Lao She in London

Anne Witchard

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Contents

Chapter 1

Boxers and Bannermen: Peking 1900

Lao She's youth was marked by violence, poverty and exclusion. His earliest memories were the stories told to him by his mother about how his father had died and how he himself, although just a year-old baby, had narrowly escaped being killed by the soldiers of the Eight Nation Allied Army as they rampaged through Peking following the relief of the Boxer assault on the European legations. The 'foreign devils' came to our house, she told him, and 'they bayoneted our old yellow dog before they ransacked the place. Before the blood of our dog was yet dry, more soldiers came'.[1] Having found nothing left worth stealing, they would surely have killed him, were he not sleeping so soundly, hidden under an upturned trunk:

> I didn't need to hear stories about evil ogres eating children and so forth; the foreign devils my mother told me about were more barbaric and cruel than any fairy tale ogre with a huge mouth and great fangs. And fairy tales are only fairy tales, whereas my mother's stories were 100 percent factual, and they directly affected our whole lives.[2]

The plunder, rape, and killing witnessed by his mother was etched vividly in her memory and she repeated the events to her son many, many times, instilling in him the patriotic fervour for an independent China: 'Father had died, there were foreign invaders everywhere you looked, and the entire city was engulfed by fire.'[3] Lao She's father, Shu Yongshou, was a lowly paid member of the Plain Red Banner's Imperial Palace Guards Division. The Dowager Empress Cixi, who had sanctioned the Boxer attacks on foreigners, had already fled the city with her court disguised as peasants when Shu was killed. An incendiary bomb tossed by a foreign soldier sparked the gunpowder that had spilled onto his clothing from his antiquated musket. Imported in the 1700s, these were the same weapons used by Manchu Bannermen against the British invaders in the Opium Wars. Not only were they unreliable but they required the soldiers to ignite the gunpowder in them by hand. Firing the weapons was dangerous and the canister of gunpowder each musketeer was required to carry on his belt was liable to explode if fire broke out in the vicinity. Severely burned, Shu crawled into a grain store on Beichang Street where, hours later, his limbs blackened and swollen, he was discovered on the point of death by his nephew who had come into the store in search of drinking water.[4]

Lao She's Manchu ethnicity and identity is entwined with the legacy of the Qing empire's Eight Banner system. A condition of the Qing conquest was that a hereditary military caste of Bannermen be concentrated in strategically distributed garrison compounds throughout the Chinese empire. In origin the Banners were principally socio-military rather than ethnic units. Banner horsemen under their Qing masters had spearheaded the invasion of Ming China in 1644. An early seventeenth-century Bannerman might have been a Manchu, Mongol, Tibetan or Korean, a Chinese

frontiersman or a Northern tribesman. The socio-ethnic identity of the Bannermen would gradually be shaped by their separation from the majority Han Chinese population. They were supplied with stipends of rice and cash and bound to hold themselves in readiness to protect and defend the Qing emperor and his court. A distinctive garrison culture grew up, segregated not just residentially but socially as Qing policy forbade Manchus to intermarry with Chinese. Apart from their entitlement to legal and stipendiary privilege, Manchus benefited politically from preferential treatment in recruitment to the civil bureaucracy. These advantages would lead eventually to marked social tension.

Lao She's family were people of the Plain Red Banner, quartered in the west-northwest sector of Peking's Tartar city according to ancient cosmo-magical correlations between colour and compass.[5] They lived in Small Sheepfold Hutong, an 'obscure alleyway' near Protect the Nation Temple, 'too narrow even for a sedan chair'.[6] The houses there belonged to 'destitute working folk whose most valuable object might be Grannie Zhang's wedding ring (perhaps it was brass) or maybe Auntie Li's silver comb'.[7] By the time Lao She was born, the rank and file of the Manchu Banners had long since degenerated as a fighting group, their traditional equestrian battle training rendered formalistic and redundant by modern military technologies. The Banner system was now considered more in the light of a social problem than a useful military complement of the Chinese empire. 'Although my sister's father-in-law was a military officer of the fourth rank', writes Lao She in his autobiographical *Beneath the Red Banner*, 'he rarely spoke of leading soldiers or fighting':

> When I asked him if he could ride a horse or shoot with a bow and arrow, his response was a fit of

> coughing, after which he steered the conversation back to bird-raising techniques. He was certainly well worth listening to on this subject, about which he could even have written a book.[8]

Just about surviving on the small subsidies of grain and silver allocated to them, yet barred from other occupations, Bannermen had ample time to cultivate leisure pursuits. The true meaning of life was to be discovered in the daily pursuit of their hobbies in which they sought out whatever was exquisitely refined and enchanting. Bannermen occupied themselves in breeding filmy-finned, goggle-eyed goldfish and ever tinier Pekingese dogs which they carried in the sleeves of their gowns. They fashioned delicately wrought cages from gourds for their rare songbirds or chirping crickets, and they carved miniature whistles which when attached to the wings of their pigeons produced chiming melodies as the birds took flight. They were passionate about firecracker design, vying with each other over the sound and dazzle of pyrotechnic display, and about the varieties of ornamental flowers they could produce. Osbert Sitwell observed that a retired Manchu civil servant in 1900 could specify with ease 133 varieties of chrysanthemum.[9]

When Lao She was a small boy, life in the Tartar City was structured by an exhaustive round of festivals and temple fairs that required the careful construction of coloured paper kites, lanterns, or intricate containers for sweetmeats. Although theatres were officially prohibited within the city confines, opera and musical entertainments, clapper ballads, drum songs, and martial acrobatics were an inseparable part of Manchu life. Lao She's passion for these traditional art forms would inflect his writing while the extraordinary connoisseurship of Manchu garrison culture would colour his vivid evocations of Peking.

The vast majority of the Banner population were non-combatant, and the wives, children, and elderly relatives of serving Bannermen all depended on the stipend of the householder. Lao She was impressed by how his mother managed their ever diminishing budget paid in 'underweight and impure' silver which had to be exchanged for cash. She would anxiously weigh up the exchange rates 'at tobacco shops run by merchants from Shanxi, at Moslem chandlers' shops, or at regular money changers' establishments and private banks'. Sometimes, after making enquiries, 'the general exchange rate dropped, which meant that she had run around for nothing and lost several hundred cash into the bargain.'[10]

Lao She dates his birth, with felt significance, to the tail end of 'that famous year, 1898!'[11] This was the year of the ill-fated Hundred Days' Reform Movement. For the less resourceful Bannermen, who worried about losing their grain allowances if the reforms went through, the end of the Hundred Days was as much a relief as it was for the Manchu aristocrats who would have had their sinecures cancelled. Kang Youwei (1858–1927) and his fellow reformists had proposed 'that the garrisons be abolished and the Bannermen given "useful occupations"'.[12] The thought of having to earn his own keep throws Lao She's sister's father-in-law, the 'hale and hearty' Respected Zheng, into 'a state of great agitation … "People with ideas like that should be chopped up into little pieces!"'[13]

When the Hundred Days' reformists first brought Han/Manchu distinctions into discussion they were treading on thin ice. With the goal of uniting a strong China in common opposition to foreign aggression, the reformist Zhang Yuanji (1867–1959) cautiously suggested dissolving ethnic difference by allowing intermarriage between Banner people and Han Chinese. Kang Youwei, wishing to emulate the Japanese in adopting Western dress, dared to

suggest abolishing the queue, the most obvious marker of Manchu domination. This was when the Dowager Empress Cixi, anxious about where such changes might lead, stepped in and ordered the arrest of the reformists. Kang Youwei and Liang Qichao managed to escape but Kang's beloved younger brother Kang Guangren and Liang's good friend Tan Sitong, along with four other activists, were publicly beheaded. 'By the time I was born', writes Lao She in deadpan fashion, 'the debate over the law reforms was settled and a few of the advocates of the reforms had been killed.'[14]

Their military role curtailed, yet still forbidden to work, the Banner populations lingered on in 'their own small paradise of straitened circumstances'.[15] Foreign visitors commented often on the dilapidated but picturesque Tartar enclosures of turn-of-the-century Chinese cities where, in contrast to the hurried bustle of the outer Han districts, the male pedestrian would stroll leisurely, holding aloft his caged songbird or an attenuated fishing rod balanced on his shoulder. The women wearing long gowns, their hair elaborately structured and glossy with elephant dung lacquer, puffed on ebony pipes of orchid-scented tobacco and moved equally slowly, emulating the bound feet of Han women in teetering, elevated slippers. They had evolved a unique style of living. The American writer, Emily Hahn, noted how the Thomas Cook's tourists in Shanghai who leapt 'eagerly from their ships down on the Bund or in Yangtzepoo' were inevitably disappointed by their first glimpse of China's crowded tram lines, modern hotels and department stores, yet were generally appeased by a trip to the twisted streets of the Manchu quarters: 'Thomas Burke and Ernest Bramah would always mean more' she comments, 'now that one had a genuine memory of Old China—before the white man came.'[16] Lao She describes the Banner people as living 'in some exquisite, explicit, and yet slightly muddled dream … Those with

money wanted the best of everything; so did those without in spite of their poverty. So all sank or floated in the stagnant pond of their pleasure-seeking lives.'[17]

The Boxer disorders of 1900 left the garrison populations of Peking and northern China more dispirited than ever, their neighbourhoods reduced to rubble and undeterminable numbers killed. The Banner populace went from acute poverty to the lowest level of subsistence. Many became peddlers or trash collectors or took up rickshaw pulling or prostitution. Left with three young children to support, Lao She's mother took in laundry and sewing to supplement the meagre widow's pension she received under the Banner stipend system. 'My mother worked day and night', Lao She recalled. 'Living upon her small earnings, we children escaped death. I was a serious child and rarely smiled, for as soon as I began to perceive and understand, I knew the meaning of hunger and thirst.'[18]

The Qing court eventually took steps to address the social problem of the Banner people. Legal distinctions between Manchu and Bannermen were abrogated and restrictions against intermarriage lifted, although the Banner system was retained. Schools were chartered that would continue to provide instruction in the Manchu language but also in a variety of disciplines so the people might learn skills with which they could earn a living. Like Cixi's other reforms of 1902, this was too little, too late. Reformist thinking now became distinctly anti-Manchu.

From his refuge in Japan, Liang Qichao resumed his writing activities, setting up journals, *The China Discussion* (*Qingyibao*, 1898) and *New People's Miscellany* (*Xinmin congbao*, 1902). Liang was about to mobilize the idea of China as an ethnically homogenous nation state. In a 1902 letter to Kang Youwei, he outlined his strategy: 'In order to rouse the nationalistic idea, naturally we

cannot keep from attacking the Manchus. Anti-Manchuism is the best-timed idea in China, just as was anti-Tokugawa sentiment in Japan.'[19] Ever since the Sino-Japanese War (1894–95) Liang had been talking about the battle for global supremacy in terms of racial superiority. Furious at 'the Manchu concubine' who had murdered his comrades, Liang launched into a pseudo-scientific rationale in which the Manchus were denigrated as stupid, weak, and unfit to compete with the white race. According to Liang's understanding of Social Darwinism, historical progress was the outcome of racial struggle. With their feeble capitulation to the foreign powers the Manchus were hindering this life-and-death process. Like the degenerate and doomed Eloi in H. G. Wells's *The Time Machine* (1895), Liang accused the Manchus of having 'eaten without farming, and been clothed without weaving. Not one among their five million people is capable of being a scholar, farmer, artisan or merchant.'[20] Social Darwinist thinking, so keenly taken up by Liang, Tan Sitong, Tang Caichang, Yan Fu, and other Hundred Days' reformists, imposed an ideologically constructed racial ethnicity on what had been a hereditary military caste. Newly coined nomenclatures *Hanzu* (Han) and *Manzu* (Manchu), taken from official Qing cultural distinctions, *Hanren* (Han People) and *Manren* (Manchu People), were reconceptualized. Now these terms 'exhibited a level of essentialism and mutual exclusivity characteristic of racial categories'.[21] They allowed Liang to articulate his opposition to Manchu rule as a battle for supremacy between Manchu and Han, as inevitable as that between yellow and white.

Like other reformists, Liang reasoned that racial mixing through intermarriage was key to racial strength and that China's best hope lay in unity through assimilation. Otherwise, he predicted with chilling accuracy, 'scholars all over the country … will start a revolution' and 'whatever else might happen, the Manchus in the

provincial garrisons will surely be annihilated'.[22] The rabid racial rhetoric of Liang's analysis of Manchu shortcomings was unfortunate. While Liang wanted the Manchus to relinquish their difference and amalgamate with the Han before they were wiped out by factionalism, his arguments gave the revolutionaries a rationale for exterminating them.[23] Radical nationalism after the Boxer Uprising took on new energy with the generation of students educated abroad or, like Lao She, in the new reformed schools. Unlike the 1898 reformists, the nationalists were opposed to the very existence of the Qing government. The reformists' chief concern had been the exclusion of the foreign powers from China. As far as they were concerned, the Manchu rulers, while despised as usurpers, were after 200 years no less 'Chinese' than their subjects. For the revolutionaries, however, the Manchus were not Chinese and had no more right to be in China than the foreign imperialists had. Students galvanized by Dr Sun Yat-sen's Revolutionary Alliance (*Tongmenghui*) directly targeted the Manchus and demanded their elimination. Young Chen Tianhua (1875–1905) cut a dashing and romantic figure. He unplaited his queue and wore his hair long in emulation of the rebel Taiping warriors. His 1903 pamphlet, *Alarm Bell to Awaken the Age* (*Jingshi zhong*) echoed their fierce slogans: 'Drink a toast of blood-wine, and cry out … Kill the foreign devils … if the Manchus help the foreigners to kill us, then first kill all the Manchus. Kill! Kill! Kill!'[24] In 1905 Chen drowned himself in Tokyo Bay in protest at a Japanese clampdown on Chinese student activity. Eighteen-year old Zou Rong (1885–1905) wrote a tract called *The Revolutionary Army* (1903) in which he referred to Empress Cixi as 'the whore Nara' (Yehenara was her clan name) and called for the annihilation of 'the five million and more of the furry and horned Manchu race'.[25] Anti-Manchu nationalism, once

the marginal domain of secret societies, now 'entered the history of thought of modern China'.[26]

In the course of the 1911 Revolution thousands of Banner people fell victim to the virulent xenophobia that had been a defining element of revolutionary rhetoric for a decade. In much nationalist polemic, opposition to the dynasty and its impositions on China was inseparable from hatred of ordinary Manchu people. Manchus of both sexes and all ages were slaughtered mercilessly, hunted and executed for spite even after fighting had ceased. There were bloodbaths in the Manchu cities of Xian, Wuchang, Nanjing, Zhenjiang, Fuzhou and Taiyuan.[27] Many Banner people committed suicide, others attempted to flee but it was difficult for them to escape detection.

> They were known by their clothing, by their cast of countenance, by their speech. Their fondness for reds and yellows, their use of white linings, their high collars and narrow sleeves … their belts, their shoes; all gave them away. With the women the unbound feet were the fatal distinction. Their peculiar headdress, their clothing they might change, but there was no disguising their natural-sized feet.[28]

After the revolutionaries consolidated their control of Wuhan, the worst of the violence against the Banner people ended. Some distance from the centres of rebellion, Peking's Tartar City had survived unscathed. The Qing abdication was managed by Yuan Shikai who had accepted the post of prime minister. In a desire to bring the revolution to a speedy conclusion, the new Republic declared itself committed to ethnic equality and Yuan called for an end to anti-Manchu writings as contrary to the principles of the new constitution. The Banner people were assured they would be safeguarded in the new government's 'Article of Treatment

regarding the Manchus, Mongols, Muslims and Tibetans' which promised to treat all minorities on an equal basis with Han Chinese, to continue paying the Banner soldiers' stipends pending a resolution of the 'long-standing Eight Banners livelihood' problems and to abolish restrictions on their occupations and residence.[29]

The Peking Banner people were ill prepared to cope with their new-found freedoms. Most lacked either the skills or the inclination to make their own way in the world. As Lao She put it: 'The dust accumulated during two hundred years and more of history had deprived most Manchu Bannermen of the faculty for self-examination and self-advancement.'[30] Sidney D. Gamble, philanthropist and scion of the Procter & Gamble corporation, conducted a social survey of Peking in 1917 that confirms Lao She's picture of their condition:

> Long years of living on government bounty have unfitted most of the Manchus for earning a living, and now many of them would rather starve than go to work. Cases are known where they have been willing to sell even the bricks from their floors before they would do anything to earn money.[31]

Those Manchus who did attempt to work found it difficult to overcome the prejudice that lingered from accusations that they did not belong in China. In an effort to avoid discrimination some suppressed their family name going only by their personal name. (Lao She's Han-style surname Shu was derived from the first syllable of his Manchu surname Sumuru).

Ethnicity would remain an issue throughout the 1920s and beyond. Many found that the only way to get on in a republican world was to eliminate obvious indicators of their origins, such as wearing Manchu dress or observing Manchu customs. The cutting

of the Manchu-imposed queue had become mandatory in May 1912 with Sun Yat-sen's decree to every Chinese male that it was 'time to cleanse the ancient stain and become a citizen of the new nation'.[32] Manchus came to be identified with those citizens at the lowest level of the new nation. Former Bannerman soldiers joined the police, others became street peddlers. Identified with poverty and unskilled labour, they dominated the recently arrived business of rickshaw pulling, work viewed as practically subhuman. Yet this was the class of people that Hu Shi (1891–1962) suggested should take centre stage in China's New Fiction. Hu Shi was the first to assert the dignity of *baihua*, the language of plain speech and its importance for the vitality of literature. His manifesto published in *New Youth* (*Xin qingnian*), in January 1917, stated: 'At present the poor man's society, male and female factory workers, rickshaw pullers … small shop owners and peddlers everywhere … have no place in literature (as they should).' Lao She would be among the first to give a voice to China's marginalized, downtrodden and disaffected urban poor, most famously in *Luotuo Xiangzi* (1936), translated in the West as *Rickshaw Boy*, or *Camel Xiangzi*, and in his play, *Teahouse* (*Chaguan*, 1957). Unlike the majority of China's mostly high-born literati, this was the world he knew at first hand.

Backyard warlords, Peking schoolyards

Lao She's lifelong friend and fellow Manchu, the linguist and philologist Luo Changpei (1899–1958), would remember him as a courageous and hard-working student.[33] We can get a picture of the rigours of life for Chinese schoolboys from the essayist, journalist (and *Ulysses* translator), Xiao Qian (1910–99). Xiao Qian's experience was remarkably similar to that of Lao She. The son of a Peking Bannerman who died a month before he was born, his

mother took in laundry and sewing for the army supply depots to ensure he received an education. At primary school, writes Xiao Qian:

> Each of us had a copy of the *Four Books* by Confucius and Mencius in front of him, and all day we would yell out passages from these ancient canons. A nursery rhyme says: 'It takes a tough backside to sit through the *Great Learning* and *The Doctrine of the Mean*' … I was black and blue before I was halfway through.[34]

Under the Confucian system boys were forced by means of corporal chastisement to learn the classics by rote. By all accounts, Lao She endured his punishments stoically. A teacher once broke a whip in beating him: 'the pain was so bad that his eyes flooded with tears, yet he would not let one single tear drop, nor would he ask for mercy'.[35] Perhaps worse than the canings was the schoolyard taunting to which boys from minority backgrounds were subjected. An ethnic Mongolian, a fact Xiao Qian chose not to reveal until 1956, he quickly 'discovered that students from minority peoples were often bullied':

> In those days the Chinese characters used to denote minority peoples were even prefaced with the ideograph for 'dog' (or 'wild beast'), and I often saw my Muslim schoolmates being chased and abused. Even students whose only crime was to speak with a southern accent would be called 'barbarian'. So I quickly learned to cover up my ancestry and fill in 'Han nationality' (majority of Chinese) on all the official forms.[36]

Xiao Qian was ten years younger than Lao She which indicates the persistence of Han chauvinism.

In 1919, the year following Lao She's appointment as a school principal, Xiao Qian began attending a 'modern' elementary school. The May Fourth student protest movement had erupted, he writes, and 'the new learning was blowing into the city like a fresh breeze'.[37] In 1920 the Peking government ordered the introduction of elementary school textbooks in *baihua*. Xiao Qian's mother bought him 'a set of the new-fangled textbooks: lesson one taught the characters *man, hand, foot, knife* and *ruler* with the help of illustrations':

> I was anxious to find out just what this word 'modern' meant when it came to teaching methods. True, the textbooks were bound in the modern way, with the pages glued to a spine instead of laced together; they were so new that you could still smell the printer's ink on the pages. Also instead of having to say 'Confucius said this' and 'Confucius said that', I now had to read 'horse, cow, sheep, chicken, dog, pig'. But we were still expected simply to learn each passage by heart; just as before, the goal was to shout it out at the top of our voices, rather than actually to understand it.[38]

Another difference between the old and new systems, Xiao Qian remembers ruefully, was that 'the teacher was younger, so his canings were heavier'.

There had been a steady demand for new teachers since the late-Qing education reforms. In 1912, Cai Yuanpei (1868–1940), first minister of education for the new republic, inaugurated an educational programme to create socially responsible modern citizens (*guomin*). In 1919 Lao She was sent by the Peking Education Bureau on an extensive tour of inspection to investigate primary school education in Jiangsu Province. The following year he was elected to the Peking Teachers' Association and

appointed head of the Peking Public Institute for the Development of Education.[39] His chief duty was to promote the newly adopted Western style of elementary education in the northern counties under his supervision. Lao She's diligence had paid off. He had a respected position and at last he had money to spend. His monthly salary 'amounted to two hundred dollars. At that time one dollar equalled one hundred and twenty pennies. With fifteen pennies one could have a meal plus a glass of wine in a moderately priced restaurant.'[40] Released from his former ascetic and impoverished mode of life, Lao She now indulged himself. He spent his evenings with friends, feasting, drinking, playing mah-jong, and enjoying performances of drum singing and his beloved Peking opera. Many of these entertainments took place in sing-song houses, but when Lao She recollected this period he made a point of the fact that he refrained from sexual encounters with prostitutes: 'It seems to me that I wanted to preserve some point of innocence if only to console myself. No matter with what warmth and enthusiasm my good friends enticed me, my answer was "no".'[41] Whether this unwillingness to be identified as 'a rotten roué' was politic or not, Lao She's empathy with young women sold as unwilling concubines or driven by hunger to work 'in dark doorways' would later find expression in the stories, *A Vision* (*Wei shen*, 1933) and *Crescent Moon* (*Yue yar*, 1935).

So far in the New China, a school education for girls meant one more accomplishment to equip the better off for the marriage market: 'smartly turned out, they were like merchandise in a store'. Yet it was of little use to a girl looking for a decently paid job: 'The learning and morality which I had been taught at school', observes the nameless protagonist of *Crescent Moon*, 'were a joke. Schooling was a plaything for those who had full stomachs and time to spare.'[42] The girl in *A Vision* turns to prostitution because

she cannot support her father's opium habit on the pittance paid to her as a primary school teacher.

The years following the establishment of the Republic were a chaotic period for Chinese people. In the throes of change, China's social order had broken down; Confucian norms could no longer operate but there was nothing yet to replace them. Various warlords exploited the weakness of the fledgling parliamentary system in the competition to establish national control. Between 1916 and 1928, no fewer than seven warlords came and went in Peking. Seeking advantage where they might, foreign states interfered for their own ends. In his job as schools' inspector, Lao She found himself enmeshed in the local politics of Peking's outlying northern districts where power lay in the hands of the corrupt local gentry. Here matters of government continued to be arranged by nepotism and bribery, while gambling, pimping, and opium-peddling remained endemic. Ordinary citizens continued to be downtrodden.

One of the criticisms that would be levelled at Lao She in later years was his lack of participation in the student agitations of this era. Particularly irksome are Sinologist Innes Herdan's comments to this effect in her extraordinarily blinkered study, *The Pen and the Sword: Literature and Revolution in Modern China* (1992). More pertinent is Ranbir Vohra's question:

> Can anyone really conceive of the possibility of a Manchu intellectual being motivated to join one of the political parties or factions, which had been founded by Han intellectuals for the sole purpose of rejecting the Manchus from China's body politic … We can understand why Lao She did not participate even in the May Fourth Movement though he was very much part of the world of education in 1919.[43]

In fact, Lao She was very much part of the May Fourth Movement and its brief flowering of utopian and cosmopolitan ideals. As part of the 'world of education', he was involved in the pedagogic application of diverse models of meaningful and practical citizenship as the schools under his jurisdiction served as experimental workshops, testing a variety 'of borrowed foreign and retooled indigenous ideas and practices' in order to educate the New China.[44] He was also immersed in voluntary civic activities that went far beyond the protests and sloganeering that have been the primary focus of scholarly attention to the period.

Writing an obituary for Luo Changpei in 1955, Lao She emphasised that both he and his friend had been ardently patriotic during these years. They 'hated the reactionary forces' but wished to be able to live an 'independent' life, with no need 'to toady or flatter' or be anybody's 'running dog'.[45] It was for this reason that in September 1922, after just two years, Lao She quit his well-paid job, which says far more for his personal politics than the empty sloganeering of middle-class students. He refused any longer to be implicated in the machinations of gentry officials he described as 'hobgoblins and devils'.[46] Lao She would portray this period in the Peking novels of his early London years. The following passage, for example, is a description of the aftermath of a student demonstration in *Sir Chao Said*, published in 1927:

> Outside the President's office lay a broken strand of rope: the President had been tied up and beaten. In the hallway were five or six satin slippers: the teachers had escaped barefoot. Pinned against the door frame of an office by a three-inch-long nail, was an ear with its blood already congealed: it had been lopped off the head of a faithful, prudent (his crime!) supply clerk of twenty years' standing. On the green near

> the hothouse was a patch of blood that had turned black-purple: it had poured forth from the nostrils of a gardener whose income was ten dollars per month.
>
> In the aquarium the goldfish were floating in the tank on the surface of the water, their white bellies gleaming: whole boxes of chalk, dumped into the bottom of the tank, were giving forth bubbles, frying the undeparted souls of the little fry. In the laboratory the eyeballs of the frogs were stuck on bricks; the frogs had forfeited their little lives otherwise dedicated to experimental purposes. For a whole day the sun, hid behind black clouds, did not show his face. In the dark, the overhappy rats were nibbling away at the dead frogs' legs.[47]

Herdan's reading of this is remarkable: 'Considering that in real life Chinese students in these years were being arrested and killed for demonstrating', she writes, 'this kind of writing, funny though it may be in parts, strikes a jarring note.'[48] It is impossible to understand how even an unabashed Maoist like Herdan could describe this visceral commentary on the malignance of misguided mob violence as 'funny'. Even more astonishing is that her book was published as recently as 1992. In order to shore up her ideologically-fixated critique, she excises the pecuniary details about the supply clerk and the gardener in her citation from the novel. 'What was he *doing* in the six years he lived in England', she demands dismissively. These were the terms by which Lao She would be interrogated by the Red Guards during the Cultural Revolution in 1966.

Early in 1921 Lao She suffered something of a breakdown. His constitution would always be fragile, a condition he attributed to malnourishment in early childhood. As well as his post of schools' inspector, and head of the 'new learning' outreach project, he was a member of the Education Ministry's research society and an active

participant in the society's lecture group.[49] This was a demanding workload. A debilitating attack of influenza, followed by stomach ulcers and six months of total hair loss, would today be seen as an indication of severe stress.[50] He went to recuperate at the monastery of the Sleeping Buddha Temple, in Peking's Fragrant Hills outside the western city limits. At one time the Qianlong Emperor's imperial hunting grounds, some miles beyond the crumbling pavilions and pagodas of the old Summer Palace, the Fragrant Hills were renowned for their scented plum and peach blossom and dense with ancient cypress, gingko, and persimmon trees. Lao She's condition at this juncture might be seen as symptomatic of China's national plight, lamented by Du Yaquan (1873–1933), editor of *Eastern Miscellany* (*Dongfang zazhi*):

> Society presently has become purely one of material force; in the realm of the spirit there is no force to be spoken of …. Ever since materialism entered our hearts, it seems, the cosmos has had no gods, the human world no soul. The material is omnipotent …. [T]here is now no time to enquire into the ultimate aim of human life or cosmological concepts of beauty. The sole concern is how to preserve existence and how to avoid being eliminated. Such are the pressing questions of the philosophy of life. A world such as this contains superior and inferior, but is quite without good and evil; it has winners and losers, but is without right and wrong.[51]

The health of the nation in relation to that of the spiritual and moral well-being of the citizen, had been addressed in the Hundred Days' Reform period by Liang Qichao. Shortly after the 1911 Revolution, in an essay entitled 'Reforming the Individual' (1914), Du Yaquan had seen the role of the individual as providing the antidote to

Western materialism and social decadence, arguing that China's salvation could only be achieved at the level of individual morality. Now, he argued, even though the new Republic had replaced the old social order, fundamentally nothing else had changed: If the individual failed to improve 'his own frail and unhealthy body, his impotent and weak spirit, his shallow and incapable mind, and his disordered and purposeless life', social reform would remain 'no more than a remote dream'.[52]

In the summer of 1921 Lao She returned from his monastic retreat with renewed purpose. He began to devote his spare time to helping Liu Shoumian (a Buddhist family friend who had funded his own elementary education) in running a school in the Old Tartar City by the Western Gate (Xizhimen) for children of the very poor. It was at this point that he became involved with the nearby West City New Church (Gangwashi).[53] Originally a street preaching chapel, it was erected under the sponsorship of the London Missionary Society during the 1860s, in the midst of the Tartar City's sprawling Glazed Tile Factory quarter (Liulichang). The church had been destroyed during the Boxer uprising and rebuilt in 1903. It was now a thriving community centre, especially concerned with the needs of the city's impoverished Manchu population.[54] Attached to it were a primary school, boys' and girls' boarding schools, a clinic, Sunday School classes for adults and children, and evening classes in English and Bible Studies. The minister was a Chinese, Bao Guanglin, recently returned from studying at the University of London's Faculty of Theology. Lao She began attending his English classes and the two became friendly.[55] It is important to be aware of the place of Christian thinking among radical Chinese nationalists at this time in order to understand Lao She's attraction to the Christian Church, his practical involvement at the most grass-roots level in building the New China, his move

to London in 1924, and also the negative portrayals of missionary officials in his fiction which have led some readers to the erroneous conclusion that he must have been a 'rice Christian'.[56]

In their rejection of Confucianism, many of China's reformists and those of the New Culture Movement had embraced science and rationality as a dominant philosophy of life. Since organised religion was becoming outdated in the West, what was the point of attempting to modernize China through religion? In *Ulysses* (1922), Joyce's thoughtful humanist, Leopold Bloom, calls to mind the statue of the reclining Buddha presented to Dublin's National Museum in 1891 by Colonel Sir Charles Fitzgerald as 'a trophy of Britain's newest colony exhibited to the people of her oldest'.[57] Bloom's quizzical musings align the Catholic Church's missionary zeal with the Opium Wars:

> Save China's millions. Wonder how they explain it to the Heathen Chinee. Prefer an ounce of opium. Celestials. Rank heresy for them …. Buddha their god lying on his side in the museum. Taking it easy with his hand under his cheek. Josssticks burning. Not like Ecce Homo. Crown of thorns and cross.[58]

The Young China Association declared its dedication solely to 'the guidance of the scientific spirit in order to realize our ideal of creating a Young China'.[59] Nevertheless there were those such as Du Yaquan who questioned the ability of science alone to fulfil this function. Many patriotic Chinese found in the revolutionary message of the gospels and the Christian ideals of love and self-sacrifice, the spiritual renewal that was a precondition for political and social change. For Christian intellectuals the challenge was how to make Christianity reach out to those who aligned the Church with foreign imperialism.

At the Gangwashi church, the radical young minister Bao Guanglin saw indigenization (*bensehua*) as the goal of the Protestant Church in China, with full Chinese participation in all aspects of Church life and complete independence from the British missions. He shared his views with Lao She who began helping him with the translation and publication of politico-religious tracts such as *The Ideal Society in Christianity*.[60] Lao She now became immersed in both administrative and practical church activities. He joined the Gangwashi board as a trustee of its Neighbourhood Service Centre and was made Dean of Studies for the church's primary schools where he taught classes in Moral Cultivation and Music. He also set up a summer school course for the primary school teachers to study Chinese and published 'An Introduction' for the course in *Education and Administration Monthly* run by the Peking Education Bureau. In the spring of 1922 he was baptised a Christian, taking the name Colin C. Shu, and it was in September of that year that he resigned his well-paid posts at the Education Bureau.[61]

In the same month he took a six-month post teaching Chinese at the Nankai Middle School in Tianjin. One of the first modern secondary schools in China, its principal was Zhang Bolin (1876–1951), a Christian and pioneering educational reformist who, like Hu Shi, had studied under American philosopher, psychologist and educational reformer John Dewey at Columbia. Zhang was renowned for his emphasis on athletics, which he believed would rid China of its image as the 'Sick man of Asia'. He devised Nankai's curriculum in the attempt to produce students who could overcome the five illnesses that he believed afflicted China: ignorance; weakness; poverty; disunity; and selfishness. Most famously he taught Zhou Enlai who graduated in 1917.[62] It was here that Lao She's first short story, 'Little Bell' (Xiao Ling'er), was published in

the school's journal, *Nankai Quarterly* in January 1923. Another influential person in Lao She's life during this period was the writer and historian, Xu Dishan (1893–1941), who was finishing a degree in theology at Peking's Yenching University and was involved with discussion groups (*shuaizhenhui*) at the Gangwashi church. A May Fourth pioneer and a founding editor of *Fiction Monthly*, Xu Dishan encouraged Lao She in his writing and, like Zhang Bolin, became a lifelong friend. He and Xu would share lodgings in North London when Lao She arrived in 1924.[63]

Back in Peking in 1923, Lao She began taking extramural English classes at Yenching, assisted in his fees by an LMS Arts College Grant.[64] Here he came under the influence of Christian intellectuals who were advocating a stronger Chinese presence in the Church. Chief among them were Wu Leichuan (1870–1944) and Zhao Zichen (T. C. Chao, 1888–1979). During the Anti-Christian Movement of the early 1920s, both wrote prolifically, advancing the notion of universal counterparts between Christian and Confucian values. Zhao Zichen favoured the use of the philosophically-neutral term, *zhuzai*, meaning 'decisive principle' or 'master of all', common to Confucian and Buddhist teaching, rather than *Shangdi*, the most common word for God.[65] They each believed that the spirit of the New Culture Movement, the building of a just society grounded in scientific thinking but transcending science, was manifested in Christianity. But they did insist that the Church needed to be governed solely by Chinese in order for its anti-imperialism to be obvious. Wu and Zhao were happy to ditch the supernatural elements of Christian dogma such as the miracles, the Virgin birth, or Heaven and Hell, in order to focus on the core of what Jesus, for them a great teacher like Confucius or Socrates, had said and done. Yenching University came under

heavy criticism from foreign missionaries and their societies for being 'unreliable in theology' and 'a hotbed for radicals'.[66]

Regardless of their motives, the schools and universities run by religious missions played an undeniable role in China's modernization. Like many other reformists, Lao She was strongly motivated by Western humanism based on Christian thinking as an ethic more answerable to the needs of modern China than Confucianism. Nevertheless, his lampooning of the Reverend Ely in *Er Ma* indicates Lao She's marked distancing from the British missionary endeavour. Reverend Ely is like 'the superior, the very reverend' Father Conmee in *Ulysses* who regrets the loss to the Catholic Church's missions of the 'millions of black and brown and yellow souls that had not received the baptism of water when their last hour came like a thief in the night …. It seemed to Father Conmee a pity … a waste, one might say.' [67]

> The Reverend Ely was an old missionary who'd spread the Word for twenty years in China. He knew everything there was to know about China … And yes he truly loved the Chinese, and at midnight, if lying awake unable to sleep, he would invariably pray to God to hurry up and make China a British dominion. Eyes filled with hot tears, he would point out to God that if the Chinese were not taken in hand by the British, that vast mass of yellow-faced black-haired creatures would never achieve the ascent to Heaven on High.[68]

After returning to Peking from Nankai, Lao She taught classes in Chinese and Moral Cultivation at Peking's No. 1 Middle School and worked as a secretary at the Peking Education Society under Gu Mengyu, a Kuomintang party activist and professor at Peking University. He managed to scrape by on less than a third

of his previous salary but was forced to sell his fur coat to help his mother get through the bitter winter months.[69] 1923 and 1924 were fraught years for Peking. Northern China was ravaged by civil warfare as the rival armies of the Japanese-backed warlord Zhang Zuolin, the 'Old Marshal', and Feng Yuxiang, the pro-nationalist known as the 'Christian General', battled for control of northern China. The city was besieged by food shortages and inflation. Its citizens, never sure which way the political winds might blow, were traumatized by random arrests, kidnappings, forced conscriptions, and the constant clamour of distant cannon fire. Lao She helped out in another LMS church on Lantern Market Street (Dengshikou), working among the poor and destitute at its Neighbourhood Centre. Bao Guanglin, now very active in the revolutionary movement, had left the Gangwashi ministry but sometimes attended the Dengshikou church. As a consequence the Chinese ministers at the church, Peng Jinzhang and Quan Shaowu, were arrested by Zhang Zuolin's men under suspicion of colluding in underground activity with Bao, and because they allowed a Marxist study group run by the young communist Meng Yongqian to meet at the church.[70] The period in all its confusion and misery would be captured by Lao She in Act Two of his play, *Teahouse* (1957).

It was in the summer of 1924 that Lao She received the offer of a five-year teaching appointment in London. One of the English teachers at Yenching was the Reverend Robert Kenneth Evans (1880–1925). Evans' father-in-law was a Welsh missionary and linguist, W. Hopkyn Rees (1859–1924), who had weathered the Boxer rebellion and was now retired from the LMS to a chair of Chinese at the University of London (1921–24). Evans had been informally supervising the Gangwashi church but was home from China in December 1922 after suffering 'a serious nervous

breakdown'.[71] Lao She had not begun classes at Yenching until September 1923, so he could not have been taught by Evans but their paths certainly would have crossed at the church during 1922. Back in London, Evans was teaching at London University's School of Oriental Studies. When Hopkyn Rees was looking for a candidate for an assistant lectureship in Mandarin he sought out Lao She on Evans' recommendation. Kitted out in his Western suit and with a second-class boat ticket, paid for with a loan from the LMS, Lao She embarked from Shanghai on the *SS Devanha* to Harwich. He was met by Reverend Evans at London's Cannon Street station on 14 September 1924.

Notes

Preface

1. Josipovici 2010: 11. Josipovici borrows the key term, 'disenchantment', from Max Weber. It describes the move in modern Western society from an era of 'superstition' to one of scientific reasoning and common sense ascribed to the period after the Reformation when the sacramental religion of the Middle Ages was superseded by intellectualized Protestantism.
2. Ibid.: 186. Eric Hayot suggests that 'when the great history of modernism is written, its most "central" works won't be those of its European origins but those of its strongest and most compelling moments elsewhere; it is possible, for instance, to consider much of the contemporary avant-garde performance and visual art produced in China and elsewhere as an ongoing testimony to the relevance of modernist "values"', see his 'Bertrand Russell's Chinese Eyes' in Mary Ann Gillies, Helen Sword, and Steven Yeo (2009) *Pacific Rim Modernisms*, Toronto: University of Toronto Press.
3. Shu-mei Shi 2001: 2.
4. Leigh Wilson, 2012: 22.
5. Hayot 2009: 175–76.

Introduction

1. Details from King Hu 'Lao She in England' (trans.) Cecilia Y. L. Tsim, in Kao (ed.) (1980) *Two Writers and the Cultural Revolution: Lao She and Chen Jo-hsi*. Hong Kong: Chinese University Press.
2. *Er Ma*: 8–9.
3. Chinese literature had traditionally been composed in *wenyan*, the difficult classical style. When China's writers took up the revolutionary call to use the written vernacular for literary expression, they had to invent the new way of writing as they went along, and one of their innovations was the incorporation of Europeanized constructions and grammar.
4. Ibid.: 8.
5. Russell 1922: 76–8.
6. Shu Ji 1992: 575. Shu Ji is Lao She's daughter.
7. Cited in Hsia 2004: 245.
8. See David Der-wei Wang (1992) *Fictional Realism in Twentieth Century China: Mao Dun, Lao She, Shen Congwen*, New York: Columbia University Press, and (1997) *Fin-de-Siècle Splendor: Repressed Modernities of Late Qing Fiction 1849–1911*, Stanford: Stanford University Press.

Chapter 1

1. Lao She, 'My Mother' (trans.) Carmen Li with D. E. Pollard in *Renditions* (Autumn 1992): 63.
2. Cited in Martin and Kinkley (eds.) 1992: 269.
3. Cited in Lyell and Chen (eds.) 1999: 274.
4. Martin and Kinkley (eds.) 1992: 269.
5. Wheatley 1971: 449–51.
6. Martin and Kinkley (eds.) 1992: 270.
7. Ibid.
8. Lao She (1979) *Beneath the Red Banner* (*Zheng hongqi xia*):18. Written in 1961–62, it is an unfinished autobiographical tale of life

in the Bannermen community of Peking's Tartar City at the turn of the century when the dynasty was on the point of collapse. Manchu attraction to the Boxer movement is a principal theme of the book.

9. Sitwell 1939: 17.
10. *Beneath the Red Banner*: 41.
11. There seems to be a consensus today that Lao She was born in 1899. However, biographer Ranbir Vohra argues for 1898 as Lao She mentions that 'he left for England in 1924 when he was 27' (*Lao-niu p'o-ch'e*, first published in 1935 in *Yu-chou feng*, Hong Kong, 3) Vohra 1974: 167. Discrepancies in Chinese and Western age calculation arise from the way newborns start at one year old and age is calculated on the passing of a lunar year, so in Chinese reckoning a person is a year older than in the Western system.
12. Crossley 2002: 166.
13. *Beneath the Red Banner*: 58, 60.
14. *Beneath the Red Banner*: 61.
15. Crossley 2002: 85.
16. Hahn 1941: 16–17. Ernest Bramah (1868–1942), author of a series of *chinoiserie* tales of the storyteller Kai Lung, beginning with *The Wallet of Kai Lung* (1900). Thomas Burke (1886–1945), author of *Limehouse Nights: Tales of Chinatown* (1916).
17. *Beneath the Red Banner*: 32–3.
18. Cited in Chou 1976: 3.
19. Cited in Yoshihiro 2003: 16.
20. Cited in Rhoads 2000: 5.
21. Mullaney 2010: 24.
22. Cited in Rhoads 2000: 4–5.
23. Pusey 1983: 181.
24. Cited in Platt 2007: 133.
25. Cited in Rhoads 2000: 10.
26. Bergère 2000: 105.
27. Rhoads 2000: 204.
28. Keyte 1913: 43.

29. Crossley 2002: 195.
30. *Beneath the Red Banner*: 32.
31. Gamble 1917: 274.
32. Cited in Rhoads 2000: 253.
33. Slupski 1966: 82.
34. Xiao Qian 1990: 13.
35. Hu Jieqing, Lao She's widow (1905–2001); Preface to *Camel Xiangzi*, Nanjing: Yilin Press, 1979.
36. Xiao Qian 1990: 4–5.
37. Ibid.: 13.
38. Ibid.: 14.
39. For these details see 'The Chronicle of Lao She's Life' by Shu Ji (his daughter) in (1992) *Lao She Vol. 3*. Nanjing: Yilin Press, 574–604.
40. Chou 1976: 9.
41. Cited in Chou 1976: 13.
42. 'Crescent Moon' in (1992) *Lao She Vol. 3*. Nanjing: Yilin Press, 270–97.
43. Vohra 1974: 14.
44. Culp 2007: 7.
45. Cited in Vohra 1974: 14.
46. Cited in Vohra 1974: 10.
47. Translated in C. T. Hsia 1999: 171.
48. Herdan 1992: 57.
49. Shu 1992: 575–7.
50. Chou 1976: 12.
51. Cited in Xu 2009.
52. Liu 1995: 88.
53. Shu 1992: 575.
54. Bickers 1994: 25. I am wholly indebted to Robert Bickers' definitive research in his (1994) 'New Light on Lao She, London, and the London Missionary Society, 1921–1929', in *Modern Chinese Literature*, Vol. 8.

55. Towery 1999: 24.
56. Bickers 1994: 21.
57. John Smurthwaite (February 2002) 'That Indian God', in *James Joyce Broadsheet*, 61, 3.
58. Joyce 1992: 98.
59. Wang Guangqi's in first issue of *Young China* (*Shaonian Zhongguo*), cited in Fällman 2008.
60. *Jidujiao de datong zhuyi* by Shu Sheyu (Lao She), in Bao Guanglin's *Life* No. 4, Vol. 3, 1922.
61. Shu 1992: 575.
62. Barnouin and Yu (eds.) 2006: 15.
63. Bickers 1994: 28.
64. Bickers 194: 27.
65. Fällman 2008: 15.
66. Fällman 2008: 21. In May 1924 the *Zhongua Christian Church Almanac* (7) published an article by Shu Sheyu (Lao She), 'Notes on the Process of Changing the Peking Gangwashi Church into a Chinese Church'.
67. Joyce 1992: 285.
68. *Er Ma*: 7.
69. Vohra 1974: 11.
70. Towery 1999: 31.
71. Bickers 1994: 27.

Chapter 2

1. Patmore 1968: 75.
2. Arrowsmith 2001: 3.
3. Williams 1989: 44.
4. Spence 1992: 74.
5. Woolf 1924: 10.
6. The Exhibition of Chinese and Japanese Paintings ran from 1910 to 1912, attracting large crowds and press. For a catalogue of the

exhibits which covered paintings from the fourth to the nineteenth centuries, see Binyon (1910) *Guide to an Exhibition of Chinese and Japanese Paintings*, London: British Museum. Also see Roger Fry (January 1910) 'Oriental Art', in *Quarterly Review*, 225–39.

7. Letter to Isabel Pound, 15 March 1909, cited in Beasley 2007: 60.
8. Hevia 2003: 210, 334.
9. Binyon 1908: 4.
10. Laurence Binyon, 'E Pur Si Muove', in *Saturday Review*, Vol. 110, 31 December 1910, 840. See David Peters Corbett (2005), 'Laurence Binyon and the Aesthetic of Modern Art', in *Visual Culture in Britain*, Vol. 6, no. 1, 101–19.
11. Binyon 1908: 16, 72.
12. Beasley 2007: 62.
13. Pound 1916: 108.
14. 3 September 1916. Cited in Qian 2003: 18.
15. Paige 1950: 11.
16. Imagism began with a group of poets in London in 1909, led by T. E. Hulme and including F. S. Flint, Ezra Pound, Hilda Doolittle (H. D.), Richard Aldington, John Gould Fletcher, and later Amy Lowell.
17. Pound and Litz (eds.) 1984: 267.
18. Yao 2002: 26.
19. Chinese did not even enter the curriculum at leading universities in England (Oxford) or the US (Yale) until 1875, which testifies to its relative marginalization even within the general upsurge of interest in Orientalist subjects during the nineteenth century, see Kern (1996) *Orientalism, Modernism and the American Poem*, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 73. Dorothy had begun to teach herself Chinese in 1901 at the age of 15. In 1911–12 she regularly visited the British Museum to draw pictures from the Chinese models and in 1913 she took up her Chinese studies again using Walter Caine Hillier's *The Chinese Language and How to Learn It*. With some money given her as a wedding and birthday present she bought from a second-hand bookshop in Charing Cross Road Morrison's 7-volume *Dictionary of the Chinese Language*. See David Moody

(2007) *Ezra Pound Poet: A Portrait of the Man & His Work*, Oxford: Oxford University Press.

20. Paige (ed.) 1971: 10.
21. Moody 2007: 238. Among the titles published by the Orient Press were Lionel Giles' *Sayings of Confucius* (1907), L. Crammer-Byng's *Classics of Confucius: The Book of Odes* (1908) and *A Lute of Jade* (1909), and Laurence Binyon's *The Flight of the Dragon*.
22. Monroe 1926: 296.
23. Ibid.
24. Giles 1923: 145–46.
25. Qian, 2003: 63.
26. Eoyang 1993: 106–7.
27. De Rachewiltz, Moody, and Moody: 2010, 334.
28. 4 October 1891–5 June 1915. His death was announced in the second issue of *BLAST*.
29. Qian 1995: 55.
30. De Rachewiltz, Moody, and Moody (eds.) 2011: 317.
31. Ibid.: 318.
32. On the title page the article is listed as *The Causes and Remedies of the Poverty 'in' China*, not '*of*' China. Sung's four letters to Pound are reprinted in Zhaoming Qian (2008) *Ezra Pound's Chinese Friends: Stories in Letters*, Oxford: Oxford University Press. Pound's letters to Sung are lost.
33. Monday 16 March 1914, 105, Wednesday 1 April 1914, 131, and 15 May 1914, 195.
34. *The Egoist* 16 March 1914: 105–6.
35. Ibid.
36. Ibid.
37. Yan Fu's translations of Herbert Spenser's *Study of Sociology* (1873) and Thomas Huxley's *Evolution and Ethics* (1893) introduced concepts of 'natural selection' and 'survival of the fittest'.
38. *The Egoist* 16 March 1914: 106.
39. Karl 2002: 10.

40. *The Egoist* 1 April 1914: 132.
41. The 15 August issue carried an extract from Upward's 'Sayings of K'ung the Master' (1904) and in the 15 December issue, *The Egoist* published a response by one Ming Mao (pseud. Ezra Pound) to William Loftus Hare's article of the previous issue, 'Chinese Egoism' (1 December, 439–42 and 15 December, 454–56) under the title 'The Words of Ming Mao "Least among the Disciples of Kung-Fu-Tse"', 456. Three further articles by F. T. S. describing Chinese ways were published in *The Egoist* that year, 'China' on 15 September, 354–56, 'Some Chinese Manners and Customs' on 15 October, 391–93 and 'China' on 16 November, 426–27, in which he concluded that the only hope for reform lay in the purification of the springs of Chinese character achieved by the adoption of Christianity. Sung, like many missionary-educated Chinese, believed that the Chinese character would benefit from the evangelical intervention of Christian civilization.
42. 'The Sayings of K'ung the Master', in *New Freewoman*, 1 November 1913.
43. Upward 'Anthropolatry', in *New Age*, 13 January 1910. The anti-democratic implications of Pound's absorption of Confucius became evident in his pro-fascist activities during World War II, see 'Confucius Formula Up-to-date', in *British-Italian Bulletin* 2.3, 18 January 1936.
44. Binyon 1908: 261.
45. 'The Words of Ming Mao', in *The Egoist*, 15 December 1914: 456.
46. *The Egoist*, 1 April 1914.
47. Liu 1995: 82.
48. Ibid.: 50.
49. Monroe 1917: Introduction.
50. Korte, Schneider, Lethbridge (eds.) 2000: 150.
51. Wong 1988: 46.
52. *New Youth* II, 1, 5 January 1917: 11.
53. Cited in Lai 1964: 351.
54. Chow 1960: 272.

55. Chow 1960: 273 (*New Youth* I, 3, 15 November 1915: 1).
56. *New Youth* II, 1 September 1916.
57. Babbitt 'Humanistic Education in China and the West' (trans.) Hu Xiansu, *Chinese Student's Monthly*, December 1921: 85–92.
58. January 1922: 1, 3.
59. Chow 1960: 30.
60. Wong 1988: 3.
61. *New Youth* II, 6 February 1917, 1, cited in Chow 1960: 275.
62. Shu-mei Shi 2001: 10.

Chapter 3

1. Dikötter 2008: 5.
2. Goldring 1945: 147, and Anand 1995: ix.
3. Goldring 1945: 148.
4. *Official Guide* 1924: 79.
5. Ibid.
6. Chiang Yee 1938: 8.
7. Xiao Qian 1990: 75.
8. Rohmer 1916: 94–5.
9. Gawsworth (ed.) 1950: 8–9.
10. Kohn 2003: 66.
11. *Er Ma*: 58.
12. *Er Ma*: 53.
13. *Er Ma*: 14.
14. Ibid.
15. There were many; typical is Rodney Gilbert's *What's Wrong with China* (1926).
16. Bickers 1994: 29.
17. King Hu gives an account in Kao (ed.) 1980: 23.
18. Ibid.: 25.
19. Ibid.

20. McKay 1937: 56.
21. See May in Holmes (ed.) 1978: 121.
22. Cited in Howe (ed.) 2000: 8.
23. Webb: 1992: 140.
24. Webb 1978 3: 393. Cited in Laurence: 163.
25. Web 1992: 140.
26. Howe 2000: 8.
27. *Evening News* 5 October 1920.
28. King Hu in Kao (ed.) 1980: 25.
29. Bickers 1994: 28.
30. Towery 1999: 39.
31. Burke 1939: 192.
32. *Er Ma*: 152.
33. Lao She, 'Dongfang xueyuan' (Oriental institute), in Zeng Guangcan and Wu Huaibin, 1: 135–40.
34. 'Report on the work of the Chinese Dept by Professor Bruce, 1927/8', Bruce Papers SOAS Admin, cited in Bickers 1994: 32.
35. Bickers 1994: 32.
36. Schmidt 1994: 115.
37. Monroe 1938: 103.
38. King Hu in Kao (ed.) 1980: 25
39. Ibid.: 24.
40. Brandreth 2007: 16.
41. http: //www.ctgenweb.org/county/cohartford/files/misc/hphs.txt.
42. King Hu in Kao (ed.) 1980: 24.
43. Ibid.: 24.
44. Egerton, C. (1939) *The Golden Lotus: A Translation of the Chinese Original of the Novel Chin P'ing Mei* (London: Routledge). A more recent translation is Roy, D. T. (2006) *The Plum in the Golden Vase Or, Ch'in P'Ing Mei*. Princeton: Princeton University Press.
45. Lao She's inspiration and help is acknowledged in the foreword, *The Golden Lotus* (trans.) Clement Egerton, London: Routledge.

46. The unexpurgated version is still banned in China. Egerton translated the rude bits into Latin.
47. Gu 2006: 114.
48. Jin Di 'Shamrocks and Chopsticks: The Blooms' Long Journey East: A Chronicle: 1922–1926', in *James Joyce Quarterly*, Vol. 36, No. 2 (Winter 1999), 230–39.
49. Laurence 2003: 134.
50. Xu Zhimo, an influential poet and critic in China in the 1920s before his untimely death in a plane crash in 1931, was from an elite gentry background, the scion of a banking family and a favoured pupil of Liang Qichao. At Cambridge he became friendly with Bertrand Russell and Roger Fry, and met Waley and Binyon. Back in China he founded the Crescent Moon Society.
51. Letter C. C. Shu to Secretary, 16 June 1926. Letter Secretary to Shu 9 October 1926. SOAS Personal Admin Files. This salary was at the lower bound of what was considered in the mid-1920s to be a middle-class salary. French, M. (2005) Commercials, careers and culture: travelling salesmen in Britain 1890s–1930s. *Economic History Review* 58 (2): 352–57, 3.
52. Letter C. C. Shu to Secretary 18 July 1926. SOAS Personal Admin File.
53. Letter C. C. Shu to Miss Clegg 18 July 1926. SOAS Personal Admin File.
54. Sing-chen 2005: 21.
55. Cited in *The China Express and Telegraph* 20 January 1927.
56. Bickers 1994: 33.
57. *The China Express and Telegraph* 14 March 1929.
58. Wang 1992: 16.
59. *Er Ma*: 8.
60. Gu 2006: 2.
61. Anand 1995: 7.
62. Hsia 1999: 173.
63. Anand 1995: 7.
64. Hsia 1999: 169.

65. Gu 2006: 3.
66. Letter C. C. Shu to Sir Denison Ross 16 June 1926. SOAS Personal Admin File.
67. Cited in Slupski 1966: 84.
68. The poetic role played by Howth in the establishment of the Irish Republic would not have been lost on Lao She. The so-called Howth gun-running provided arms to the nationalist volunteers. Mauser rifles dating from the Franco-Prussian War of 1870–71 but still functioning, were smuggled into the Bay of Howth and used in the GPO in the Easter Rising of 1916.

Chapter 4

1. Van Ash and Rohmer (eds.) 1972: 75, 60.
2. *Daily Mail* 16 July 1900.
3. *Times* 17 July 1900.
4. Cohen 1997: 15.
5. Ibid.: xi.
6. Mitchell 1925: foreword.
7. Grayzel 1999: 132.
8. Pound and Litz (eds.) 1984: 264.
9. Ibid. and Burke 1919: 52.
10. Pound and Litz (eds.) 1984: 264.
11. Meyers 1978: 37.
12. Holroyd 1996: 418.
13. Cork 1985: 77.
14. Sitwell 1977: 207.
15. Ford 1923: 76.
16. *Daily Express* 14 March 1922.
17. Kohn 2003: 5.
18. Rohmer 1917: 172.
19. Ibid.: 174.
20. Diamond 2006: 24.

21. Kohn 2003: 162.
22. *World's Pictorial News* 1924.
23. Ibid.: 166.
24. Rohmer 1919: 172.
25. *Evening News* 25, 27 April 1922.
26. *Evening News* 24 February 1922.
27. Ibid.: 53.
28. Bickers 1999: 52.
29. *Er Ma*: 8.
30. Bickers 1999: 45.
31. Bickers 1994: 33.
32. *China Express and Telegraph* 31 May 1928.
33. Cited in Bickers 1994: 35.
34. Ibid.
35. Flower (ed.) 1933: 263.
36. Ibid.: 263.
37. *Piccadilly*. DVD. Directed by E.A. Dupont. 1929. BFIVIDEO 2004.
38. Hoare 1997: 5.
39. Burke 1925: 288–89.
40. Burke 1915: 76.
41. The Godfrey Edition, Old Ordnance Survey Maps, 'Stepney and Limehouse 1914', reprint, 1999.
42. *The Sphere* 8 May 1926: 164.
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Index