melts in the mouth,*" gushed the book '*Common Food Fishes of Shanghai*.'²

But the book's author criticised foreign residents of Shanghai for eating only a handful of the best-known varieties of fish. "*There seems to be a prejudice amongst foreign residents against eating the various fresh-water fishes... The reason given for this is that these fish often have a muddy taste,*" he said, and then urged buying fish live to make a "*very appetising dish*."³

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Figure 1: Dinner menu and entertainment programme for the Canidrome Ballroom in Shanghai's French Concession on 7 July 1934. (Collection of Bill Savadove)

The Canidrome menu listed vegetable dishes like corn on the cob, carrots, and French-fried potatoes. By the early 1930s, Chinese farmers increasingly grew corn and grains like wheat, instead of rice, as land in the Shanghai region was drained. British diplomat and keen amateur botanist Frederick Bourne praised the peas, beans, leeks, cauliflower, spinach, lettuce, and artichokes grown in Shanghai soil. But he complained,

*“Most other vegetables grown in England can be grown here, but they are wanting often in flavour or substance, e.g. potatoes grown in Shanghai mud have no flavour and are quite unfit for human food.”*⁴

He also bizarrely recommended, *“Grow carrots for ponies.”*⁵

Among fruits, strawberries and peaches grew well in Shanghai—as they still do today. But attempts to cultivate apples had met with *“uniform failure,”* Bourne said.⁶ Regardless, the Canidrome menu offered apple pie, probably with fruit from elsewhere.

The foreign businessman in Shanghai *“dines at home, club, or foreign hotel, as nearly in the homeland style as carefully instructed Chinese cooks and ‘boys’ can accomplish,”* journalist Harry Franck wrote in *‘Roving through Southern China.’*⁷ A 1908 phrasebook has the words in Shanghai dialect to order cooks to buy chicken, pheasant, duck, goose, turkey and snipe—as well as roast beef, steak, and shoulder, leg

or chop of mutton.

Long before the City Shop, City Super, or Ole supermarkets in the Shanghai of today, in the 1930s one went to Baboud Marie & C^o for imported French products like pates and truffles, or to Venturis for Italian wines and New Zealand butter.

The exclusive Shanghai Club located on the Bund waterfront, now the Waldorf Astoria hotel, was best known for its ‘Long Bar,’ where seating followed a prescribed hierarchy. But it also served food which in the 1930s included ‘tiffin’ – an Anglo-Indian term meaning lunch popularized by foreigners living in Shanghai – starting with tomato soup, followed by fried fish (Samli) with cucumber, chicken, and bacon accompanied by potatoes and peas, a desert of strawberries, rounded out with cheese, fruit, and coffee. The Astor House, Palace Hotel, Cathay Hotel, and Park Hotel served multi-course meals, the predecessor of the Sunday brunch buffet, which is now a fixture of dining in Shanghai.

In the late 1800s and early 1900s, there was a craze for foreign food among Chinese residents, which took the form of versions of British and French dishes, and later Russian, after the 1917 revolution brought new immigrants to the city. By 1931, there were said to be more than 150 restaurants serving ‘Western’ food.

Jimmy’s restaurant “*where most foreigners eat and meet*” was the favourite, according to a 1936 guidebook.⁸ Its recent reincarnation in 2011 did not survive, although it still exists in Hong Kong. The Wall Street Café (motto: “*short orders our specialty*”) was frequented by members of the U.S. 4th Marine Regiment stationed in the city in the 1930s. The restaurant served hamburgers, chicken cutlets, and doughnuts, now replicated on a larger scale by U.S. fast-food chains in China.

In 1926, a new Cantonese restaurant opened, Sun Ya, which proved hugely popular with foreign diners and earned the title of “*probably the best spot to get a Chinese dinner*” by the guidebook ‘*Shanghai: High Lights, Low Lights, Tael Lights*.’⁹ The bilingual menu, availability of knives and forks and even bread “*for the convenience of foreign patrons*” made the restaurant easily accessible.

Famous dishes included a steamed melon ‘cup’ stuffed with meat and even the Chinese–American concoction Chop Suey: “*Our recipe calls for shredded chicken, duck, pork, mushrooms, bamboo shoots, and bean sprouts.*” A good meal would not be complete without desert.

J. G. Ballard – the British author of ‘*Empire of the Sun*’ based on his childhood and internment by the Japanese in wartime Shanghai – fondly recalled the Chocolate Shop, which had 31 flavors of sundaes. “*Saturday ice cream sundaes at the Chocolate Shop,*” were among a host of treats to look forward to for a boy, he wrote.¹⁰

Bill Savadove is an American journalist who worked in China for two decades. He was formerly the Shanghai Bureau Chief for the European news agency Agence France-Presse (AFP). He was also previously Shanghai Bureau Chief for Hong Kong’s South China Morning Post newspaper and Reuter’s Chief Economic Correspondent for China. He shared a Hong Kong press award for his coverage of the Sichuan earthquake in 2008, as well as a 2012 prize for excellence in environmental reporting awarded by a non-governmental organization in Singapore. He is co-author of a walking guide to historical architecture in Shanghai, *Shanghaianders & Shanghainese: Where They Lived, Worked & Played*.



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Section 4: Society and the Arts

OBSERVATION AND ASYLUM:

Yuan Dongping's 'Mental patients in China'

BY DANIEL VUILLERMIN^a

"I have always maintained that arts, especially photography, should take care of society, and this care should be embodied most in its critical edge."

—Yuan Dongping

The cell is bare. The steel bed is stripped of its mattress, the concrete walls are exposed, the tiled floors are stained. Beneath the bed lies a woman, naked. She holds her legs to her chest like an infant. Her hands dangle. She looks at the camera yet is helplessly under the gaze of the photographer. In this cell, there is nowhere for her to hide, no fabrics to conceal her body, no respite from observers. The documentary photographer is akin to a doctor; both observe. In medicine, observation is to monitor and to record but also to empathise. According to one medical observation manual,

It is sometimes easy to forget that although the treatment of a disease may be entirely impersonal, the care of the patient must always be completely personal ... To walk in a patient's shoes and to understand how day-to-day routines and behaviours may be detrimental to the patient's well-being are key [to observation].¹

This manual could well describe the role of the documentary photographer who seeks to record their subjects objectively, all the while beseeching the viewer of their images to empathise with the conditions of those portrayed. The documentary photographer disregards what Jean Mohr describes as the 'ethical hesitation' of the moment—in this case, capturing a female patient in a Chinese mental institution who is deprived of agency and privacy—in order to serve a grander moral project of civil awareness and social change.²

Before the invention of photography in the early 19th Century, images of asylums and other colonies of the mad were the domain of European painting. Hieronymus Bosch's *Ship of Fools* (1490–

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1500), William Hogarth's asylum in *A Rake's Progress* (1733), and Francisco Goya's *The Madhouse* (1812) each display the marginality and confinement of the mad, but they also signify a public fascination with the lives of lunatics. Soon after the invention of cinema, the asylum would serve as the background of a masterpiece of German expressionist cinema, *The Cabinet of Dr. Caligari* (directed by Robert Wiene, 1920). The film tells of a young man, Francis, and his encounters with a curious hypnotist Dr. Caligari who exploits a somnambulist, Cesare, to commit a series of murders. In what is perhaps the first great twist of the psychological horror genre it is revealed that we have been in the mind of a madman who is an inmate at an asylum. Ted Perry writes that

[the] style of German Expressionism allowed the filmmakers to experiment with filmic technology and special effects and to explore the twisted realm of repressed desires, unconscious fears, and deranged fixations.³

Paintings such as Goya's *The Madhouse* may faithfully portray the miserable conditions of early 19th Century Spanish asylums, but cinema through narrative and imagery could take viewers deep into the minds of the mad. The frame narrative of the asylum recurs in contemporary psychological thrillers such as *Shutter Island* (directed by Martin Scorsese, 2010), and often the success or failure of such films hinges on this particular plot twist; the unsuspecting viewer—having believed all along that what they had seen was real—must recount the plot and discern what was fact and what was madness. If the psychological horror and thriller use the asylum as a backdrop to confound and entertain, the asylum drama is explicit and didactic. Classical Hollywood asylum dramas such as *The Snake Pit* (directed by Anatole Litvak, 1948), based on a semi-autobiographical novel by Mary Jane Ward, was praised upon its release for adhering...

rigidly to documented facts, and they shunned the obvious temptation to melodramatize insanity. The consequence is that their picture ... is a true, illuminating presentation of the experiences of a psychotic in an institute. It is a cryptic but trenchant revelation of a crying need for better facilities for mental care.⁴

Following the critical success of *The Snake Pit* dramatic portrayals of asylums continued throughout the 1960s and 1970s, with New Hollywood films such as *One Flew Over the Cuckoo's Nest* (directed by Milos Forman, 1975) riding the wave of the anti-psychiatry and civil-rights movements. In such films the focus is less about the individual's experience of madness than on the asylum as a disciplinary space where regimes operate to oppress the individual. In reality, however, institutionalisation in the US peaked in 1955 with 558,239 people in public asylums. Since then, there has been a distinct annual decline; today, there are approximately 35,000 mentally ill people in America's state-run psychiatric hospitals.⁵ Yet, ironically, as the social and moral programme of deinstitutionalisation progressed, images of the asylum proliferated, reflecting a public fascination with madness and confinement which, in different modes, is an architectural and allegorical space of repression, exploitation, entertainment, or edification.

At the twilight of the Qing Dynasty (1644–1911), photography and mental asylums entered China. In 1873, Hong Kong's Colonial Surgeon, Dr. Phillip Ayres, wrote,

When I took office ... no asylum existed. Chinese lunatics were sent to Tung Wah Hospital and European lunatics to Gaol.⁶

China, in the 18th and 19th Centuries, unlike Europe and the US, did not undergo what Michel Foucault described as the grand confinement;

the process of confinement ... [which] enforced fraternisation between the poor, the unemployed, the criminal, and the insane.⁷

In China, during the same period, care for the mad was the responsibility of the family. In accordance with the Great Legal Qing Code and traditional Confucian values, families were not only responsible for the care (and confinement) of their mad relatives but would be collectively fined or punished if a crime was committed. As Emily Baum writes,

At no point in the late Imperial period, however, were asylums or psychopathic hospitals introduced for the general management of the insane.⁸

Kinship, then as today, was the primary means of maintaining the mad.

The first asylum established in China was the John G. Kerr Refuge for Insane, founded in 1898 by the eponymous American medical missionary, Kerr, who lived in China from 1854 until his death in Guangzhou province in 1901, was as concerned with saving souls as with saving the minds of his patients. Kerr claimed that by...

showing the Chinese what Christ's love will do for men, we can see also that evangelistic work among the inmates is not without fruit.⁹

Kerr's hospital continues to operate today as the Guangzhou Psychiatric Hospital. Following the establishment of the John G. Kerr Refuge for Insane, psychopathic hospitals emerged in many major cities, including Beijing (1906), Suzhou (1923), and Shanghai (1935). Photographic images of Chinese asylums during this period were largely printed in annual reports of hospitals and asylums. Yet photographs of physical diseases of Chinese people or 'Chinese diseases,' were a popular commodity among expatriates in cities such as Shanghai and with international consumers.¹⁰ According to Roberta Wue, these images

...created a voyeuristic and morbid fascination with specific Chinese cultural practices (e.g., bound feet and Chinese torture and execution) ... Such scenes inevitably made their way into photography and could only reaffirm for Western viewers their worst assumptions about the barbaric and despotic Chinese character.¹¹

Images of mad Chinese, however, were quieted away much like the patients themselves.

By 1949, mental institutions could be found in all of China's major cities and in centres where there were large foreign populations, yet they were underresourced in terms of funding, education, expertise,

and treatment. During the early decades of the People's Republic of China, psychiatry was contested and madness was recast as an ideological illness. During this period, images of the bodies and minds of Chinese people underwent a radical transformation. Social realist images of heroic leaders, hard-working peasants, studious children, and happy minorities reinvented Chinese bodies as active, powerful, and healthy. For China to become a strong socialist country it would need vigorous bodies. This is evident through popular slogans such as 'Build a good physique for socialism!' (为了社会主义积极锻炼身体). Minds, too, would be strengthened through re-education and political conviction. It is unsurprising, then, that there are few images of disability or madness during this period. A further reason why, according to photographer Yuan Dongping, is that...

during that time China was very poor. Very few people could afford a camera ... during that time there were no documentary photographers.

It was not until the late 1970s that non-state-sanctioned images began to proliferate in the People's Republic of China.¹²

In 1982, following the introduction of Deng Xiaoping's reform and opening-up policies, Chinese researchers, together with the World Health Organization, embarked upon the Twelve Regions Survey, the first major epidemiological survey to ascertain the prevalence of mental illness in China.¹³ As Veronica Pearson notes, despite significant variations in the data, the prevalence rates of schizophrenia were 'roughly comparable' to those in Western countries.¹⁴ One significant deviation was the prevalence of depression as Chinese psychiatrists tended to underdiagnose this condition.¹⁵ Subsequent surveys and research show that the majority of people with mental illness were unlikely to receive treatment from mental-health professionals. In this period, state funding for mental institutions was withdrawn; asylums now had to generate sources of income to cover the costs of operation. Pearson, who worked extensively with the Chinese government during the 1980s, describes the conditions of the psychiatric hospitals she visited as ...

bleak and profoundly institutional. Wards were and are routinely locked, lacking in personal space (e.g., lockers)

and devoid of anything that might remind patients of a previous life, like a photograph.¹⁶

By the late 1980s, there were more than 800 asylums in operation administered by various ministries and collectives. In addition to the challenge of creating environments to care for people with mental illness, whether it be a large psychiatric hospital or community-based care, was the stigma of madness. According to Pearson, who in 1995 released a case study on the policies and developments of mental health care in China,

There is widespread belief that mental illness is a punishment for the ancestors' misdeeds visited on the present generation, effectively shaming several generations of the family simultaneously. The 'taint' associated with mental illness is so strong that it extends beyond the affected person, for instance with regard to the issue of marriage.¹⁷

The shame, fear, and loss of face associated with mental illness may explain why so few images of madness appeared in China until the late 1980s. It is for such reasons that photographer Yuan Dongping, together with Lu Nan, decided to document mental patients in China. Yuan states that,

In my contacts with the patients, I found them eager to be understood by the people outside ... I was only thinking that I should record their life with my camera and help them win the understanding and care that should be their due.¹⁸

Yuan and Lu's photographs not only brought to light the lives of the mentally ill in China, but they would mark the emergence of contemporary Chinese documentary photography.

Yuan Dongping (袁冬平) was born in Guangzhou in 1956. After serving in the navy from 1976 to 1980, he studied history at Beijing Normal University. In an interview with Yuan in 2016 he recalls,

I started becoming interested in photography when I was in

middle school. But cameras were expensive and not many places sold them ... At university there was a photography club and it was through this group that I started to become a photographer. In my second year of my degree I became the leader of the club.¹⁹

After graduation in 1984, Yuan was assigned to work at the mausoleum of Mao Zedong in Tian'anmen Square. Yuan states that

My university teacher recommended me to work at Mao Zedong's mausoleum because it might provided photographic opportunities, but the reality was different.²⁰

One of Yuan's friends suggested that he should change jobs and work for a state-run magazine that focuses on minority groups, *Nationality Pictorial* (民族画报). "So I sent off my resume, I passed the test and joined them."²¹ At *Nationality Pictorial*, Yuan met another aspiring photographer, Lu Nan (吕楠, born in Beijing in 1962). Yuan says that

We had the same ideas and dreams ... We decided to start shooting the hutongs of Beijing. Every afternoon for a year and a half we would go to the hutongs. We tried to find different angles and stories.

During this period, according to Yuan, they became 'soul mates.'²²

Yuan and Lu continually conceived new projects. One of the first was a series on blind children, another about people with mental illness. Yuan recounts that...

the sister of one of my friends from university was working An Kang Hospital in Tianjin ... The patients did performances along with the doctors and nurses during Spring Festival. So we went along and the hospital seemed very clean and standardised. The conditions of the hospital looked very good. We were expecting something much worse. It doesn't matter how objective the photographer tries to be, they are always looking for something dramatic ... So we shot for a few days until Spring Festival."²³ According to Yuan, "Our focus on mental patients was Lu

Nan's idea.²⁴

Claire Roberts, a leading historian of Chinese art, states that Lu Nan was partly inspired by American documentary photographer Mary Ellen Mark and her photographs of women at Oregon State Hospital.²⁵ Mark, while on assignment to write a story about the making of *One Flew Over the Cuckoo's Nest*, visited Ward 81, a maximum security section for women at the Oregon State Hospital. The women in this locked ward were “*considered dangerous to themselves or to others.*”²⁶ For 36 days Mark documented the lives of the women in photographs and text, which was later published as a book, *Ward 81*. Mark's intimate photos focus on the idiosyncrasies of the women and their relationships with one another rather than on the environment. “*It's not a snakepit,*” claimed Mark.

It's probably one of the better state hospitals. But I feel that if it had more money, more staff, these women could make great steps.²⁷

Yuan's asylum photographs were inspired by the work of French documentary photographer Raymond Depardon. From 1977 to 1981, Depardon was permitted to document patients in Italian asylums which were soon to be closed. Yuan's photographs share many stylistic similarities with those of Depardon: the use of high-contrast black and white, wide-angles that counterpoint the patient with the environment, fusion of natural lighting and silhouettes, strong vertical and horizontal lines, and a mixture of finely composed and spontaneous shots. While these stylistic qualities are in keeping with the traditional documentary photography style established by the journalist and activist Jacob Riis, both photographers feature an *observational gaze*. Whereas the medical gaze dehumanises the patient separating the body from the person, the observational gaze is intersubjective. As Yuan states,

I believe in man's innate individuality, not the kind of individuality one has painstakingly cultivated ... The photographed looks at me in the face, and through my camera ... The photo becomes a means of exchange.²⁸

Most of Yuan's subjects are aware of the presence of the photographer;

some stare, others smile. This approach differs from early documentary photography, which sought to spontaneously capture the subjects as they were through a surveillant or voyeuristic gaze. The observational gaze blurs the lines between the objective style of documentary photography and the intimacy of portraiture. This can be seen in photographs such as *5 Tianjin 1989*, which shows a middle-aged woman lying in bed. Except for her breasts and arms her body covered by a sheet, yet it is not her nakedness that is the focus but rather her stare. Shot at eye level, the patient's unguarded stare is forceful yet vulnerable. Yuan was "*dumbfounded to see the natural, undisguised behaviour of the inmates.*"²⁹

In the late 1990s, the Chinese government convened a major meeting about this mental illness and they invited Yuan Dongping to attend the event. Two of his photographs served as the backdrop of the meeting, showing not only the impact of Yuan's photographs but that images of mental illness had officially entered the public domain in China. Yuan says that

... it's not because of my work that changed Chinese mental hospitals. I think the government intended to do it. I don't know how people with mental illness are being treated now, but at that time there was a lot of progress.³⁰

Since Yuan and Lu's ventures to asylums in Beijing, Tianjin, Hunan, Guizhou, Guanxi, and Sichuan, much has changed for the patients and photographers. Images of patients in state hospitals are restricted to protect their rights and identities. Yuan agrees with the policy,

It's a good thing because it's a form of protection ... Because mental patients can't protect themselves well, it's up to doctors and institutions to protect them.³¹

Today in China photographers such as Zhang Lijie and Liu Yuyang are exploring new ways to explore and represent mental illness in China. Zhang Lijie, former editor-in-chief of *Spring Breeze* (三月风), a national magazine produced by China Press for Persons with Disability (中国残疾人杂志社), in her series *Within the Walls* (围墙之内)³² blurs the lines between the subjective and the objective by spending time with her subjects before she shoots.

“It is my personal view cast upon the sitters,” says Zhang, “it shows how I see them. It is not strict documentary photography. It is hard to say what is objective or subjective.”

Liu Yuyang’s series, *At Home with Mental Illness* (精神病患者家庭) steps outside of the asylum to “explore the unique relationship between the mentally ill, their families, and society at large.”³³ The work of photographers such as Zhang and Liu are a testament to the influence of the work of Yuan Dongping and Lu Nan.

In the late 1970s, Susan Sontag wrote that the ...

Chinese don’t want photographs to mean very much or to be very interesting. They do not want to see the world from an unusual angle, to discover new subjects.³⁴

This claim may be evinced by studio portrait photography and state-sanctioned socialist realist images of the 1960s and 1970s, however, by the late 1980s Yuan Dongping and Lu Nan would disrupt Chinese photography, not simply by documenting a segment of Chinese society that had long been overlooked but by infusing their images with a subjective perspective. Both photographers not only had an eye on their unfortunate subjects, but a potential international audience. This proved successful for Lu Nan who would go on to become the first Chinese member of *Magnum*. Yuan acknowledges that he is “a little bit famous in my field ... no photographer is altruistic.” Following the *Mental Patients in China* (1996) series, Yuan continued to work at *Nationality Pictorial*, where he shifted his focus to Chinese minorities living in poverty. In the catalogue, *The Rural Poor in China* (2007), Yuan states that

I still clearly remember the great shock I received when I was first facing them. When we were young, we were told that ‘in other countries of the world two thirds of the working population were living in an abyss of misery.’ I never expected to see so many destitute people in our own socialist new villages.³⁵

While this series has not gained the same degree of attention as *Mental*

Patients in China, Yuan believes that this was his best work. Yet his experience in the asylums

deepened my understanding of photography and made me ponder on the relationship among photography, the photographer, and the photographed.³⁷

I would like to thank Zhang Lijie for assisting with the interview with Yuan Dongping and Cui Ling for her translation skills.

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READING BETWEEN THE LINES OF LANGUAGE

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ABSTRACT

That language and culture are inseparable is well accepted. That many people struggle to learn a second language is also not in question. But how might an appreciation of the deeper, philosophical basis of a language and culture help language learners? This paper explores the importance of reading nuances in cultural exchanges and asks whether Chinese culture might provide some clues as regards such a practice. This is a preliminary paper, exploring the topic through literature review and proposing a practical research study to collect data, which could provide useful answers to foreign-language learners.

Learning foreign languages can be difficult. Even when the basic rules of grammar and sufficient vocabulary are grasped, understanding spoken language in realistic situations is often difficult. Even if colloquialism is explained and local accents demonstrated, misunderstandings can (and often do) occur. The results, whilst perhaps humorous to some, can be embarrassing—or worse—in effect. Of course, all of this is understood by foreign-language providers. Hence, their courses incorporate foreign trips, which enable the learner to use his or her newly acquired language skills amongst native speakers.

But what if the nuances that cause misunderstandings could themselves be understood? What if the reason for learning the theory of the language in question and literal meanings could be complemented by a way of thinking and engaging which, naturally, enhances the speaker's ability to 'read between the lines,' to appreciate nuanced meanings without requiring each of them to be spelt out?

This research was undertaken in the context of the primary role of the Confucius Institutes, that is, to assist in and enable cultural exchanges between China and, in our case, Wales. In particular, we provide Mandarin lessons and introduce Chinese culture to a wide

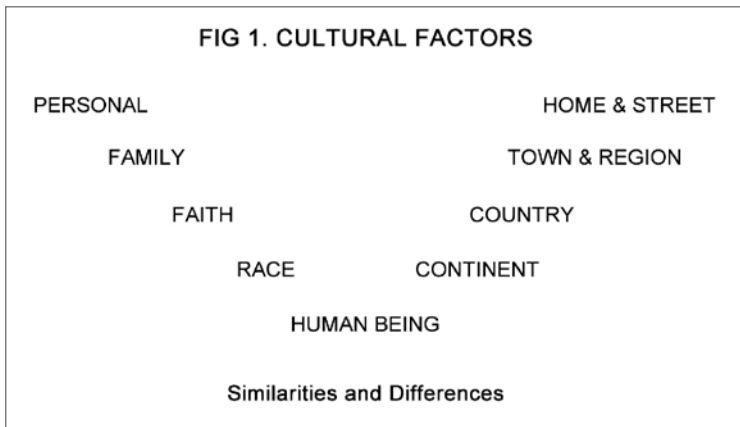
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range of individuals and organisations, from local school children to those seeking business links with China. We also work closely with the English Language Centre for Overseas Students (ELCOS), who provide English-language training for, amongst others, Chinese students studying at Bangor University. We are thus in an ideal position to compare and contrast English speakers studying Chinese with Chinese students studying English.

CULTURAL NUANCES: A FEW EXAMPLES

The dangers of stereotyping based on just one factor (e.g., ‘the Chinese are inscrutable’) are well-understood: the differences between any two individuals, irrespective of their cultural origin, have many components. Reading nuances is thus primarily concerned with being able to take each relationship and every situation as unique, to focus on the specifics of a given interaction at a given time. However, an awareness of the factors of differentiation provides an important framework for this.

In this short paper, it is impossible to include an extensive—let alone an exhaustive—review of these factors, but the figure presented here provides some indication as to their origin. Figure 1 identifies just a few of the factors related to location (of birth, residency, or other significant event in someone’s life) and to an individual’s background in terms of nature or nurture. Add to the mix differences in understanding and meaning of terms owing to gender and age, for example, and it is perhaps amazing that there are not more misunderstandings.



Any one of these factors might provide a reason for two individuals to find a resonance—where they share certain nuanced understandings—or seem, almost, to come from another planet. Likewise, two individuals may have all of the above factors in common yet still have misunderstandings over something as simple as the word ‘City’ in the context of one’s favourite football club: one might support Leicester City FC, the other Manchester City FC. That the unstated meaning of the single word ‘city’ can have such potential for conflict (or, at least, confusion) surely justifies the need for a better understanding of nuances, their causes, and apprehension.

The word ‘family’ provides another example. Family allegiances and associations are often particularly powerful in Chinese culture, at least compared with the modern-day lifestyle defined by personal freedom and independence in the West. When the Chinese talk of family, it is likely to include a nuance of ‘extended family,’ which is now rare in the U.K. Or it might, perhaps, refer to China’s one-child policy. Either way, the simple idea of ‘family’ is loaded with cultural nuances.

Our next example concerns a practical business situation that illustrates a nuance which often goes unacknowledged, because the underlying difference in thinking is so deep and unconscious:

“*Let’s meet,*” said by someone with a British (or American) cultural background is likely to have the (unstated) subtext “*so that we can agree that business deal, get it signed off.*” But said by a Chinese person, it would typically have the nuance of “*so that we can get to know each other, and build up a deep trust and understanding.*”

Such an example begs the question as to where such deeply engrained differences originate.

UNDERLYING PHILOSOPHIES

Both language itself and our understanding of it depend on and influence the culture of which it is part. These, in turn, reflect and are reflected in the underlying philosophies associated with those cultures. We will first explore key Chinese influences.

The ancient Chinese philosophical text, the *Tao Te Ching*, now often chosen as a personal-development text by some in the West, begins:

TAO called TAO is not TAO. Names can name no lasting name. (Lao-Tzu, ca. 3rd Century BCE; Addiss, S., Lombardo, S., tr. 1993)

Often considered the ultimate paradox or at least much easier to say than to fully understand, or to put into practice, the essence is simple: by naming something, its essence is destroyed. This saying is still, perhaps at the heart of the Chinese culture and way of thinking.

Contrast this with what some might consider the defining statement of Western culture, that is, the famous line from Descartes, “*I think, therefore I am*” or “*Cogito ergo sum*” (Latin) or “*je pense, donc je suis*” (French), from his *Discourse on the Method* (Descartes 1637). The resulting Cartesian epistemology could be considered as underlying the rational, Western way of thinking. With this often comes an unquestioning dependence on theories, words, and their literal meanings, at least when compared to Eastern ways of thinking.

Those more aware of the breadth and depth of Western philosophy might urge caution, pointing to the one idea on which philosophers generally agree. Here, as stated by James:

The Description of a thing is not the thing itself. (James 1902, p. 488)

Just as in the Tao, the gist is clear: by naming, labelling, or describing something, anything, its intrinsic nature, its essence, is lost.

Thus, in terms of philosophy and an understanding of a reality beneath or beyond conceptualisation, there would seem little difference between what can be found in Western and in Chinese literature. What is different, we propose, is the extent to which the Tao/James perspective is currently embedded in the respective cultures and integrated into ways of thinking today. Could it be that, in China, the Taoist view on naming is intrinsic and still part of how the Chinese think? Conversely, in the West might we have so taken on board the Cartesian perspective and rejected the James view, that we have come to place of far greater reliance (we would suggest, overreliance) on naming and describing?

OTHER INFLUENCES

If we first explore the situation in China and recognise that the *Tao Te Ching* is but one of a number of major influences on its culture, what do Confucianism and Buddhism contribute, for example?

The Analects of Confucius (Confucius 551–479 BCE) is widely accepted as underpinning much of Chinese culture. Whilst much of this ancient text is concerned with correct behaviour, some clauses highlight an underlying way of thinking, or a way of knowing:

16.9 Confucius said, Those who are born knowing are the best; next are those who study and come to know it; next are those who study it only in circumstances of duress. Those who do not study it even under duress, they are the lowest of people. (Confucius 551–479 BCE; Eno, R., tr. 2005, p. 92)

The implication, perhaps anathema to the Western mind set, is that learnt knowledge is far less desirable than having innate wisdom. Combined with the Taoist view on knowing, there is immediately a striking difference in the perception of knowing between Chinese and Western views. It is thus perhaps not surprising that cultural exchanges between the two are often challenging!

Other clauses of the *Analects* are equally illuminating in highlighting traits considered important:

17.6 Zizhang asked about ren. The Master said, “He who can enact five things in the world is ren.” When asked for details, he went on, “Reverence, tolerance, trustworthiness, quickness, and generosity. He is reverent, hence he receives no insults; he is tolerant, hence he gains the multitudes; he is trustworthy, hence others entrust him with responsibilities; he is quick, hence he has accomplishments; he is generous, hence he is capable of being placed in charge of others.” (Ibid., p. 95)

Similar ideas can be found in texts of Mahayana Buddhism, the form of Buddhism most often practiced in China. Here the focus is on attaining an enlightened mind:

This Supreme Bodhi Mind contains two principal seeds, Compassion and Wisdom, from which emanates the great undertaking of rescuing oneself and all other sentient beings (Dharma Master Thích Thiên Tâm 1993, p. 30).

From the Tao, Confucius, and Buddhism originate a consistent focus on wisdom, as opposed to intellectual knowledge. In all three of these key Chinese cultural influences comes the message of success through innate wisdom. Not taught facts, but what is known through being 'born knowing.'

In such a short paper, it is not possible to go into any detail of any of these influences. The intent here is, instead, to identify a few striking similarities among the Taoist, Confucian, and Buddhist influences. These may indicate both why and how China has been able to integrate these distinct philosophical approaches into daily life and explain why the influence has been both profound and long-lasting. The underlying culture, dating back over 2000 years, is, it could reasonably be argued, deeply embedded and strong enough to have largely survived the short and recent period of the Cultural Revolution. By contrast, the scientific revolution in the West has been underway for around 500 years and has had far longer to undermine the innate wisdom (which some might understand as 'Christ consciousness') and message of the underlying Christian philosophy.

THE SCIENTIFIC WEST

The situation in Europe during and since the scientific revolution has been very different. Harari summarises it nicely in *Sapiens – A Brief History of Humankind*: “There are very few equations, graphs and calculations in the Bible, the Qur’an, the Vedas, or the Confucian classics” (Harari 2011, p. 284).

Whilst the Eastern philosophies emphasise innate wisdom, natural flow, and human's place within this cosmology, the Western scientific method has, until very recently, insisted on a separateness between intellectual man and the world under investigation. Alongside this has grown the belief in the infallibility of rational thought, despite the numerous ills affecting modern human society. Again, this is too large an issue to discuss here, but one example is included below to illustrate the point.

In 1713 Jacob Bernoulli's *Law of Large Numbers* was published. It

states that

(Independent) repetitions of an experiment average over long time horizons to an arithmetic mean, which is obviously not generated randomly but is a well-specified deterministic value. This exactly reflects the intuition that a random experiment averages if it is repeated sufficiently often. For instance, if we toss a coin very often, we expect about as many heads as tails, which means that we expect about 50% (deterministic value) of each possible outcome (Bolthausen & Wüthrich 2013, p. 2).

From this law emerged the whole discipline of statistics and the largely unquestioned value of being able to 'average out' sets of data from any source. Whilst undoubtedly useful in some circumstances (Harari quotes its use in 1765 in the founding of the Scottish Widows pension and insurance company, for example), modern Western attachment to the law does, at times, cause concern. IQ, the intelligence quotient, for example, might be a good example of the use of Bernoulli's law, which is largely accepted as a comparative assessment of one facet of intelligence, of an ability to think rationally. In recent years, attempts have been made to apply similar statistical assessment methods to emotional intelligence. This attempt to normalise a very personal set of traits was certainly not the intent behind the original use of the emotional quotient (see <http://www.keithbeasley.co.uk/EQ/eq2004.htm>; accessed 23 November 2016).

How one feels at a given moment depends on many factors. How one responds or reacts in a specific situation depends on one's very specific and personal set of memories and attitudes, with all their cultural associations. Attempts to quantify these complex factors and compare them with 'the norm' flies against the heart-felt reality of deep and meaningful emotions which are essential for human relationships. Does not being wholly human mean having a full spectrum of emotions over time? If so, to average them out devalues them. If a young man dies unexpectedly just prior to his 23rd birthday, his family does not want to know that the average life expectancy, for men in the U.K. in 2014, was 79.1 years (<http://www.ons.gov.uk/peoplepopulationandcommunity/birthsdeathsandmarriages/lifeexpectancies/bulletins/nationallifetablesunitedkingdom/2015-09-23>; accessed 24 November 2016).

It could thus be argued that the prevailing scientific method has, in the West and over many centuries, not only come to dominate our approach to science but our approach to life generally. Rather than acknowledge the importance of subjective experience as the Tao/Confucian philosophy does, the *Law of Large Numbers*, like the scientific method in general, perhaps, serves to devalue feelings and inner perspectives. It may even have been the start of a cultural chasm between science and non-science, made even deeper and broader, some would argue, by the typical narrow focus on economic growth. Whatever happened to the ways of thinking and behaving associated with Christian values?

And, having asked that question of current Western ways of thinking we must, to be equitable, ask the same question of China: to what extent are the Confucian values and views still prevalent in rapidly developing, commercial China? That is too large a question for any in-depth study within this short paper. However, discussions with those who have travelled extensively to China over many years, suggest that whilst there is a growing struggle between traditional values and those prevalent in the global economy, this materialistic growth is a more recent phenomenon, thus explaining the still-strong adherence to the code of Confucius. Indeed, that ancient and industrial philosophies are in ongoing conflict in China is well-documented, for example in Phil Agland's series of five films, *Between Clouds and Dreams* (screened in the U.K. on Channel 4 during November 2016: see http://www.river-films.com/IN_PRODUCTION.html; accessed 23 November 2016).

Thus, whether or not Western pre-scientific-revolution perceptions might equate to ancient, lived philosophies in China, the much longer exposure to and pressure from the rational/Cartesian world view (and those that sponsor it) in the West could well explain the difficulty Westerners have in understanding and tuning in to the Chinese way of thinking.

Having explored the historic and philosophical context, we now turn to psychological and practical aspects.

TUNING-IN AS A STATE OF MIND

Obtaining and using the right frame of mind for learning, not just of languages, has been the aim of much research. Carl Rogers, in founding the Human Potential Movement, for example, identified

and developed many ways of working which he demonstrated as being effective, not just in improving a sense of personal fulfilment, but in the effectiveness of learning. He talks of 'building person-centred communities' (Rogers 1995, pp. 181–206), meaning both the wider collaborative networks of those applying his principles and specific small-group 'person-centred workshops' in which much of the detailed work is undertaken.

In the context of exchanges between people from diverse cultures, it may seem paradoxical to talk about community. Indeed, it could be just this contradictory feature that provides the critical factor in resolving the question of nuances. By coming together within one community of willing learners, by meeting with the intent of mutual understanding, the mind is already open and receptive to moving beyond old paradigms and it will be more able to grasp nuances of language, for example. One of the benefits of his approach is, he contends, "*an almost telepathic knowledge of where the staff is*" (Rogers 1995, p. 188). He also emphasises that, even when groups contain manager and staff, that, beyond hierarchical position, brings best results:

We have found that by being as fully ourselves as we are able—creative, diverse, contradictory, present, open, and sharing—we somehow become tuning forks, finding resonances with those qualities in all the members of the workshop community. In the relationships we form with the group and its members, the power is shared. We let ourselves 'be;' we let others 'be.' At our best, we have little desire to judge or manipulate the other's thoughts or actions. (Rogers 1995, p. 187)

Transferring this intent to language tuition groups or learning a foreign language whilst travelling would, we suggest, go a long way towards tuning in to each situation and thus better connecting to the nuances of the moment. Taking into account formally taught information, but not restricted to it; using intellectual knowledge, but integrating it with the deeper connection indicated by Rogers' 'being.'

Rogers also describes another paradox related to this way of working, 'unity out of separateness' (*ibid.*, p. 190), where intense and intimate groups, whilst working in a strong, trusting community, do

so not by all becoming the same, but by each connecting more deeply to their individual identity. All this happens, Rogers argues, through ‘a new level of consciousness’ and a “*spirit of oneness which often occurs in our workshops*” (*ibid.*, p. 203). Language teachers (and, indeed, any teacher who works with depth and flow) will be familiar with this: how, whether for fleeting moments or prolonged periods, the class is at one with itself, at one with the subject, and thus able to discern deeper meaning and acceptance of the topic under study. It is in such moments that students will ‘get it,’ that key concepts will be grasped, and students smile as a previously puzzling nuance becomes clear.

In terms of methods and techniques that encourage and enable such a state of mind, each practitioner has their own approach, which they will evolve themselves; mindfulness, for example. In the U.K., mindfulness-based interventions (MBIs) have been acknowledged by the U.K. Government (MAPPG 2015) as beneficial in many situations, not least in education and the workplace, for helping individuals to attain the emotional self-control and relaxed concentration required to progress. Their report includes this phrase amongst its summary of benefits:

Practitioners may be less drawn into unhelpful habitual reactions and more able to make good choices about how to relate to their circumstances (MAPPG 2015, p. 15).

This would certainly seem to fit the requirements for effective tuning in, that is, detaching from assumptions, better aware of here-and-now circumstances, for example.

Formal mindfulness programmes are but one approach and one present-day parallel to the Tao/Confucian/Buddhist mode of consciousness.

INSIGHTS FROM THE LANGUAGE OF MUSIC

Literature searches on ‘tuning in’ inevitably produce many results relating to music. Whilst perhaps not directly relevant to this study, these papers remind us that ‘to be in tune’ is a perfectly normal and natural state for members of choirs and orchestras, for example. And, if this ‘being in tune’ extends to composer, venue, and audience, all concerned may feel the result: that special performance that has hairs standing up on the back of one’s neck or transports the listener to

another time or place. Is this not akin to the cultural exchange sought through engaging fully in a new country's language and ways?

In *Tuning In: Practical Psychology for Musicians who are Teaching, Learning and Performing*, Mackworth-Young offers this advice:

We need to be open to new experience and able to change our views in the light of new experience and we need to be able to see beyond our existing skills, constantly enriching and enhancing them (Mackworth-Young 2000, p. 62).

Whilst willingness to learn is an established precept in teaching-and-learning theory, Mackworth-Young seems to go a step further: 'to see beyond' implies the application of a particular perspective skill. She clarifies this with a chapter (pp. 49–69) on maintaining positive energy. Whilst a musician or holistic health practitioner (or even an electronics engineer) would be comfortable talking about energy, its use has perhaps not been so common in linguistics or psychological disciplines. In recent years, however, validated by (amongst others) neurological research, an energetic perspective is embraced even within psychology. The Association for Comprehensive Energy Psychology (ACEP: <http://www.energypsych.org/?AboutACEPv2>; accessed 18 November 2016), formed as a non-profit association in 1999, proclaims that

Energy psychology (EP) is a collection of mind–body approaches for understanding and improving human functioning. EP focuses on the relationship among thoughts, emotions, sensations, behaviours, and known bio-energy systems (such as meridians and the biofield). These systems and processes exist, and interact, within individuals and between people. They are also influenced by cultural and environmental factors.

Within an EP framework, emotional and physical issues are seen, and treated, as bio-energetic patterns within a mind–body–energy system. The mind and body are thought to be interwoven and interactive within this system, which entails complex communication involving neurobiological processes, innate electrophysiology, psychoneuroimmunology (PNI), consciousness, and cognitive-behavioural-emotional patterns (<http://www>.

energypsych.org/?AboutEPv2; accessed 18 November 2016).

One might apply these ideas to Mackworth-Young's advice:

We need to be aware of both our pupil's and our own feelings, and we need to be able to understand and handle those feelings to make the most of positive energy (Mackworth-Young 2000, p. 55).

In other words, the communications within two individuals' mind-bodies might be understood as energies and energy flows. Parallels might then be made between electronic communications systems, which can resonate with or pick up information from adjacent components or systems. Just as a sensor might be chosen and tuned in to pick up particular information through energy transfer (e.g., a piezo-electric sensor which may detect changes in pressure) so, building on the EP model, one individual might be able to develop their ability to tune into the energy system of another.

Perhaps this is a way of explaining what Mackworth-Young describes as 'countertransference,' whereby "*We can know our pupil's feelings through our own feeling*" (*ibid.*; original emphasis). It is not the intent of this paper to debate, far less suggest, a mechanism for such a process. Our aim is to highlight the possibility, to bring to light the prospect for the understanding of skills (for example 'tuning in') that, despite having been anathema to science, is considered natural and useful, if not essential, in other disciplines.

Thus, in a foreign-language situation, we may not know what is meant by a particular phrase we have just heard but, by being aware of our own feelings and the resonance or otherwise between ourselves and the speaker, we may sense or feel, for example, that we have 'lost it,' become disconnected.

Applying the principles outlined in this paper provides sound and practical advice: rather than 'trying harder' or 'concentrating more' the recommended response would be to 'step back' from the rational mind, to allow a deeper connection by becoming more aware of our feelings, of a shared humanity, with a loving intent to understand what is being said. That is, we create a positive-energy atmosphere or environment in which, or through which, communication of understanding might take place.

The teaching of music is not the only area where such techniques are actively pursued.

PROBLEM MANAGEMENT

In *The Skilled Helper: A problem-management approach to helping* (Egan 1994), Gerard Egan suggests that professional helpers (in particular counsellors and psychotherapists, but extending to doctors and teachers) can benefit from adopting a problem-solving approach. Indeed, it is his belief that:

Problem solving and learning, as core human processes, by necessity underlie every approach to helping (Egan 1994, p. xviii).

Few committed language tutors would disagree: is not a key part of their jobs to help their students with the problem of making sense of a strange language? Egan covers many specific aspects of helping that are particularly pertinent to learning a new language, for example, active listening and empathising. Integrating each of these specific soft skills is an overarching ability that Egan calls *Attending: Actively Being with Clients* (*ibid.*, p. 91).

Egan contends that “*Helping and other deep interpersonal transactions demand a certain intensity of presence.*” Two individuals from different cultures and speaking different primary languages are, we would suggest, very much involved in ‘deep interpersonal transactions.’ Or rather, they need to be tuned in if a meaningful understanding is to be ensured and a deep relationship to form.

The words and ideas ‘being present,’ ‘attending,’ and ‘presence’ (or indeed just ‘being’), whilst perhaps difficult for theoretical psychologists, are ones with which many individuals on a spiritual quest or journey of self-discovery will be only too familiar. Beasley’s Ph.D. thesis (Beasley 2013) identified a movement of individuals and organisations (the transcendence movement) who are committed to the intent of being present, to personal growth towards this intent, and to practices that enable them to achieve the associated mode of consciousness. Like Egan, Beasley identified the value of this state of mind in a range of situations, not least as regards quality assurance:

To get the best from total quality management requires being with specific activity as well as the marketing and

user environment. Any 'me: them' or any 'my world: rest of world' divisions need to be transcended (Beasley 2013, p. 311).

The second sentence can be readily applied to language learning: to bridge two cultures requires the two parties to be present together. But what does that mean in practice?

Egan offers a number of suggestions, under the headings 'body language' (which is probably reasonably understood and is thus not pursued further here) and 'the microskills of attending' (Egan 1994, pp. 91–93). These include advice such as 'face the client squarely,' 'adopt an open posture,' and 'maintain good eye contact' (with a word of caution about applying some measures in some cultural settings). But, over and above these mechanical considerations, Egan emphasises 'social–emotional presence:'

Most important is the quality of your total human presence to your clients. Both your verbal and your nonverbal behaviour should indicate a clear-cut willingness to work with the client. If you care about your clients and feel committed to their welfare, then it is unfair to yourself to let your nonverbal behaviour suggest contradictory messages (Egan 1994, p. 93),

i.e., to help effectively, whatever the situation, requires that the helping party genuinely cares about the person they are with and about the reason they are together, in our case, a genuine desire for deep and meaningful cultural engagement.

This factor is already observed in TEFL (teaching English as a foreign language): those students who are really interested in learning English seem to do much better than those who are only learning English so that they can complete their studies in the U.K. Without the deeper intent, it is likely that they are less present in the classroom and thus struggle to learn.

Even in the limited space available in this paper, support from a wide range of sources has been provided for the idea that learning foreign languages may be improved by attention to the skills of tuning in and being present.

NEXT STEPS

This paper has been a scene-setter, a brief, multidisciplinary exploration of what is perceived by the authors as a key issue relating to language acquisition: how, beyond the words, form and literal meanings often lie hidden nuances that come from embedded differences in philosophy of life between two cultures. Coincidentally, the same deep philosophical underpinning of the Chinese culture may also provide clues as to how to bridge such cultural chasms.

This paper concluded that the intent of enabling language learners and support to those travelling to a country with a different culture might be usefully served by training aimed at improving one's ability to read nuances. Such training could, as outlined above, be informed by ancient philosophy, first-hand experience, and recent advances in positive psychology and consciousness studies. This approach, it is suggested, would help prepare language students and travellers with an awareness of the deep cultural issues underlying typical problems seen in learning languages.

It is thus proposed to develop the material presented here into an interactive, engaging training programme to be offered alongside English-language and Mandarin courses. Comparisons would then be undertaken between those receiving the additional training and those who did not. Determining a comprehensive and meaningful assessment would be an integral part of the training development, which might include comparison of exam results, focus groups, and survey of attitudes and experiences of students. In addition to an assessment between results with and without training, differences between benefits for English-language and Mandarin students would be studied.

Conversely, cultural-awareness sessions which involve both Chinese students learning English and English students learning Mandarin would enable direct comparison of experiences and perspectives and first-hand cultural exchange. Small-group discussions (with both Chinese and native English speakers in the same group) might explore topics such as:

“We need a long-term plan.” What is meant by long-term in your culture? How do you see ‘time’?

In your calendar, which national holidays do you have? How are their

dates determined? What's your view of the lunar calendar?

The lunar calendar, whilst a fact of life in China has little meaning in British culture, despite the fact that the date of one of our major holidays (Easter) is determined by the lunar cycle. Likewise, concepts of time are understood very differently in the two cultures, yet this would rarely be discussed in language teaching or cultural training.

To suggest introducing such topics into a training session might induce the comment that 'time,' for example, is a very deep and complex notion. And that, perhaps, is the point: misunderstood nuances result from deep differences. There may be no short cut nor simple lesson to bridging some cultural chasms. But to get British and Chinese students (for example) talking to each other about their personal perspectives at least begins the process. Hopefully it would also inspire both sets of students to open their minds to alternative perspectives and their underlying philosophies.

CONCLUSIONS

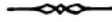
This paper has been able to do little more than scratch the surface of the many, often deep and divisive chasms of (mis-)understanding which can exist between British/Western and Chinese cultures. The more such cultural differences are brought into conscious awareness—for example, during cultural training—the greater the chance that nuances can be detected and embraced.

And could it be that an innate Tao/Confucian approach to life gives Chinese students an advantage when it comes to tuning in to nuances? Or, at least, might having an inherent appreciation of nonrational knowing allow those of Asian descent to better use this ability and thus to 'tune in'?

And, by consciously raising awareness, within the Western mind set, of an intuitive knowing, natural to the human psyche, to what extent will language acquisition be enhanced? Key to answering these questions will be the development of engaging training sessions. These need to both explain the intent and theory of nuanced knowing and provide an in-depth, immersive experience of this mode of consciousness. These training sessions could use appropriate teaching and learning techniques, as well as provide evidence from, for example, mindfulness studies (e.g., MAPPG 2015), metacognition (e.g., Wallace 2000), reflective practice and action research (e.g., Harper, Barnwell, & Williamson 2016), thus approaching the subject from a variety

of angles and disciplines. Together, this multidisciplinary approach, supplemented by techniques borrowed from holistic health training and life coaching would, we suggest, instil just the state of mind necessary to achieve the aims of reading between the lines of language.

If the reader is interested to collaborate on the proposed research, please contact the authors.



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FEI LAI SHI:

Scholars' rocks in southern California

BY LINDSAY SHEN^a

The distance between southern California and eastern China is over 10,000 kilometres.

In February, a Jiangnan garden in Suzhou can be a damp, introspective place; rain drips from the tips of bamboo leaves onto the felled camellia blossoms scattered on the patterned rock pathways. The fantastically perforated garden stones from Lake Tai are slick with rain, and in a frigid pavilion, pots of spent narcissi flank an inky black scholars' rock—a perfect microcosm of mountain peaks and valley floors, resting on a polished rosewood base.

In February, the canyon next to my house in southern California breathes heat. The winter rains have come and gone, and the updrafts carry the scents of California sagebrush, white sage, and black sage. The rocks exposed beside the hiking trails are pale limestone, perforated into fantastical shapes: mountain ranges, cliffs, and canyons. In places, in a startling disruption of scale, they are overlaid with the fossils of perfectly articulated scallops and oysters. This fragile southern coastland might now be subject to drought and wildfire, but 20 million years ago these hills and canyons lay under a warm shallow lagoon whose denizens are imprinted all around me.

I'm with my friend, the Californian artist Richard Turner, and unlikely as it may seem, we're hunting for scholars' rocks. Wary of the rattlesnakes emerging from hibernation, we pick our way across rock-strewn slopes, stopping to indulge in a spot of pareidolia—an activity familiar to anyone who has visited caves in China and been instructed by earnest guides to observe the face of Guanyin, the foot of the Buddha, a leaping tiger, or supine dragon. We brush aside foliage, sidestep coyote scat, scattering quail but no snakes, and opine of the rock formations: “*It looks like a rice terrace.*” “*It looks like clouds.*” Richard hefts a cat-sized perforated stone in the air. Most of all, it looks like an exquisite piece of Taihu stone from Jiangsu Province.

Are these *fei lai shi*—rocks that flew here, like the famous upright slab that totters improbably on a ledge at Yellow Mountain in Anhui?

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Is this American artist, absorbed in the aesthetics of the Chinese scholar stone, himself a *fei lai shi*?

In America, the appreciation of viewing stones, whether in the garden or studio, might be unusual, but not quite so rarified as might be imagined. Laurence Sickman, art historian, sinologist, World War II ‘Monuments Man,’ and Director of the Nelson–Atkins Museum of Art, Kansas City, displayed in his garden limestone rocks reminiscent of the Taihu rocks he had seen in China during his residence there in the 1930s. They were gathered, though, from the American Midwest. There is a Viewing Stone Association of North America, and a California group dedicated to the subject. An hour from my home, rocks from Lake Tai border the water at The Huntington’s Jiangnan-style Garden of Flowing Fragrance.

In China, appreciation of the aesthetic qualities of stones reaches back to Neolithic times. Han Dynasty connoisseurs collected garden rocks. By the Song Dynasty, a culture of collecting and displaying smaller stones—scholars’ rocks—indoors was cultivated by the *literati*, and the tradition of cherishing stones as vehicles for contemplation continued into the 20th Century. Today at auction, the most exquisite examples realise hundreds of thousands of U.S. dollars. In contrast, an American viewing-stone practice certainly exists, although it is only a few decades old, and derives from both the Japanese and Chinese traditions as they have been understood by American practitioners.



Figure 1: (left): Mojave desert stone, Banksia pod, wood. **Figure 2:** (right): Arizona desert stone, wood, enamel paint, aluminium.



Figure 3: (*top left*): Palm frond, enamel paint, resin, concrete, wood.

Figure 4: (*bottom left*): Coral, ceramic, shellac. **Figure 5:** (*top right*): Ceramic, wood.

Figure 6: (*bottom right*): T-shirt, resin, enamel paint, wood.

Southern California is 10,000 miles from the historic epicentre of viewing-stone culture, but this is the context for our canyon hike in pursuit of stones that could be used to re-cast the tradition in a different light.

Richard Turner's immersion in traditional Chinese culture began when he accompanied his parents to Taiwan in 1963; his father had been invited through the Fulbright Program to teach for a year in Taipei. Turner enrolled at Taiwan Normal University and studied landscape painting, seal engraving, and language. He became aware of the work of the Fifth Moon Group, the pioneering art movement which aimed to open traditional Chinese art to Western abstraction. A few years later, he travelled to India as a Fulbright Scholar himself and studied Indian miniature painting in Jaipur, Rajasthan. As a young artist, he was already attuned to the fluidity of cultural exchange and to experiencing the often discomfiting, disorientating position of the post-colonialist outsider. The challenges he encountered at that time continue to pique contemporary artists engaged with different cultures—how to avoid the pitfalls of cultural appropriation, exoticism, misreadings, and willful misunderstandings. Decades

later, Turner's Viewing Stone Project is an ongoing exploration of the contemporary American potential of an historic Chinese tradition.

At the end of a visit to the Chinese mainland in 2002, Turner carried a *lingbi* stone back home in his hand luggage. Although limestone from Lake Tai had long been prized for display in gardens, the densely grained, glossy dark limestone quarried from Lingbi in North Anhui had been favoured for scholars' rocks since the Song Dynasty. Turner has continued to collect Chinese stones, but explains that his own explorations are directed by "*who I am, or where I am at this point in time on the west coast.*" He might assemble a flame-like piece of Mojave Desert stone on a Banksia pod, available only since the colonisation of Australia: see Figure 1. Or he may create works with stones from Arizona, striated miniatures of their original desert landscapes: see Figure 2.

Some aren't stones at all, but objects presented as stones—an artistic intention Turner calls, with some humour, 'petrification.' A palm frond (Figure 3); a piece of desiccated cactus; coral purchased in a seaside souvenir shop (Figure 4); ceramic (Figure 5). Or a T-shirt he noticed in a crumpled heap, spray-painted and mounted on a base (Figure 6). The impetus for such action comes from both Chinese and Western art traditions. Over its evolution in China, the scholar-stone tradition had admitted other objects with stone-like properties. In



Figure 7: (left): Glass, wood, enamel, paint.

Figure 8: (top right): Aluminium flashing, cardboard, wood, enamel paint.

Figure 9: (bottom right): Ceramic, plaster, aluminium, foundry cup.

the West, Modernism and movements such as Dada and Surrealism normalised the concept of the 'found object' as legitimate artistic material. In these terms, a lithic T-shirt is a sensitive response to time and place.

None of us who live along the southern California coastline can ignore the violent geology which continues to form its topography. A few miles from my home is a Jurassic-era, partly metamorphosed assemblage of sandstone, quartzite, slate, and shale, whose layers have buckled and folded like an ineptly baked millefeuille pastry. If a traditional function of the scholar stone was to stimulate contemplation of the processes of nature and time and one's place within these, then a Californian context adds pressing urgency. An earthquake collapses time, sometimes achieving in terrifying moments a scale of movement associated with billions of years. 'Performing geology,' is how Turner aptly describes some of his pieces. There is glass (see Figure 7), which science reminds us is a state of matter, created from the rapid cooling of molten material. The piece provokes thoughts of volcanoes, lightning strikes, and meteorites—violence so sudden, it denies the time for crystalline structure to form. But this sulphuric yellow 'viewing stone' also evokes a period in the evolution of the art in China during the late Ming and Qing Dynasties, when a public taste for more vibrant colour was expressed through the choice of brightly coloured minerals such as turquoise and malachite for scholar stones.

A piece of buckled aluminum flashing (Figure 8) might also prompt the viewer to reflect on natural catastrophe, but it additionally raises the issue of the artist's choice of material. In China, aesthetic criteria for judging the merit of viewing stones early became codified and rested on the qualities of thinness, openness, perforations, texture, and resonance. These inherent physical qualities could be enhanced by artistic interventions such as drilling, waxing, and modifying the colour of a stone. Such criteria have been exploded by mainland artists such as Zhan Wang, whose polished stainless steel scholars' rocks comment, among many other things, on the country's industrialisation. An artist-educator, Turner mines veins of inspiration in both Western and Asian art, yet credits his choice of aluminium, salvaged from a roofing repair, mainly to chance rather than intention – "*leaving things around and letting them grow on me.*" This he puts down to simple attentiveness. And this 'paying attention' and 'being open to chance' is what guides the juxtaposition of materials in other

scholars' rocks which are assemblages of found objects (see Figure 9). It is a consciousness he attributes in part to a period, shortly after his daughters were born, when he had less time to spend in his studio. Instead of collecting and fabricating objects, he collected the everyday examples of coincidence which we all experience—the same song is playing simultaneously on two radio stations; we think of someone, and they ring us. Rather than recognising this as proof of a Jungian governing principle, he frames it instead as openness: “*being there at the right time and right place.*” And in a reflection which feels Chinese (with coincidental echoes of Western Modernism), he proposes that “*paying attention to coincidence is analogous to paying attention to the processes of Nature.*”

What causes the existence of fantastical, seemingly incongruent stones in Nature? Stones which seem to have flown to their settings, stones bizarrely out of place. Perhaps the better question is to ask ourselves how to be more expansive in our thinking about place, and the objects or people we encounter there. Rocks which flew here are often perfectly of their place because of the natural processes of water, air, fire, but most of all time—of which we are all a part.

*Artist/curator **Richard Turner** is a Professor Emeritus at Chapman University, Orange, CA (USA), where he taught contemporary Asian art history and studio art. He has worked as a public artist for over 30 years and exhibits internationally. <http://www.turnerprojects.com>*

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BOOK REVIEW

**Betrayed Ally, China in the Great War; Frances
Wood and Christopher Arnander.
Published: 2016, Pen & Sword (U.K.).**

BY MARK O'NEILL^a

China, the great loser in World War One

During the Great War, China sent 350,000 workers to assist the Allied powers, Britain, France, and Russia. At least 5,000 and possibly as many as 10,000 died. Several times, the government offered to send tens of thousands of soldiers to fight on the Western Front. The government's war aims were to relieve the huge financial and territorial burden imposed on China by 70 years of colonial interference, in particular to secure the return of land in Shandong occupied by Germany, defeated in the war. But it failed on all counts: it was Japan, not China, which was given control of the former German territory in Shandong, and there was no write-off, or even a reduction, of the crippling Boxer Indemnity or other debts.

This dramatic story is told excellently in *Betrayed Ally, China in the Great War* by Frances Wood and Christopher Arnander. Although historians have written hundreds of volumes about the war's major combatants, few have written about China's role. Even in mainland China, Taiwan, and Hong Kong, few people know this history. For Chinese governments, it has been a humiliating history at a time when the lives and prestige of the Chinese people counted for little.

Among Asian countries, China was the great loser in the war, while Japan was the great beneficiary. An ally of Britain since 1902, it did not send a single soldier to fight in Europe, despite repeated requests. Under the Treaty of Versailles of 1919, it retained control of the German territory in Shandong, which it had taken over in November 1914, as well as all economic and territorial rights it had already acquired in Manchuria and other parts of China.

The book provides a blow-by-blow account of this betrayal at Versailles through the words of Paul Mantoux, the official military interpreter of Georges Clemenceau, the French Prime Minister, who recorded the exchanges between the French politician and the other

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three most important leaders, British Prime Minister David Lloyd George, U.S. President Woodrow Wilson, and Vittorio Orlando, Prime Minister of Italy. The former three decided the fate of the world, of countries and their borders. They paid scant regard to the Fourteen Points Wilson had announced on 18 January 1918. Point Five included the principle that, in determining questions of sovereignty, the interest of the population concerned must have equal weight.

The main spokesman of the Chinese delegation at the Versailles talks was Wellington Koo, an American-trained lawyer who was able to debate eloquently and persuasively in English with the three 'masters of the world.' The Chinese delegation to Versailles had been doubly betrayed. The secret treaties between Japan and Britain, Russia, Italy, and France, signed in 1917, meant that, throughout the remainder of the war, the Allies were bound to agree to Japan's conditions.

The delegation could not have known about these treaties but, more devastating and more humiliating, the existence of the second treaty with Japan, signed by the Chinese government in 1918, was unknown to the delegation. Under this second treaty, signed in September 1918, the government had accepted a loan of 25 million yen from Japan in exchange for agreeing to both Japan's occupation of the Jiaozhou peninsula and its management of the railway between Jinan and Qingdao. The allies had signed the treaties in 1917 at critical moments during the war; they needed the Japanese navy to transport troops from Australia and New Zealand to the battlefields of Europe and Asia and help the allied fleets in the Mediterranean to fight German submarines.

So the Chinese delegation was betrayed by these secret agreements and also by its own government. Koo and his colleagues presented the moral case for the return of Shandong; for the allies, it would have been a small price to pay for the labour and toil of the tens of thousands of Chinese who helped them in the war. But it counted for nothing in the world of *realpolitik* on display at Versailles. Koo's delegation, like a second one sent by a rival government headed by Dr. Sun Yat-sen in Guangzhou, refused to sign the treaty. When its details became known, Chinese students in Paris surrounded the Hotel Lutetia, where the two delegations were staying, and prevented them from leaving, even if they had wanted to. "*China gained nothing from Versailles, not even the equal treatment as a sovereign state that had become increasingly important.*" This outcome sparked nationwide

protests in China, starting with demonstrations on 4 May 1919 by students at Peking University and boycotts of Japanese goods. This came to be known as the May 4 Movement.

The Versailles Treaty had a profound influence on the next 30 years. It strengthened the arguments of radicals, including Communists, that the Western imperial order would never treat China fairly and equally and that a radical break with the past was necessary. The treaty also convinced the hawks in the Japanese government and military that China was theirs for the taking—the Western powers would not come to its aid, and the Chinese polity was so riven by infighting and personal rivalries that they could easily find allies among it.

The book provides a detailed account of China's involvement in the war, aided by good photographs, illustrations, and cartoons. It uses sources from Britain, China, and France. It includes the remarkable story of the 135,000 Chinese labourers who went to France to help the Allied war effort. This was the first large-scale migration of Chinese to Europe.

There are memorable anecdotes, like the visit of Lord Kitchener, then Commander-in-Chief of the British Army in India, to the Manchu Imperial palace in Shenyang in 1909. His purpose was to add to his already large collection of porcelain. Aware of this, palace officials had wisely hidden the best pieces in a storeroom; Lord Kitchener had brought photographs of the items he wanted to acquire—he knew protocol demanded that a guest be given something he liked—but the officials denied knowledge of the missing pieces. The general put two cups in his pocket and seized one vase in each hand. The palace officials did not wish to agree to this but, fortunately, the Minister of Railways was also present. He approved Lord Kitchener's 'theft,' to avoid a diplomatic incident.

So much for the behaviour of this grandee of a 'civilised' nation.

EARNSHAW
BOOKS



ROYAL ASIATIC SOCIETY CHINA

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