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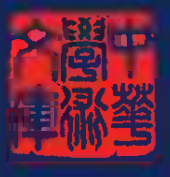

Chih-P'ing Chou *Editor*
Hu Shih

English Writings of Hu Shih

Literature and Society

Volume 1

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Literature and Society (Volume 1)

外语教学与研究出版社
FOREIGN LANGUAGE TEACHING AND RESEARCH PRESS

Springer

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ISSN 2195-1853 ISSN 2195-1861 (electronic)
ISBN 978-3-642-31183-3 ISBN 978-3-642-31184-0 (eBook)
DOI 10.1007/978-3-642-31184-0
Springer Heidelberg New York Dordrecht London

Library of Congress Control Number: 2012955944

Acknowledgments

Hu Shih's English writings, except his doctoral thesis *The Development of the Logical Method in Ancient China*[1] and *The Chinese Renaissance*[2] (adopted from his Haskell Lectures at Chicago University in 1933), were rarely published in a book format. The rest of his essays, speeches and articles were all scattered in various journals, magazines, and newspapers. The wide time span and geographic distance from the original publications have made the task of collecting Hu's English writings extremely difficult.

In his later years, Hu had planned to organize his scattered English writings and edit some of them for publishing. The first person who proposed this idea was Yang Liansheng, a professor at Harvard University at the time. Yang first brought up this idea in a letter to Hu on February 11, 1961. In the letter Yang wrote:

> I've now obtained an offprint copy of your speech at Harvard on immortality in Chinese intellectual history. Initially I wanted to post it to you, but since you are coming soon, I may well present it to you in person when we meet. I am also thinking about your article on religious history—the one for the 300th anniversary of Harvard University—and the one about Zen (maybe there are others that I don't remember, only your English articles). If you agree, it might be good to put these articles together and publish a collection, so it would be easier for students to read. For this purpose, an approval from Harvard University might be necessary. Maybe I should just ask President Pusey. The second question is where to publish this book. If you don't have a specific preference, I can discuss with the press to which I've recently agreed to be an editorial advisor. To be honest, English language materials about Chinese religion and thought are too scarce, so this book will definitely be very popular among students.[3]

[1] Hu Shih (Shih Hu), *The Development of the Logical Method in Ancient China* (Shanghai: The Oriental Book Company, 1928).

[2] Hu Shih, *The Chinese Renaissance* (Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 1934).

[3] Hu Shih Memorial Hall edited, *Lun xue tan shi er shi nian: Hu Shih Yang Liansheng wang lai shu zha* (correspondence between Hu Shih and Yang Liansheng), Taipei Linking, 1998: 390.

Hu Shih was hospitalized for a serious illness at that time, so he asked Lao Gan to reply to Yang's letter regarding the publication of his English writings. The letter said:

> Mr. Hu is interested in the idea of publishing a collection of his articles. The articles you selected were all fine. Furthermore, there are a few other pieces on religion, culture and thought that might well be included in such a collection. These articles need copyright clearance, but Dr. Hu is ill and could not go over them one by one. In any case, these articles are all in journals and magazines, so it should be easy to find. Please arrange for publishers at your discretion. Dr. Hu would only be most appreciative of your help.[4]

Yang replied to this letter on April 21 to report on the compilation progress:

> I've discussed with Karl Hill, editor from Beacon Press, about your book. I showed him your "Immorality" and the article on Zen history in *Philosophy East and West*, and I told him that we should also include "Indianization" and the one on Zen published in the *Journal of North China Branch of Royal Artistic Society*. The editor suggested enlarging the content to 300 pages or even slightly more. They want to publish a hardcover copy. If we can deliver the manuscript in January then it could be published in 1962. I wonder how you feel about this arrangement. The publisher also would like you to write an introduction for the book. Whether it is long or short will be up to you. I believe this is a reasonable request.
>
> I think your "Natural Law in the Chinese Tradition" article should be included and I have yet to see "Authority and Freedom in the Ancient Asiatic World." If we wish to enlarge the book content by adding some articles on law, there is this speech about Wang Huizu and some others on Song Dynasty scholars and law. Would it be possible for you to edit these speeches as well? Please also instruct on how many papers should be included and I shall discuss with Hill again.
>
> We also need permission from Harvard University for publication. If you are too busy to tend to these matters, you could authorize me to write them a letter on your behalf.[5]

On July 29 Yang wrote to Hu Shih again on this matter:

> Beacon Press is very enthusiastic about publishing your book, they've asked twice about our progress. I told them that your health condition does not allow you to engage in writing at present. My suggestion is that we do not limit our selection to journal and magazine articles. We can also include chapters in your other books (for example the "Chinese Renaissance" speech at Chicago). What do you think? I truly hope that you could write me a letter in English to authorize to solicit copyrights for your articles. You may wait until the whole list of content is completed to write an introduction.[6]

On October 12, Yang wrote yet another letter to Hu Shih to inform him of the publishing progress, indicating that the publisher had been secured and the copyright with Harvard University had been settled as well. The publishing contract would be signed immediately once the manuscripts are ready, but according to available evidence, Hu Shih never answered Yang's letters himself. After Hu's sudden death from a heart attack on February 24, 1962, the publication of Hu Shih's English writings was suspended.

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[4] *Ibid*., 393.

[5] *Ibid*., 394.

[6] *Ibid.*, 395.

Yang was one of the persons appointed by Hu Shih to collect and publish his English works. On October 20, 1986, a letter was sent to Wu Daqiu, president of "Academia Sinica" in Taiwan at the time, stating that the Hu Shih Memorial Hall intended to invite Yang to edit the collection of Hu's lectures at the University of California on Chinese intellectual history. However, Yang replied with significant apprehension:

> The English manuscript sent to me earlier by Mr. Wang Zhiwei might be an unfinished manuscript on Chinese intellectual history and it is different from Hu's lecture notes. This unfinished manuscript still requires a lot of amendments, notes and updates. But ten years ago when I just recovered from a serious illness, and I had no energy to finish it, so I asked Professor Yu Ying-Shih to handle it. But given the current academic conditions, it takes a lot of discretion to find a way to get the best out of Hu's works. I am afraid it probably will even compromise Dr. Hu's academic reputation if we take an easy option here and just publish this manuscript as it is. This matter must be handled prudently.[7]

So, until as late as 1986, there was still no one to finish collecting and editing Hu Shih's English writings.

Before Yang, the first person who had a vision to collect Hu Shih's English writings was an American, Mr. Eugene Livingston Delafield. He died in Florida on April 6, 2001, at the age of 96. Delafield initially met Hu Shih in the 1940s when they were living in the same apartment complex, located at 104 E, 81 Street in New York City. Delafield worked as a rare books dealer then, and he often purchased books for Hu. The two men struck up a friendship throughout the years based upon mutual respect. Their close relationship lasted until 1958 when Hu returned to Taiwan. Occasionally, Hu would also ask Delafield to help him gather some research materials. On October 1, 1950, Hu gave an article to Delafield as a gift. On the cover he wrote: "To Eugene Delafield, who has been very helpful to me in obtaining the materials I needed in writing this essay. Hu Shih, Oct. 1950." Gradually, Delafield was extremely impressed by Hu's integrity and erudition and arrived at the intention to compile a collection of Hu's English writings. This idea got Hu's approval. Then, starting from the 1940s, Delafield started collecting Hu's articles published in various English language books, journals and newspapers. According to Delafield's account, Hu would often give him copies of speeches that he presented at conferences and other occasions. After decades of continuous effort, Delafield gathered a significant amount of Hu Shih's speeches and a few manuscripts. In order to further understand Hu Shih's thought, Delafield expanded his own knowledge by purchasing and reading a large number of English books related to Hu Shih's work.

In 1957, Delafield and the famous late Chinese librarian Yuan Tongli co-edited a "Selected Bibliography of Dr. Hu Shih's Writings in Western Languages," which was published in the 28th volume of the *Bulletin of the Institute of Phonology and History, "Academia Sinica*." This bibliography was an indispensable reference for compiling Hu Shih's English writings.

[7] The original letter is kept in Hu Shih Memorial Hall, Taiwan.

In 1993, while compiling the Collection of Hu Shih's English writings, I had contacted Delafield by telephone. On September 20, 1996, I met him for the first time at my office in Princeton University. I gave him a set of the three-volume *Collection of Hu Shih's English Writings* (Taipei Yuan-Liou, 1995) that I edited as a gift. On May 27, 1998, he wrote me a registered letter in which he kindly expressed his desire for me to take care of his collection of Hu Shih's works. Part of the speeches included in *A Collection of Hu Shih's Unpublished English Essays and Speeches* (Taipei Linking, 2001) were provided by Mr. Delafield.

During the Christmas holiday season of 1998, I went to Florida to visit Mr. and Mrs. Delafield and to express my profound gratitude for their generosity. I spent one afternoon in their apartment carefully listening to his recollections of how he met Hu Shih, the erudite and hardworking scholar who also possessed a great sense of humor. I was deeply moved by the extreme effort, sincerity, and painstaking work he had put into collecting Hu Shih's writings, all of which were evident as he showed me each of Hu's original, autographed manuscripts. Hu Shih's pictures had also been neatly arranged next to the three-volume *Collection of Hu Shih's English Writings* that I had presented to him. Delafield devoted so much to collecting Hu Shih's English works; all those who have studied Hu Shih's thought should salute his efforts.

Hu Shih's English articles were scattered in various university journals and magazines. The first published collection of his works was the photo-engraved copy of *A Collection of Hu Shih's English Writings* (three volumes and 1,589 pages altogether) edited by me and published by Taipei Yuan-Liou in 1995. This edition has been out of print for years and copies are very difficult to find now. Articles included in this collection were photocopies of journal and magazine pages; some were already blurry and illegible. In 2001, Taipei Linking Press published *A Collection of Hu Shih's Unpublished English Essays and Speeches*, which was 677 pages long compiled by me. At that point, the collection and compilation of Hu Shih's English writings had essentially reached completion. When Anhui Education Press published *Complete Works of Hu Shih*, they also relied on these two titles as English resources.

In memory of the 120th anniversary of Hu Shih's birth in 2012, Mr. Wu Hao from the Foreign Language Teaching and Research Press in Beijing proposed to select and re-edit the best of Hu Shih's English articles and to publish them under three themes: "Chinese Literature and Society," "Chinese Philosophy and Intellectual History," and "National Crisis and Public Diplomacy." This three-volume collection differs from the previous editions in that it aims to represent the gist of Hu Shih's academic thoughts rather than providing a comprehensive collection. Hence, only the most important and most representative pieces of Hu Shih's are included in this collection.

It should be noted that traces of historical backgrounds and social contexts at the time of composition could be found in details of the works, such as dynasty appellations, national relationship descriptions and the use of Wade-Giles Romanization. These are kept intact to present the original style of his work. Because the collected articles were written and published at different times, they may not be completely consistent with each other in format and style (or even spelling of certain words).

2012 is also the 50th anniversary of the death of Hu Shih. I hope that the publication of this three-volume collection of Hu Shih's English writings will, to a certain extent, contribute to enhancing and popularizing the research of Hu Shih's scholarship and his thought. This short article is to commemorate the formation of this collection.

Princeton University Chih-P'ing Chou
17 January 2012

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Part I
Literature

Chapter 1
A Literary Revolution in China

A special anniversary supplement of The Peking Leader (Beijing daobao). Subtitle for this special issue, "China in 1918."

The so-called "Chinese literary revolution" which has aroused so much opposition in conservative quarters but which certainly has all promises of success, means simply a conscious demand for a living literature—a literature which shall be written in the spoken tongue and shall truly represent the life and needs of the people.

It is obvious to all critical observers that the literature of modern China does not represent the real life of the nation: it is mostly imitative of the literature of the past. "Classicism" is no fitting epithet for this literature: it is a dead literature—a literature which persistently excludes the language of everyday conversation and is only vaguely intelligible to the classically trained few but is totally inaccessible to the vast number of the people.

It is against this literature that the "literary revolutionists" direct their attack. While the conservative literatus takes great pride in calling his writings *ku-wen* (ancient prose) and *ku-shih* (ancient poetry), they propose to give China *king-wen* (modern prose) and *king-shih* (modern poetry). They contend that the "literary language" of China is no longer a sufficient medium for creative literary productions, and that the "plain language" (白话) or "vulgate Chinese" is full of literary possibilities. They maintain that the literature of modern China can only be produced in this spoken tongue. "Only a living language," they say, "is fit for the production of a living literature." And they strongly believe that vulgate Chinese is in every sense a living language.

Chapter Note: The Peking Leader. Feb. 12, 1919. pp. 116–118.

C.-P. Chou (ed.) and S. Hu, *English Writings of Hu Shih: Literature and Society (Volume 1)*, China Academic Library, DOI 10.1007/978-3-642-31184-0_1,

How the First Shot Was Fired

The movement for the adoption of the spoken language for educational purposes has long been in existence, and a number of short-lived periodicals have been published in vulgate Chinese for popular dissemination of useful knowledge. But the advocacy of the vulgate tongue as the only legitimate literary medium is a movement of quite recent origin. The immediate stimulus to this movement was an article by the present writer entitled "Suggestions for the Reform of Chinese Literature," first published in *La Jeunesse* (新青年 Vol. II, No. 5) in January, 1917. In this article, the present writer advocated the abolition of classical allusions, literary conventions, and the strict parallel structure. It also attacked the practice of slavishly imitating ancient writers and argued that modern China ought to create a living literature of its own. Finally he discussed the historical significance of the spoken language and championed its adoption as the fitting medium for literary expressions.

Following this article, Mr. Chen Tu-hsiu (陈独秀), dean of the College of Letters in the Government University, published another article entitled "For a Revolution in Literature" (*La Jeunesse*, Vol. II, No. 6), in which he vigorously supported the present writer's suggestions, especially the one on the adoption of vulgate Chinese in literature.

These two articles aroused much valuable discussion which was suspended only by the temporary cessation of publication of *La Jeunesse*, in the summer of 1917. This monthly magazine which had from its inception been the organ of radical ideas, was soon reestablished, but this time with a new resolution to help bring about the literary revolution which it had advocated. Accordingly, its new issues have all been published in the vulgate tongue. It not only contains prose compositions in the vulgate, but also publishes a number of poems written in the spoken language of the people.

That the spoken language can be effectively employed in prose composition has been sufficiently proved by the great novels of the last seven centuries, and he must be an incorrigible reactionary who refuses to recognize this undeniable fact. But the idea of producing poetry exclusively in the spoken language has repulsed many a critic. How can poetry, the essence of which is beauty, be produced in a language which has long been the language of the lowly and the vulgar and has never been polished by the usages of a refined literature?

New "Experimental Poetry"

Of course there is no way of dispelling such doubts except by actually producing good poetry in the vulgate tongue. When 2 years ago the present writer resolved to write no poetry save in the spoken language, he called his new verses "experimental poetry." This experimental attitude is shown by most of the vulgate poets. For it is by means of experiments only that we may judge a thing by its fruits. We are merely

experimenting on the possibility of the spoken language as a poetical medium. The time of experimentation has been too short for us to say anything definite on our results. It may be safe to say that at least some of the vulgate poems, notably those by Mr. Shen Yin-mo (沈尹默), professor of Chinese literature in the Government University, possess a richness both in form and in content which one rarely finds in poetry written in the literary style. At any rate, we are sure that this is an experiment well worth all the trouble and ridicule to which we may be subjected.

How the Movement Is Spreading

In spite of all opposition by defenders of the classical imitative literature, the movement for a vulgate literature is steadily spreading. There are several scientific and philosophical works now being published in the spoken language. Editors of several newspapers, such as the *Kuo Min Kung Pao* (国民公报) of Peking, and the *Shih Shih Hsin Pao* (时事新报) of Shanghai, are now writing their editorials in it. Other periodicals, notably the *Weekly Review* (每周评论) of Peking, and *The Renaissance* (新潮), a new monthly edited by the students of the Government University, are publishing almost exclusively vulgate articles and verses in their columns. Last but not least, Mr. Liang Chi-chao (梁启超), whose writings have greatly influenced the Chinese for almost 20 years, is now writing his Sunday lay sermons in the spoken language.

Historical Justification

So much for a brief account of this movement thus far. In conclusion, let me say a few words as to the historical justification of this movement. It has been truly said that the history of China best illustrates what is called the phenomenon of arrested development. Nowhere is this truth so clearly demonstrated as in the history of modern Chinese literature. As far back as in the Sung dynasty, such philosophers as Chen Yi (程子 d. 1107) and Chu Hsi (朱子 d. 1200) and many others had already felt the insufficiency of the literary language as a medium of philosophical writing. Accordingly their philosophical works were chiefly written in the style known as the conversational form (语录体) which has ever since the twelfth century been the usual style of philosophical writings. Poets of the same dynasty, notably Shao Yung (邵雍) and Loh Yiu (陆游), too, often wrote poems in a style which is much nearer the spoken than the literary language.

The phase of Chinese vulgate literature that has attained the highest development, however, is the novel. The extant specimens of novels of the Sung dynasty, such as *The Story of the Five Dynasties* (五代史平话) and *Stories of the Hsuan-ho Era* (宣和遗事), point to the fact that vulgate novels must have been fairly common

even during that time. Under the Yuan or Mongol dynasty, the vulgate novel reached a very high state of perfection in such masterpieces as *Shui Hu Chuan* (水浒传) and *Hsi Yu Chi* (西游记). The student of the dramas of Yuan knows how far the vulgate tongue was used in even the most poetic pieces. Thus as early as in the fourteenth century, China had arrived at the stage of natural development when almost every branch of literature—from philosophical discourses to the popular novel—was written in the vulgate tongue. China was actually evolving a living literature!

Unfortunately this development was stunted during the Ming dynasty when, on the one hand, a very strict form of literary composition, both in prose and in poetry, was fixed by imperial decree as the standard form for all civil examinations, and, on the other hand, a wave of reactionism was sweeping over the literati themselves who deplored the degeneration of literary style and proposed to go back to the pre-Han period for literary models! From that time to this day, Chinese literature, with the exception of a very few novels, has never been able to free itself from the shackles of classical imitation and contentless formalism.

Conclusion

It is to free ourselves from these shackles that we are now proposing the adoption of spoken Chinese as our literary medium. For doubtless one of the most important causes for this deplorable retrogression of Chinese literature has been the anachronous employment of a dead language which is no longer adequate for the expression of the ideas and sentiments of the nation. In these days of intense living and modernized thinking, this linguistic inadequacy becomes more apparent than it ever was before. In order to express an enriched content, it is necessary first to secure the emancipation of the literary form. The old bottles can no longer hold the new wine. If we truly wish to give China a literature which shall not only be expressive of the real life and thoughts of our own time, but also be an effective force in the intellectual and social reforms, we must first emancipate ourselves from the fetters of a dead language which may have once been the fitting literary instrument for our forefathers, but which certainly is not adequate for the creation of a living literature of our own times.

Chapter 2
The Literary Revolution in China

Dr. Hu's article is dated February, 1922. Appears later in China Today Through Chinese Eyes, London: 1922. pp. 56–66.

In order to appreciate the full significance of the literary revolution in China, the reader will do well to recall the history of the rise of the national languages of modern Europe. Hardly five centuries have passed since Latin was the recognized literary language of the whole of Europe. Italy was the first to revolt. Dante, Petrarch (in his youthful days) and Boccaccio produced their best works in the dialect of Tuscany, and the popularity of their writings succeeded in finally making the Tuscan dialect the national language of the Italian people. By that time, the dialect of Paris was fast becoming the official language of France. In 1539, Francis I ordered that all public documents should be in the French of Paris; though it was still foreign to nearly half the population of the kingdom. In the middle of the sixteenth century, there arose the group of French poets known as the Pléiade, who consciously advocated the use of the French language as a means of poetic expression. Rabelais and Montaigne achieved an even greater success in prose. Thus by the end of the sixteenth century the French of Paris became the undisputed national language of France.

The case of modern English, being more similar to that of modern Chinese, is all the more instructive. As late as the latter part of the fourteenth century, there were three main dialects competing for supremacy in England. The Southern dialect, spoken south of the Thames, was the most conservative, being full of old forms and inflections. The Northern dialect which extended from the Humber to Aberdeen, was, owing to the Danish settlements, undergoing such rapid and radical changes that it became almost an entirely new language. Between these extremes stood the Midland dialect which was more or less comprehensible to the speakers of both

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Chapter Note: The Chinese Social and Political Science Review. Feb., 1922. Vol. 6. No. 2. pp. 91–100.

C.-P. Chou (ed.) and S. Hu, *English Writings of Hu Shih: Literature and Society (Volume 1)*, China Academic Library, DOI 10.1007/978-3-642-31184-0_2,

dialects. This Midland dialect, being the language of London and of the two great universities, soon came to be adopted as the standard speech. Chaucer, the greatest poet of the fourteenth century, wrote his poetry in this dialect; and his great contemporary Wycliffe, too, used it in his English translations of the Bible. The immense popularity of their writings and the introduction of the printing press in the following century made the Midland dialect the undisputed national tongue of England.

The lesson taught by such recent history seems to have been forgotten by those who now look upon the Chinese literary revolution with disfavor and suspicion. But a little unbiased reflection and historical study will readily lead us to the conclusion that what is now called the literary revolution is no more than the culminating stage in a long process of historical evolution.

The story is indeed a long one, but the salient facts are simple. As early as the second century B.C., the classical language had already become unintelligible to the people. Thus about the year 120 B.C., in a memorial to the emperor, Premier Kung-sun Hung said: "The imperial edicts and laws that have been proclaimed,—while they are most elegantly worded and containing benevolent instructions, are not generally understood by the public officers who are too inadequately educated to explain them to the people." In order to meet this most serious difficulty the government hit upon a system under which public offices were conferred upon those who had studied the classic writings. This system which was later perfected into the great system of literary examinations, has succeeded in maintaining to this day the supremacy of the classical language which had become unintelligible to the public officers over 2,000 years ago.

But no governmental power, however great, can prevent a language from undergoing the inevitable processes of phonetical change and grammatical levelling gradually and unconsciously brought about by the common sense of the people. In China, these processes have by a stroke of good fortune been allowed to go on unimpeded and uninterfered with by the literary class which was busily occupied with the task of mastering the subtleties of the dead classical language. For a long period of over twenty centuries, the dialects have been permitted to keep on changing and modifying until some of the dialects have become as distinct from the classical language as any two cognate languages can possibly be different from each other. As in the case of the English dialects, the dialects of Northern China, owing to the influence of numerous barbarian conquests and settlements, have undergone the most radical changes both in pronunciation and in tonation and in grammar. It is the Northern and Middle dialects, generally classed as the "Mandarin dialects," which now form the *kuo yu* or national language of China.

While conservative Chinese scholars still look down upon the living spoken language as the degraded jargon of the vulgar and the illiterate, the student of comparative languages can easily convince himself that the living national tongue is the culmination of over twenty centuries' linguistic revision and reform, and is consequently by far superior to the long dead classical language. I have elsewhere tried to prove this point by numerous illustrations[1] but the limitations of this paper

[1] Hu Shih, Selected Writings. Vol. III, pp. 1–80.

does not allow me to take up a subject of such technical nature. So I shall confine myself to the development of literature in the spoken language.

The first barbarization of Northern China which took place during the fourth, fifth, and sixth centuries A.D., and its concomitant event of the shift of the centre of Chinese civilization to Southern China, are the two factors which have combined to produce a large amount of popular poetry both in the North and in the South. The new races in the North made their heroic and warlike songs, but the popular literature of the Southern peoples chiefly consisted in little lyrics of love. The unmistakable beauty and simplicity of these songs of the people gradually came to be appreciated by the literary men of the time and they soon became models of poetic composition under the general name of *Ku yo fu* (古乐府) or Old Songs. In this way, the literature of the literati was influenced by the poetry of the people; and the greatness of the poetry of the Tang dynasty (c. 620–900) owes much to the influence of the popular songs of the pre-Tang period. It is safe to say that the best poems of Tang are written either in the popular tongue or in a style nearest to it. It is said of Po Chu-i, the greatest poet of the mid-Tang period, that his poems were often shown to an old woman whose inability to understand a certain poem would cause its rejection or revision.

It was also under the Tang dynasty that vulgate prose first arose. The great teachers of the Chan or Zen (禅) school of Buddhism first used it in preaching and recording sayings and discourses. The style proved to be so effective in philosophical writings that the Neo-Confucian philosophers of Sung and later dynasties had to adopt it in most of their philosophical discussions.

Meanwhile Northern China was undergoing a second period of barbarization which began in the tenth century and lasted until the latter part of the fourteenth. The Kitan Tartars were conquered by the Nuchen Tartars who in turn were conquered by the Mongols. The latter people in the year 1239 succeeded in subjugating the whole of China. While these barbarian conquests were politically and socially disastrous to the Chinese people, it cannot be denied that they have had immense beneficial effects upon the language and literature of the people. That the language was barbarized can be easily seen in the numerous edicts and other public documents of the Mongol dynasty which have been preserved to us and which were all written in terribly barbarized Chinese, a style which is apparently Mongol syntax clothed in Chinese characters.

It was during this period of barbarian occupation that the great dramas were produced. The literary examinations were suspended for nearly 80 years (1237–1313): the authority of the classical language and literature was swept away. Even the greatest geniuses condescended to write plays for the entertainment of the people. And some of the Yuan dramas were written by members of the lowest stratum of society. This accounts for the simplicity in the content and style of the dramas of that period.

And then the necessity of educating the barbarian and barbarized population in the great Chinese tradition gave rise to a class of prose literature known as the *yen yi* (演义) or popular histories. These narratives soon developed into novels of all kinds. For centuries it has been thought that the several great novels of unknown

authorship were written under the Mongol dynasty, but my own researches have convinced me that the novel only reached its infantile stage in the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries and that such novels as *San Kuo Chih* (三国志), *Shui Hu Chuan* (水浒传) and *Hsi You Chi* (西游记) had only crude origins in the Mongol period and went through a series of collective and individual revisions until they appeared in their finished form in the sixteenth century.

With the exit of the Mongol conquerors and with the institution of a new and more rigid system of literary examinations under the Ming dynasty (1368–1644), the authority of the classical tradition was gradually restored. The literati took hold of the dramas and made them classical and therefore unintelligible to the mass of the people. Poetry and prose both moved towards a classical revival. The cries of the day were, "Back to Tang and Sung," and "Back to the Pre-Tang Periods." But the novel alone remained uncontaminated by the reactionary influences and continued to develop itself. While official recognition and literary honors continued to be eagerly coveted by the literary class, the immense popularity of the novel was also a sufficiently powerful inducement to tempt gifted authors to undertake this despised branch of literature. It is significant to note that practically all the novels written under the Ming dynasty were anonymous and that it was not until the Manchu dynasty that authors allowed real names to be attached to novels.

The last four centuries have been very productive in novels. Of the hundreds of novels that have been preserved and are being reprinted in numberless cheap editions, many are of little or no literary value. But the best of them, such as the *Shui Hu Chuan, Hsi You Chi, Ju Lin Wai Shi* (儒林外史 *The Literati*), *Hung Lou Meng* (红楼梦 *Dream of the Red Chamber*), and a few others, can certainly be ranked among the world's greatest masterpieces. Near the end of the Manchu dynasty, a number of social novels were produced, modelled more or less after the fashion of *The Literati*, a realistic and satirical novel written in the middle of the eighteenth century. Aside from the effects of their outspoken attacks on Chinese officialdom, these modern novels are significant from the fact that, while they were all written in the mandarin dialect, their authors were all Southerners to whom the Northern and Middle dialects were not at all native. This fact shows the tremendous educative effects of the great novels which have in the course of a few centuries succeeded in standardizing the national language and have been its greatest teachers and propagandists.

From the above account, it is clear that spoken Chinese as represented by the mandarin dialects is well qualified to become the national language of China. In the first place, it is the most widely spoken language in the country. In the second place, it has produced a vast amount of literature, a literature more extensive and varied than any modern European language ever possessed at the time of its establishment as a national language. It seems incredible that a language of such vitality and of so wide a currency should have had to wait so long before it was ever thought of as a possible substitute for the long dead classical language. But the explanation is really simple. The authority of the classical language and literature has been truly too great to be easily overcome. This authority became overwhelmingly formidable when it was enforced by the power of a long united empire and supported by a fairly extensive system of education where the sole aim of its students has been to win

office honor and recognition on the strength of their ability to read and write in the classical language.

Moreover, there was lacking in the history of spoken Chinese one important factor without which the authority of the classical language could never be destroyed. That important factor is a conscious and frank recognition of the fact that the classical language is a dead language and as such is disqualified to continue as the national language of a modern nation. Dante not only wrote in the vulgar tongue, but also defended it in his treatise *De Vulgari Eloquentia*. Boccaccio, too, was a conscious defender of the language he employed as his literary medium. In France, the Pléiade were also conscious advocates of the French language; indeed, Du Bellay, one of the poets who formed the Pléiade, wrote *La Défense et Illustration de la Langue Française*, in which he asserted the right of the French language to stand as a medium of poetic expression. It is this element of conscious advocacy that was lacking in the case of spoken Chinese. There were large numbers of writers who were in one way or another attracted by the vulgate tongue and who wrote in it. There were none however, who openly questioned the supreme authority of the classical language or who consciously defended the living tongue as the only legitimate medium of literary composition. And it is this absence of an articulate movement which has made it possible for the dead language to reign supreme for 2,000 years after its death.

What the recent literary revolution did was to supply this very factor which was lacking in the long history of the living tongue, and to openly declare that the classical language has been long dead and that the *pei hua* which has been the literary medium for many centuries, is and will be the only proper and effective means of literary expression in verse as well as in prose. "No dead language can produce a living literature," was the war cry of the literary revolution. Its constructive policy is summed up in the motto, "Produce literature in the national language, and you shall have a national language of literary worth" (国语的文学, 文学的国语).[2] In 1916, the present writer made a resolution never to write any poetry except in the spoken language. The first public declaration of the revolution was published on the first day of the year 1917. The controversy went for 2 years; after that, opposition gradually died down. Since the summer of 1919, the pei hua has spread far and wide. In 1920, the Ministry of Education issued an order to the effect that, beginning with the fall opening of that year, the national language should be taught in the first two grades of the primary school. In the course of a few years, all the grades in the primary schools will be using the living tongue in the place of the classical. This change has of necessity affected the middle and normal schools where the primary teachers are trained, and these higher schools are anticipating the coming change by voluntarily adopting texts in the vulgate. Most of the recent publications have been in the vulgate. The newspapers and periodicals have in most cases ceased to publish poems in the classical language, and "new poems" in spoken Chinese are taking

[2]For the war literature of the literary revolution, see Hu Shih, Selected Writings, Vol. I, pp. 1–320.

their places. It is safe to say that the controversial period is now almost over, and the era of constructive and creative work is before us.

The moral of this easy success of the literary revolution is obvious. It was not the work of any individual or individuals that have brought about its success. The time has long been ripe for this revolution: 2,000 years of collective effort in linguistic revision and ten centuries of literary activity in the living tongue,—these are the real factors which have made such a rapid success possible. The common sense of our people have for twenty centuries been unconsciously but steadily and incessantly preparing for this day. The literary revolution of the last 5 years is no more than a culmination of twenty centuries of historical evolution. All unconscious processes of natural evolution are of necessity very slow and wasteful. Once these processes are made conscious and articulate, intelligent control and experimentation become possible, the work of many centuries may be telescoped into a few years, and an easy success befalls those who are in reality to use a classical phrase, "getting the credit which properly belongs to Nature" (邀天之功).

February, 1922.
The National University of Peking.

Chapter 3
The Social Message in Chinese Poetry

Paper read before the "Things Chinese" Society, Peking.

In recent years, Chinese poetry has become so fashionable in Europe and America that many an observer of the new literary movements in China has begun to be puzzled at the fact that young China is endeavoring to overthrow a thing which has come to be so highly treasured in the West. Have we been guilty of lacking in appreciation for our own treasures? Or have the Occidental admirers of Chinese poetry been guilty of treasuring something which is after all not so valuable as they think? My own answer is that neither is the case. It is quite natural that Occidental poetry which has long been under the unconscious influence of epic verbosity, should find much admiration for the brief and concise imageries of Chinese poetry which for 3,000 years has almost never indulged in the field of the epic. And it equally is natural that the Chinese poetry which has so long been petrified by an overemphasis upon a contentless formalism, should find itself in need of an emancipation largely in the direction of unadorned naturalness and simplicity.

But that question lies beyond the scope of my humble effort here and now. I am here to point out that Chinese poetry, like all poetry of the human race, does not depend entirely upon its formal phase. All the beautiful sound combinations, all the rich imagery, and other formal aspects are nothing but a part of the poetic technique which, when applied without an adequate content or when it restricts rather than helps the free development of the poetic content, is often more harmful than serviceable to poetry. And we must remember that poetic imageries are most liable of discoloring and fading. What was once the most vivid imagism may become the sordid poetic convention of to-day. The conventions which Wordsworth and Hugo and the modern poetic revolutionists have condemned were once the effective poetic devices of a bygone day. Moreover, imagism is a fundamental principle in

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Chapter Note: The Chinese Social and Political Science Review. Jan., 1923. Vol. 7. pp. 66–79

C.-P. Chou (ed.) and S. Hu, *English Writings of Hu Shih: Literature and Society (Volume 1)*, China Academic Library, DOI 10.1007/978-3-642-31184-0_3,

all great poetry, and never a peculiar product of the Chinese poets. Take these lines of Browning:

> Hark! where my blossomed pear-tree in the hedge
> Leans to the field and scatters on the clover
> Blossoms and dew-drops—at the bent spray's edge—
> That's the wise thrush; he sings each song twice over,
> Lest you should think he never could recapture
> The first fine careless rapture!

That is as imagistic as any Chinese poet or any modern imagist can endeavor to be.

So my secret feeling is that the recent outburst of appreciation of Chinese poetry has been leaning too much to the formal side and does not touch the root of Chinese poetry. The time will come when the Western critic will be able to see that the formal peculiarities of Chinese poetry are either qualities universal in all good poetry or in some cases results of the peculiarities and restrictions of the Chinese language. He will then see that he must get at the content of Chinese poetry in order to form a proper judgment of its intrinsic value. There is a story told of an ancient king who paid highly for a beautifully carved wooden case and discarded the priceless pearl which it contained. Shall we not hope that such folly may not be long tolerated in our appreciation of Chinese poetry?

Three Distinct Features of Chinese Poetry

Briefly speaking, there are three distinct features of Chinese poetry which are worthy of consideration. First, the Chinese philosophies of life as we find in the poetry of the various periods, whether the pessimistic idealization of drinking and women or the quiet contemplativeness and contentedness of the love of nature, are certainly worthy of close study; for it is in these poetic expressions of the Chinese views of life that we can find the true explanation of the life and institutions of the people. Secondly, there are hundreds of lyrical poems of love which reveal the innermost part of the soul of the nation better than anything else and which, even if judged from the purely literary standpoint, form part of the world's poetic treasures. Thirdly, there are a distinct group of what may be called "the poetry of social problems," poetry that deals with the concrete problems of social life, written sometimes in the manner of realistic presentation, sometimes in the form of satirical criticism, but mostly in the spirit of protest. This last group of Chinese poems is of interest to us, because it not only throws much light upon the history of the life of the people, but also enables us to understand certain Chinese institutions in the light of the criticism that has been passed upon them by the poets of the ages. It is this phase of Chinese poetry that I propose to present to you to-day.

I shall begin with the *Book of Poetry* which represents the poetry of approximately 2,600 years ago. The age was one of political strife and continued warfare; misery and suffering was wide spread; the states were misruled and social inequality was beginning to be consciously felt. We read such outspoken protests:—

I look to great Heaven,
But it shows no kindness.
It has long disquieted us,
And now great calamities befall us.
There is no peace in the country,
And the people are in distress.

* * * * *

Men had land and farms, but you have them now.
Men had their people and retainers, but these you have taken from them.
Here is an innocent man, but you have imprisoned him.
There is a guilty man, but you have let him go free.

* * * * *

When the people are going away,
The country is sure to go to ruin.

A similar note of despair is seen in the following:—

The people are now in peril,
In vain they look to Heaven:
All is dark and dumb.
Let its determination be fixed,
And there is none it will not overcome.
There is the great God—
Does He hate anyone?

Here is a song of a soldier:—

What leaves do not become yellow!
What day do we not march!
What man is not wandering,
Serving in some corner of the kingdom!

* * * * *

What leaves have not turned purple!
What man is not torn from his wife!
Mercy be upon us soldiers:
Are we not also men?

The women were naturally victims of the age:—

The mother-wort of the valley
Is scorched everywhere.
There is a woman left homeless:
Ever flow her tears! Ever flow her tears!
But of what avail is her lament!

Woman labor was apparently becoming a problem, for we read:—

Shoes thinly woven of the dolichos fibre
May be used to walk on the hoar frost.
And the delicate fingers of women
May be used to make clothes,
Sew the waistband and sew the collar!
And the good man wears them!

The "good man" of the day was apparently paying woman labor at so low a rate that dolichos shoes which were fit only for summer wear were used by the poor women in frosty winter.

Some poets took a very pessimistic attitude, as is seen in the following song:—

The flowers of the begonia
Are in glorious yellow.
But my heart is sad;
I feel its wound.

* * * * *

The flowers are now gone,
There are only the leaves full green.
Ah! Had I known it would be thus with me,
I had better not have been born!

But others were more aggressive:—

KAN! KAN! So sings my axe on the tan tree.
Here on the river's bank, I'll lay what I hew.
Ah, how clear the waters flow, and rippling!
—You sow not, nor reap:
Where do you get the produce of those three hundred farms?
You do not follow the chase:
How do we see the badgers hanging up in your hall?
And you are a gentleman,
And do not eat the bread of idleness!

Model of Poetic Satire

Very little of the poetic literature of the long period between the sixth century and the second century B.C. has been preserved to us. From the Han dynasty (from the second century B.C. to the second century A.D.) we take a few notable examples. There is one poem dealing with the position of woman in the family, which is comically tragic:—

Up the hillside, she gathered wild plants;
Down the hillside, she met her former husband.
She knelt down and asked her former husband:
"How do you find your new wife?"
"The new wife may be said to be pretty,

But she is not so charming as you.
In beauty of face there is little to choose.
But in deftness of hand and finger, you are not alike.
When she entered my house by the front door,
You had left me by the side-door.
She is skilled at embroidered silk,
You were good at plain fabrics.
Of embroidered silk one can do very little in a day,
Of plain fabrics, you can weave five times as much.
Putting her embroidery by the side of your weaving,
I see that the new wife will not compare with the old."

The dramatic situation which the poet selected and the business-like conversation between the heartless husband and the deserted wife are both so striking that this little poem by an unknown author has come to be regarded as one of the models of poetic satire.

Of the anti-militaristic poems, I shall select one also of unknown authorship, which has been translated by Waley as follows:

At fifteen I went with the army
At fourscore I came home.
On the way I met a man from the village,
I asked him who there was at home.
"That over there is your house,
All covered over with trees and bushes."
Rabbits had run in at the dog-hole,
Pheasants flew down from the beams of the roof.
In the courtyard was growing some wild grain;
And by the well, some wild mallows.
I boil the grain and make porridge,
I pluck the mallows and make soup.
Soup and porridge are both ready.
But there is no one to eat them with.
I come out and look towards the east,
While tears fall and wet my clothes.

In this poem not a word of protest is said, and yet the vivid picturing of the ruined family of a returned soldier is a silent condemnation of the military system more effective and convincing than any amount of loud words.

One of the Longest Poems

In the Chinese family system where children are morally bound to live together under the same paternal roof, there often arise troubles between the mother-in-law and the daughter-in-law, between the elder sister-in-law and the younger brothers and sisters. There is in the Han literature of social problems one long poem entitled *The Wife of Chiao Chung-ch'ing*, which tells the story of a faithful wife who was loved by her husband but whose mother-in-law disliked her so

much that she was forced to return to her own home. Having been thus deserted, the young lady was forced to remarry the son of a rich and influential official. This she refused to do, because she had made a vow with her former husband who had promised never to forsake her although he had been forced by his mother temporarily to divorce her. But her family would not listen to her protests and she was carried to the new home where she committed suicide by drowning herself. On hearing her death, her former husband who had also refused to remarry, bade his cruel mother a bitter farewell and killed himself to requite her faithfulness. The poem is one of the longest in Chinese poetry and is almost the only poem that may be called an epic.

In Mr. Waley's *170 Chinese Poems*, there is one entitled *The Orphan* which relates the cruelties of a man and his wife to his younger brother. Both the situation and its treatment are full of tragic pathos tempered with a droll sense of humor. I quote the last parts of the poem in Waley's translation with occasional corrections:—

In the morning they sent me to draw water.
I didn't get back till night-fall.
My hands were all sore
And I had no shoes.
I walked the cold earth,
Treading on thorns and brambles.
As I stopped to pull out the thorns,
How bitter my heart was!
My tears fell and fell
And I went on sobbing and sobbing.
In winter I have no doubled coat;
Nor in summer, thin clothes.
It is no pleasure to be alive.
I had rather soon leave the earth
And go beneath the Yellow Springs.
The April winds blow
And the grass is growing green.
In the third month—silk-worms and mulberries,
In the sixth month—the melon-harvest.
I came home wheeling the melon-cart,
And just before I reached home.
The melon-cart turned over.
Few came to help me.
But many ate the melons.
"Do return me the melon-stalks," I cried.
"My brother and sister-in-law are severe,
I'll run home with the stalks,
And answer to their strict counting."

What is it that the whole village is talking about?
I want to write a letter and send it
To my father and mother under the earth,
And tell them I can't go on any longer
Living with my brother and sister-in-law.

Of the problem-poems of the post-Han period, I shall only select one by Tso Ssu of the third century, which is a protest against the class of degenerate nobles who were then wielding the powers of state:—

The stately pine-trees are in the foot of the gorge;
The tiny herbs are growing on the top of the hill.
And the herbs proudly cast down their tiny shadows
Which they think would give shade to the grand pines.

Thus the hereditary nobles step into high offices,
Thus geniuses are sunk in oblivion.
It is the position that makes the difference,—
And such a system is one of long standing.

Have you not seen the families of King and Chang
Which enjoyed the imperial favors for seven generations?
And though Feng Tang was a great man
He was never called till his hair was white.

Folk Songs

During this post-Han period, there grew up a large body of folk-songs, some of which are of striking lyric beauty. Sometimes a tragic story may be told in a little lyric of three or four lines. I quote one example:—

Woe is me!
Last night I heard it said at home
That they would not give me to thee.

Another version put the same story in a slightly different form:

I dare not give you my promise:
I overheard it last night among my people
That they would not give me to thee.

Time would not permit me to make use of the numerous problem-poems of the Tang dynasty. I shall confine myself to three great poets, namely, Tu Fu, Po Chu-i and Chang Ch'i. A few of Tu Fu's social poems have been translated by several translators. His famous poem, *The Recruiting Officer at Shih Hao*, may be found in Cranmer-Byng's *A Lute of Jade* (p. 54) and in Mrs. Ayscough's *Fir-Flower Tablets* (p. 109); another of his many songs of conscription may be found on page 110 of Charles Budd's *Chinese Poems*. Both of these will also appear in Mr. Witter Bynner's new translation of the *Tang Anthology*. Here is my own version of another poem in the same series:—

The Officer at Sin An

Through the town of Sin An I passed
And was moved by the tumult of conscripting.
"My honored Sir," said I to the officer,

"Are there no more youths of age left to your town?"
And he replied: "Last night there came from the Prefect
An urgent order instructing us to enlist those under age."

But how small are these youths under age!
How can they defend the Empire against the enemy?
Here, some fattened boys are parting with their mothers,
For mothers they have.
And there, the haggard ones.
How sad and lonely they look!

The night has fallen.
The waters are still flowing eastward,
And the mountains still echoing the wailing voices.—
O wither not your eyes in vain!
Take back your tears that violently fall!
Your eyes may wither to the bones,
But, O wretched ones, there is no mercy for you! …

Po Chu-i is Mr. Waley's favorite poet whose poems occupy a large portion of space in Mr. Waley's two volumes of Chinese poems. He wrote a series of fifty social satires in addition to a number of other separate problem-poems. Of these, the ones translated in Waley's first volume (pp. 121–141) are fairly representative examples. I shall read *The Old Man with the Broken Arm* in my own free version in blank verse:—

Eighty was he, the Old Man of Sing Fung.
With hair and beard and brow all white as snow;
His left arm leaning on his grandson's son;
The right, long broken, swinging in the sleeve,—
The Old Man of Sing Fung came to the Inn.
"My boys," he used to say, "Wish ye to know
How long ago and why I lost my arm?"
And this his tale: "A native of Sing Fung,
I grew up in the 'Kai-yuen' reign of peace.
I knew no war, nor learned the arts of war.—
Then came the expeditions of 'Tien-pao'
And from each separate family they took
One young man out of three; and all of these
Were to be sent, in burning June, to fight
And die ten thousand 'li' south of their homes.
For death was sure to all who crossed the Loo
Where the plague smites when pepper blossoms fall,
Where three men die ere ten have crossed the streams.
"Conscription filled the town with cries and wails.
Each soldier bade his loved ones death-farewell:
'Expect not my return,—for of all those
Sent thither, only few, or none, come home!'
"My boys, I then was twenty-four years old,
And the conscription lists contained my name.
One deadly night I walked the streets, and walked,
Then quickly seized a stone and broke this arm. …
And they, the officers, exempted me.
"'Tis true I've lost one arm for sixty years,

But never once have I regretted it,—
Not even on those rainy wintry nights
When the old wounds oft made me groan in pain.
For am I not more fortunate than they
Whose fate it was to perish on the Loo,
Who,—homeless ghosts!—may still be wandering
And crying by the Fallen Ten Thousand's Tombs?"

Poems by Chang Ch'i

Chang Ch'i was a contemporary of Po Chu-i's, poetically superior to the latter both in native talent and technique. He drew much inspiration from the poetry of the Han and post-Han periods and wrote social poems with such refinement and delicacy that they lose all propagandist color and become real poetry. Here is one love-poem which has a pathos peculiar to Chinese love-situations:—

A Pair of Pearls

You know I am a married woman.
And yet you present me with a pair of pearls.
Touched by your kindness,
I hang these pearls on my pink silk gown.

My husband is a knight in the Emperor's service,
And we live in yonder palatial house with fine gardens.
While I know your heart is noble
And means no more than a loving kindness,
I must recall that I have vowed to be faithful
To my husband till the end of our life.

I return your pearls with tears in my eyes:
Sorry that we had not met before I was married!

The following poem entitled *A Crow Cries in the Night* is based upon an ancient belief that, if a crow cries at night, it is an omen of imperial amnesty or pardon for sentenced criminals:—

A crow cries in the night,
And alights on the roof of a high mansion,
The lord of the house has long been silent,
And is suffering in prison under an unjust sentence.
The lady of the house has sold all jewels and property
With which she hoped to redeem her husband.
When she hears the night shrills of the crow,
And realizes that pardon is near,
She is gladdened at heart, and can sleep no more.
She awakes her parents-in-law before the dawn,
And offers them her congratulations.
And she says to the crow on the roof:
"May your kind omen never fail to come true!
I shall loan you yonder tree for your nesting.
And never allow anyone to touch your young ones."

It is safe to say that the pathos which is manifest in this little poem is rarely, if ever, equalled in any poetry I know of.

Protests Against Social Inequalities

In the poetry of the Sung dynasty, there are numerous examples of protesting voices against social inequalities and political injustice. The great statesman-poet Wang An-shih who put a form of state socialism into actual practice in the eleventh century, wrote in his early years a number of poems on the unjust distribution of wealth in society. One of his poems entitled *Exploitation* has been regarded by later historians as an epitome of his political philosophy. His great contemporary poet Su Tung-po also wrote a number of problem-poems which, however, were usually criticisms of the policies of Wang An-shih. The propagandist and controversial tone so dominates their poems that we shall have to omit them in our discussion. As a specimen of the social poetry of the Sung period, we shall quote *The Complaint of the Weaver-Woman* by Wen T'ung, who was a relative and friend of Su Tung-po:

The Complaint of the Weaver-Woman

Elbows sore of throwing shuttles.
Legs battered through operating treadles.
Three days and three nights of ceaseless work
Were required to finish this one piece of satin.
Everybody admired its texture fine.
And she, the weaver, was justly proud of it.

Yesterday, her parents took it to the office.
But what was it that made the Officer so angry?
He took his big seal, dripping with oiled ink.
And marked it, "Not Good!"

Her parents carried the piece homeward,
And threw it inside the door.
The whole family stared at one another,
And tears rolled down everyone's face.

Clothes were taken to the pawn-shops,
And silk had to be bought for a new piece.
The loom operated day and night,
And no money for a candle in the house.

The taxes must be paid,
How could they spare their coats and trousers?
They had anticipated a bitter winter,
And would face it as bravely as they could.
The collector sat on the threshold.
Shouting and threatening penalties for late payment.

Alas! Will it ever be possible
That the mind of the poor weaver-woman
Might become the eyes of the Officer!

Time and occasion makes it necessary that I should stop somewhere in the course of the history of Chinese poetry, and I propose to stop with the Sung period. In conclusion I wish to repeat what I said at the beginning of my paper. My purpose has been to present to you one phase of the content of Chinese poetry. It has been said that poetry should not be used for any propaganda purpose for which it is ill-fitted, and that propaganda poems like Thomas Hood's *Song of the Shirt* and *Bridge of Sighs* are never regarded as real poetry. That is not so. Poetry is one of the most effective instruments which mankind has invented for expressing its high emotions and overflowing feelings. If poetry fails to express the cries of human suffering and misery, and contents itself as the mouthpiece of pretty lovers and saints, then it has neglected one of the sacred duties which it was primarily intended to fulfil. The great Chinese poets have never forsaken this sacred duty. And even the anonymous authors of folk-poetry have always been true to this sacred mission. The folk poets of 2,600 years ago have set up an example to which the poetic tradition of China has always striven to live up. I can find no better conclusion than quoting one of the numerous folk-songs which we find among the country people of our own day.

The Little Sister

White wild flowers spread all over the earth.
With due pomp and dowry the little sister was married off.
But Misfortune has marked her life,
For she is married to a hunchback,
Who is so crippled
That she has to carry him on her arms
When he wishes to move about.

"Good neighbors," she would oft say,
"Laugh not at my miserable life.
Fate has decreed it so,
And how can I fight against Fate?"

This submissive resignation to fate is what constitutes the pathos of the poem, and is far more touching than an open condemnation of the marriage system. That tragic pathos, and not the imagism and sound pictures, is the supreme technique of Chinese poetry, and of all true poetry.

Chapter 4
A Chinese Declaration of the Rights of Women

Paper read before the Tientsin Rotary Club, February 7, 1924. A condensed English version of the Chinese article "Jinghuayuan de yinlun." Hu Shih Wencun II, pp. 400–433.

The subject of this little talk is the author of a novel entitled *Flowers in the Mirror* (镜花缘). His name is Li Ju-chen (李汝珍); and according to my calculation he was probably born about 1760 and died about 1830. He was a native of Peking: in 1782 his elder brother Li Ju-huang became an official in Haichou in the province of Kiangsu, and the family moved to Haichou where our author came in close contact with a number of southern scholars who apparently had much influence over his literary and intellectual development. The famous scholar Ling Ting-kan (1757–1809) was then residing in Haichou, and became his teacher in literature and phonetics. As far as we know, Li Ju-chen spent at least 23 years in the province of Kiangsu. It is not certain whether he and his family ever returned to Peking in later years.

In 1805 he finished his phonetic work, the *Yin Kien* (音鉴), which was printed in 1810. In this book, he attempted to devise a new system of phonetic notation consisting of 33 consonants and 22 vowels. Fearing that this great invention of his might be lost through the failure of the general public to read weighty philological books, he sought to preserve it by incorporating it in his popular novel for which he is better known.

The *Flowers in the Mirror* was probably finished in 1825. At any rate we know that there existed a wooden-block edition of it in 1828. In 1829, a new and finely illustrated edition was made in Canton. Numerous editions have been published since then, and a new and punctuated edition with my lengthy introduction has just been published by the Oriental Book Company in Shanghai.

This novel consists of 100 chapters. The author purposely chose the reign of Empress Wu (A.D. 690–705) as his historical background. The book opens with a

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Chapter Note: The Chinese Social and Political Science Review. Apr., 1924. Vol. 8. No. 2. pp. 100–109.

C.-P. Chou (ed.) and S. Hu, *English Writings of Hu Shih: Literature and Society (Volume 1)*, China Academic Library, DOI 10.1007/978-3-642-31184-0_4,

birthday celebration at the celestial palace of Wang Mu, the Mother of Heaven. During the feast, the Goddess of All Flowers was asked by the Goddess of Wind to crown the celebration with a simultaneous blooming of all flowers. The request was refused on the ground of impossibility. On being pressed further, the Goddess of All Flowers took an oath that in case of a simultaneous blossoming of all flowers, she would be willing to suffer the penalty of banishment from the heavens. Shortly after, a star was sent from the heavens and was destined to become the Empress Wu who was to rule over the Empire for a period of 15 years. One day, in her imperial caprice, she decreed that all the flowers in her gardens should blossom on the same day. When the decree was heard in the heavens, the Goddess of All Flowers was absent from her palace and was nowhere to be found, having been detained by her celestial friends at a game of chess. The minor goddesses in charge of the various flowers, fearing to disobey the order of an imperial ruler on earth, decided to respond to the call, and all the flowers of the four seasons burst into full blossoming at the same time, to the great satisfaction of her Imperial Majesty. As a fulfilment of the oath, the Goddess of All Flowers was banished from heaven together with the other 99 goddesses in special charge of the various flowers. These flowery goddesses were born as 100 girls of various intellectual, literary, and even military attainments.

The Goddess of All Flowers was born in the Tang family of the present province of Kwangtung. Her father Tang Ao was a learned scholar, who, having complicated himself in a revolutionary plot against the Empress, was barred from political advancement and decided to join his brother-in-law on a trading trip to the strange lands abroad. Thirty-three chapters were devoted to a description of the different countries visited (Chapters 8–40). These countries were the imaginary inventions of the author, designed to serve as contrasts to the Chinese Empire. Many strange customs were recorded which furnished our author an opportunity to ridicule and criticize Chinese institutions and customs. This part of the book bears much resemblance to Swift's *Gulliver's Travels*.

The next 14 chapters (41–54) are devoted to an account of another trip abroad undertaken by Tang Ao's daughter, Tang Hsiao-shan, in search of her father who, at the end of his trip, was so deeply attracted by the scenic beauty of an island he visited that he left his companions on board the ship, went into the hills and never returned.

The remaining portion of the book tells of the special literary examination instituted by the Empress for the women of the Empire, and describes the character of a number of the most notable women among the successful candidates of the examination. The book ends with a successful revolution which culminates in the restoration of the Tang dynasty and the abdication of the only woman emperor in Chinese history who was both a literary patron and a political genius.

Technically, the *Flowers in the Mirror* is quite defective. But that is not what interests us here. This novel is of interest to us to-day as a monumental work of social criticism and propaganda. Undoubtedly, Li Ju-chen was profoundly dissatisfied with many a social custom and institution of his time. For instance, in Chapters 11 and 12 he tells of the visit to the Country of Gentlemen, and he makes the two prime ministers of that country criticize 11 customs of the Celestial Empire.

The 9th criticism is directed against foot-binding which is condemned as a practice that the virtuous must disapprove and the sages must punish with heavy penalty. The 10th criticism is against the Chinese custom of deciding cases of marriage by fortune-telling. The belief in *feng-shui* and the extravagance in dinner parties are among the other social usages criticized by the leaders of the Country of Gentlemen.

Problem of Sexual Inequality

But it is in the inequality of the sexes and the injustice to women that our author is most deeply interested. The whole book may indeed be called a Chinese declaration of the Rights of Women. In this novel, the author has raised many disquieting questions concerning the treatment of women. His sense of humour made him raise the problem of the so-called "double standard" of sexual morality in the peculiar background of the Country of the Double-faced, where there was one face turned toward the rich and strong, and another toward the poor and weak. A bandit chief in the Country of the Double-faced succeeded in kidnapping Miss Tang Hsiao-shan and three companions and wished to make them his concubines. This act aroused so much jealousy and anger in his wife that she ordered him to be beaten with 40 bastinadoes on the back. After the bastinadoing, she lectured her hen-pecked husband in these words:

> Why do you men always think of laying concubines? Suppose I were to have another man as my concubine and treat you with coldness would you be happy? This is the sort of conduct exactly becoming a bandit, and deserves to be punished by cutting the body into 10,000 pieces. In your desire to keep concubines, have you ever thought of the principle of moral reciprocity? I have beaten you for no other cause than that you only think of yourself and never of other people. I shall have no peace of mind until my bastinadoes have succeeded in ridding you of your selfish pride and in inculcating in you a little sense of reciprocity. (Chapter 51)

But the most striking treatment of the problem of the inequality of the sexes is found in the five chapters describing Tang Ao's visit to the Kingdom of Women. This remarkable country is not a nation without men as is the case of its namesake in the novel *Hsi You Ki* (西游记). There are men as well as women in this Kingdom of Women, but the men are dressed in petticoats and have their feet bound as the ladies of the Celestial Empire. The men are made to do all the work inside the home, while the women, clocked in high hats and high boots, carry on business and run politics. As Tang Ao and his companion landed, they saw a woman sitting inside a door and doing embroidery work. Her black hair was so well combed and oily that no fly could alight there without slipping down. Pearls and green jades decorated her beautiful hairdress; a pair of gold earrings hang from her ears; her coat was of violet color, and her skirt was of bright green. From underneath the skirt were seen the small feet, hardly three inches in length. But alas! When her head was turned towards the celestial visitors, they were too frightened to run away, because her powdered and rouged face was partially hidden in a thick beard which covered her

broad chin! She was what we would call a man. But this beautiful woman with a thick beard, on seeing the two men from China, shouted in a very coarse voice: "There are beards on your faces, you must be two women. How dare you run about in gentlemen's dress! You pretend to be peeping at women, but in reality you are looking for men. Why don't you look into a mirror and remind yourselves of your sex? O you women of no sense of shame!"

But the comedy did not end there. On the same day, Tang Ao's brother-in-law, Lin Chih-yang, went to the royal palace and was seen by the King who was of course a real woman of exceptional beauty and not without the frailties common to her sex. She fell immediately in love with Lin Chih-yang who was quite good-looking and who had only recently lost his beard in a fire during his visit to the Land of Fire-eaters. So he was detained in the palace and a decree was issued to make him a queen in the Kingdom of Women.

Process of "Womanizing" a Man

Then began a long and laborious process of "womanization." Lin Chih-yang was given a bath, and dressed in skirts and petticoats. His hair was combed and sweetened; jewels were given to decorate his royal person. Rings and bracelets were put on him. This constituted the first stage of womanization.

Next came several chambermaids with long beards and with needles and threads in hand. They knelt down and said: "We beg to inform your Royal Majesty that we are ordered to pierce your ears." Four maids came up and held him fast. A fifth one in white beards advanced and measured his ear lobe which was immediately pierced through by the needle. Without paying the slightest attention to the loud cries of pain, the old chambermaid proceeded to pierce through the other ear. The blood-flow was checked by powder, and a pair of ear-rings of eight jewels was put on. This ends the second stage of womanization.

The third step was the binding of the feet, which of course took much longer time. Two strong maids held the Queen's foot and took off its trimmings. An elderly maid sat on a stool, and, holding the Queen's foot on her own knee, powdered the toes with alum powders. Then the toes were held together and the palm of the foot was forced to curve downward. The foot was now tightly bound up with a long piece of white silk, which was immediately sewn up. The left foot was done in the same way and with the same vigour. The Queen felt his feet burning under the tight bindings, and he cried in agony.

During the painful night, the Queen rebelled and tore asunder all the bandages. The next day, he was ordered to be punished with five bastinadoes on the lower limbs. The binding was renewed with increased vigour and vigilance. In the course of half a month, the feet were already curving in, and the flesh on the toes had rotted away. At this time, the Queen could not stand the severe pain any longer, and he started a second rebellion, tearing off all the bandages with a determination that he was prepared to suffer whatever penalties might be administered to him for his

exertion of the Rights of Man. But this time a new punishment was ordered which consisted in tying together both of his feet with a strong rope and hanging up his body in the air with his head undermost. A few minutes of trial was enough to convince our masculine Queen that it was far more pleasant to be made a woman. So he at last gave up all hopes for regaining his manly rights and submitted to all the cruelties necessary in the marvellous process of making a woman appear pleasing to men.

After that the work of womanization went on smoothly. The flesh and blood on both feet having gradually dried up, only a few bones were left and the feet now appeared slender and small. On the morning of the royal wedding, he or now more correctly she, was painted and rouged and dressed in all richness proper to the first lady in the Kingdom of Women. The feet were not very small indeed, but with the aid of high wooden soles they appeared to be of the respectable size. She was now carried to the wedding hall where, amidst the glorious candle-lights and wedding music, the new Queen was even capable of holding her flowing sleeves, bending very low, and kneeling properly as only highly refined women knew how to do! Glory to the wonderful process of womanizing the man which was now completed!

No comment is needed to make clear the humanitarian sympathy underlying these powerful passages which are justly regarded as the best in the whole book, and which, I am sure, will long live in the memory of mankind as a truly powerful accusation against one of the greatest crimes committed against womankind.

Education for Women

Li Ju-chen was no mere negative critic of the position of women. On the constructive side, he advocates education for all women. Of course he believes that all men must be educated. In Chapters 23 and 24, he describes the Kingdom of Scholars where the Government encourages universal education by means of a series of examinations. Examinations are held in history, the classics, essay-writing, letter-writing, phonetics, law, mathematics, penmanship and painting, medicine and even divination. Those who have not passed any examination are called the idle population. Li Ju-chen realized very well that education for the sake of passing governmental examinations would not lead very far. This realization is shown in the fact that he humorously caricatured the atmosphere of stupid pedantry which permeates the Kingdom of Scholars where even the waiters in the wine shop wear thick eyeglasses and talk a most barbaric jargon of the scholarly class. Nevertheless he thinks that such an education is better than no education at all. He tells that, as a result of the examinations, all boys in that country are made to learn to read. “It is better that this knowledge of reading should lead them to higher attainments; but even if that were impossible, this knowledge would still be of use to them in qualifying them for their respective callings.”

The above explanation is necessary for better understanding of his treatment of the Country of the Black-toothed People, which is apparently his utopia of universal

education for women. In this country, all people have black skins and black teeth. They were certainly an ugly race. Yet the power of the universal education has succeeded in refining the people and even made the visitors forget the dark color of their skin and teeth. After an interval of about 10 years, the Queen of the land would order an examination to be held for the women of the Kingdom. The successful candidates are either given the title of "Talented Women," or given other titular honors. On account of this, every family with daughters sends them to school at the age of four or five in order to prepare them for the examinations. The girls spend no money on cosmetics, because powder or rouge on their dark faces would only enhance their native ugliness. All their savings are spent on buying books and stationery, because there are no class distinctions in that country and their only aristocracy is that of learning and scholarship. No man would want a woman for marriage until she has reached the age of maturity and attained some reputation for literary ability. She will have to remain unmarried if she had no talent or learning, even though she may be born in a great family. And our author emphatically characterizes the profound learning of two black girls of this utopian nation in whose presence the two visiting scholars from the Chinese Empire felt themselves intellectual dwarves.

There is no doubt that Li Ju-chen sincerely believed in the efficacy of the system of literary examinations as a means of encouraging education in the country. Therefore he advocates that the examination system should be extended to women. In making Empress Wu institute a new system of state examinations open to women, he was in fact advocating something which was no less radical than granting the vote to women, for in China the state examinations meant proper channels of civic advancement and political participation.

The regulations governing the examinations which our author designed for Empress Wu, stipulate that the examinations for women shall be the same as those for men; that the successful candidates at the district examinations shall be called Shiu Nü (秀女); at the provincial ones, Su Nü (淑女); at the ministry ones, Tsai Nü (才女); that after the final examination in the imperial court, those of the first grade shall be given the title of Women of Letters (女学士), those in the second grade Women Doctors (女博士), and those of the third grade Women Scholars (女儒士); that the successful candidates shall be given annual salaries; and that those who are willing to serve at the imperial court shall be promoted according to their merits after 1 year's trial service. Judging from these regulations, it is not exaggerating to say that our author had in mind something not far from equality of political opportunity for both sexes.

I shall conclude by quoting a few sentences from the imperial decree prefatory to these regulations. Thus said Her Imperial Majesty the Emperor (be it noted that the Empress always called herself Huang Ti, the Emperor) of the Golden Wheel of the Great Dynasty of Chou:

> I believe that the essence of heaven and earth is never endowed exclusively in any one sex in particular, and that advisors and counsellors to the throne may very well be sought in exceptional channels. … Now the state examinations have long been open to men, while the women are still barred from participating in them. This speaks ill of the electoral system,

> and is not conducive to the encouragement of talents. … Moreover, it is evident to-day that the fine gifts of nature are no longer endowed in the male sex, and that virtue and goodness have long become the attributes of womankind. … I have therefore consulted many a sagacious mind and decided to institute a new system of examinations for the women of the Empire. …

I may add that the *Flowers in the Mirror* was published in 1828, 9 years before Queen Victoria came to the throne—a fact which may help to clear any doubt as to any possible foreign influence in shaping the ideas of Li Ju-chen.

Chapter 5
The Greatest Event in Life, A Farce in One Act

Written in China in English in 1919. Later translated into Chinese. The Chinese title is "Zhongshen dashi." Hu Shih Wen-cun I, pp. 813–827.

CHARACTERS—Mr. Tien, a gentleman and scholar.
Mrs. Tien, his wife.
Miss Tien Ah-may, their daughter.
Lee Fuh, their old servant.
A fortune-teller (blind).

SCENE—*A parlor in Mr. Tien's home. A door on the right leading to the hall; a door on the left leading to the dining room. Sofa at the back end. Armchairs. A round table in the center with flower-vase and writing materials on it. Two chairs beside the table. A writing desk at the left side of the stage.*

On the walls are hanging rolls of Chinese painting and writing, together with framed Dutch landscapes, bespeaking the complexity of taste in a partially modernized Chinese family.

As the curtain slowly goes up, there is heard the voice of the fortune-teller, who is seated by the table, and the final notes of his accompanying string instrument are still audible. Mrs. Tien is seated on one of the armchairs.

MRS. TIEN—I don't quite understand what you say. Tell me, what do you think of this match?

FORTUNE-TELLER—I only speak the truth, Mrs. Tien. We all speak the truth. You see—

MRS. TIEN—But what is the truth?

FORTUNE-TELLER—I am sorry to say that this match is undesirable. It would be a very unhappy marriage if your daughter should marry this young man.

Chapter Note: A. E. Zucker, The Chinese Theater. Boston: Little, Brown & Co., 1925. pp. 119–128.

C.-P. Chou (ed.) and S. Hu, *English Writings of Hu Shih: Literature and Society (Volume 1)*, China Academic Library, DOI 10.1007/978-3-642-31184-0_5,

MRS. TIEN—Why so?

FORTUNE-TELLER—Well, you see, I only speak the truth. This young man was born in the year of the Tiger and your daughter was born in the year of the Rabbit. In the books of fortune-telling, this is called "conquering the rabbit by the tiger."

The wife would live in constant fear of being swallowed up. And, as the conquest is complete, the wife will probably die long before her husband. I have examined the Month and the Day and the Hour, and found no way to escape it. Of course I am only telling the truth; please don't blame my frankness.

MRS. TIEN—Not at all. I like truth spoken in frankness. I know what you said is true. For the Goddess of Mercy said the same thing yesterday.

FORTUNE-TELLER—So the Goddess of Mercy also disapproved of this union?

MRS. TIEN—Yes, she said that this couple, if married, will not live long together.

FORTUNE-TELLER—That's exactly what I said.

MRS. TIEN—What the Goddess said must be true. But you see, this is a very important matter; it is the greatest event in my daughter's life. We parents cannot take too much care in selecting the best possible mates for our children. So, having known the Goddess's opinion, I sent for you to see if there is any possible escape. You know the words of the gods are always very brief: one may not be sure of their exact meaning.

FORTUNE-TELLER—Quite so, quite so.

MRS. TIEN—I am glad that you have confirmed the Goddess's judgment. (*Rises and hands him some money*) Thank you; here is your pay.

FORTUNE-TELLER—(*Groping for the money*) No, no, that is not necessary. Thanks, thanks. I am glad that the Goddess has confirmed my truth. (*Rises*)

MRS. TIEN—Lee Fuh! (*Enters Lee Fuh from the right-hand door*) Show him out. (*The fortune-teller goes out led by Lee Fuh*)

MRS. TIEN—(*Taking up the red paper on which are written the dates of the young couple, folds it and puts it back into a drawer of the writing desk*) It's a pity!—it's a pity!—

(*Miss Ah-may Tien enters by the right-hand door. She is a young woman of about 24, tastefully dressed and wearing a rather anxious look on her face*)

MISS TIEN—Mother, are you consulting fortune-tellers again? I met one at the gate. Have you forgotten that father had forbidden fortune-telling in our house?

MRS. TIEN—Just once more, my dear.

MISS TIEN—But you have promised father never to call fortune-tellers into our house.

MRS. TIEN—I know that. But you see I can't help doing it just once more. I have sent for him to see if you and Mr. Chen—

MISS TIEN—Oh, oh!—

MRS. TIEN—You see this is the greatest event in your life, and you are my only child. I can't let you marry a man with whom you can't live long.

MISS TIEN—But we *can*!

MRS. TIEN—No, you can't. The fortune-teller says so.
MISS TIEN—What does he know about us?
MRS. TIEN—And the Goddess of Mercy says so, too.
MISS TIEN—So you have asked the Goddess too? What would father say to this?
MRS. TIEN—I know your father would object to this, as he always objects to everything I do. But how can we old folks decide a matter which concerns your entire life? We are liable to make grave mistakes. But the gods cannot deceive us. Moreover, the fortune-teller has confirmed what the goddess said. (*Going to the desk and opening the drawer*) Let me show you what the goddess said.
MISS TIEN—Oh, no! I don't want to see it!
MRS. TIEN—(*Closing the door reluctantly*) My dear, don't be too obstinate. I like your young man whom you have known during your stay in Japan. He seems to be a fine fellow. You say you know him well. But you are young and inexperienced. Even we old folks dare not trust our own judgment in such important matters. That's why I went to the Goddess of Mercy and sent for the fortune-teller. They both said that this match would be undesirable. It must be true. The fortune-teller said that this is a case of conquering the rabbit by the tiger, because you were born in the year of—
MISS TIEN—Please don't say any more of it. (*Sobbing*) I don't want to hear it. I know father will not agree with you. I know he will not.
MRS. TIEN—I will tell him what I have done. He must not give away my daughter against my wish. (*Approaching her daughter and trying to dry her tears with a handkerchief*) Now, don't cry. I'll leave you to think it over. Your father will be back soon; I go to see if dinner is ready. Be a good child and cry no more. (*Goes by the door leading to the dining room.*
A pause. As Miss Tien looks up, Lee Fuh appears at the door. She beckons him to come near)
MISS TIEN—Lee Fuh, I need your help. (*Lee Fuh bows amicably*) My mother does not want to let me marry Mr. Chen.
LEE FUH—It's a pity, a great pity. He is such a fine gentleman. He even bowed to me when I met him this morning at the street corner.
MISS TIEN—Yes, he saw you bring in the fortune-teller and he was afraid of any sudden change. So he telephoned to me at the school and followed me back in his motor-car. He may still be waiting at the street corner. Go and tell him that my mother has made up her mind not to let us marry. Of course father will help us. Tell Mr. Chen to move his car to the next street and wait for further news. Go quickly. (*Lee Fuh bows to go*) Come back. Tell him—tell him—not to be anxious. (*Lee Fuh bows smilingly and goes by the right-hand door*)
MISS TIEN—(*Goes to the desk and opens the drawer; looks at its contents without taking it out. Then looks at her watch*) Father ought to be back now; it is almost 12. (*Mr. Tien, a man of about 50, enters by the right-hand door*)
MISS TIEN—(*Quickly closes the drawer and rises to meet him*) Oh, father, you are back! Mother was—(*hesitates*) mother has something to say to you,—something very important.

MR. TIEN—What's that? Tell me first what it is.
MISS TIEN—Mother will tell you. (*Runs to the dining-room door and calls*) Mother, mother, father is back.
MR. TIEN—What's in this now? (*Sits down in the armchair. Mrs. Tien enters*) Ah-may told me that you have something very important to say to me.
MRS. TIEN—Yes, something very important. Now don't contradict me. (*Sitting down by the table*) It is about Mr. Chen's proposal to marry Ah-may.
MR. TIEN—Yes, I have been thinking about it too.
MRS. TIEN—Good, we all ought to be thinking about it. It is the greatest event in her life. I was simply overawed at the idea of its importance. It is true that Ah-may has known this young man for some years during their stay in Japan. But we don't know him. How can we be sure of his character? He is wealthy, but many wealthy young men are simply awful. He is well-educated, but I have heard many returned students abandon their wives.
MR. TIEN—What are you driving at?
MRS. TIEN—My point is this. We should not trust our own poor judgments. At least I can't, I dare not trust myself in this matter. So I went yesterday to the Temple of the Goddess of Mercy.
MR. TIEN—What! Have you forgotten what you promised me?
MRS. TIEN—I can't help it. I did it merely for the sake of our daughter.
MR. TIEN—Pooh, pooh! Go on.
MRS. TIEN—I went there and asked for a Divine Stick. It says that this match is undesirable. Let me show you the poem on the Stick. (*Going to the desk*)
MR. TIEN—Pooh, pooh! I don't want to see it. I'll have nothing of this stuff! If you don't trust yourself, how can you trust such an important matter to wooden images and clay idols?
MISS TIEN—(*Cheering up*) I know father doesn't believe in all this. (*Going to him*) Thank you, father. We should trust our own judgment, should we not?
MRS. TIEN—But it isn't the Goddess alone that says no.
MR. TIEN—Who else then?
MRS. TIEN—I still had my doubts, so I sent for the best fortune-teller in this city.
MR. TIEN—Ahem! You have broken another promise to me.
MRS. TIEN—I know it, but you see this is the greatest event in Ah-may's life, and I want to clear up every little doubt in my mind.
MR. TIEN—But, for heaven's sake, why did you create the doubt by going to the Goddess? Why didn't you come to me?
MRS. TIEN—Don't be blasphemous. Well, the fortune-teller said exactly the same thing as the Goddess of Mercy. Wasn't that wonderful?
MR. TIEN—Oh, come. Don't be foolish. You have no confidence in your own eyes, so you go and put complete confidence in those who have no eyes at all!
MISS TIEN—I quite agree with you, father. I knew you would be on our side.
MRS. TIEN—(*To her daughter*) How dare you talk in that manner about you own marriage? "Our" side? Whose side is "our" side? For shame! You all conspire against me! (*Putting her face into her handkerchief and sobbing*) Have I no right to decide my own daughter's greatest event in life?

MR. TIEN—Just because this is our daughter's greatest event in life, we must go about it in a sane and intelligent manner. We must not be deceived by wooden images and clay idols,—and blind fortune-tellers. Am I not right, Ah-may?
MISS TIEN—You are quite right, father. I knew you would not believe in all this.
MR. TIEN—Now, let us talk seriously. (*To Mrs. Tien*) Don't cry. No more childish superstitions! (To Miss Tien) Sit down and we'll have a serious talk. (*She seats herself on the sofa. A pause*)
MR. TIEN—Ah-may, I don't want you to marry Mr. Chen.
MISS TIEN—(*Greatly agitated*) Oh, father, you don't mean it!
MR. TIEN—Yes, I do mean it. This union is impossible. I am sorry.
MISS TIEN—Have you found anything against him?
MR. TIEN—No, I like him very much. I could not possibly choose a better son-in-law. So much the more I am sorry.
MISS TIEN—(*Puzzled and grieved*) And you don't believe in the gods and fortune-tellers?
MR. TIEN—Oh, no.
MRS. TIEN AND MISS TIEN—(*At the same time*) What is it then?
MR. TIEN—(*To Miss Tien*) My child, you have been abroad for so long that you have forgotten our own custom and etiquette. You have even forgotten the law of our ancestors.
MISS TIEN—What is the law of our ancestors that forbids our marriage?
MR. TIEN—Let me show you. (*Goes out by the dining-room door*)
MRS. TIEN—What could it be? But I am glad that he is opposed to this union.
MISS TIEN—(*Reflecting, then suddenly showing determination*) I know what to do.
MR. TIEN—(*Enters with a set of big folio volumes*) Here is our genealogy. (*Turning over the leaves*) Look at this long line of our ancestors and see if there has been any marriage between the Chens (陈) and the Tiens (田).
MISS TIEN—Why couldn't there be any marriage between the two families?
MR. TIEN—Because it is the custom of the country to forbid intermarriage between persons bearing the same family name.
MISS TIEN—But our family is Tien and Mr. Chen's family name is Chen: we are not of the same family name.
MR. TIEN—Yes, we are of the same family name. About 2,500 years ago, these two words, Tien and Chen, were pronounced in the same way, and our family name was sometimes written in the form of Chen and sometimes in the form of Tien. As the ages passed by, these two words came to be pronounced quite differently, and the two branches of our family had all the appearances of a separate origin. But the philologists know it, and our family records show that the two families have sprung from one and the same stock. The law of both the Chen family and the Tien family forbids intermarriage between them.
MISS TIEN—Does this prohibition apply to persons whose relationship dates back 2,500 years?
MR. TIEN—Unfortunately it does.
MISS TIEN—Oh, father, surely you don't believe in the reasonableness of such a custom.

MR. TIEN—I don't but society does and the old scholars do. A story was told of a peasant woman of the Tien family who married a Mr. Chen by mistake. But after her death, she was not allowed to occupy a seat in the ancestral temple until her name was changed into Shen (申) by prolonging the middle stroke of the word Tien (田).
MISS TIEN—I am willing to prolong the middle stroke of my family name, if that is the only objection.
MR. TIEN—You are willing, but I am not. I don't want to be criticized by the old scholars of our clan on your account.
MISS TIEN—(*Sobbing*) But we are not of the same family!
MR. TIEN—Our genealogy says we are and the old scholars say we are. I have consulted a number of scholars on this point, and they all oppose this union. You see, in a matter of such importance, although one must not be deceived by the wooden gods and blind fortune-tellers, one must respect the opinion of old scholars. And then, your young man is from a very wealthy family. I don't want people to think that I sold my daughter to a rich man at the cost of sacrificing my family name.
MISS TIEN—(*In despair*) Oh, oh! Father! You have destroyed the idols of superstition, but you bow to the idols of tradition!
MR. TIEN—You are angry with me? Well, I don't blame you. I understand your feelings. (*Lee Fuh enters*)
LEE FUH—Dinner is ready. (*All rise except Miss Tien*)
MR. TIEN—Let us talk it over after dinner. Come, I am hungry. (*Goes into the dining room*)
MRS. TIEN—(*Going to her daughter*) Don't cry now. We all wish for your best. Compose yourself and come to dinner.
MISS TIEN—I don't want dinner.
MRS. TIEN—Don't be obstinate. We'll wait for you. (*Goes into the dining room. Lee Fuh closes the door after her*)
MISS TIEN—(*Looks up and sees Lee Fuh standing*) Is Mr. Chen still waiting in his car?
LEE FUH—(*In a low voice*) Yes, here is a note for you. (*Hands her a note*)
MISS TIEN—(*Reads*) "This concerns us alone. Decide for yourself." (*Repeating the last sentence*) "Decide for yourself." Yes. I must decide for myself. I must! (*To Lee Fuh*) Tell father and mother not to wait for me. I'll join them after dinner. (*Lee Fuh bows knowingly and retires. Miss Tien rises and puts on the cloak which she had taken off when she first entered. Goes to the desk and writes a note which she leaves under the flower vase; then she hurries out by the right-hand door. A pause*)
MRS. TIEN—(*From within*) Ah-may, you must come and have dinner with us. (*Enters*) Where are you? Ah-may!
MR. TIEN—(*From within*) Leave her alone for a while: she is angry with us. (*Enters*) Where is she?
MRS. TIEN—Where is she? She has gone with her cloak on.

MR. TIEN—(*Seeing the note under the vase, takes it and reads*) "This is the greatest event in my life. I must decide for myself. I am gone with Mr. Chen in his car. Good-by!"
(*Mrs. Tien sinks into the armchair. Mr. Tien rushes to the door and then hesitates. Curtain*.)

Chapter 6
The Literary Renaissance

Prepared for the Fourth Biennial Conference of the Institute of Pacific Relations at Hangchow from October 21 to November 4, 1931. This is a brief history of the development of pei hua literature in China and an account of how the vernacular movement led by Hu Shih started and won the battle. Hu also spoke at the Fifth Biennial Conference.

The failures in the effort to bring about a good and efficient government after the nominal establishment of the Chinese Republic in 1912 forced some men to turn their attention to other problems not immediately connected with politics. They were tired of real politics and were looking around to find some more basic factors which might be made the new cornerstones for a new political order. Thus, Huang Yuan-yung (黄远庸), one of the best publicists of the day, who had spent many years in political activities, wrote these repentant words just before he left the country in 1915:

> In my humble opinion, politics is in such confusion that I am at a loss to know what to talk about. Ideal schemes will have to be buried for future generations to unearth. … As to fundamental salvation, I believe its beginning must be sought in the promotion of a new literature. In short, we must endeavor to bring Chinese thought into direct contact with the contemporary thought of the world, thereby to accelerate its radical awakening. And we must see to it that the basic ideals of world thought must be related to the life of the average man. The method seems to consist in using simple and simplified language and literature for wide dissemination of ideas among the people. Have we not seen that historians regard the Renaissance as the foundation of the overthrow of medievalism in Europe? [Letter to Chang Shih-chao (章士钊), published in *The Tiger* (甲寅), Vol. I, No. 10.]

The recipient of this letter, who was also one of the leading publicists of the time, published it with a reply in which he pointed out that "all social reforms must presuppose a certain level of political stability and orderliness, and the promotion of

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Chapter Note: Sophia H. Chen Zen, ed., Symposium on Chinese Culture. Shanghai: China Institute of Pacific Relations, 1931. pp. 150–164.

C.-P. Chou (ed.) and S. Hu, *English Writings of Hu Shih: Literature and Society (Volume 1)*, China Academic Library, DOI 10.1007/978-3-642-31184-0_6,

a new literature cannot be an exception." In the same year Huang Yuan-yung was assassinated in San Francisco; and in the following year Mr. Chang Shih-chao, who would not desert politics for the promotion of a new literature, took a prominent part in the campaign which finally thwarted the monarchical movement and caused the death of Yuan Shih-kai. But the downfall of Yuan Shih-kai did not bring the country nearer to the "level of political stability and order" as had been expected; nor did it remove all the evil forces which Yuan Shih-kai had planted throughout the country, and which soon ran wild and plunged the nation into disunion and civil strife lasting to the present day.

About the time when the above-quoted letter was written, a few Chinese students in American universities were carrying on a serious controversy on the problem of the Chinese language. One party to the controversy held that the literary or classical language of China was a dead or at least half dead language and that it was no longer capable of being the medium for producing a living literature. Moreover, the spoken language (*pei hua*) in which all the great novels were written, was regarded by this group of young men as full of promise, as the only medium of the future literature of China. The other party regarded these ideas as outrageously radical and tried to defend the classical language on the ground that it would be a great pity to discard the vast amount of literature written in it, that it was the only language understood by all educated people throughout the country irrespective of their own local dialects, and that, being the language of the prose writers and poets, it was far more beautiful than the vulgar language of the people which, while it might be profitably employed in writing popular novels, could never be expected to be the language of poetry and polished prose.

So the controversy went on for some time in America and on the first day of the year 1917 was published in Shanghai the first declaration of what is now known as the Chinese Literary Revolution. It consisted of an article by myself on "Some Suggestions for the Reform of Chinese Literature," which was followed by an article on "A Revolution in Literature" by Mr. Chen Tu-hsiu (陈独秀), editor of *The Youth* (新青年), a monthly magazine in which my article was published. In both of these articles, the classical language was openly declared to have outlived its usefulness, and the *pei hua* was shown to be the legitimate heir to the classical language; and the few great writers who had the inspiration to produce their novels and dramas in the *pei hua*, but whose works, in spite of their immense popularity, had long been ignored by the literati, were re-evaluated and ranked above the poets and prose writers who used the unnatural medium of the dead classical language.

I came back from America in the summer of 1917, and joined the National University of Peking, of which Mr. Chen Tu-hsiu was then Dean of the College of Letters. I had resolved in 1916 never to write any poetry except in the spoken language. *The Youth*, which was now edited by a number of professors at the University, was converted into an organ of the new literary movement and it published only articles and verses in the *pei hua*. The movement was at first violently opposed by conservative scholars, but they offered no tenable argument in defense of the dead language and literature. Their opposition only helped to spread the new movement.

After the students' movement in May and June, 1919, the National University of Peking arouse to a position of national leadership in the world of thought, and the literary movement championed by its liberal professors was hailed by the newly awakened youth of the provinces as a most welcome emancipation. New periodicals published in the living tongue, sprang up in almost every city where there were schools above the primary grade. Expression soon became a passion of the new generation who found in the *pei hua* an effective vehicle for giving vent to their feelings and aspirations.

All of a sudden, the movement became nation-wide and spread like a wild fire. There had been neither schools nor teachers to teach the living tongue, but hundreds of writers seemed to have sprung up overnight. The *pei hua* seemed capable of being self-taught! What better argument is needed for the advocacy of the use of the spoken language as a literary medium?

In 1920, the Ministry of Education ordered that, beginning with the following academic year, the living national language, instead of the classical language, should be taught in the first two grades of the primary schools. In 1928, the National Government in Nanking ordered that all text-books in the lower secondary schools should be written in the national language; and that all lower secondary texts written in the classical language should be prohibited. It is safe to estimate that at least three-quarters of the new books published during the last 5 years are in the spoken language.

Thus was begun the Chinese Literary Renaissance, the full significance of which can best be understood by recalling the history of the rise of the national languages of modern Europe. Hardly five centuries have passed since Latin was the recognized literary language of whole Europe. Italy was the first to revolt. Dante, Petrarch (in his youthful days), and Boccaccio produced their best works in the dialect of Tuscany, and the popularity of their writings succeeded in finally making the Tuscan dialect the national language of the Italian people. By that time the dialect of Paris was fast becoming the official language of France. In 1539, Francis I ordered that all public documents should be in the French of Paris, though it was still foreign to nearly half of the population in the kingdom. In the middle of the sixteenth century, there arose the group of French poets known as the Pléiade, who consciously advocated the use of the French language in poetry. Rebelais and Montaigne achieved an even greater success in prose. Thus by the end of the sixteenth century the French of Paris became the undisputed national language of France.

The case of modern English, being more similar to that of modern Chinese, is all the more instructive. As late as the latter part of the fourteenth century, there were three main dialects competing for supremacy in England. The Southern dialect, spoken south of the Thames, was the most conservative, being full of old forms and inflections. The Northern dialect which extended from the Humber to Aberdeen, was undergoing such rapid and radical changes owing to the Danish settlements that it had become almost an entirely new language. Between these two extremes stood the Midland dialect, which was more or less comprehensible to the speakers of both dialects. This Midland dialect, being the language of London and of the two great universities, soon came to be adopted as the standard speech. Chaucer, the

greatest poet of the fourteenth century, wrote his poetry in this dialect; and his great contemporary, Wycliffe, too, used it in his English translations of the Bible. The popularity of their writings and the introduction of the printing press in the following century made the Midland dialect the undisputed national tongue of England.

The lesson taught by such recent history can easily be applied to a historical consideration of the Chinese Literary Renaissance. A little unbiased reflection and historical study will lead us to the conclusion that what is now called the literary revolution is no more than a culminating stage in a long process of historical evolution. The story is indeed a long one, but the salient facts are simple.

As early as the second century B.C., the classical language had already become unintelligible to the people. Thus about the year 124 B.C., in a memorial to the emperor, Premier Kung-sun Hung said: "The imperial edicts and laws that have been proclaimed, …while they are most elegantly worded and contain benevolent instructions, are not generally understood by the public officers who are too inadequately educated to explain these to the people." In order to meet this most serious difficulty the government hit upon a system under which public offices were conferred upon those who had studied the classic writings. This system, which was later perfected into the great system of literary examinations, has succeeded in maintaining to this day the supremacy of the classical language which had become unintelligible to the public officers over 2,000 years ago.

But no governmental power, however great, can prevent a language from undergoing the inevitable processes of phonetic change and grammatical levellings gradually and unconsciously brought about by the common sense of the people. In China, these processes, by a stroke of good fortune, have been allowed to go on unimpeded and uninterfered with by the literary class which was busily occupied with the task of mastering the subtleties of the dead classical language. For a long period of over twenty centuries, the dialects have been permitted to keep on changing and modifying until some of the dialects have become as distinct from the classical language as any two cognate languages can possibly be different from each other. The dialects of Northern China, owing to the influence of numerous barbarian conquests and settlements, have undergone the most radical changes in pronunciation, in tones, and in grammar. But because the political capital of the empire has always been in the North, the Northern dialects have come to be accepted as the "mandarin" or official language of the empire. The Middle dialects, covering the provinces of the Yangtse Valley down to Nanking and a little further to the east, also belong to the group of mandarin dialects. The Southwestern Provinces (Szechuen, Yunnan, Kweichow and part of Kwangsi) were settled in comparatively recent times and their dialects represent the latest stages of linguistic revision and levelling. These Southwestern dialects are generally admitted to be the most universally understood dialects of the mandarin group.

It is these mandarin dialects,—the Northern, Middle and Southwestern dialects,—which now form the *Kuo-yu* or national language of China. All these dialects have their local peculiarities, but are generally understood throughout the vast region covered by this linguistic group. A person speaking any one of the dialects has no

necessity to change his own language when travelling in China, although people may smile at some of his peculiar colloquialisms.

This group of mandarin dialects covers almost 90% of Chinese territory. From Harbin to Yunnan, from the Great Wall to the southern limits of the Yangtse Valley, from Nanking to the Desert of Gobi,—all that is the territory of the national language. And the southeastern corner, from Shanghai to the Pearl River Valley, which is the region of the most ancient and conservative dialects, is being fast conquered by the force of commerce, of education, and of the modern means of transportation and communication.

How was it possible that, in the brief course of less than 10 years, the despised spoken tongue of the people was firmly established as the language of education and of literary composition? The answer is: The *pei hua* has for many centuries already become the language of education and literature although it was never consciously recognized as such. It was for centuries the language of the theatre and of the novels, both of which were by far more influential organs of education than the schools and the literary examination. Everybody knew the popular novels and plays, although everybody felt ashamed to admit that they knew them. And every parent or village schoolmaster tried to prevent his young son or pupil from reading them; but the young people always found a way to read and enjoy them. Nominally the language of education was the language of the Confucianist Classics which were taught in all schools and on which all civil service examinations were based. But in reality, the most popular and most influential books in China were neither the Five Classics nor the Four Books, but the *San Kuo* (*The Romance of the Three Kingdoms*), the *Shui Hu* (*The Heroes of Liang Shan*), the *Hsi You Ki* (*The Westward Pilgrimage*) and the *Feng Shen Chuan* (*The Ordaining of the Gods*),—all of which are novels written in the *pei hua* and read by the millions. These were the Classics of the people. From them, the vast populace have been learning practical wisdom, morals, manners, speech, glimpses of history, religion, humor and superstition. From them, the Boxers of 1900, the Yuan Shih-kais and the Wu Pei-fus received their first knowledge of military tactics and statesmanship.

Above all, these great novels have been the most effective teachers of the living language. It was the novelists who put the spoken tongue into written form. They borrowed the written characters from the classical literature and invented new words wherever no written form existed in the classical language. In this way, they have given to the *pei hua* a standard literary form, just as Dante and Boccaccio, and Chaucer and Wycliffe have given the standard literary form to their mother tongues. The immense popularity of these and hundreds of other novels has given to the people a familiar knowledge of the written form of the living tongue,—a knowledge of which the people made little or no use other than reading more novels and writing home letters. But when the call came for new writers to express themselves in the living tongue, many writers suddenly found themselves already in possession of an effective literary medium which was so easy and so simple that they had acquired it without effort and without even knowing it! It is safe to say that all the hundreds of *pei hua* writers who have arisen to literary prominence since 1917 have received their literary education through the great novels.

As we now look back in the long history of Chinese literature, we can see clearly that, throughout the twenty centuries when the dead classical language reigned supreme, it was always the living tongue of the people that served as the medium through which the best artistic and literary talents of the race found satisfactory expression. At first, it was the language of folk poetry. While the Court Writers and Scholars wrote in polite classical style, the rustic lovers and the village singers sang their love and joy and suffering in the language of their everyday speech. Many of these folk songs were collected by the Court Musicians and the simplicity and unadorned beauty of this type of popular poetry was early recognized by the classical poets who often condescended to imitate their style and melody. It was those "Collected Songs" (乐府) of the people that opened the new era of Chinese poetry which began about 200 A.D. and which attained its full development in the poets of the great T'ang dynasty (620–900). Throughout this long period, the common people continued to produce their folk songs; the new Barbarian races in the North sang their heroic and war-like songs, and the peace-loving races of the lower Yangtse Delta contributed their hundreds of plaintive love lyrics. All these furnished model and inspiration to the classical poets of the age and brought about the era which was immortalized by such great poets as Tao Chien, Li Po, Tu Fu and Po Chu-i.

When the poetic forms originated by the popular singers of an earlier age had become stereotyped through the long periods of imitation, newer forms and melodies again arose from among the lowly and unlettered people and once more arrested the attention of the literary class. Thus the new songs of the dancing girls and public entertainers of the ninth century led to the great era of *Tz'u* (词) which are songs of irregular lines written to the music of popular tunes. This type of poetry, which was more melodious and had greater variety than the earlier regular 16 forms of pentasyllabic and septasyllabic lines, flourished about 400 years (900–1300). Then arose another new type of songs known as the *Ch'u-tze* (曲子) which differed from the *Tz'u* only in its greater freedom in the length of the lines. These new songs coming again from the singing and dancing girls not only founded a new era of poetic activity, but also furnished the tunes of which the singing parts of the early Chinese dramas were composed. At first, it was found possible to combine two or three existing tunes for the composition of poems with larger or more complicated themes. Then it became a fashion with the story-tellers to recite a long tale in a series of such combinations of songs. Finally when the indirect narration of the reciter was changed into the direct dialogue between the characters on the stage, it became drama. Thus the songs of the country singer and the sing-song girl have been directly and indirectly responsible for creating two of the most important branches of literature,—the epic and the drama.

It was natural that prose literature in the *pei hua* arose much later than poetry. Those who needed prose writing, wrote in the classical style; while those who could not write classical prose, had very little practical use for writing. Prose writing in the spoken tongue arose in the eighth century from two sources. First, the monks of the Zen schools began to record the sayings and discourses of their great teachers as they were spoken. Those great Zen masters spoke so forcefully and used such strong and plain language that it was indeed a crime to translate them into the tame and

polished style of the literati. This practice of recording philosophical teaching in the *pei hua* proved to be so useful and effective that it was continued by the Neo-Confucianist philosophers of later ages and was known as "the style of recorded discourses" (语录体).

The other source of *pei hua* prose was the story-tellers. The early reciters left no written records of their stories. But, beginning with the eighth century, we find the story-tellers took pains to write down the tales more or less as they were recited. Some of the tales were entirely in verse, others in rhythmic prose interposed with verses, and others in prose throughout. The first class developed into the epics; the second into those dramatic recitals which were partly sung to music and partly spoken; and the third into the short tales and serial novels. Many of the tales written by the best writers of the T'ang dynasty were still written in the classical language, and were intended to be read by the qualified few, but not recited to the unlettered masses. But the professional story-teller must reach the largest audiences possible and must prepare his "spoken texts" (话本) as they were actually to be recited to the people that flocked to hear him. It was from these "spoken texts" that have come the novelette and the novel.

The Chinese novelette has a peculiar form of its own. It almost invariably consists of two parts: an introductory story and the main story. The professional reciter learned from experience that the most effective way to excite the interest of his audience was to tantalize them with a little story which should illustrate the "moral" of the main story either by contrast or by similarity. When an attentive audience was assured, he then began to tell the main story. This double-story form of the novelette has been preserved even in recent times when the stories are largely written to be read and not verbally told.

The serial novel is the result of long processes of evolution which began with the long historical recitals. At first, we find only a haphazard piecing together of historical episodes without any attempt at internal organization or uniformity in language and style. Gradually, the professional reciter realized that he could not retain his audience throughout a very lengthy historical recital without something like a moving plot. The practical problem was how to get back the same audience for tomorrow's recital. Somehow the story-teller hit upon a curious method. He would so arrange his material and so tell his story as to arouse the interest of his hearers to the highest pitch, and then suddenly bring the recital to an abrupt stop just at the psychological moment of most intensified suspension. Just as a poisoned arrow was being shot at our beloved hero, or just as the sword was pointing to the heart of our beautiful heroine, or just as the heroic convict making his desperate escape from prison was being over-taken by the troops,—suddenly the reciter would beat upon his drum and end the day's recital with the cruel formula: "If you wish to know what happened next, come to hear the next recital" (要知后事如何,且听下回分解). This was the beginning of the serial novel, of which each chapter is called a *Hui* (回) which means a time or a period of recital.

Practically all the early novels were crudely written by uneducated or poorly educated professional story-tellers. A few great cycles of historical romance or mythological legend, however, stood out as most pre-eminently beloved by the

people. They were known everywhere and remembered by everybody. These stories passed from mouth to mouth, from city to city, and from generation to generation. Every man or woman was free to add something to them, to put in a little local color here and there, or to suggest a little change now and then. In this manner, these great cycles of popular legend and history went through numberless changes and revisions in the hands of the greatest master of literature—the Common Sense of a race. Then, after centuries of such unconscious processes of evolution, these legends suddenly caught the imagination of some great masters of literature who took them out of the hands of the people and retouched them with the brush of intelligence and artistic genius. The legends remained, but the plots were re-cast, the dialogues greatly improved, the characters ennobled, and the conception elevated. Thus retouched and improved by the great masters of the literary art, these historical and mythological recitals emerged in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries in their final form as the first masterpieces of Chinese fiction. Such were the *Shui Hu* (*The Heroes of Liang Shan*), the *Hsi You Ki* (*The Westward Pilgrimage*) and, to a lesser degree, the *San Kuo* (*The Three Kingdoms*). All of these were glorious consummations of many centuries of continuous evolution and have remained the best sellers for the last three or four centuries. A great critic in the seventeenth century was inspired to declare emphatically, "Of all the literary masterpieces in the world, nothing is better than the *Shui Hu*!"

From the above account, it is clear that spoken Chinese as represented by the "mandarin dialects" and by the language of the novels, is fully qualified to become the national language of China. It is not only the language most widely spoken and most generally understood in the country; it is also the language in which a not ignoble literature has been produced—a literature richer and more extensive than any modern European language had ever achieved at the time of its establishment as a national language. It seems incredible that a language of such wide currency and literary promise should have to wait so long before it was ever thought of as a legitimate substitute for the long dead classical language.

But the explanation is really simple. The authority of the language of the Sacred Classics and the ancient tradition has been truly too great to be easily overcome. This authority became invincible when it was enforced by the power of a long united empire and reinforced by a fair but very rigid system of state examinations under which the only channel of civic advancement for any man was through the mastery of the classical language and literature. The rise of the national languages in Europe was facilitated by the absence of these two powerful factors,—the united empire and the system of state examinations. The dream of "one empire, one law and one language" never has been realized since the downfall of the Roman Empire. Yet the two great Churches in Rome and in Eastern Europe—the shadow counter-parts of the Roman Empire,—have been able to maintain the use of two dead classical languages throughout all these centuries. It cannot be disputed that the Protestant Reformation was just as powerful a factor as the rise of the modern states in accelerating the establishment of the national languages in Europe. And it is no mere historical accident that the Chinese literary revolution was started 10 years after the abolition of the literary examinations in 1905.

Moreover, there was lacking in the history of spoken Chinese one important factor without which the authority of the classical language could never be challenged. That factor is a *conscious* recognition of the fact that the classical language is dead and no longer capable of being the national language of a modern nation. Dante not only wrote in the vulgar tongue of Tuscany, but also defended it in his treatise *De Vulgari Eloquentia*. Boccaccio, too, was a conscious defender of the literary medium he used. In France, the Pléiade were all conscious advocates of the French language; indeed Du Bellay, one of the Pléiade, wrote *La Défense et Illustration de la Langue Française*, in which he asserted the right of the French language to stand as a medium of poetic expression.

It is this element of conscious advocacy that was lacking in the case of the Chinese *pei hua*. There were numerous writers who were in one way or another attracted by the vulgar tongue and wrote in it. There was none, however, who openly questioned the authority of the classical language and consciously defended the living tongue as the only legitimate medium of literary and poetic composition. Indeed, most of those who wrote their best works in the *pei hua*, thought so little of them that they preferred to remain anonymous. It took me many years of research to establish the authorship of some of the great novels, but the authorship of some of them will probably never be identified. The writers were ashamed of what they had achieved, and were entirely unconscious of the important rôle they were playing in creating a living language and literature for their nation.

What the recent literary revolution did was to supply this very factor which had been lacking in the long history of the living language, and openly to declare that the classical language has been dead for at least 2,000 years, that the imitative literature in the dead language has no real literary value, and that the *pei hua* which has been the popular literary medium for many centuries, is and will be the only proper and effective medium for education and for all forms of literary expression. "No dead language can produce a living literature," was the war cry of the literary revolution. Its constructive policy is summed up in the motto: "Produce a literature in the national language, and you shall have a national language of real literary worth."

On the other hand, the classical language suddenly found itself without a defender who could proffer articulate and tenable arguments in its behalf. Mr. Lin Shu, the famous translator of 200 English and European novels into classical Chinese, who led the opposition to the new literary movement, could only declare: "I know that the classical style ought not to be abolished. I know it, but I cannot tell why." Against such unreasoned and inarticulate opposition, the leaders of the new movement had no difficulty in scoring an easy and speedy success.

This success was not brought about by the work of any individual or any group of individuals. The time has long been ripe for this revolution; 2,000 years of collective effort in linguistic revision and ten centuries of literary activity in the living tongue—these are the real factors which have made such a rapid success possible. The common sense of our people, the songs and tales of numberless and nameless men and women have for all these centuries been unconsciously but steadily and incessantly preparing for this day. All unconscious processes of natural evolution are of necessity very slow and wasteful. Once these processes are made conscious,

and articulate, intelligent guidance and experimentation become possible, then the work of many centuries may be telescoped into the brief period of a few years, and an easy success ensured for the literary revolution which is in reality merely the culmination of twenty centuries of historical evolution.

Chapter 7
Introduction to *Monkey*

Introduction to the American edition. Hu's introduction was dated December 15, 1942.

"I was very fond of strange stories when I was a child. In my village-school days, I used to buy stealthily the popular novels and historical recitals. Fearing that my father and my teacher might punish me for this and rob me of these treasures, I carefully hid them in secret places where I could enjoy them unmolested.

"As I grew older, my love for strange stories became even stronger, and I learned of things stranger than what I had read in my childhood. When I was in my thirties, my memory was full of these stories accumulated through years of eager seeking.

"I have always admired such writers of the T'ang Dynasty as Tuan Ch'eng-shih and Niu Sheng-ju, who wrote short stories so excellent in portrayal of men and description of things. I often had the ambition to write a book (of stories) which might be compared with theirs. But I was too lazy to write, and as my laziness persisted, I gradually forgot most of the stories which I had learned.

"Now only these few stories, less than a score have survived and have so successfully battled against my laziness that they are at last written down. Hence this *Book of Monsters*. I have sometimes laughingly said to myself that it is not I who have found these ghosts and monsters, but they, the monstrosities themselves, which have found me!

"Although my book is called a book of monsters, it is not confined to them: it also records the strange things of the human world and sometimes conveys a little bit of moral lesson. …"

Thus wrote Wu Ch'êng-ên in his preface to a book of short stories written in the classical language. This collection has been lost; but this preface, fortunately preserved in his *Collected Writings*, tells us much about the future author of *Monkey* or *Hsi Yu Ki*. It tells of his boyhood delight in the strange stories and historical recitals written in the

Chapter Note: Wu Ch'êng-ên, Monkey, Arthur Waley trans. New York: John Day, 1943, pp. 1–5.

C.-P. Chou (ed.) and S. Hu, *English Writings of Hu Shih: Literature and Society (Volume 1)*, China Academic Library, DOI 10.1007/978-3-642-31184-0_7,

living tongue of the people. It reveals his life-long ambition to write a great book of stories about ghosts and monsters which was to rival the stories by the famous writers of T'ang, and which, though primarily about monsters, did not exclude the strange things of our human world and might also convey "a little bit of moral lesson."

All this he might have written of the *Monkey*, had he cared to write a preface to it under his own name. He had apparently grown dissatisfied with his monster stories composed in the classical style in imitation of the T'ang writers. At long last, he decided to carry out his great literary ambition by writing a greater book of monsters in the language of the "vulgar" literature of his time. But it was such a great disgrace for a man of literary reputation to produce a novel in the vulgar tongue that the story was published anonymously. And nothing in the two volumes of his *Collected Writings* (discovered in the Imperial Palaces and reprinted by the Palace Museum Library, 1930) gives the slightest hint of his connection with the book. Just as he in his early boyhood could only enjoy the novels and stories in secret hiding places, so he in his old age had to conceal the authorship of his great masterpiece in anonymity.

For his age was an era of literary reaction. The leading men of letters of the sixteenth century were vehemently advocating a return to the poetry and prose of the greatest classical periods. Their war cry was: "No prose after the Han Dynasty; no poetry after the First Period (ending 770 A.D., the year of the death of Tu Fu) of the T'ang Dynasty!"

This movement of classical revival was led by the so-called "Early Seven Geniuses" (about 1495–1530) and "Later Seven Geniuses" (about 1550–1590). Our author Wu Ch'êng-ên (c. 1500–1580) was not only contemporaneous with these movements, but was an intimate friend of Hsu Chung-hsing (1517–1578), one of the "Later Seven."

But even as these great leaders preached and produced their imitative classical literature, a new literature of great vitality and power was growing up from among the people and was forcing itself upon the attention and affection of all the classes. This new literature comprised the folk songs, folk tales, historical recitals and popular tales of ghosts, judges (detectives of crime), and heroes. Many skilfully told short stories had been in existence ever since the Sung time. A number of the longer novels had come to be written down, revised and rewritten in the course of transmission, and finally printed and sold as best-sellers among the people. Of these serial stories, the *San Kuo* (*Three Kingdoms*) and the *Shui Hu Chuan* (which Pearl Buck translated as *All Men Are Brothers*) had more or less attained their present form before the end of the fifteenth century. These novels and stories were read by everybody who could read, although nobody probably would admit having read them. And school boys were severely punished for having read and enjoyed them.

The literary evolution of Wu Chêng-ên is typical of many an author of Chinese novels. He loved the vulgar novels in his boyhood; he went through his classical education and training and became ashamed of his boyish delights; he wrote his imitative poetry and prose in the classical style; he tried to write his stories in imitation of the story-writers of T'ang and Sung; finally, in his mellow old age, he took the bold step of producing his masterpiece in the language of the street and the market-place and published it anonymously.

Wu died without any children. The anonymity of the authorship of Monkey was so complete that for over three centuries the general reading public actually believed that the story was written by the Taoist Patriarch Chiu Ch'u-ki (1148–1227) who in 1219 was invited by Genghis Khan to visit him in Central Asia and who left a record of his travels under the title *Hsi Yu Ki* (*Record of a Journey to the West*), which is still regarded as a valuable contribution to the geographical knowledge of the time. It was the similarity in title and the seemingly allegorical character of the novel which were largely responsible for the erroneous attribution of authorship.

But to the people of Huai-an, the birthplace of Wu Ch'êng-ên, the authorship of the story was apparently well-known in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. The local history (gazetteer) of Huai-an, compiled in 1625, definitely recorded that the novel *Hsi Yu Ki* was written by him. This is the first Chinese novel of which the authorship is now authentically established.

The story is originally in 100 chapters which may be divided into three main parts:

I. The Story of the Monkey (Chapters 1–7)
II. The Story of Hsuan Tsang and the Origin of the Mission to India (Chapters 8–12)
III. The Pilgrimage to India (Chapters 13–100)

Mr. Waley's version in 30 chapters has translated Part I and Part II almost entirely, his chapter divisions corresponding exactly to the first 12 chapters in the original. From Part III, Mr. Waley has translated only Chapters 13–15 (XIII–XV), 18–19 (XVI–XVII), 22 (XVIII), 37–39 (XIX–XXI), 44–46 (XXII–XXIV), 47–49 (XXV–XXVII), and 98–100 (XXVIII–XXX).

It will be noted that Mr. Waley has here translated only 30 of the 100 chapters in the original and has left out in particular the second half (Chapters 50–97) of the book. Of the 34 episodes after the conversion of the three disciples, Waley has selected four: (1) the Story of the Kingdom of Crow-Cock (XIX–XXI), (2) the Story of the Three Taoist Demons in the Cart-Slow Kingdom (XXII–XXIV), (3) the River that Leads to Heaven (XXV–XXVII), and (4) the Final Calamity Caused by the White Turtle (XXIX).

Recollection of my own boyhood favorites in the book makes me feel a little regret that my friend Waley has not included in this translation such exceedingly exciting episodes as the Three Demons of the Lion Camel Mountain (74–77) or the Battles with the Red Boy (40–42), or such charmingly entertaining episodes as the Dharma-Destroying Kingdom (84–85), the Monkey Playing the Medico at the Vermilion-Purple Kingdom (68–69), or the Story of the Mandrake Fruit (24–26). I cannot help expressing the wish that at a more propitious time Mr. Waley may be moved to include a few of these episodes in his most admirable and most delightful translation.

But in spite of these few mildly regretted omissions, Mr. Waley has on the whole exercised excellent critical judgment in his selection of the episodes. I agree with most of his omissions, and heartily approve his method of "omitting many episodes, but translating those that are retained almost in full." His rendering of

dialogue is truly masterful both in preserving its droll humor and retaining its rich proverbial form. Only a careful comparison with the original text can fully appreciate the translator's painstaking effort in these directions.

Freed from all kinds of allegorical interpretations by Buddhist, Taoist, and Confucianist commentators, *Monkey* is simply a book of good humor, profound nonsense, good-natured satire and delightful entertainment. It has delighted millions of Chinese children and adults for over 300 years, and, thanks to Mr. Waley, it will now delight thousands upon thousands of children and adults in the English-speaking world for many years to come.

Chapter 8
The Chinese Novel

An address at the Literary Society, Washington D.C., February 15, 1941.

I

The novel as a fictitious but consciously planned narrative was almost unknown in Ancient China. The earliest literature of Ancient China is factual, lyrical and didactic but rarely indulgent in the free use of imagination. There was no epic, no drama, no novel, no mythology of any elaborate type. Confucius once said: "The sole end of speech is to be understood." Such a pragmatic concept of language tended to rule out all imaginative literature as useless and unnecessary.

Indeed, of all the hundreds of thousands of books written in the classical language, there is not one work which can be called a book written with a preconceived plan. Most ancient works were collected sayings, analects, episodes and at best essays on mostly unrelated subjects. Well-planned works of literature, such as a Greek tragedy or a Platonic dialogue were not found in Ancient China. The two literary forms developed in Ancient China were the lyric poem and the prose essay. The essay which began to take shape in the fourth century B.C. was essentially expository and argumentative. Chinese writers seemed to have felt no need for developing larger architectonic structure beyond the essay form. The novel and the drama which required sustained imagination in the plot and in its unfolding could not be developed in the hands of these ancient writers.

Story-telling is an irrepressible instinct of mankind. Even as early as the time of Confucius there was arising among the people a class of historical romance which was called "history" but which was apparently noted for its free and imaginative embellishment rather than for its factual substance or authenticity. Confucius said: "Whenever art (*wen*) outweighs matter (*chih*), there we have history." He was probably

Chapter Note: Unpublished manuscript

C.-P. Chou (ed.) and S. Hu, *English Writings of Hu Shih: Literature and Society (Volume 1)*, China Academic Library, DOI 10.1007/978-3-642-31184-0_8,

referring to those romanticized historical tales of the legendary emperors, founders of dynasties, great generals, and wise men,—tales told with a wealth of such interesting but not always trustworthy details as dreams, oracles, prophecies, and imagined conversations and orations.

Mencius in the fourth century B.C. often had to rebuke his students for citing these popular tales as if they were parts of authentic history; and he often ridiculed them as tales told "by the crude folks on the Eastern Coast of Tsi" or as "fabricated by those who love to tell tales about others."

We are now almost certain that a number of ancient historical episodes which have passed as history, originally belong to that class of romanticized historical tales so characterized by Confucius and Mencius. Such was the story of the Odyssey of Duke Wen of Chin (d. 628 B.C.). And such was the romance of the House of Chao which has often been dramatized in later ages and which became the theme of a famous play by Voltaire.

Thus the Chinese story-teller received his first training in these historical romances which required no invention of plot, but only collecting, fabricating and embroidering incidents and details to be woven around a skeleton structure of what pretended to be biography and chronology.

II

Then came the introduction of a great religion from India with all its rich imagery, beautiful and captivating ritualism and wonderfully imaginative literature and philosophy. The very simple religion of Ancient China was overwhelmed and speedily conquered by Mahayana Buddhism. Throughout a period of 2,000 years, this new religion has fundamentally affected and transformed the religious, philosophical and artistic life of the Chinese people.

Ancient China knew no heaven or paradise, but India gave us thousands of paradises. Ancient China knew no hell, but India gave us 18 hells of ever-increasing severity and horror. The rich and unbridled imagination of the Indian people seemed inexhaustible in its invention of philosophical schematizations and literary and dramatic tales of grandiose structure. Every Buddhist sutra is a drama with the Buddha and some great disciples as the Dramatis Personae. Some of the sutras, notably the Vimalakirti Sutra, were such effective and fascinating tales that they became the most popular themes for pictorial presentation and literary paraphrase throughout the centuries.

India thus taught China the unbridled use of the imagination. Many Taoist scriptures were deliberately forged on the model of the Buddhist sutras. Popularized versions of Buddhist tales became part of the work of monasteries and temples in their effort to instruct and edify the masses. There arose in mediaeval China one class of literature known as the "*pien*" or "*pien-wen*," meaning "transformed versions or paraphrases," which were primarily Buddhistic tales retold in Chinese verse or prose, or partly in verse and partly in prose. Very often a passage of 150 words from the Vimalakirti Sutra was paraphrased into a new recital of 5,000 words. Then the term "*pien-wen*" was extended to include popular recitals of non-Buddhistic

stories. In the mediaeval manuscripts of Tun-huang we find such non-Buddhistic "*pien-wen*" as those of the legendary Emperor Shun or of filial piety of Tung Yung or of General Chi Pu or of the famous beauty Wang Chao-chun. Mediaeval China was apparently being schooled by Buddhism in the art of telling imaginative tales.

It was apparent that the great popularity of the mediaeval story-teller was asserting some powerful influence on the poets and prose writers of the educated class. A contemporary critic pointed out that the style of Po Chu-i's famous "Song of the Everlasting Sorrow" showed some resemblance to a popular Buddhistic "*pien-wen*." But the most interesting evidence of this influence is the fact that the classical writers of the seventh and eighth and ninth centuries were taking great delight in writing short stories of a fairly well developed form. These short stories have no generic name but are sometimes called "*Chuan-chi*," meaning "strange or novel tales." They deal with romantic love, heroic episodes, virtue requited, or strange crimes detached.

About a hundred of these stories have been preserved. One of the earliest of these, *The Cave of the Amorous Fairies* (*Yu Hsien K'u*) written by Chang Ts'u about the year 700 was lost in China but has been preserved in Japan. This story describes how the author, when on an official journey to the Northwest, met two charming ladies at their home where he spent the night and exchanged with them many little poems of flirtation and courtship. It is said that this story of the seventh century became exceedingly popular in Japan and influenced court life and literary fashion in that country, and that the famous first novel of Japan,—and possibly the first novel in the whole world,—*The Tale of Genji*, was the result of conscious imitation of *The Cave of the Amorous Fairies*.

An examination of these short stories of the T'ang Dynasty shows that the art of fiction writing had already made great progress. The sense of plot, the portrayal of character, the elaboration of minute details were all highly developed. (One of the best specimens, "The Story of Miss Li" by Po Hsing-chien, was translated by Mr. Arthur Waley.) Centuries of tales of religious edification had created the demand for the fictitious tale as a branch of literature; and the men of letters could no longer resist the temptation to try their hands in this new form of literature. The writers trained in the classical traditions were trying to produce short stories as a form of prose narrative essay or short bibliography. And they introduced into this literature the very important element of artistic form which they had cultivated through their classical training. Their artistic creations were much hampered by the limitations of a dead language but these delightful short stories of T'ang and their successors in later ages have enriched and elevated the art of Chinese fiction by giving it a sense of form, a refinement in taste, and a richness and depth in content.

III

Further development of the Chinese novel, however, was carried on by the professional story-teller of the street and of the market-place. He had two teachers: the ancient historical romancer and the mediaeval paraphraser of Buddhistic tales.

A poet of the ninth century tells us that his children were delighted by the recitals of stories of "The Three Kingdoms." Records of the life and customs of the people in the capitals of the Northern and Southern Sung Dynasties tell us that throughout the eleventh, twelfth and thirteenth centuries there flourished several rival schools of story-tellers (*shuo-hua-jen*). One of these schools was the scriptural or religious story-tellers and another the historical romancers. But these records also tell us that these schools of story-tellers were afraid of a new and most powerful school of story-tellers, known as the School of Hsiao-Shuo, the novelists, who had their separate texts (*Hua Peng*) which include four main classes of stories:

1. The ghost stories.
2. Stories of heroic adventure.
3. Tales of "rouge and powder," that is, love stories.
4. "Public cases," that is, famous cases of crime and detection.

These cover almost the whole field of modern fiction.

The term "novel" (*hsiao-shuo*) meant "small tale" or "short narrative." It seems that this new school excelled in telling shorter stories each of which forms a completed unit in itself and could be told in a comparatively short session or sessions. In that sense the novel differed from the formless and interminable historical tales. This new form of fiction was told by men and women who were famous for their vivid descriptions and beautiful enunciation and who were called "the silver-tongued" (*yin-tzu-erh*). It was because of their more perfected artistic form that the other schools were said to be afraid of them.

These novels or novelettes have a peculiarity of their own which may be called its "double-feature" form. The story-teller begins by telling a very short story as an introduction, the moral of which is easily understood by the audience. Then he tells his audience that he is going to tell another story which either further illustrates the same moral lessons or is just the opposite of what has been told in the prologue. This "double-feature" form has been followed in a great many of the stories now preserved.

In the meantime, the historical romancers, too, were developing a form which marked the beginning of the serial novel. In telling the interminably lengthy stories of the vicissitudes of a dynasty or a historical hero, the serious problem of the story-teller is how to get the audience to come back to the next period recital. Long professional experience has taught these story-tellers that they must end the day's session at a moment of great excitement and psychological suspense. Thus when our beloved hero is being taken away by the lictors to be put to death, or a poisonous arrow is being shot at our beautiful heroine,—then the reciter suddenly beats his drum, recites a rhymed couplet and disperses his audience with this famous formula: "If you wish to know what happens to our hero (or heroine), pray hear it told in the next period."

This professional trick of the story-teller came to be accepted as the formula for chapter division in all lengthy stories. Each chapter, therefore, must not only tell its own part but must also link itself with the following chapters by this device. While this method is artificial and mechanical, it nevertheless has given the story-teller a

technique to organize a mass of incoherent incidents into a more or less continuous tale. At any rate, this device has made possible the rise of what may be called "the serial novel" in China.

IV

These professional story-tellers naturally told their tales in the living language of the people. Their texts were transmitted from teacher to pupil probably only partially in writing, giving the skeleton of the story, its main divisions, its essential details, etc. But it is highly improbable that the texts were fully written out as the stories were actually told by those "silver-tongued" masters. Much was probably left to verbal transmission and there was probably much freedom for the succeeding generations.

The greatest difficulty in writing down these popular stories lay in the fact that the living language had not yet achieved a standardized written form. Printing had been invented before 800 A.D. and the movable type came into use in the middle of the eleventh century. The greatest popularity of these stories naturally created a demand for their printed copies. The few surviving oldest texts of the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries show beyond doubt that these master tellers of stories were not capable of writing them down as they were actually heard and enjoyed by their audiences. They were very crude skeletons with very little artistic embellishment and with the dialogue mostly in a corrupt form of simple classical Chinese.

Then, some writers who had been trained in the classical tradition were sufficiently attracted by those exceedingly popular and entertaining stories of the market-place to come to their rescue. They were dissatisfied with the written texts which were so much inferior to the verbal versions which had delighted thousands of hearers. So these writers of the educated class took these tales and wrote them as exactly as they could in the living language. Most of the vocabulary was naturally taken over from the classical words. And wherever such borrowing was impossible they invented new words. In that way a number of short novels apparently of the twelfth and thirteenth centuries have come down to us in beautiful prose in the living tongue. The form was that of the professional story-teller; but the language and the style bore traces of retouching by some master hand.

The use of the living language as a means of exactly recording philosophical conversation and dialogue had long begun with the Buddhistic masters of the Ch'an or Zen school. The procedure proved to be so effective that it was followed by the neo-Confucianist philosophers of the eleventh and twelfth centuries. It was those records of philosophical discussions of both Buddhist and Confucianist schools that had familiarized the men of letters in the use of the living tongue in writing. It was this style which was adopted by those writers who wrote down or rewrote the stories or novels of the professional reciters.

As time went on the printed popular stories and other forms of popular literature in the vulgar tongue gradually standardized the written form of the living language.

More stories and even lengthy historical romances were written down for printing and sale. A number of first-class writers of the fifteenth, sixteenth and seventeenth centuries took up these tales, polished them, rewrote them, and in some cases fundamentally reconstructed them. Some of these rewritten novels, notably the *Shui Hu Chuan* (translated by Pearl Buck as *All Men Are Brothers*), the *San Kuo* (translated by C. H. Brewitt-Taylor as the *Romance of the Three Kingdoms*) have become best-sellers for many centuries. The popularity of these great novels among the people further enriched the living tongue and further standardized its written form.

Early in the seventeenth century two patrons of the short novels, Feng Meng-lung and Ling Meng-ts'u, separately published five collections of short stories, each collection containing 40 stories, making a total of 200 of the novelettes. Many of these stories were old stories some of which date back possibly to the twelfth or thirteenth centuries, but a large number of them belong to much later times including not a few written possibly by the editors themselves, who were writers of no mean standing. These 200 short novels, printed within the short space of 12 years (1620–1632), represent the greatest store-house of masterpieces of Chinese fiction. They also represent the highest development of the indigenous short story in Chinese literature.

The seventeenth century was an age in which the novel, both in its shorter and serial form, first received unreserved recognition by some of the advanced literary critics of the time. Chin Sheng-t'an who was responsible for revising and abridging the *Shui Hu Chuan* from its 100-chapter and 120-chapter editions to its present form of 71 chapters, openly declared that there was no literature in the world that surpassed the novel *Shui Hu Chuan*.

But in spite of such enthusiastic eulogy of the novel, the prejudice among the classical writers against the vulgar literature was still very strong. Most writers or rewriters of the novels were so ashamed of their artistic impulse to write in the vulgar language that they dared not sign their real names to their masterpieces. And most of the people who read them and enjoyed them often refuse to acknowledge that they had anything to do with them. Those masters of Chinese fiction, therefore, deserve all the more credit and homage because they had the courage and artistic sense to brave such deep-rooted prejudice to give the world their great novels.

V

Chinese novels, broadly speaking, can be grouped into two classes: the novels of historical evolution and those of original creation.

Many of the historical romances took centuries of popular invention, elaboration and revision by numberless, anonymous story-tellers before they were finally rewritten or reconstructed by the master writers who made them the masterpieces they are today. The *Shui Hu Chuan* had its origin in the twelfth century, was rewritten by Lo Kuan-chung of the fourteenth century and was revised by numerous hands throughout the Ming Dynasty, until it was given in its final form by Chin Sheng-t'an who

claimed that his edition was based upon an old manuscript in 71 chapters. We now know that there was never such an old manuscript and that his edition was only one of the many revisions. The present form of *The Three Kingdoms* was revised at even a later date. The *Hsi Yu Ki* which told the purely imagined travels of the great Monk Hsuan Tsang to India in search of original texts of the Buddhistic scripture, had nine centuries of free evolution until it was completely rewritten by an anonymous master whom we now identify as Wu Ch'eng-en of the sixteenth century. These and a few other historical novels of literary merit belong to the first class of novels of evolution.

These great Homeric tales always originated in the popular legends of various localities and various ages. The task of the story-teller and the literary revisionist consisted largely in organizing these unconnected and very often conflicting versions and episodes into one continuous whole. The original story of the *Shui Hu Chuan*, for example, had 36 heroes, but in some versions of the Ming Dynasty the number had increased to almost 200. In the standardized version of 71 chapters, we still have 108 heroes. The work of revision was to eliminate the uninteresting and the non-essential as well as to bring the essential characters into special eminence. In general, these historical romances have loose plots somewhat in the fashion of the Buddhistic sutras where a number of events with little inherent relationship were strung together by some artificial grandiose structure. The individual characters and separate episodes were the important things. And these historic romances were most successful in giving to the Chinese people some wonderfully entertaining stories and a number of unforgettable characters who have delighted every man, woman and child and are still being dramatized and enacted on the popular stage throughout the country. These romances have no philosophical thesis to present, no social reform to advocate. Their object was the object of the professional story-teller,—to fascinate and to delight the hearer and the reader. In so doing, they have given us some great classics which have in the last several hundred years not only standardized the living language, but also modeled the national character.

After the sixteenth century, Chinese writers began to produce original novels of their own. The popular romance had taught them the art of story-telling and the use of the living language. Many of the stories of this class were written to entertain. They usually follow the fashion of the times, glorifying the life of the flesh, eulogizing the talented beautiful women, idolizing the successful candidates in the civil services and usually ending in happy marriages of the successful literary hero with more than one beautiful and faithful wife. One of these stories, *Hao Ch'iu Chuan* (*The Story of a Perfect Couple*) has been translated into almost every European language and was still being played on the stage when I was a student in Shanghai 35 years ago. This story tells of a very clever and self-reliant girl of great beauty and virtue who successfully protected herself against the many intrigues of a powerful but unacceptable suitor. In one of the intrigues she was rescued by a young man of exalted character and great courage. This young man then became the object of attack by her enemies. The most delightful feature of this story lies in the fact that the heroine was courageous enough to defy all social convention and censure to go out of the way to rescue this young man from a perilous plot of their common

enemies, and invited him to be her house guest so that she might give him the necessary medication and nursing during his illness resulting from poisoning by the plotters.

But the few great novels of this class have been more than entertainers. They were written by men who had come to recognize the novel as the most satisfactory form of literary expression, or who had a message to communicate to the readers through what they considered as the most effective channel to reach the public. Of these, four in particular deserve special mention:

1. *A Marriage that Should Awaken the World* (*Hsing Shih Yin Yuan*) by P'u Sung-ling of the seventeenth century.
2. *An Unauthorized History of the Intellectual Class* (*Ju Lin Wai Shih*) by Wu Ching-tzu of the eighteenth century.
3. *A Dream of the Red Chamber* (*Hung Lou Meng*) by Ts'ao Hsueh-ch'in of the eighteenth century.
4. *Flowers in the Mirror* (*Ching Hua Yuan*) by Li Ju-chen of the early years of the nineteenth century.

The first of these, *The Marriage that Should Awaken the World*, is a novel on a terribly hen-pecked husband who suffers almost unbelievable cruelties at the hands of an impossible woman. The book is about one million words in length. Throughout these million words on a most unhappy marriage, no one seemed to think of resorting to divorce as a solution. And when divorce by official decree was actually proposed toward the end of the book, the idea was speedily dismissed because Chinese religion, morals and social usage, all conspired to make divorce impossible. Finally it was decided that all this cruel suffering must have been the result of a great "causal chain" going back to the previous existence of the husband and wife and that the best thing for the poor man to do was to abide by his fate and await its natural absolution.

The author, P'u Sung-ling, was a great writer of classical prose and poetry. He wrote a large collection of delightful short stories in the classical style which achieved wide circulation among the literary class and a selection of these stories was translated by Professor Herbert A. Giles under the title *Strange Stories from a Chinese Studio*. The author was apparently deeply interested in the problem of marriage and especially of unhappy marriage. One of the short stories dealt with the same theme as his great novel, but this first version in the classical language contains only 2,900 words. He was not satisfied, so he used the same theme and rewrote it in the form of a poetic drama, or, more exactly, a popular dramatic recital with singing parts written to the popular melodies of the age. This dramatic version consists of 33 scenes, containing about 70,000 words. Again he was not satisfied, so in his old age he wrote this great novel on the same theme in one million words. This experimentation by one author in three different literary media is most interesting to the historian of Chinese literature as the best evidence of the preeminence of the novel in the living tongue as the most effective medium of literature.

The second great novel, *An Unauthorized History of the Intellectual Class*, is to my mind the greatest of all Chinese novels. It is a satire of the intelligentsia. The author, according to my researches, was a follower of a school of philosophy known

as "The Yen School," which was a philosophical revolt against the prevailing systems of orthodox Confucianism. In this novel, the author, with delightful humor, portrayed the men of letters, the candidates for civil service examinations, the pedantic scholars and the officials who were the products of the classical education and the literary examination system. He tells of their eccentricities, their ridiculous ignorance of actual affairs, their pettiness, their miserliness, their inhumanity and their corruption and incompetence in official life. In the midst of these characters our author also gave us some delightful and lovable characters, some of whom he found in the educated class but others he found in the lowly and unlettered folks. It was a severe criticism of a social and educational system as well as a delightful satire.

A Dream of the Red Chamber has often been rated as the best Chinese novel. We now know that the author of this novel, Ts'ao Hsueh-ch'in, died young and left it unfinished. The current edition has 120 chapters, of which the last 40 were written by another man many years after the author's death and without knowledge of the author's original plan. At the beginning of the book, the author announces that he is going to tell a real story with fictitious names and events, and that he wants, in particular, to preserve in writing the memory of several women whom he had known and regarded as superior to men in intellect, charm, and ability. The book describes a great family gradually going to ruins by extravagance, debt, mismanagement and internal intrigue. "The big trees are fallen, and the monkeys are scattered." Even in its unfinished form, the author has shown most remarkable power of observation and characterization, and some of his feminine characters have stood out as highest attainments in realistic portrayal.

The last named of these novels, *Flowers in the Mirror*, was completed in the first decade of the nineteenth century and was published in 1828, 9 years before Queen Victoria came to the throne. The author, Li Ju-chen, was a native of Peking and spent the major portion of his life in Haichow on the northern coast of Kiangsu. This novel was written essentially as a declaration of the rights of women. The author was dissatisfied with many a social custom and institution of his time, which he freely criticized in his novel. But he seemed to be chiefly interested in the problem of the inequality of the sexes and the injustice to women. He attacked the "double standard" of sex morality which justifies polygamy but condemns the re-marrying of young widows. He purposely laid the story under the reign of Empress Wu of the T'ang Dynasty, who was the only Chinese woman who proclaimed herself not as an empress nor as a dowager regent, but as an emperor by her own right and ruled China as such for 15 years (A.D. 690–705). Our novelist made this great woman-emperor proclaim complete equality of the sexes in education and in civil service examination. Throughout the book, he frequently advocates the higher education for women and the active participation of the fair sex in the affairs of government.

Part of the book was in the form of travels by three Chinese gentlemen to many strange lands. One of the countries visited by them was the "Kingdom of Women" in which the men are dressed in petticoats and have their feet bound as the ladies of the Celestial Empire, while the women, decked in tall hats and high boots, carry on the business and run the government. On the first day of their arrival, one of the Chinese gentlemen, Lin Chih-yang, goes to the royal palace on business and meets

the "king" who is a woman of exceptional beauty and not without the frailties of the sex. She falls in love with Lin and causes him to be detained in the palace and a decree is issued to make him "queen" in the "Kingdom of Women."

Thus begins a long and laborious process of the womanization of a man. Lin is now dressed in skirts and petticoats; his hair is perfumed and re-done in feminine fashion; jewels are given to decorate his royal person. Four "ladies" come up and hold him fast. An old "lady" with white beard advances and measures his ear-lobe which is then immediately pierced in the same way in spite of the loud cries of the "queen-elect."

The most difficult work is the binding of the feet which ordinarily takes years but which is now telescoped into a few weeks. No reader can forget the description of Lin Chih-yang's terrible suffering in this accelerated process of foot-binding, his many rebellions against the tyranny of the women, and the many punishments for his rebellion, and his final submission after severe penalties. On the morning of the royal wedding, he, or now more correctly "she," is powdered and rouged and dressed in all richness proper to the first lady in the "Kingdom of Women." "Her" feet are not very small indeed, but with the aid of high wooden soles, they appear to be of a respectable size. "She" is now carried to the wedding hall, where, amidst the glorious wedding candlelights and wedding music, the new "queen" is even capable of holding her flowing sleeves, bowing very low and kneeling down properly as only highly refined women know how to do. Glory to the wonderful process of womanizing the man which is now completed!

This is the story of the evolution of the Chinese novel. It came from the people and was developed by the people but despised by the conservative men of letters. But when it had achieved sufficient popularity and intrinsic beauty, it forced itself upon the attention of some of the great minds of the educated class, who then took up these great Homeric tales of the unlettered people, polished them, retouched them, in some cases reconstructed them, and made them the great classics of Chinese fiction. These retouched masterpieces of popular origin in turn became the teachers of a new art, a new language and a new literature. Under their tutorship, first-class Chinese minds have learned to produce their original novels, not merely as literary entertainment, but also as a social satire, as an instrumentality of social criticism and reform.

Part II
Society

Chapter 9
Marriage Customs in China

Dr. Hamilton W. Mabie, lately the exchange lecturer to Japan, once said that there is one maxim which a person who attempts to interpret the mind of a foreign people or to report the conditions in a foreign country, should carefully observe. That maxim is: "Neither to laugh, nor to cry, but to understand." He who does not understand a foreign custom is not qualified even to praise it, and much less to laugh or sneer at it. With this maxim in mind I purpose to discuss the marriage custom in China. My desire is to point out the rationality of the system, not to defend or vindicate it, but to give the reader a better understanding of it.

When the Chinese girl is about 13 or 15 years old, her parents and their friends inquire around for a possible son-in-law. After all proper inquiries have been made, engagement takes place through the medium of the introducer, generally the mutual friend of the engaging parties. The betrothal is usually arranged by the parents. The boy and girl may or may not be consulted, and even when consulted usually give their blushing consent.

Many questions naturally arise. Why engage so early? Why let the parents make the choice? Is true love possible in such a marriage?

Early engagement has two great advantages. It assures the young man and young woman of their life companions. Hence they need not worry about the all-important task of seeking a helpmate, which constantly confronts the young people of the western world. Moreover, it imposes upon the young people a duty to be constant, faithful and pure.

Now let me next point out the rationality of parental choice in marriage. First, as the couple are engaged while very young, it would be a great disaster to trust to the free choice of a girl of 13 or to a boy of 15. We believe that the parents have had more experience in the school of life and are, therefore, better qualified to make the choice. Furthermore, we believe that as all parents love their children and wish them

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Chapter Note: The Cornell Era. June, 1914. pp. 610–611. Cornell Papers.

C.-P. Chou (ed.) and S. Hu, *English Writings of Hu Shih: Literature and Society (Volume 1)*, China Academic Library, DOI 10.1007/978-3-642-31184-0_9,

well. They will surely exercise their best judgment in a matter so essential to the welfare of their children.

Secondly, this system also relieves the young people from the terrible ordeal of proposing for marriage, which, I imagine, must be awfully embarrassing.

Thirdly, the parental arrangement preserves the dignity, the chastity, and the modesty of womanhood. The young woman is not exposed to the marriage market. She is protected from the mercilessness of the men with whom her occidental sister may be thrown into contact, and out of whom she is to choose her future husband. She does not have to please, flirt, or to hunt for a husband.

Fourthly, there is the most important fact that in China the married couple do not start a new family. The son brings his wife to live under the parental roof. The wife is not alone the life companion of her husband, but is also the helper and comforter of her parents-in-law. Therefore, it is to the interest of the family that the daughter-in-law should be not only the person whom her husband loves, but also one with whom his parents can live peacefully. Today the western world is beginning to recognize the fact that marriage is no longer an individual affair, but has a social import, and accordingly there has arisen the great movement of eugenics, advocating state interference in marriage and legislation requiring certificates of health and family records from the contracting parties. This is far more tyrannical than parental interference and is justified only on the ground of social utility. Just as your eugenic laws are justified by the fact that marriage is a matter of social significance, so the rationality of the Chinese marriage system is to be found in the fact that marriage concerns not only the young couple but the whole family as well.

Now let me answer the question. "Is true love possible in such a marriage?" We answer, "Most certainly, yes." I have seen many a married couple so devoted to each other that I always decry the idea that love can only be made in a romantic way. I have come to the conclusion that the love in the western marriage is self-made, but the love in our system is duty-made. Let me illustrate: Writing in the Independent of February 16th, 1914, Cora Harris says, "Marriage is a miracle, one of those sublime manifestations of love in nature which makes one flesh of one man and one woman. It is the one relation in life which must be made through divine faith, one into the other. It is an inner sanctuary of a man's and a woman's life which must not be touched by the world." This perhaps represents the poetic view of what I call the self-made love. But it seems to me there is another type of love—the duty-made love.

When the Chinese girl is betrothed to a man, she knows he is to be her future husband, and, as husband and wife are in duty bound to love each other, she naturally entertains a tender feeling for him. This tender feeling, imaginary at first, gradually grows into a real sympathy and love.

Actual love-making, however, begins with marriage. The man and the woman realize that they are now husband and wife, and, as such, it is their duty as well as their own interest to love each other. They may differ in temperament, in taste, or

their philosophy of life but they realize that they cannot get along together without rubbing off their sharp edges. They have to compromise. To use the language of a Chinese lady educated in this country, “Each is willing to go half-way to meet the wishes of the other.” In this way a true love, which is in no way unhealthy, gradually grows.

Chapter 10
Introduction to *The Story of the Chinese Eastern Railway*

Mr. George E. Sokolsky has done a great service to the reading public, Chinese as well as foreign, by giving us the first connected story of the Chinese Eastern Railway. There is, as far as I am aware, no book in any language which tells this story from an impartial and unbiased standpoint.

The best authority on the earlier history of the C. E. R. is Dr. Philip Joseph's *Foreign Diplomacy in China, 1894–1900*. But his book only brings the story down as far as the year of the Boxer uprising. The Chinese writers on the history of Chinese diplomacy merely made use of second-hand materials, and very few of them have been able to avail themselves of the rich material furnished by the recent publication in the European countries of secret governmental documents and of private memoirs of statesmen and diplomats.

It is only a few months ago that Mr. Wang Kuang-chi, a student in Germany, published two booklets on the diplomatic history of Manchuria which indicate a new tendency among Chinese historical writers to resort to original materials. One of these books is entitled "The Secret Story of Dreibund's Intervention for the Restoration of Liaotung to China," which is a translation of chapters V, VI and VII of Otto Franke's *Die Gross Mächte in Ostasien von 1894 bis 1914*. The other is on "The U.S.A. and the Manchurian Problem," which is a collection of secret documents translated from the 32nd volume of *Diplomatischen Akten des Ansuartigen Amtes 1871–1914*, published in 1926, together with numerous marginal notes in red ink made by Kaiser Wilhelm when perusing the original dispatches. Both of Mr. Wang's translations are valuable in that they furnish us with a wealth of material illustrative of the part played by Germany on two important occasions in the Manchurian situation. His translation of the private notes made by the Kaiser is particularly interesting because these short, outspoken and often cynical remarks clearly reveal what he thought of the Far Eastern diplomatic situation in 1910.

Chapter Note: George E. Sokolsky, The Story of the Chinese Eastern Railway. Shanghai: North China Daily News and Herald Ltd., 1929. pp. 5–9.

C.-P. Chou (ed.) and S. Hu, *English Writings of Hu Shih: Literature and Society (Volume 1)*, China Academic Library, DOI 10.1007/978-3-642-31184-0_10,

The historical materials have been forthcoming, but no attempt has been made to sift these documents and reconstruct a connected story of a situation which, in a brief period of 35 years, has been more than once on the verge of bringing the whole world into armed conflict. Mr. Sokolsky's present work is an attempt to supply this long-felt need and will be welcomed and judged as such.

These articles divide themselves into two parts. The first five, as the author himself has pointed out, "deal with indisputable historical facts for which reference could be made to State documents." In these articles Mr. Sokolsky has succeeded in giving us a panoramic summary of the events and forces which made the Manchurian situation what it was after the Treaties of Portsmouth and Peking (1905).

Part Second of this series tells how Russia lost her hold on the C. E. R. and how she has tried since the Great War to regain this lost control and to retain it. It also tells how China gradually asserts herself since December, 1917, to play a part in the struggle for the control of the Railway. The author wisely cautions his readers that in these later articles "the facts are not so clearly ascertainable and documentation not so indisputable." Indeed, the task is so difficult that the author has to terminate this story by quoting in juxtaposition two official views of China and Soviet Russia.

With all due respect to our author's cautious suspension of judgment, readers of these articles cannot help forming certain conclusions of their own after studying these lucid, and in most cases, fair statements. I, for one, cannot refrain from forming the conclusion that what China lost in Manchuria was lost through our own ignorance and incompetency, and that what she has gradually gained back in that region as well as elsewhere has been gained back through the gradual but marked change and improvement in the newer international relations throughout the whole world.

The first part of my proposition needs no amplification. Let any one who doubts it read the memoirs of Witte, Gerard, Franke and Hayashi, and be satisfied.

The twentieth century opened with bloodshed in China, and more particularly with wholesale massacres in Northern Manchuria, conducted by the Russian Cossacks. Russia was determined to occupy Manchuria against all protests from China and from the other Powers. It was the Anglo-Japanese Alliance which made possible the Russian evacuation of Northern Manchuria.…

In 1909 and 1910 Mr. Knox and President Taft attempted to solve the Manchurian situation by proposing to neutralize the railways in the whole of Manchuria. This proposal failed completely, and only brought Japan and Russia more closely together in their common interest in maintaining the status quo in Manchuria. Mr. Sokolsky's omission of this episode in his sixth article seems a little regrettable, because it was the fear of possible intervention by a third Power that led to the long series of secret agreements between Russia and Japan of 1910, 1912, and even as late as 1916.

The secret agreement of 1916, which Mr. Sokolsky quoted in full, reveals in most unmistakable terms the imperialistic designs of these two Powers on China. This document becomes more significant when it is read together with the Twenty-one Demands which Japan had made to China in the previous year (1915), and with all the apologetic explanations which had been made thereof.

But this agreement was not to be operative for any length of time. The War ended in 1918, and, although the Peace of Versailles was most unsatisfactory to China, the international situation has since undergone a perceptible change for the better. Wilsonian idealism has not come true, but the ideal of self-determination has inspired a great many peoples. It became the war cry of Soviet Russia in her defiance of the imperialistic Powers of the world. Just as the same terrible Tsarist Russia which had planned the Dreibund and had seized Port Arthur and Dalny was responsible for the call of the Hague Conference in 1898, so the same "bloody Russia" of a new order was fast becoming a new centre of international idealism and professing to play the role of the liberator of oppressed peoples.

It was this new idealism, professed or otherwise, which forced Russia to make the famous declarations of 1919 and 1920 with regard to China. It has been often said that those declarations were gratuitous and empty because Russia had already lost what she was professing to give back to China. This is not true. Apart from the moral effects, which were inestimably great, these declarations made possible certain material advances which neither the Inter-Allied Board of Control of the C. E. R. or the Washington Conference was able to make in the solution of the railway problem.

For the report of the sub-committee of the Washington Conference clearly recognized the 1896 Agreement and the supplementary Agreements thereto as the basis for the status of the C. E. R., which, says the report, "is in effect the property of the Russian Government." China, according to this committee, only "has certain reversionary rights which are provided for in the original contract of 1898."

It is true that the Russian declaration of 1920 has retracted much from the beau geste of 1919, and that the Agreements of 1924 fall still farther below the idealistic offers of the two previous declarations. But the 1924 Agreements, it must be said in all fairness, are a very great step in advance of the 1898 Agreement which the Washington Conference held to be inviolable. All that China has regained in the Railway region and in the Railway itself has its legal basis in this Agreement.

The Sino-Soviet Agreements of 1924, when studied in the light of the 1896 Agreements, mark the slow progress made in international relations during these last 30 years. A new outlook has gradually prevailed in the international relations throughout the world, and China has been the gainer because of it. We have regained all the former German possessions in Shantung without a fight. And we have gained an equal share of control with Russia in the C. E. R. without a fight. And if we have not been able to make the fullest use of the idealistic declarations of Soviet Russia made at the height of her idealistic outburst, are we not ourselves to be blamed? We were ourselves too busily engaged in our own petty warfares and intrigues, and were not prepared to grasp the opportunity which a sudden outburst of international conscience was furnishing us. And if we have again failed to exercise the full rights of equal authority and equal responsibility in the management of the C. E. R., as provided for in the 1924 Agreements, we have again ourselves to blame? We have been ill-prepared for effective technical participation and have placed old militarists and mandarins in positions where there should have been highly-trained technical experts.

It is sheer stupidity to question the sincerity and genuineness of any manifestation of idealism in international relations. All international dealings must be guided by some sense of self-interest, and in all probability it is this very self-interest which constitutes the genuineness of such occasional manifestations of idealism and goodwill. But such questioning is: irrelevant. The really vital question is: are we prepared to avail ourselves of the opportunities which the new international relations of a slowly improving world may from time to time offer to us?

No matter what the outcome of the present Sino-Russian conflict may be, one thing is certain, namely, that there will be a Sino-Russian conference on the question of the C. E. R., a conference which has been delayed for 5 years. China's task is to prepare for that conference, not with posters and slogans and the pursuit of abstract theories, but by organizing a group of experts and technicians who will safeguard China's interests at such a conference and who will be fitted by training and experience to assume the management of the line.

Chapter 11
Which Road Are We Going?

This article, which first appeared in the Chinese journal, the Crescent Moon, Shanghai, Vol. II, No. 10, has been translated specially for Pacific Affairs. It is published here in accordance with this journal's policy of discovering what is being thought and expressed in the various countries of the Pacific concerning the problems agitating this area. It does not in any way reflect the editorial attitude of Pacific Affairs.

A group of us who are friends have been meeting constantly during the last year or two and talking over the problems of China, each man choosing a special subject for study and for a paper which he presented to the group for discussion. Last year we discussed the general topic "The Present Condition of China," and the papers were published in the *Crescent Moon* magazine, e.g., Mr. Quentin Pan's "The Two Movements, Money and Men," and Mr. Lo Lung-chi's "Human Rights," both of which papers were revised after discussion.

This year our general topic has been how we can solve the problems of China, and each of us has been responsible for one of the headings, Politics, Economics, Education, etc. But when the division was made, someone proposed that before we discussed these matters we should consider whether we had any basic attitude which applied to all these subjects—what after all is the way in which we regard the problem of China? Several members approved of having this comprehensive introduction, and also pressed me to produce it.

The following paper is the one discussed on the evening of April 12th. The interest it aroused stirs me to publish it, so that my fellow-countrymen may discuss and criticize it. Later, other friends will deal with Politics, Economics, etc., but today before we consider how to solve these numerous problems we cannot but first enquire into the basic attitude we maintain towards them. Once we have a decision on

Chapter Note: Pacific Affairs. Oct., 1930. Vol. 3. No. 10. pp. 933–946.

C.-P. Chou (ed.) and S. Hu, *English Writings of Hu Shih: Literature and Society (Volume 1)*, China Academic Library, DOI 10.1007/978-3-642-31184-0_11,

that the direction of the road we are to travel is fixed. An ancient writer, Huai Nan, has well said: "When a blind man walks along the road, if anyone directs him to go left, he goes left; if right, right. If he meets a high-minded man, he walks on the straightforward highway; if he meets a mad-minded man, he tramps in the ditches."

This exactly applies to the present situation in China. Ordinarily we are unwilling to think deeply either as to what, after all, is the kind of society and state we wish to have, or as to what is the road we must travel if we are to reach our objective. When the time comes for action, someone—anyone—bids us go left, and we then raise our flag and call "left turn"; and the same, if anyone bids us to go right. If our leaders were men who had viewed the world with wide-open eyes, if they really were leading us with their eyes thus open, then we might perhaps follow their lead along the highway. But if by any chance our leaders are blind, and are themselves being led by the nose, then it is a case of a "blind man riding a blind horse on a dark night and both falling into a deep pond." That is, indeed, our danger.

We are not willing to be led by the nose by a set of blind leaders. At this time we must open our eyes and look ahead to the different roads which branch before us, and see which road takes us to which place, see for ourselves which road we may, indeed must, travel. Of course we cannot guarantee that our observation and judgment will be free of error, but we have a deep belief that a conscious search for the road is far better than allowing ourselves to be led blindly. We also hope that by public discussion the search will result in enabling us to find a truer and rounder route.

Before trying to find that route we must first decide on what our destination is. For how can we find the road if we have not thought of where we want to go? At the present there are three theories as to the destination.

1. Dr. Sun, the leader of the Nationalist Party, stated that the aim of the Revolution was liberty and equality for China.
2. The Youth Party says that the aim of its chauvinistic agitation is to make the state able to be independent, its people able to be free and to hold up their heads among the other nations.
3. Since the split in the Chinese Communist Party, there has been a diversity of opinion; but we may leave on one side their internal differences—the quarrel between Stalin and Trotsky—and say they still have a common aim which is to build up the sovereignty of the Soviet proletariat and support the same class in its revolution in China.

It is not our business now to discuss these three objectives, for that kind of discussion serves no good purpose. It only excites bad feelings, besides being a pen-and-ink fight to which there can be no conclusive end. Our business is merely to use our best intelligence in making an objective study of the real needs of China today, and so be able to make up our minds as to our objective. The first thing to be asked is what it is we wish to abolish—a negative objective. And the second is what it is we wish to establish—a positive objective.

Our reply to the first question is—Five Great Enemies, namely: Poverty, Disease, Ignorance, Corruption, Disorder. In these five Capitalism is not included, because we are not qualified to speak on Capitalism. The capitalist class is not included, since at most we have only a few moderately rich men. Where then is there a capitalist class?

Feudal prestige also is not included, since feudalism as an institution crashed down 2,000 years ago. Neither is imperialism included, since it is unable to injure the country into which the above five devils do not enter. Why does not imperialism injure America and Japan? Why has it such a partiality for our country? Is it not because we have suffered the degradation of these five evil spirits, and so have no strength of resistance? If we are to resist imperialism, we must first abolish these five enemies.

There is no need for us to give a detailed proof of their existence. Mr. Yu Tien-hsiu said on one occasion that 95% of the population of China was below the poverty line. Mr. Chang Chen-chih has stated that the number of poverty-stricken people in the country runs to over a third of the population. Mr. Chang quotes from Mr. Li Ching-mu of Szechuan; according to investigations made in Kang-pu-erh, Ti-mai-erh, together with the village of Cheng-fu near Peking and the village of Hu-pien in Anhui Province, the total of poverty-stricken people in China comes to one-half of the population. Mr. Li assumes that the lowest cost of living for one family in a year is 130–160, and that every family whose income is less than that is poverty-stricken. Recently the results of social investigations, such as Mr. Li Ching-han's report of Peking village families, all go to prove that Mr. Li Ching-han's estimate is roughly correct. There are places where the total is over 73%, or as much as 82% (said the investigations of the International Famine Relief Committee in 1920). This is not very different from Mr. Yu's estimate. This then is our first great enemy.

Disease is a great source of weakness. The slaughter from plague, phthisis, and syphilis is visible to all of us. There are, however, other diseases which do not so plainly kill men, but whose strength is enough to wipe out whole villages and weaken a whole race, e.g., that dangerous and world-wide disease, ague. Recently scientists have stated that the decline of Greece and Rome was due to ague. We do not necessarily believe this, but with our own eyes we have seen one village in the interior of China slowly becoming a waste place through this disease; after one or two generations the families which suffer in this way are extinguished. We have seen places where it is regarded as an unavoidable concomitant of living, e.g., the people in Hui-chow (Anhui) speak of it as "womb fever," something which everybody must suffer once! There can be no doubt it is more to be feared than phthisis or syphilis or opium-smoking. In other countries it can be fatal, so everyone knows it is to be feared; but in China we have suffered so long from its ravages that we have developed a certain power of resistance, enough to keep us alive, so that we are not conscious of its gravity. The truth is that since it kills without a display of blood, and thus insidiously destroys a race, it is all the more to be feared. We have no census, but world experts in recent years have stated that the Chinese race is decreasing, not increasing. And we to a certain extent have examined into the way in which the population in the interior is decreasing, and we have to confess that the statement is true. Mr. Chang in his "Diseases in Society" quotes some of the most recent totals: there is no place where the total of deaths does not outnumber that of births. In Canton City from August to November in 1926 the average excess of deaths over births in a week was 67. In Nanking from January to November the average excess for a month was 271, for each week 62. Not only in the big cities but also in the country, the rate of decrease is alarmingly quick. I have myself in 30 years seen many families in my home village go right out of existence. Sickness and plague

are spreading wildly, whilst no great attention is paid to remedial medicine or public health. No wonder that the deaths exceed the births! This then is our second great enemy.

The existence of ignorance requires even less proof. We claim to have 5,000 years of civilization behind us, and yet we have not a single university which is more than 30 years old. Last year Peking University completed its 31st year whilst St. John's completed its fiftieth, but this includes the preparatory years. Where in the world is there a country which without a university can take part in the struggle for existence? As for a country which daily spends a million dollars on armies and has no money for universal education, that country is simply committing suicide. Because of our ignorance our productive power is at the lowest point, our power to govern feeble, our intelligence insufficient to save us from poverty, famine, disease. We have a lack of specialists, and up to the present the Central Government has been without intelligent educated soldiers and statesmen. This is our third enemy.

Corruption is the chief characteristic of our nation. Not only is there open and organized sale of offices in the state, not only has there been for 25 years no system of examination for government posts, with a corresponding increase in corruption, but this evil has indeed given birth to a universal habit in every branch of society. It is exactly what Prof. Huntington (of Yale) says: "In Chinese life there is one particularly hateful thing, and that is the practice of bribery," what in polite language is called "dipping one's finger," in the common tongue "rubbing oil." Military officials take a percentage of their soldiers' rations; local officials scrape the skin off their community; whilst in business generally compradors and the like add on their percentage. Right down the social scale to the old woman at service in a family with her squeeze, there is no distinction to be made. This then is our fourth great enemy.

Disorder also is a great enemy. The Taiping Rebellion ruined some of the finest localities in the South, so that 60–70 years later they had not completely recovered. During the last 20 years incessant civil war has very nearly brought the whole of the Northwest to ruin, whilst the provinces in the Southeast and Southwest are only a little better off; it is a world of brigandage. The American biologist, David Starr Jordan, has said, "The way in which Japan has been able to make radical changes and grow powerful is due entirely to the unbroken peace she enjoyed for two hundred and fifty years before the changes were made: the nation's vital energy had been stored up before it could burst out into action." Our 20 years of civil war have produced entirely visible consequences, viz., a large increase in poverty, disease, and death. Education too is bankrupt; with no end to the refugees from soldiers and bandits and famine and death, how can education be carried on? There are provinces where the taxes have been paid up to the extent of over 80 years in advance. Corruption too has become more and more barefaced. The semi-official weekly, *China Critic*, in its leader of January 30th, this year, stated that since the establishment of the Republic corruption in official circles was much worse than before. In addition to this there are any number of people who are doing their level best day by day to manufacture disorder. This then is our fifth great enemy.

Here we have the five outstanding enemies, who confessedly must be struck down. Wipe these five devils out of existence, and then at the same time solidly found the new state. What then is it that we want to found?

We want to found an *orderly, widely flourishing, civilized* state, one *unified by modern methods*.

"Orderly" covers government by good laws, continuous peace, the minimum of health administration. "Widely flourishing" covers settled living conditions, the development of industry and commerce, cheap comfortable means of communication, a fair economic system, and a public charity service. "Civilized" covers universal, free education, liberal secondary education, university education of a high standard, together with every form of cultural uplift on a wide scale. "Modern" covers the fulfilment of every need in our modern environment in the way of a political system, a system of justice, economics, education, public health administration, learning, cultural equipment and the like.

This is our objective. It is our firm belief that there is no country in which these four features exist that cannot enjoy a position of independence, freedom, and equality. Can we not see Germany, broken up and disarmed after the Great War, yet 8 years later being respectfully welcomed by all the nations into the League, and what is more, having the honor of appointing a permanent official?

With our objective fixed we are in a position to ask what method we must employ, by which road to travel in order that we may reach our goal.

We must at the outset decide on one of two alternatives. Is our road the revolutionary or evolutionary one? Is there a third road in addition? This is the problem of our basic attitude and method.

Revolution and evolution are at bottom complementary, relative, not mutually exclusive. In accordance with the process of natural change, e.g., the stem coming away of itself when the melon is ripe, or the birth of a child after so many months of gestation, this is evolution. At any one stage in evolution, if you add skilled assistance you can speed up the transformation. Since the transformation comes so quickly, it may appear as if the gradualness of history had been cut short; and so we have the term revolution. As a matter of fact all revolutions have a background of historical evolution, all have their roots in the past. Take for instance the reformation in Europe. There had actually been any number of movements heralding the approach of radical religious changes. There was the intellectual movement to be seen in Nominalism, from the thirteenth century on, the cultural revival of the Renaissance, the peaceful but radical nature of the Franciscan movement, the more impetuous radicalism of Wycliffe and Huss and their like, the extension of the sovereign's power in the various states—all these forming the historical background of the reformation in the sixteenth century. The gunpowder had been buried, Luther and his companions touched off the trail, and there was the explosion. Their accomplishment may be described as a revolution, but also as one stage in a historical evolution.

The Industrial Revolution yet more clearly reveals traces of history's gradual evolution, and not the suddenness of revolution. The basic principles of machinery were gradually discovered in the sixteenth century. That century saw the issue of books devoted entirely to this subject, whilst the next century was the age of the great development in physical science. Thus the birth of machinery in the second half of the eighteenth century was the fruit of several hundred years' slow accumulation of knowledge and experience. None the less, after the appearance of Watt's steam engine the machines used different sort of power, and to all appearances changes took place

with such rapidity that the period is known as the Age of the Industrial Revolution. Really the way in which this radical change was produced can be regarded from one angle as going back to the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries, from another angle as an uninterrupted evolution which even to this day is still in process.

What is called revolution in politics is always the fruit of uninterrupted historical evolution. The independence of the United States, the great revolution in France, the two revolutions in Russia during 1917, all have a very far-reaching historical background. In the Revolutionary Museum at Moscow the history of the revolution is traced back to the peasant riots of 300–400 years ago—this showing the principle at work. The same applies to China and the recent revolution. At the least one has to go back to the end of the Ming dynasty (the beginning of the seventeenth century).

The distinction therefore between revolution and evolution is only a quantitative one, and the two things are not absolutely different. Where a change takes place rapidly, we call it a revolution; where it takes place slowly and there is the imperceptible progression of history, then we call it an evolution. On the other hand, regarded as a method, revolution constantly involves an element of conscious exertion, whilst historical evolution for the most part is natural, change taking place without our being aware of it. For in addition to their difference in method, there are also two differences in result. The first is that unintentional natural evolution is exceedingly slow and uneconomical, whilst the conscious application of a helping hand generally cuts short the revolutionary period. The second is that natural evolution generally results in the retention of a number of old institutions and forces in society which have long lost their function, whilst conscious revolution is generally able to destroy anything that has decayed. From these two points of view conscious revolution is preferable to unconscious evolution.

Further, as to the question of method, since revolution is fundamentally the use of man's work to help on a change, we get the distinction between peaceful and violent. Propaganda work and the stirring up of interest, organization and agitation through which the purpose of the few gradually becomes the purpose of the many, by the struggle at the polls and by legislation so that the new will takes the place of the old institution,—all this represents the peaceful kind of work. But in a country not yet out of its political backwater, in which the old forces recklessly oppress and destroy the new, and an opposition has no protection from the law, then a liberal movement is generally unable to use the peaceful method and conduct a public agitation. It has for the most part no option but to reach such a conclusion by violence, and once the spirit of violent contest has been aroused, the power of the whole nation is insufficient to control the resulting disorder. Confusion breeds confusion, it can start but cannot stop, it can destroy but not build up, it can make anarchy but not peace, as in Mexico and in China today, both countries being striking examples of this fact.

Violence is only one method of revolution, but in our strife-ridden China it has become the sole method. Thus for you to fight me is called revolution; for me to fight you is also called revolution. The defeated party only plots violent measures with which to raise another revolution. The victors can only keep on taking violent measures to block the others. This side has no sooner finished the fighting than it enlists soldiers, manufactures munitions, accumulates money in preparation for that

side's coming back to fight. This is the way they maintain their position. Being most afraid of the creation of new revolution, they call themselves revolutionaries and their opponents anti-revolutionaries. But if we are to follow Confucius' method of using correct terms, we cannot, in the last resort, bid men not to make revolution. To be all the time relying on violence to check revolution cannot in the end abolish revolution. That involves everyone retaining his revolutionary mind, and revolution to the end of time fails to achieve success; whilst every reform, both of a positive and negative kind, is laid aside and cannot be put into effect. In this way "revolution" entirely loses its original meaning of using man's work to help on radical changes.

We avow that what is called "revolution" today is just what is referred to in those words, "How many crimes are committed in thy name!" To place violence in the place of violence, to beat one army with another, to replace one kind of bloodshed with another, this cannot be regarded as a true revolution, and at any rate has very little value. Its outcome is merely soldiers changing into brigands, brigands changing into soldiers, creating a world of soldier-brigands. What is the advantage of that to the state and the nation?

Then as to those who are styled devoted revolutionaries, they are merely judging according to a few abstract terms and making much noise one way or another. There is one set of them which tells us day by day that the opposite of China's revolution is feudal power. I am afraid we are very stupid fellows living out of touch with the world, for I simply do not know what feudal classes and powers there are in China today. We study the books and speeches of these "down-with-feudalism" gentlemen and can get no light on their meaning. In the February 22nd issue of the *Educational Review* last year we find the following written by an advocate of revolution in education:

> Before the time of Chin (240 B.C.) was a period of complete feudal age. From Huang Ti on through Yao, Shun, Yu, Tang down to Wu Wang of the Chow Dynasty was the period in which feudalism came to completion. From the time Ping Wang (Chow) moved his capital eastward, on through the "Spring and Autumn" and the Age of the Civil Wars down to Chin-Shih-Huang, was the period in which feudalism broke down. Centralized China had a complete new birth arising out of the decay of the feudal system. (Note: The outward form of feudalism was destroyed long ago, but its feudal prestige continues to exist to this day.)

Two months later, however, this same educationalist has entirely forgotten his own words and in the April 20th issue of the same periodical he says the following:

> Before the time of Chin was the immature period of a centralized monarchy, a feudal state with one overlord. … In Chin-Shih-Huang's time… this form of government was first firmly established. (Note: At this time great changes inevitably took place in the system of feudal lords and their fiefs, though the state can just the same be described as feudal, since the word "feudal" not only denotes the system of fiefs and their holders.) A country may be divided by the central government into a number of areas, in which areas several kinds of systems may work with the appointment of local officials. These officials from one point of view assume responsibility for order in the place, from another they absorb a part of the wealth produced there in order to keep the central government going. That was the condition of the common people—there is nothing more to be said. All this kind of management represents one part of the spirit of feudalism.

Two months before, the feudal system broke down in Chin-Shih-Huang's time, 2 months later it was also firmly established in his time! But the editor of the *Educational Review* and the readers see not the least inconsistency in this. The same applies to the writer. He calls the system of centralized authority a feudal state, and neither the editor nor the readers are conscious of there being anything extraordinary or misleading. How is this? Because these terms have become nothing but toys in people's mouths. If you want to play in this way, they mean this; if you want it that way, they mean that; there is no need whatever to fix a true meaning. So out comes a rush of irresponsible words from the author, and the reader of course passes them on.

What then? This opposite to revolution—feudal prestige—what after all is it? Last year in the *Ta Kung Pao* a speech by a Nationalist Party official at Tientsin was reported. He stated that feudalism consisted of the generals, the government officials, the returned students. Again last year, a certain provincial Nationalist Party proposed a plan for abolishing feudalism, and the feudalism they had in mind covered everything in the nature of illicit control and monopoly, even usurpation of authority, so that the ancestral temples, the provincial guilds, the alumni associations were all of them feudalism. The political party, however, which most of all controls and monopolizes and usurps, this was not included. So to this day we have no notion what feudalism is. A few days ago we saw a proclamation by 81 members of the China Communist Party, Mr. Wang A-sung, Mr. Chen Tu-hsiu and their comrades, the people who are dubbed "anti-revolutionaries." The title is "Our Political View," and in it we get the following:

> As we regard it, China is still a feudalistic society and government, and by this term we denote reactionary capitalism and every form of reactionary activity. This statement is not merely a wild attack on capitalism; frankly it is acting as a council for the defence on behalf of capitalism! As a matter of fact the break-up of the system of feudalism, the handing over of the land to free landowners and free farmers, and of political authority to the state, all took place much earlier in China than in any country in Europe. … It was a very long time back when the land became private property and not a fief in tenure, and now, the landowner having changed into the capitalist, in town and country the fedualistic oppression which continues is capitalism borrowing the old oppressive methods. So all the backward features in town and country, such as the retarding of production and the excess of farming population, are features common to all capitalistic backward countries and not the product of feudalism. (pp. 16ff.)

If Mr. Feudalism had consciousness he ought to bow down in gratitude to Mr. Chen and his 81 friends, who have now issued their periodical verdict. But these people with one hand clear Mr. Feudalism of all guilt, and with the other hand push forward a poor devil, Mr. Capitalist Class, to be executed in his place, and lay it down that he is the opposite of revolution. At the same time they also inform us about the retarding of production—"features common to backward capitalist countries"—when all the time the money in the banks amounts to but little more than 150 million dollars. In a country with a population of 400 millions there is only 150 millions of capital in the banks! It needs a microscope to find this capitalist class, so much so, that might one not have pity on the unhappy condition of this opposite of revolution, give him a verdict of not guilty and let him go?

The above is merely to indicate that what is today called principled revolution, is for the most part a setting up of nine-pins and then crying aloud that they must be knocked down. These opposites to revolution are mere echoes of their makers' minds and have no relation to the facts. Like the Taoist magician arresting a demon! He first manufactures a whole set of astonishing names, fox devil, mountain sprite, and the like, then draws the charm, reads over the curse, and with his magic sword arrests the demon. Is it any wonder the demon gets bottled up in the gourd? But the sick man remains just the same on his bed, groaning and suffering!

We are dissatisfied with men as they are now. We are opposed to the *laissez-faire* state of mind, but we are examining with the utmost care into China's real needs and her real position in the world. We cannot therefore but be opposed to those methods which today are called revolutionary. We most earnestly publish our opinion: China's need today is not the tyranny which manufactures revolution out of revolution, the oppression which overturns revolutionary oppression; nor is it the setting up of any imaginary opposites to revolution and so exciting a revolution against a revolution. At this point we are willing to be dubbed anti-revolutionaries, and we do not support these kinds of revolution. Such can only waste our vital strength and encourage the evil spirit of recklessness and cruelty, bringing anarchy into the state and nation, bearing an evil crop of mutual injury and slaughter, and all the time leaving our real enemies where they were, in fact more devastating in their effect, whilst the further we travel the further we are from building up the country we have to build.

Our real enemies are Poverty, Disease, Ignorance, Corruption, Anarchy. These five devils are the real opposites to revolution, and every one of them cannot be destroyed by any violent revolution. There is only one revolutionary road by which we can destroy them and that is by clearly recognizing our enemies, clearly recognizing our problems, gathering together all the ability and wisdom in the nation, making full use of the world's science and knowledge and the concomitant methods, and proceeding step by step to carry out a conscious revolution, so achieving the success of a ceaseless revolution which moves on under the detailed direction of conscious will. When we have achieved that, then our objective is reached.

This fundamental attitude and method is no drifting along by natural evolution, nor is it a blind revolution by violence, nor a blind revolution of slogans. It is an unceasing revolution effected by the conscious application of our energy.

This method is beset with difficulty, but we will not allow that there is any simpler or easier method. It is a slow process but we know of no quicker one. The slogan way is no quicker. Certainly firing off machine guns against each other is no quicker, nor any form of mutual slaughter. But we also know that the direction of a revolution by conscious energy does hasten change and may be expected to achieve quicker results, so that the radical changes which by the slow process of evolution would require hundreds of years can completely emerge in a few tens of years.

This then is a matter of prime importance, that we should substitute conscious revolution for blind revolution. Why do we call it "blind"? It does not recognize its objective, because it is regardless of evil consequences from the means it uses, because it does not put first things first and second things second; for these reasons

it is blind. Let me give some casual illustrations. In the organization of working men, there is no planning for their advantage, but only the use of them to bring about anarchy. That is blind revolution. In the improving of the lot of rickshaw coolies, obviously the rickshaw manufacturers and proprietors should be dealt with, and the daily rental of a rickshaw be reduced by 20 or 30 cents, so that the coolie can make 20 or 30 cents a day more. But the labor agitators organize rickshaw coolie unions and incite them to smash automobiles, as in the horrible incident at Hangchow last year. This is blind revolution. Take also the so-called revolutionary government. It has been founded for 2–3 years and it is unwilling to establish a system of inspection, of examination for the public services, of audit public accounts, and at the same time wants with the help of the Nationalist Party to stop the people from using the old calendar. This is blind revolution. As for this setting up of a confused notion of feudalism as an opposite to revolution, or putting all the blame for our troubles, blame which we cannot avoid, onto the shoulders of "foreign devils," this too is blind revolution.

What then do we mean by conscious revolution? The recognition of our problems and the concomitant difficulties; having actual proof for every statement we make; making proposals and being perfectly sure what the outcome of those proposals must be, and what our individual responsibilities are with regard to them. This is conscious revolution. On behalf of society and the country to think of the way out, this is a high and sacred duty. It is no matter of mere individual inclination or private dissatisfaction. It is a case of "a word may make a nation, and a word may bury it." Can we not in all seriousness set our minds to work? If we are to develop the sense of full responsibility, then we must make every effort to root out our private prejudices and ideas, to pay strict respect to facts and to be entirely ready to appropriate all material required for reference, comparison, and suggestion, to warn ourselves without ceasing that our duty is to seek out the most practicable and most glorious plans for society and the state. This is to make a conscious revolution.

Chapter 12
Essay in *Living Philosophies*

My father, Hu Chuan, was a scholar and a man of strong will and administrative ability. After a period of classical training in literature and history, he took great interest in the study of geography, especially in the geography of the frontier provinces. He went to Peking and, with a letter of introduction in his pocket, traveled 42 days to Kirin in Northern Manchuria to see the Imperial Commissioner, Wu Ta-chen, who is now known to European Sinologues as one of the greatest archaeologists in China.

Wu received him and asked what he could do for him. "Nothing," said my father, "except let me follow your mission to settle the boundary dispute with Russia, so that I may study the geography of the northeastern provinces." Wu was interested in this scholar who had taken only his first degree in the literary examinations and was almost penniless after the long journey outside the Great Wall. He took the young man with him on his historic mission and found him a most valuable and hard-working assistant.

One time my father's party lost its way in an immense forest and could not get out for 3 days. Provisions were exhausted and all reconnoitering had failed when he suggested that a search be made for running streams, which would in all probability flow out of the forest. A stream was found and the party followed its course to safety. My father composed a long poem to celebrate this occasion. When 40 years later I used this incident as an illustration in a paper on Professor John Dewey's theory of systematic thinking, several surviving acquaintances of my father still recognized this story, though I had not mentioned his name, and wrote to inquire if I was a younger son of their long-departed friend.

Although Wu Ta-chen had once recommended him to the government as "a man capable of governing provinces," my father never achieved political prominence

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Chapter Note: Living Philosophies. New York: Simon & Schuster, 1931. pp. 235–263.

C.-P. Chou (ed.) and S. Hu, *English Writings of Hu Shih: Literature and Society (Volume 1)*, China Academic Library, DOI 10.1007/978-3-642-31184-0_12,

and, after becoming an official in Kiangsu and Formosa, died at the age of 55 when Formosa was ceded to Japan as a result of the Sino-Japanese War.

I was the youngest son of my father and the only child of my mother. He married three times. The first wife was killed in the Taiping Rebellion, which swept over my home district in southern Anhui and reduced it to ashes. By a second marriage he had three sons and four daughters. The eldest son proved to be an incorrigible degenerate at an early age. When my father lost his second wife, he wrote home that he had decided to marry a girl of the good, sturdy stock of the farmer class.

My mother's father was a farmer who also practiced tailoring during the off months of the year. He came from a respectable family which was massacred during the Taiping Rebellion. Being only a small boy, he was made a captive and carried away to serve in the army of the Taipings. To prevent him from running away, four characters—"Tai-ping Tien-kuo" (Heavenly Kingdom of Everlasting Peace)—were branded on his face and remained throughout his life. But he managed to escape and, after terrible hardship, returned to his home only to find it in complete ruins without a single member of his family left alive. He worked hard, cultivating his land and practicing tailoring, which he had learned in the bandit camp. He grew up, married, and had four children of whom my mother was the eldest.

My grandfather's life ambition was to rebuild the family dwelling destroyed by the Taipings. Every morning before sunrise he would go to the riverside, select three heavy loads of stone, and in three trips carry them on his shoulder pole to the site of his ruined house. Then he would start out for his regular work in the field or in tailoring. When he returned home late in the afternoon, he would make three more trips and carry three more loads of stone for his future house before he sat down to supper. All this hard and persevering work was silently witnessed by my mother, who secretly regretted that, being a girl, she was unable in any way to lighten her father's hardship and accelerate the realization of his dream.

Then came the matchmaker who met my grandfather in the field and pleaded eloquently on behalf of my father for the "birth date" paper of his eldest daughter. My grandfather consented to talk it over with his family. But when he told the proposal to his wife in the evening, she was very furious. "Never!" she said, "How can you think of giving our daughter to a man 30 years older than she? And some of his children are older than our daughter! Moreover, people will naturally think that we, in giving our girl to an elderly official, are sacrificing her for the sake of money and respectability." So the old couple quarreled. In the end the father said, "Let us consult the girl herself. After all, it's her own affair."

When the question was placed before my mother she remained silent, as was usual with Chinese girls in a similar situation. But she was thinking grave thoughts. To marry a middle-aged widower with grown-up children meant that the contract money to be paid to the bride's family would be much more than in an ordinary marriage. That would be a great help to her father's building projects. And she had seen my father before and knew that he was revered by everybody in the district. She adored him, and was willing to marry him, partly because of a sense of hero worship, but chiefly because of her filial anxiety to help her toiling father. So when she was pressed by her parents for an answer, she said resolutely: "If you think he is a good man, I'll obey. After all, a man of forty-seven is not very old." My grandfather

sighed with relief when he heard it, and my grandmother burst out in great fury: "So you want to be a *taitai* [lady] of a mandarin! So let it be!"

My mother was married in 1889 at the age of 17, and I was born in December, 1891. My father died in 1895, leaving my mother a widow at 23. By his death, she became head of a large family with many grown-up stepchildren. The position of a Chinese stepmother is proverbially difficult, and her life from this time on was a long period of patient suffering and painstaking compromise.

My mother's greatest gift was forbearance. Chinese history records that when an Emperor of the Tang dynasty asked the patriarch Chang Kung-i by what principle his family had managed to live together for nine generations without separation or division, the grand old man, too feeble to speak, requested leave to write out his answer, and he wrote a hundred times the word "Forbearance." The Chinese moralists constantly cite this story of the "Hundred Forbearances" as the best example of family life, but none of them seems ever to realize the terrible amount of suffering, friction, suppression, and injustice which have made forbearance an absolute necessity.

Ill-feeling, dagger-like words, hostile looks on the part of the stepdaughters-in-law—my mother bore all this patiently. Sometimes she found herself reaching her limit of forbearance. Then she would stay in bed in the morning and gently weep aloud, mourning the early loss of her husband. She never mentioned the offending daughter-in-law nor the offense. But each time these tears had an almost miraculous effect. I would invariably hear a door open in the room of one of the sisters-in-law, and the footsteps of a woman walking in the direction of the kitchen. Presently she would return and knock at the door of our room. She would enter with a cup of tea and offer it to my mother, imploring her to cease weeping. My mother would take the cup and accept her silent apologies. Then there would be peace in the family for about a month.

Although she could neither read nor write, my mother staked all her hope on my education. I was a precocious child and before I was three had learned over 800 characters, which my father taught me every day on square slips of pink paper. A little after three, I was already in school. I was then a sickly child and could hardly climb a doorstep of 6 in. without assistance. But I could read and memorize better than all the other boys in the school. I never played with the children of the village and, because of my complete lack of child play, I was given the nickname of *Shien-seng* (the Master) when I was five. Fifteen years later, at Cornell University, I was nicknamed "Doc" when I was a sophomore, and for this same weakness.

My mother would wake me up every day before daybreak and make me sit up in bed. She would then tell me all she knew about my father. She would say that she expected me to follow the footsteps of him who was to her the best and greatest man that ever lived, a man who, she said, was so much respected that all opium dens and gambling houses in the vicinity suspended business during his occasional sojourns at home. She told me that I could glorify him and her only by my good conduct and by achievements in scholarship and in the government examinations—that whatever she was suffering would be rewarded by my diligent application to my studies. I would often listen with half-open eyes, but she rarely gave up this morning sermon except when some lady guest was staying with us in the same room.

When daylight came, she would dress me and send me to school. When I grew a little older, I was always the first to arrive at school and almost every morning knocked at my teacher's door for the key to open the school gate. The key was handed out through the small crevice between the two doors and I was soon in my seat reading aloud my assignments. The school was not dismissed till dusk, when each boy bowed to the big picture of Confucius in crimson rubbing and to the teacher and went home. The average length of the school day was 12 h.

While allowing me no child play of any kind, my mother gave me every encouragement in my childish attempt to build a temple of worship to the great sage, Confucius. I learned this from the son of my eldest half-sister, a boy 5 years my senior. He had built a paper temple of Confucius with all kinds of gorgeous color-papers, and it attracted me. I used a big paper box as the main hall of worship and cut a big square hole on its back to which I pasted a smaller paper box as the inner shrine for the tablet of Confucius. The outer hall where I placed the great Confucian disciples was decorated with miniature scrolls on which were written eulogies of the great sage which I partly copied from my nephew's temple and partly from books. Incense sticks were frequently burned before this toy temple and my mother rejoiced in my childish piety, secretly believing that the spirit of Confucius would surely reward me by making me a renowned scholar and successful candidate in the literary examinations.

My father was a classical scholar and a stern follower of the Neo-Confucianist Rational Philosophy of Chu Hsi (1130–1200 A.D.). He was strongly opposed to Buddhism and Taoism. I remember seeing on the door of my uncle's house (which was my first school) a sun-bleached sign bearing the words "No Alms for Buddhist Monks or Taoist Priests," which, I learned afterward, was part of the Rationalist tradition left by my father. But my father was dead, my scholarly uncle soon left home to become a petty official in northern Anhui, and my elder brothers were in Shanghai.

The women left at home were under no obligation to respect this Rationalistic tradition of my father. They observed the usual rites of ancestor worship and were free to worship wherever custom and occasion led them. Kwan-yin, the Goddess of Mercy, was their favorite deity, and my mother, chiefly out of her anxiety for my health and well-being, was a devout believer of Kwan-yin. I remember going with her on a pilgrimage to a temple of this goddess on a mountain, and she, in spite of the bound feet which pained her throughout her life, walked the whole distance of hilly trail to and from the shrine.

I was in the village school, of which there were seven in our village, for 9 years (1895–1904), during which time I read and memorized the following books:

1. *The Book of Filial Piety*, a post-Confucian classic of unknown authorship.
2. *The Elementary Lessons* (or "The Small Learning"), a book of Neo-Confucianist moral teaching commonly attributed to the Sung philosopher, Chu Hsi.
3. The Four Books: *The Analects of Confucius, The Book of Mencius, The Great Learning*, and *The Doctrine of the Mean*.
4. Four of the Five Classics: *The Book of Poetry*, *The Book of History*, *The Book of Change*, and *The Li Ki*.

My mother, who was always economical in her household expenses, insisted on paying my teacher at least thrice better than the usual tuition fee, which was two silver dollars a year. She paid six dollars from the beginning and increased it gradually to 12. From this insignificant increase in the fee, I derived benefits a thousand times greater than the numerical ratio stated above can possibly indicate. For the two-dollar pupil merely read aloud and recited by heart, and the teacher never took the trouble to explain to him the meaning of the words memorized. I alone, because of the additional pay, enjoyed the rare privilege of having every word and sentence in the readings explained to me, that is, translated from the dead language into the colloquial dialect.

Before I was 8 years old, I could read with very little assistance. At the suggestion of my second brother, my teacher made me read *The General Mirror for Government*, which was in reality a general history of China in chronological form compiled by the great historian Ssu-ma Kuang in the year 1084 A.D. This historical reading interested me greatly and I soon began, as an aid to memory, to compile a rhymed summary of the dynasties, emperors, and chronological eras.

Then one day in a waste-paper box in my uncle's house I chanced upon a torn volume of a part of the great novel *Shui Hu* (*The Hundred and Eight Heroes of Liang-shan*) and read it through while standing by the box. I ran about the village and soon found a complete set of the novel. From that time on I devoured every novel known in our community and in the near-by villages. They were written in the *pei hua*, or spoken language, and were easily intelligible and absorbingly entertaining. They taught me life, for good and for evil, and gave me a literary medium which years later enabled me to start what has been called "the Literary Renaissance" in China.

In the meantime, my religious life underwent a curious crisis. I was brought up in an idolatrous environment and accustomed to the ugly and fierce faces of the gods and to the folk versions of Heaven and Hell. When I was 11 I was one day rereading aloud *The Elementary Lessons* of Chu Hsi, which I had memorized without much understanding. I came upon a passage where the Rationalist philosopher quoted the historian Ssu-ma Kuang in an attack on the popular belief in Heaven and Hell. The quotation reads: "When the body has decayed, the spirit fades away. Even if there be such cruel tortures in Hell as Chiseling, Burning, Pounding, and Grinding, whereon are these to be inflicted?" This sounded like good reasoning and I began to doubt the idea of judgment after death.

Shortly afterward, I was reading Ssu-ma Kuang's *General History* and came upon a passage in its 136th chapter which made me an atheist. The passage in question tells of a philosopher of the fifth century A.D. named Fan Chen who championed the theory of the destructibility of the spirit or soul against the whole Imperial Court, which was then patronizing Mahāyāna Buddhism. Fan Chen's view was summed up by Ssu-ma Kuang in these words: "The body is the material basis of the spirit, and the spirit is only the functioning of the body. The spirit is to the body what sharpness is to a sharp knife. We have never known the existence of sharpness after the destruction of the knife. How can we admit the survival of the spirit when the body is gone?"

This was more thorough reasoning than Ssu-ma Kuang's view that the spirit fades away when the body has decayed, a theory which still admits the spirit as something. Fan Chen fundamentally denies the spirit as an entity: it is only a functioning of the body. This simplification pleased my boyish mind and it gladdened my heart to read that "Although the whole Court and country were against him, no one succeeded in refuting him."

In the same passage, Fan Chen was quoted as being opposed to the Buddhist doctrine of Karma, or the causal chain throughout the various existences. He was talking to the Prince of Ching-ling, who said to him: "If you do not believe in Karma, how can you explain the different states of wealth and poverty, of honor and lowliness?" Fan Chen replied: "Human life may be likened to the flowers on yonder tree. The wind blows down the flowers, of which some are caught by the screens and scattered on the beautifully decorated mats and cushions, while others are blown over the fence and dropped on the dung-heap. Your Lordship is one of those flowers on the cushions, and I, your humble servant, chance to be on the dung-hill. There is the difference in position, but where is the causal chain?"

The doctrine of Karma is one of the few most influential ideas from India that have become an integral part of Chinese thought and life. The ancient Chinese moralists had taught that goodness was always rewarded and evil punished. But in real life, this is not always true. The Buddhist doctrine of Karma has the advantage over the Chinese idea of retribution in that it can always evade the issue by referring to the absolute continuity of the causal chain throughout past and future existences.

But Fan Chen's figure of speech appealed to my youthful fancy and shook me out of the nightmare absolutism of Karma. It was Chance versus Determinism. And, as a boy of 11, I took the chances and revolted against Fate. There was no sophisticated reasoning on my part in those days of my boyhood. It was mere temperamental attraction and repulsion. I was my father's son, and Ssu-ma Kuang and Fan Chen attracted me. That was all.

But this mental crisis was not without its comic consequences in my early life. During the New Year Festival of 1903, I paid a visit to my eldest sister, who lived 20 li away. After spending a few days at her home I returned with her son, who was coming to pay his New Year visit to my mother. A servant of his was carrying the New Year presents for him. On our way home we passed a shrine with ugly and fierce-looking gods. I stopped and said to my nephew: "Nobody is watching. Let's throw these images into the mud pool." My childish iconoclasm greatly horrified my companions, who persuaded me to move on without troubling the already tottering deities.

It was the day of the Lantern Festival (the fifteenth of the first month). When we arrived, there were many visitors at my house. I was hungry and, when supper was served, my nephew made me drink a cup of strong rice wine which played havoc with my empty stomach. I was soon running about the courtyard and shouting to the moon to come down to see the Lantern Festival. My mother was displeased and sent men to fetch me. I ran before them and the effect of wine worked more rapidly with my running. I was finally caught, but I struggled to get away. My mother held me tight on her lap and many people soon gathered around us.

In my fright, I began to talk nonsense. Then my nephew's servant stepped forward and whispered to my mother: "Madame, I believe that the little uncle is beside himself. Very likely some god or spirit is troubling him. This afternoon when we passed the Shrine of Three Gates, he proposed to throw the gods into the muddy pool. That must have caused the trouble." I overheard the whisper and a bright idea came to me. I shouted all the more wildly, as if I were actually one of the gods of the Shrine of Three Gates. My mother then ordered incense to be burned in the open and, pleading my youthful ignorance and irresponsibility, made a vow to offer sacrifices at the shrine should my innocent offense be forgiven by the gods.

At that moment report came that the Lantern Procession was approaching, and the people in our house rushed out to see it. My mother and I were left alone. I soon fell asleep. The vow had apparently worked. One month later, when my mother and I visited my grandparents, she made me offer, in all solemnity, our promised sacrifices at the Shrine of Three Gates.

Early in my 13th year (1904), I left home on a 7-day journey to seek a "new education" in Shanghai. After that separation I visited my mother only three times and stayed with her altogether about 7 months in 14 years. Out of her great love for me she sent me away without apparently shedding a tear, and allowed me to seek my own education and development in the great world all alone armed only with a mother's love, a habit of study, and a little tendency to doubt.

I spent 6 years in Shanghai (1904–1910) and 7 years in America (1910–1917). During my stay in Shanghai I went through three schools (none of which was a missionary school) without graduating from any. I studied the rudiments of what was then known as "the new education," consisting chiefly of history, geography, English, mathematics, and some gleanings of natural science. Through the free translations by the late Mr. Lin Shu and others, I made my first acquaintance with a number of English and European novels, including those of Scott, Dickens, Dumas *père* and *fils*, Hugo, and Tolstoy. I read the works of a few of the non-Confucian and Neo-Confucian philosophers of ancient and medieval China and was delighted in the altruism of Mo Ti and the naturalistic philosophy of Lao-tze and Chuang-tze.

Through the popular writings of the late Mr. Liang Chi-chao, the most powerful writer of the age, I came to know a little of such Western thinkers as Hobbes, Descartes, Rousseau, Bentham, Kant, and Darwin. Mr. Liang was a great admirer of modern Western civilization and published a series of essays in which he frankly admitted that the Chinese as a race had suffered from the deplorable lack of many fine traits possessed by the European people, notably emphasis on public morality, nationalism, love of adventure, the conception of personal rights and the eagerness to defend them against encroachment, love of freedom, ability for self-control, belief in the infinite possibility of progress, capacity for corporate and organized effort, and attention to bodily culture and health. It was these essays which first violently shocked me out of the comfortable dream that our ancient civilization was self-sufficient and had nothing to learn from the militant and materialistic West except in the weapons of war and vehicles of commerce. They opened to me, as to hundreds of others, an entirely new vision of the world.

I also read Mr. Yen Fu's translation of John Stuart Mill's *On Liberty* and Huxley's *Evolution and Ethics*. Mr. Yen's translation of Huxley's essay had been published in 1898 and had been immediately accepted by the Chinese intelligentsia with acclamation. Rich men gave money to have new editions made for wider distribution (there being no copyright law then), because it was thought that the Darwinian hypothesis, especially in its social and political application, was a welcome stimulus to a nation suffering from age-long inertia and stagnation.

In the course of a few years many of the evolutionary terms and phrases became proverbial expressions in the journalistic writings of the time. Numerous persons adopted them in naming themselves and their children, thereby reminding themselves of the perils of elimination in the struggle for existence, national as well as individual. The once famous General Chen Chiung-ming called himself "Ching-tsun" or "Struggling for Existence." Two of my schoolmates bore the names "Natural Selection Yang" and "Struggle for Existence Sun."

Even my own name bears witness to the great vogue of evolutionism in China. I remember distinctly the morning when I asked my second brother to suggest a literary name for me. After only a moment's reflection, he said, "How about the word *shih* [fitness] in the phrase 'Survival of the Fittest'" ? I agreed and, first using it as a *nom de plume*, finally adopted it in 1910 as my name.

My slight knowledge of the evolutionary hypothesis of Darwin and Spencer was easily linked up with the naturalism of some of the ancient Chinese thinkers. For example, it delighted my boyish heart to find an equally youthful cobeliever of over 2,000 years ago in the following story told in the *Lieh-tze*, a spurious work of the Taoist school:

> The House of Tien held a great post-sacrificial feast at which over a thousand guests were present. When fish and wild duck were offered, the host said with a sigh: 'Great is Nature's kindness to man! She has produced grain and fish and birds for the use of man.' The speech was applauded by all the guests present. Thereupon, the son of the House of Pao, who was only twelve years old, stepped forward and said: 'It is not so, my lord. All the beings in the universe coexist with men on a basis of equality. There is no natural order of superiority and inferiority. They conquer and prey on one another only by virtue of their superior strength and intelligence. No species is purposely produced for the sake of another. Men, too, prey on those things which they are able to conquer. How can we say that Nature has produced them for our benefit? Do not mosquitoes suck our blood and tigers and wolves eat our flesh? Shall we say that Nature has produced men for the benefit of mosquitoes and tigers and wolves?'

In 1906 a few of my schoolmates in the China National Institute founded a periodical called *The Struggle*—another instance of the popularity of the Darwinian theory—which, being primarily interested in instilling new ideas into the uneducated masses, was to be published in the *pei hua* or spoken language. I was invited to contribute to its first issue, and a year later I became its sole editor. My editorial work on this magazine helped me not only to develop an ability in the use of the living tongue as a literary medium, but also to think out, in clear language and logical order, the ideas and thoughts which had been taking shape since my childhood days. In many of my articles written for this magazine I strongly attacked the superstitions of the people and was frankly iconoclastic and atheistic.

In 1908 my family was in great financial difficulty because of business failures. At the age of 17 I found myself facing the necessity of supporting myself at school and my mother at home. I gave up my studies and taught elementary English for over a year, teaching 5 h a day and receiving a monthly pay of 80 silver dollars. In 1910 I taught Chinese for a few months.

Those years (1909–1910) were dark years in the history of China as well as in my personal history. Revolutions broke out in several provinces and failed each time. Quite a number of my former schoolmates at the China National Institute, which was a center of revolutionary activities, were involved in these plots and not a few lost their lives. Several of these political fugitives came to Shanghai and stayed with me. We were all despondent and pessimistic. We drank, wrote pessimistic poetry, talked day and night, and often gambled for no stakes. We even engaged an old actor to teach us singing. One cold morning I wrote a poem which contained this line: "How proudly does the wintry frost scorn the powerless rays of the sun!"

Despondency and drudgery drove us to all kinds of dissipation. One rainy night I got deadly drunk, fought with a policeman in the street, and landed myself in prison for the night. When I went home the next morning and saw in the mirror the bruises on my face, this line in Li Po's *Drinking Song* came to my mind: "Some use might yet be made of this material born in me." I decided to quit teaching and my friends. After a month of hard work, I went to Peking to take the examination for the scholarship founded on the returned American portion of the Boxer Indemnity. I passed the examination and in July sailed for America.

I arrived in America full of pessimism, but I soon made friends and came to be very fond of the country and its people. The naive optimism and cheerfulness of the Americans impressed me most favorably. In this land there seemed nothing which could not be achieved by human intelligence and effort. I could not escape the contagion of this cheerful outlook on life, which, in the course of a few years, gradually cured my premature senility.

When I went to see a football game for the first time, I sat there philosophically amused by the roughness of the game and by the wild yells and cheers which seemed to me quite beneath the dignity of the university student. But, as the struggle became more and more exciting, I began to catch the enthusiasm. Then, accidentally turning my head, I saw the white-haired professor of botany, Mr. W. W. Rowlee, cheering and yelling in all heartiness, and I felt so ashamed of myself that I was soon cheering enthusiastically with the crowd.

Even during the darkest days in the first years of the Chinese Republic, I managed to keep up my good cheer. In a letter written to a Chinese friend, I said: "Nothing is hopeless except when you and I give it up as hopeless." In my diaries, I wrote down such quotations as this from Clough: "If hopes are dupes, fears are liars." Or this, in my own Chinese translation, from Browning:

> One who never turned his back, but marched breast forward,
> Never doubted clouds would break,
> Never dreamed, though right were worsted, wrong would triumph,
> Held we fall to rise, are baffled to fight better, sleep to wake.

In January, 1914, I wrote this entry in my diary: "I believe that the greatest thing I have learned since leaving China is this optimistic philosophy of life." In 1915 I was awarded the Hiram Corson Prize for the best essay on Robert Browning. The subject of my essay was "In Defense of Browning's Optimism." I think it was largely my gradually changed outlook on life that made me speak with a sense of conviction in taking up his defense.

I began my university career as a student in the New York State College of Agriculture at Cornell University. My choice was based on the belief then current in China that a Chinese student must learn some useful art, and literature and philosophy were not considered of any practical use. But there was also an economic motive: the College of Agriculture then charged no tuition fee and I thought I might be able to save a part of my monthly allowance to send to my mother.

I had had no experience on a farm and my heart was not in agriculture. The freshman courses in English Literature and German interested me far more than Farm Practice and Pomology. After hesitating for a year and a half, I finally transferred to the College of Arts and Sciences at the penalty of paying four semesters' tuition fee at once, which cost me 8 months' privation. But I felt more at home in my new studies and have never regretted the change.

A course in the History of European Philosophy—under that inspiring teacher, the late Professor J. E. Creighton—led me to major in Philosophy. I also took a keen interest in English Literature and Political Science. The Sage School of Philosophy at Cornell was a stronghold of Idealism. Under its guidance I read the more important works of the classical philosophers of ancient and modern times. I also read these works of such later Idealists as Bradley and Bosanquet, but their problems never interested me.

In 1915 I went to Columbia University and studied under Professor John Dewey until the summer of 1917, when I returned to China. Under Dewey's inspiration, I wrote my dissertation on "The Development of the Logical Method in Ancient China," which made me reread the philosophical writings of ancient China and laid the foundation for all my later researches in the history of Chinese thought.

During my 7 years in America, I had many extra-curricular activities which probably had as much influence on my life and thought as my university work. In days of despondencey I took much interest in the Christian religion and read the Bible almost through. In the summer of 1911, when I was a guest at a conference of the Chinese Christian Students' Association held at Pocono Pines, Pennsylvania, I almost decided to become a Christian.

But I gradually drifted away from Christianity, although I did much reading in the history of its development. For a long time, however, I was a believer in the doctrine of non-resistance. Five centuries before Jesus, the Chinese philosopher Lao-tze had taught that the highest virtue resisted nothing and that water, which resists nothing, is always irresistible. My early acceptance of this teaching of Lao-tze led me to take a great liking to the Sermon on the Mount.

When the Great War broke out in 1914, I was deeply moved by the fate of Belgium and became a confirmed non-resister. I lived 3 years at the Cornell Cosmopolitan Club and made many warm friends of all nationalities. Under the

influence of such idealistic pacifists as George Nasmyth and John Mez, I became a zealous pacifist myself. I was one of the founders of the Collegiate League to Abolish Militarism which was formed in 1915 at the suggestion of Oswald Garrison Villard.

When later the International Polity Clubs were founded, under the leadership of Nasmyth and Norman Angell, I was one of the most active members and participated in their first two annual conferences. In 1916 I was awarded the International Polity Club Prize for my essay on "Is There a Substitute for Force in International Relations?" in which I expounded the philosophy of a league of nations on the idea of law as organized force.

My pacifism and internationalism often brought me into serious trouble. When Japan entered the World War by attacking the German possessions in Shantung, she declared to the world that these were to be "eventually restored to China." I was the only Chinese in America who believed in this declaration, and argued in writing that Japan probably meant what she said. For this I was ridiculed by many of my fellow students. When in 1915 Japan presented the famous Twenty-one Demands on China, every Chinese in the United States was for immediate declaration of war with Japan. I wrote an open letter to *The Chinese Students' Monthly*, counseling calmness and cool thinking, for which I was severely attacked from all sides and often denounced as a traitor. War was avoided by China's partial acceptance of the Demands, but the German possessions in China were not restored to China until 7 years later.

My reading of Ibsen, John Morley, and Huxley taught me the importance of honest thinking and honest speaking. I read all of Ibsen's plays and was particularly pleased by *An Enemy of the People*. Morley's essay, "On Compromise," first recommended to me by my good friend Miss Edith Clifford Williams, has remained one of the most important spiritual influences on my life. Morley has taught me that "a principle, if it be sound, represents one of the larger expediencies. To abandon that for the sake of some seeming expediency of the hour, is to sacrifice the greater good for the less. Nothing is so sure to impoverish an epoch, to deprive conduct of nobleness, and character of elevation."

Huxley goes still further and teaches a method of intellectual honesty. He merely says: "Give me such evidence as would justify me in believing anything else, and I will believe that [the immortality of man]. It is no use to talk to me of analogies and probabilities. I know what I mean when I say I believe in the law of the inverse square, and I will not rest my life and my hopes upon weaker convictions." Huxley has also said, "The most sacred act of a man's life is to say and to feel 'I believe such and such to be true.' All the greatest rewards, and all the heaviest penalties of existence, cling upon that act."

It is from Professor Dewey that I have learned that the most sacred responsibility of a man's life is to endeavor to *think well*. To think sluggishly, to think without strict regard to the antecedents and consequences of thought, to accept ready-made and unanalyzed concepts as premises of thinking, to allow personal factors unconsciously to influence one's thinking, or to fail to test one's ideas by working out their results is to be intellectually irresponsible. All the greatest discoveries of truth, and all the greatest calamities in history, depend upon this.

Dewey has given us a philosophy of thinking which treats thinking as an art, as a technique. And in *How We Think and Essays in Experimental Logic* he has worked out this technique which I have found to be true not only of the discoveries in the experimental sciences, but also of the best researches in the historical sciences, such as textual criticism, philological reconstruction, and higher criticism. In all these fields, the best results have been achieved by the same technique, which in its essence consists of a boldness in suggesting hypotheses coupled with a most solicitous regard for control and verification. This laboratory technique of thinking deserves the name of Creative Intelligence because it is truly creative in the exercise of imagination and ingenuity in seeking evidence and devising experiment and in the satisfactory results that flow from the successful fruition of thinking.

Curiously enough, this instrumental logic has turned me into a historical research worker. I have learned to think genetically and this genetic habit of thinking has been the key to success in all my subsequent work in the history of thought and literature. More curious still, this historical way of thinking has not made me a conservative but always a progressive. For instance, my arguments for the literary revolution in China have been entirely based upon the undeniable facts of historical evolution and they have been so far unanswerable by my opponents.

The death of my mother in November, 1918, was the ocassion which led to the first formulation of the credo for which I had been groping in the vast world for over 14 years. It was published in February, 1919, in an essay entitled "Immortality, My Religion."

Because of my early boyhood readings I had long since rejected the idea of personal survival after death. For many years I had contented myself with an ancient doctrine of "Three Immortalities" which I found in the Tso Commentary on the *Chun Chiu*, where it was recorded that the wise statesman Shu-sin Pao declared in the year 548 B.C. (when Confucius was only 3 years old) that there were three kinds of immortality: the immortality of Virtue, of Service, and of Wise Speech. "These are not forgotten with length of time and that is what is meant by immortality after death." This doctrine attracted me so much that I often spoke of it to my foreign friends and gave to it the name "the doctrine of the immortality of the three W's (Worth, Work, and Words)."

My mother's death set me thinking afresh on this problem, and I began to feel that the doctrine of the Three Immortalities was in need of revision. It is defective, in the first place, in being too exclusive. How many people are there in this world whose achievements in virtue, in service, and in literary and philosophical wisdom cannot be forgotten with length of time? Christopher Columbus, for example, may be immortal, but how about the other members of his crew? How about the men who built his ships or furnished his tools, or the many pioneers who had paved the way for him either by courageous thinking or by successful or unsuccessful explorations of the seas? How much, in short, must one achieve in order to attain immortality?

In the second place, this doctrine fails to furnish any negative check on human conduct. Virtue is immortal, but how about vice? Shall we again resort to the belief in Judgment Day and Hell Fire?

As I reviewed the life of my dead mother, whose activities had never gone beyond the trivial details of the home but whose influence could be clearly seen on the faces of those men and women who came to mourn her death, and as I recalled the personal influence of my father on her whole life and its lasting effect on myself, I came to the conviction that *everything* is immortal. Everything that we are, everything that we do, and everything that we say is immortal in the sense that it has its effect somewhere in this world, and that effect in turn will have its results somewhere else, and the thing goes on in infinite time and space.

As Leibnitz once said, "Each body feels all that passes in the universe, so that he who sees all may read in each that which passes everywhere else, and even that which has been and shall be, discerning in the present that which is removed in time as well as in space." We do not see all, but everything is there, reaching into the infinite. A man is what he eats, and the work of the Dakota farmer, the California fruit grower, and a million other food providers lives in him. A man is what he thinks, and everyone who has influenced him—from Socrates, Plato, and Confucius down to his parish preacher and his nursery governess—lives in him. A man is also what he enjoys, and the work of numberless artists and entertainers, living or long dead, renowned or nameless, sublime or vulgar, lives in him. And so on ad *infinitum*.

Fourteen centuries ago a man wrote an essay on "The Destructibility of the Soul" which was considered so sacrilegious that his Emperor ordered 70 great scholars to refute it and it was refuted. But 500 years later a historian recorded a summary of this sacrilegious essay in his great history. And another 900 years passed. Then a little boy of 11 chanced upon this brief summary of 35 words, and these 35 words, after being buried for 1,400 years, suddenly became alive and are living in him and through him in the lives of thousands of men and women.

In 1912 there came to my Alma Mater an English lecturer who gave an address on the impossibility of founding a republic in China. His lecture struck me then as quite absurd, but I was amused by his peculiar pronunciation of the vowel *o*, and I sat there imitating it for my own entertainment. His speech has long been forgotten, but somehow his pronunciation of the vowel *o* has stuck by me all these years and is probably now on the tongue of hundreds of my students without anyone's ever being aware that it came through my mischievous mimicking of Mr. J. O. P. Bland. And Mr. Bland never knew it.

Twenty-five centuries ago there died a beggar in a valley of the Himalaya Mountains. His body was decomposing by the roadside. There came a young prince who saw the horrifying scene and was set to thinking. He thought over the impermanence of life and of everything else, and decided to leave his family and go to the wilderness to think out a way for his own salvation and that of mankind. Years later he emerged from the wilderness as Buddha the Enlightened One and proclaimed to the world the way he had found for its salvation. Thus even the decomposition of the dead body of a beggar has unwittingly contributed its part to the founding of one of the greatest religions of the world.

This line of reasoning led me to what may be called the religion of Social Immortality, because it is essentially based on the idea that the individual self, which

is the product of the accumulated effect of the social self, leaves an indelible mark of everything it is and everything it does upon that larger self which may be termed Society, or Humanity, or the Great Being. The individual may die, but he lives on in this Great Self which is immortal. All his virtue and vice, merit and sin, all his action and thought and speech, significant or trivial, right or wrong, for good or for evil—everything lives in the effect it produces on the Great Self. This Great Self lives forever as the everlasting monumental testimony of the triumphs and failures of the numberless individual selves.

This conception of Social Immortality is more satisfactory than the ancient Chinese doctrine of the Three Immortalities in that it includes the lowly and the insignificant as well as the heroes and sages, vice as well as virtue, crime as well as meritorious service. And it is this recognition of the immortality of evil as well as of good that constitutes the moral sanction of the doctrine. The decay of a dead body may found a religion, but it may also plague a whole continent. A chance remark of a barmaid may lead to the sudden enlightenment of a Zen monk, but a wrong theory of political or social reconstruction may cause centuries of bloodshed. The discovery of a microscopic bacillus may benefit millions of people, but a tiny sputum from a consumptive may kill multitudes and generations.

Truly the evil that men do lives after them! It is the clear recognition of the consequences of conduct that constitutes our sense of moral responsibility. The individual self owes a tremendous debt to the greater Social Self, and it is his duty to hold himself responsible to it for everything he does or thinks or is. Humanity is what it is by the wisdom and folly of our fathers, but we shall be judged by what humanity will be when we shall have played our part. Shall we say, "After us, the deluge"? Or shall we say, "After us, the millennium" ?

In 1923 I had another occasion to formulate my credo in a more general way. An article on "Science and Our Philosopy of Life" by the geologist Mr. V. K. Ting, published in a weekly paper edited by myself, had started a long controversy which lasted almost a whole year. Practically every thinker of any standing in China had taken part in it. When the controversial literature was collected by some enterprising publisher at the end of 1923, it amounted to over 250,000 words. I was asked to write an introduction to this collection. My introductory essay added another 10,000 words to this already voluminous collection and concluded with what I proposed as "a framework for a new philosophy of the universe and life," to which, however, some of the hostile Christian missionaries have mischievously given the name of "Hu Shih's New Decalogue." I now translate it for what it is worth:

1. On the basis of our knowledge of astronomy and physics, we should recognize that the world of space is infinitely large.
2. On the basis of our geological and paleontological knowledge, we should recognize that the universe extends over infinite time.
3. On the basis of all our verifiable scientific knowledge we should recognize that the universe and everything in it follow natural laws of movement and change—"natural" in the Chinese sense of "being so of themselves"—and that there is no need for the concept of a supernatural Ruler or Creator.

4. On the basis of the biological sciences, we should recognize the terrific wastefulness and brutality in the struggle for existence in the biological world, and consequently the untenability of the hypothesis of a benevolent Ruler.
5. On the basis of the biological, physiological, and psychological sciences, we should recognize that man is only one species in the animal kingdom and differs from the other species only in degree, but not in kind.
6. On the basis of the knowledge derived from anthropology, sociology, and the biological sciences, we should understand the history and causes of the evolution of living organisms and of human society.
7. On the basis of the biological and psychological sciences, we should recognize that all psychological phenomena are explainable through the law of causality.
8. On the basis of biological and historical knowledge, we should recognize that morality and religion are subject to change, and that the causes of such change can be scientifically studied.
9. On the basis of our newer knowledge of physics and chemistry, we should recognize that matter is full of motion and not static.
10. On the basis of biological, sociological, and historical knowledge, we should recognize that the individual self is subject to death and decay, but the sum total of individual achievement, for better or for worse, lives on in the immortality of the Larger Self; that to live for the sake of the species and posterity is religion of the highest kind; and that those religions which seek a future life either in Heaven or in the Pure Land, are selfish religions.

"This new credo," I concluded, "is a hypothesis founded on the generally accepted scientific knowledge of the last two or three hundred years. To avoid unnecessary controversy, I propose to call it, not 'a scientific credo,' but merely 'the Naturalistic Conception of Life and the Universe.'

"In this naturalistic universe, in this universe of infinite space and time, man, the two-handed animal whose average height is about five feet and a half and whose age rarely exceeds a hundred years, is indeed a mere infinitesimal microbe. In this naturalistic universe, where every motion in the heavens has its regular course and every change follows laws of nature, where causality governs man's life and the struggle for existence spurs his activities—in such a universe man has very little freedom indeed.

"Yet this tiny animal of two hands has his proper place and worth in that world of infinite magnitude. Making good use of his hands and a large brain, he has actually succeeded in making a number of tools, thinking out ways and means, and creating his own civilization. He has not only domesticated the wild animals, but he has also studied and discovered a considerable number of the secrets and laws of nature by means of which he has become a master of the natural forces and is now ordering electricity to drive his carriage and ether to deliver his message.

"The increase of his knowledge has extended his power, but it has also widened his vision and elevated his imagination. There were times when he worshiped stones and animals and was afraid of the gods and ghosts. But he is now moving away from these childish habits, and is slowly coming to a realization that the infinity of space

only enhances his aesthetic appreciation of the universe, the infinite length of geological and archaeological time only makes him better understand the terrific hardship his forefathers had to encounter in building up this human inheritance, and the regularity of the movements and changes in the heavens and on earth only furnishes him the key to his dominion over nature.

"Even the absolute universality of the law of causality does not necessarily limit his freedom, because the law of causality not only enables him to explain the past and predict the future, but also encourages him to use his intelligence to create new causes and attain new results. Even the apparent cruelty in the struggle for existence does not necessarily make him a hardened brute; on the contrary, it may intensify his sympathy for his fellow men, make him believe more firmly in the necessity of cooperation, and convince him of the importance of conscious human endeavor as the only means of reducing the brutality and wastefulness of the natural struggles. In short, this naturalistic conception of the universe and life is not necessarily devoid of beauty, of poetry, of moral responsibility, and of the fullest opportunity for the exercise of the creative intelligence of man."

Chapter 13
Woman's Place in Chinese History

Arthur's notes: This paper was first read in 1931 before the American Association of University Women in Tientsin, China. A summary of it was read at a meeting of friends of Ginling College for Women sponsored by Mrs. Dwight Morrow, Mrs. Louis Slade, Mrs. Theodore Roosevelt, Jr., and others on December 5, 1940 at the Cosmopolitan Club in New York City. The paper is now printed as it was written 9 years ago. Part of this article was based on Hu's Chinese essay, "Sanbai nian zhong de nüzuojia." Hu Shih Wencun III, pp. 673–682.

I

There is a general impression that the Chinese woman has always occupied a very low place in Chinese society. The object of this paper, however, is to try to tell a different story, to show that, in spite of the traditional oppression, the Chinese woman has been able to establish herself a position which we must regard as a fairly exalted one. If there is a moral to this story, it is that it is simply impossible to suppress women,—even in China.

I shall begin with these interesting lines from the *Book of Odes*, which is the richest and most authentic source of materials for our study of the social life of ancient China before the eighth century B.C.:—

When a son is born,
    Let him sleep in the bed,
    Clothe him with fine dress,
    And give him jades to play with.
How lordly his cry is!
    May he grow up to wear crimson
    And be the lord of the clan and the tribe!

Chapter Note: Pamphlet. Trans-Pacific News Service, 1940. 15 pages.

C.-P. Chou (ed.) and S. Hu, *English Writings of Hu Shih: Literature and Society (Volume 1)*, China Academic Library, DOI 10.1007/978-3-642-31184-0_13,

When a daughter is born,
Let her sleep on the ground,
Wrap her in common wrappings,
And give her broken tiles for her playthings.
May she have no faults, nor merits of her own;
May she well attend to food and wine,
And bring no discredit to her parents!

This frank partiality to sons and neglect of daughters does not require any apology or comment. It is simply a sociological and anthropological fact which womankind has always had to face in every part of the world. It is against such a hostile background that woman has had to struggle and slowly win her position in the family and in the larger world.

Even in ancient China, women were playing an important part in political life. Confucius told us that, of the ten builders of the Chou Empire, one was a woman. He did not mention who she was, nor what she did. But in those ancient odes which sang the early history of the Chou people before its eastward migration and conquest, we read high tributes paid to the great women who helped to make their race great. Indeed the poet-historians traced the origin of this race to a virgin woman who, through an immaculate conception, gave birth to Hou Tsi who taught his people the art of agriculture and became the founder of a great race and a great dynasty. Probably women enjoyed a peculiarly high position among this western people. For, in their quasi-historical poems, their great rulers were almost always mentioned together with their wives: the Tai Wang migrated with his wife; Wang Chi's marriage with Tai Jen was celebrated in one of the odes; and Tai Szu, Wen Wang's consort, was praised more than once in these poems. Tai Szu gave birth to ten remarkable sons of whom one conquered the Yin Empire and founded the Chou Dynasty which lasted almost 800 years, and another was the Duke of Chou, a great general and statesman.

But in the later history of the Chou Dynasty, the part played by the women did not seem to be always beneficial. The Western [Chou] Empire fell to the hands of the Barbarians in 721 B.C. and history attributed its downfall to the work of a woman, Pao Szu. Thus the poets sang:

Glorious was the Chou House,
It was Pao Szu who ruined it.

Authentic history did not tell us how she did it, but she must have been a truly wonderful woman to be able to ruin a great dynasty. For the poets said in another ode:

The wise man founded the city,
But the wise woman destroys it.
Alas! this wise woman,
A bird of evil omen is she!
A woman with a long tongue
Is surely a stepping stone to ruin.
Disaster does not descend from Heaven,
It comes from Woman.

This is a condemnation of woman, but it is at the same time a clear indication of the important role played by women in those days. Woman must occupy a very important position before she can ruin a city or a nation.

Throughout Chinese history, there were many great women whose political achievement was not merely due to their status as empresses or empress-dowagers. An ordinary person with no marked talents can achieve nothing even though she is placed in most exalted positions of the empire. But these Chinese women did honor to the positions they occupied in history. Such was the Queen-Regent of Ts'i who reigned for almost 40 years and whose sagacity in internal government and diplomacy kept the Kingdom of Ts'i out of the devastating wars which ruined the nations in the third century B.C. She was once asked to solve the puzzle of unchaining a chain of jade rings. She took a hammer and broke the chain with the exclamation: "I have solved it!"

In the founding of the Han Empire which lasted 400 years, two women played very important parts. The Empress Lü (died 180 B.C.), wife of the Founder of the Dynasty, came from the common people and had no education. But she was a woman of great shrewdness and capable of most decisive and brutal action. It was she who murdered Han Hsin and Peng Yueh, the two great generals whose power could threaten the safety of the Empire. The other woman was the Empress Tou (died 135 B.C.) who also came from the people and was in power for 45 years. She was a believer in Lao-tse's political philosophy of Non-interference and required all her children and grandchildren and her own clansmen to study the works of Lao-tse and other Taoist philosophers. Throughout the long reign of her husband and her son, the imperial policy was one of *laissez faire* and strict economy which allowed the people to recuperate from the effects of long wars and to develop their own resources. At the end of her reign, the Empire had attained the height of general prosperity and the government had endeared itself to the people, so that it was possible for her grandson, Wu Ti, to carry out his policy of construction and expansion and to build up an empire of greater China.

In the most glorious days of the T'ang Dynasty, a great woman, the Empress Wu Chao, ruled over the empire for 45 years (660–705), during a part of which period she actually declared herself, not merely Empress-Regent, but Emperor of her newly founded Dynasty of Chou and reigned of her own right for 16 years. She was a woman of great literary talent and political genius, and her long reign was marked by territorial expansion and cultural advancement.

I shall not go on enumerating the empresses who ruled vast empires, nor the imperial favorites who ruined great dynasties. I think I have said enough to show that the Chinese woman was not excluded from political life and that she has played no mean role in the long history of the country.

II

In the non-political spheres of life, the Chinese woman, too, has achieved positions of honor and distinction. The greatest honor goes to Ti Yung, of the family of Chuen-yu, who was responsible for the abolition of corporal tortures under the Han

Empire. Her father, who was one of the greatest physicians of the age, had been unjustly accused and was to be subjected to bodily tortures. As he had five daughters and no son, the old doctor, on his way to prison, turned to the girls and said: "It has been my misfortune to have only daughters and no son, and I have no one to help me in time of need." Ti Yung, the youngest of his five daughters, resolved to help her father and went to the Capital where she petitioned to the Emperor offering herself as a slave in the Imperial Court to redeem her father from the deadly tortures. Her petition touched the heart of the benevolent Emperor Wen Ti who issued in 167 B.C. his most famous edict ordering the abolition of all the worse forms of corporal punishment.

In the world of scholarship and literature, Chinese women have always made important contributions. In the early decades of the Han Dynasty, when the ancient classics were transmitted through verbal teaching, a woman was responsible for the preservation and transmission of the text of one of the classics, the Book of History. Three hundred years later, when the great historian Pan Ku died in imprisonment (92 A.D.) and his monumental *History of Han* was left unfinished, it was a woman, his sister Pan Chao, who was requested by the Imperial Government to continue the work and bring it to completion. It was she who taught the great scholar Ma Yung to read the *History of Han*, thereby publishing it to the world. Pan Chao was invited to become the teacher of the Empress and the other ladies of the Court. When the Empress Teng became Regent (105–121), she was a kind of political adviser to her. Of her preserved works, the *Lessons for Women* in seven chapters is best known. In these chapters, she taught the virtue of humility, but she also advocated the education of women. "The gentlemen of today," said she, "who educate their sons only and ignore the instruction of their daughters, have failed to understand the proper relationship between the sexes. According to tradition, the boys are taught to read books at the age of eight and will have acquired some knowledge by the age of 15. May we not do the same thing for the girls?" These words sound very mild today, but it must have required much moral courage to utter them in the year 100 A.D.

Of all the literary women in Chinese history, the most famous one was Li Ch'ing-chao, a native of Tsinin and wife of the scholar Chao Ming-ch'eng. She was born in 1081 and died about 1140. Both her father and mother being talented writers, she grew up in an atmosphere of culture and refinement. She wrote well both in prose and in verse, but was particularly noted for her *tz'u* or songs written to popular airs. Hers was an age of songs; but she was very severe in her criticism of the greatest poets of the time. Her own songs, of which only a few scores have been preserved, were highly praised by her contemporaries; Hsin Chia-hsien, the greatest master of the *tz'u*, openly admitted that he was sometimes imitating the style of Li Ch'ing-chao.

Li Ch'ing-chao was probably one of the most striking personalities among the Chinese women of historical fame. She was always frank and never hesitated to write of her real life with all its love, joys and sorrows. As an example of her frankness,

I quote these sentences from her preface to her book on a game of chance which was then in vogue:

> I love gambling. I am so fond of all forms of gambling that I can easily forego sleep or forget my food. And I always win, be the stake large or small. Why? Because I know the games well. Ever since the War and our migration to the South, frequent traveling under most trying circumstances has scattered all our gambling sets, and I have rarely played. But I have never ceased to think of the games.

With the same candor she wrote her "Second Preface" to the *Catalogue of Bronze and Stone Inscriptions* compiled by her scholarly husband. As this preface gives us a most charming picture of the intimate life of a happily married couple, I quote a few paragraphs to show the place of an educated wife in a scholarly family:—

> "When we were married in 1101, my husband was 21, and was still a student at the National University. Both our families being poor, we lived a very frugal life. On the 1st and 15th of every month, my husband had leave of absence from the University to come home. He would very often pawn his belongings to get 500 cash, with which he would walk to the Market at Hsiang-kuo Monastery and pick up rubbings of ancient stone inscriptions. These, together with some fresh fruits and nuts, he would carry home and we would enjoy together the edibles and the ancient rubbings, forgetful of all our troubles in this world.
>
> "In later years when my father-in-law became prime minister, and a number of influential friends were in a position to loan us rare books to copy, our interest in these antiquarian objects was greatly deepened and we often took great trouble and sometimes suffered privation in order to buy a rare manuscript, a fine painting, or an ancient bronze vessel. I remember once during the Ch'ung-ning Era (c. 1105) we were offered a painting by Hsu Hsi for sale at the price of 200,000 cash. Although a son of a prime minister, my husband found it difficult to pay such high price. We kept the painting for two days and had to return it to the owner. For several days we could not overcome our sense of regret and disappointment.
>
> "When my husband became prefect of two prefectures, he spent practically all his income on books and antiques. When a book was bought, he and I would always read it together, mending the text, repairing the manuscript, and writing the captions. And when a painting or a bronze vessel was brought home, we would also together open it, play with it, study its merits and criticize its defects. Every evening we studied together till one candle was burned up. In this way our collection of books surpassed all other collections in the country because of this loving care which my husband and I were able to give to it.
>
> "It was my good fortune to be endowed with a very good memory. Every evening after supper, we would sit together in the Kwei-lai Hall and make our own tea. We would wager against each other that such and such a quotation was to be found on a certain page in a certain chapter of a certain book. We must number the exact line, page, chapter and volume, and then check them from the book shelves. The winner was rewarded by drinking the first cup of tea. But when one of us did win, one was so happy that one's hand trembled with laughter and the tea would spill all over the floor. So the first cup was rarely drunk.
>
> "We were resolved to grow old and die in such a little world of our own."

Here in this beautiful picture of the domestic life in the early years of the twelfth century, we see absolute equality, intellectual companionship and cooperation, and a little world of contented happiness. The picture is too good to be true of most

Chinese families; indeed it is too good to be true of most families anywhere, in the East or in the West. But it is a most interesting human document which tells us that at least some Chinese woman once occupied a place which may make some of us modern people feel not a little envious.

III

The question is often asked: How many women in old China may be said to have received an education? What proportion of the women had access to this literary education?

This question cannot be satisfactorily answered. It varies with the educational opportunities of the different families and with the different localities. A family with a literary tradition usually gave to its women some rudiments of a literary education; while it takes some strikingly exceptional genius to pick up a knowledge of reading and writing in a poor and unlettered family. Moreover, it is safe to say that women born in the lower Yangtse Delta had a better chance to an education than those born in the other provinces. Again, there seems to have been a gradual spread of the practice of educating the women, beginning probably with the invention of the printed book in the ninth century, and becoming more widely spread during the last 400 years when the "literary-talented woman" (*ts'ai nü*) of the popular novels gradually came to be accepted as an ideal for women.

About 10 years ago, Mrs. Ch'ien Hsün, wife of a former Chinese Minister to Rome, published a "Bibliography of Works by Women Writers during the Last Three Hundred Years." This lady of 70 years had spent more than 10 years in compiling this work and I was asked to write an introduction to it. I tried to make a statistical analysis of its contents and found the results most interesting and instructive. In the first place, this bibliography tells us that there were 2,310 women in the last 300 years who had written, and most of them had published works in the field of literature. This number in itself is a revelation to me. Secondly, I have classified these lady writers according to their birthplaces and obtained the following results:—

Kiangsu	748	32.3%
Chekiang	706	30.5%
Anhui	119	5.1%
Fukien	97	4.2%
Hunan	71	3%
Kiangsi	57	
Chihli	51	
Shantung	44	
Manchu	42	

(continued)

(continued)

Kuangtung	38
Hupei	20
Szechuen	19
Honan	18
Kuangsi	15
Shansi	13
Shensi	10
Kweichow	10
Chinese Banners	10
Yunnan	6
Kansu	4
Unclassified	212
Total	2,310

Thus Kiangsu and Chekiang had the highest percentage, each coming very near to one-third of the total. These two provinces plus Anhui make more than two-thirds of the total. Kiangsu, Chekiang, Anhui, Fukien and Hunan occupy fully three-quarters of the total number. These proportions correspond almost exactly to the ratio of geographical distribution of male authors and of historical personages which has been worked out by other scholars for the same period. All this shows that Mrs. Ch'ien's bibliography was representative of cultural distribution among the female population in the country.

Thirdly, we must note that, out of the 3,000 works listed, about 99% is poetry. There were a few works on mathematics, one on medicine, half a dozen in the field of history, and about a dozen in classical and philological research. This again is quite significant in showing that the education which these women received was purely literary and that the spirit of critical historical research which characterized the age left no marked influence on the educated ladies. They read and wrote poetry, because it was considered respectable for ladies to be able to do so. Most of these educated ladies learned to paint pictures, and some of them became accomplished artists. That, too, was a part of the literary education.

To confirm Mrs. Ch'ien's investigations, I may point out that the number of women writers of poetry in the last 300 years is really amazing. As far as I know, there have been three important anthologies of poems written by women during this period. The first anthology was made in 1831 and contained 933 names; the second was a supplement made in 1835 which listed 513 names; and the third was made by Mrs. Ch'ien Hsün in 1918 and contained 309 names. The three anthologies together furnish us with a list of 1,755 poetesses. Besides these anthologies of poems in more or less regular metres which we call "*shih*," there are other anthologies of songs of irregular lines which are written to existing tunes and which are known by the name of *tz'u*. Most of the women who wrote *shih* also wrote *tz'u*. Mr. Hsu Tsi-yu, a well-known collector of books, has recently

published a collection of 100 complete works of 100 women songwriters of this period; and in addition, he has published an anthology of 2,045 songs by 783 women of the last 300 years.

IV

It may be asked: What good has all this literary education done to the Chinese women? Has it ever led them to revolt against foot-binding? Has it given the women an opportunity to be economically more independent? Has it really elevated their position in the family or in society?

It is true that the literary education for women has not led them to revolt against foot-binding, just as 700 years of rational philosophy has not opened the eyes of Chinese thinkers to the horrors of such a perverse and cruel form of "beautifying" their women. Nor has this superficial education enabled the women to become economically more independent, although not a few well-known women artists could sell their painting and calligraphy at a fairly high price. It was considered not highly reputable for good artists to write or paint for pay; and it was only in extreme cases of necessity that educated ladies of good families condescended to sell their pictures or writings.

Nevertheless, this literary education, however superficial and unpractical, has had the good effect of elevating the position of the women. In a country where educated men are rare, educated women are even more scarce and are therefore more respected. Moreover, this literary education gave them a key at least to book knowledge which, while it may not lead to emancipation or revolution, probably made them better wives and better mothers. It is not always true that "a little knowledge is a dangerous thing." A little knowledge is much better than no knowledge at all.

In particular, this literary education has had tremendous value in enabling the women to become better teachers to their own children. This is invariably true of Chinese girls who were rarely taught in schools together with the boys, and who would have a better chance for education if their mothers could teach them the rudiments of reading and writing. It is therefore safe to say that the comparatively wide spread of education for Chinese women during the last 300 years has been largely the work of the educated women themselves.

And history is full of evidences of the importance of women's education in the lives of their sons. Many a great man in Chinese history received his early education from his mother. The sage Mencius owed his early training to his mother whose story has become proverbial. The great statesman and scholar Ou-yang Hsiu (died 1072) lost his father at the age of four and was taught by his widowed mother who, having no money to buy paper and brush, used reeds to write characters on the ground for her son to read. The great Ku Yen-wu (died 1681), the founder of modern critical scholarship in the last three centuries, told us that his virgin mother who lost her fiancée on the eve of their wedding and lived a life of widowhood with her adopted son, was responsible for his early training in historical knowledge and in

the love for the Chinese nation. When the Manchus had conquered the Ming Empire and Manchu troops were approaching her native place, she resolved to die for her country and killed herself by starving 15 days. She died the day before her city was taken by the Manchus, and left her last instruction to her adopted son that he must not accept office or honor under the alien conquerors. Ku Yen-wu lived 36 years under the new regime, but refused to have anything to do with the new government. He was one of the few great spiritual fathers of Chinese nationalism…

Thus has China been rewarded by her women for the little education they had received. Against all shackles and fetters, the Chinese woman has exerted herself and achieved for herself a place in the family, in society, and in history. She has managed men and governed empires; she has contributed abundantly to literature and the fine arts; and above all she has taught and moulded her sons to be what they have been. If she has not contributed more, it was probably because China, which certainly has treated her ill, has not deserved more of her.

Chapter 14
The Tz'u-T'ung: A New Dictionary of Classical Polysyllabic Words and Phrases

This essay is based on the Chinese article, "Citong Xu." Hu Shih Wencun IV, pp. 587–596.

The publication of Mr. Chu Ch'i-feng's (朱起凤) *Tz'u-t'ung* by the Kaiming Book Company in Shanghai was a great event in the book world of China this year. The book is in two volumes, the second of which will be issued in the autumn. The present volume contains 1,623 pages of the text. It is said that the first edition of 5,000 copies has already been sold in the first month of its publication.

The author, Mr. Chu Ch'i-feng, is a middle-aged scholar from Haining, a hsien near Hangchow, the same district which has produced the great scholar Wang Kuo-wei, whose death in 1927 was lamented by the whole sinological world. In his preface, Mr. Chu was frank enough to admit that he was inspired to study the variations in the written form of classical terms and phrases about 30 years ago, when he, as a teacher in a school, was greatly humiliated by his students because he had mistaken an archaic variation of a classical phrase as an incorrect spelling. His great embarrassment in the hands of his students made him resolve to devote his life to the study of this difficult problem, namely, the legitimate and incorrect variations of polysyllabic terms and phrases together with the causes which gave rise to these variations. The present dictionary represents the achievement of 30 years' hard work.

What are the causes of such variations? Broadly speaking, there are three main groups of causes: phonological, historical, and textual.

First, variations of a word or a phrase may be caused by phonological reasons. A word originates in a sound, which, in the case of Chinese, is represented by a written symbol not often indicating its phonetic elements. Very often, a great many symbols may have the same pronunciation. And the same sound may acquire a different pronunciation in a different locality. Moreover, sounds undergo natural

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Chapter Note: Quarterly Bulletin of Chinese Bibliography. June, 1934. Vol. 2. No. 2. pp. 55–58.

C.-P. Chou (ed.) and S. Hu, *English Writings of Hu Shih: Literature and Society (Volume 1)*, China Academic Library, DOI 10.1007/978-3-642-31184-0_14,

changes in time. In the days before the printed book, writers were free to use a character which to them sounded most adequate in expressing the sound of the word they wanted to write down. And their choices may vary with the range of their individual vocabulary, with local peculiarities, and with the phonetic changes of their times. All these forms are preserved and some of them may appear to the untrained eye no longer recognizable as merely phonetic variations of one and the same word. Thus Fu-hsi (伏羲), one of the legendary rulers of pre-historical China, appears in so many forms:

庖 [牺]	P'ao-hsi
炮[牺]	P'ao-hsi
包[牺]	Pao-hsi
[牺]	Pi-hsi
宓[牺],宓羲	Mi-hsi
伏羲,伏戏	Fu-hsi

Such variations are formed in the same way as transcriptions of foreign sounds by means of Chinese characters. The various forms of the name *Buddha*, 浮屠, 浮图, 浮头, 浮陀, 佛陀, 勃陀, 没驮, are analogous to those of Fu-hsi.

Secondly, some of the variations have originated in historical customs and practices rarely found in other languages. One of these is the peculiar observance of avoiding the names of the rulers of a reigning dynasty. Substitutes had to be found for such tabooed words if they happened to be words of everyday use. If a dynasty lasted for 300 or 400 years, the long usage of such substituted words could very often make the people regard them as more familiar forms than the original, tabooed words. For example, the legendary goddess of the moon was formerly called Heng-ngo (姮娥, 恒娥); but Heng (恒) being the name of the third emperor of the Han Dynasty, its synonym Ch'ang (常) was used as a substitute, and the moon goddess came to be known as Ch'ang-ngo (常娥, 嫦娥). The number of variations of her name was further multiplied by the phonological fact that the character 仪 which is now pronounced *i* or *yi* was originally pronounced *ngo*, so that the moon goddess sometimes appears as Ch'ang-yi (常仪), which only the philologist can recognize as the modern pronunciation of Ch'ang-ngo, and which only the historian can explain as the equivalent of the ancient name Heng-ngo!

Thirdly, many of the variations are due to what may be called textual or typographical errors, errors of ancient scribes perpetuated in the later printed editions. On page 488 of this dictionary, for example, we are informed that one Central Asian city appears in Bk. 96 of the *Han Shu* (汉书) as 伊循 (I-hsün), and in Bk. 79 of the same history as 伊修 (I-hsiu); and that the name of an imperial architect appears in the *Hou Han Shu* (后汉书) as吴循 (Wu Hsün), and in the *San Kuo Chih* (三国志) as 吴脩 (Wu Hsiu). The explanation is that the character 修 (hsiu) may be written as which is easily confused with the character 循.

The dictionary by Mr. Chu Ch'i-feng is a rich source of information for all such variations, which are usually grouped under the most commonly known forms. Such

"head forms" are arranged according to the rhyme groups to which the final syllables of the terms or phrases belong. The arrangement of the whole dictionary follows the order of rhyme groupings in the standard rhyme-books. This is an old method commonly adopted by early compilers of reference books and will surely be found to be very inconvenient to modern readers, who no longer undergo the difficult training of memorizing the irrational and archaic rhyme groupings. The General Index, which will be published in the second volume and which will be arranged according to the number of "strokes" of the first syllable of every phrase or name, will do much to remedy this apparent defect.

The work as a whole, no doubt, deserves the highest praise and will stand as the monumental achievement of a single individual who has devoted the best part of his life to the altruistic labor of furnishing us with such a useful work of reference that may save generations from incalculable amount of tedious and wasteful toil. The scholarly comments and explanations which the author gives at the end of each group of cognate or related terms and phrases, are usually very concise and in most cases embody important results of philological and historical research and textual criticism.

As one goes through this gigantic work, one cannot help regretting one group of important omissions, namely, the variations of Buddhist words and phrases, which very frequently trouble readers of Chinese literature and history. The inclusion of various transcriptions of Sanskrit terms in such a dictionary would not only greatly enhance its usefulness, but also help to familiarize the untrained reader in the phonological principles involved in the vast majority of the troublesome variations of the purely Chinese words.

Chapter 15
An Optimist in the Sea of Pessimism

This is an English translation of the Chinese essay, "Beiguan shenglang li de leguan," written on October 12, 1934. Hu Shih Wencun IV, pp. 480–485.

At the end of each year, and on such occasions as the celebration of the "Double Ten," it is good to pause and reflect upon what, after all, we have achieved since the outbreak of the Revolution in the Hsin Hai year (1910) down to this 23rd year of the Republic (1934). Are there any achievements worth commemorating or not? At this most critical period of our national difficulties we are all very liable to pessimism, to despair and apathy, when we feel that after the lapse of 23 years we have scarcely succeeded in accomplishing a single thing. In the arts of civilization we have not made any outstanding contribution to the world; militarily, we have been unable to resist the relentless aggressions of a powerful neighbour. What further interest, then, have we in keeping up these annual observances? These are thoughts that occur to most of us on days of national celebration, and I feel it behoves those of us who refuse to be down-hearted, fairly and in the right historical perspective to bring our minds to bear on the subject, and to reckon anew the accounts in the ledger of the Chinese Republic to see what general results have accrued in the course of 23 years.

Pessimistic critics of China are fond of comparing China's great age with her similarly great lack of modern progress. In comparison with that of other countries, the progress made in China is pitifully small, as they are fond of reminding us. But these critics, who condemn present changes and clamour for a revival of the old, are fundamentally wrong. They lack the sense of historical perspective. Those who are most pessimistic to-day were undoubtedly the most optimistic at the beginning of the Republic, being then really not quite able to appreciate the nature and substance of the things they had hoped for. They visualized a prosperous and powerful State, possessing equality and independence—thinking that in a short space of time

Chapter Note: The People's Tribune. Jan. 1, 1935. Vol. 8. No. 1. pp. 17–24.

C.-P. Chou (ed.) and S. Hu, *English Writings of Hu Shih: Literature and Society (Volume 1)*, China Academic Library, DOI 10.1007/978-3-642-31184-0_15,

their dreams would be realized. They deluded themselves with the prospect of a miracle-to-be, and on realizing that no trace of such miracle has yet shown itself after 23 years, their faith has been shaken, and the heights of their optimism transformed into the depths of despondence. The root of the trouble with these pessimists is that they lack a sense of historical perspective. They fail to appreciate, in the first place, the difficulties of the subject to be tackled; in the second place, the feebleness of the backing we have for meeting such difficulties; thirdly, the lateness of time when our work was begun; fourthly, the relative shortness of such a period as 23 years; and fifthly, that, even in so short a time, we have nevertheless obtained a certain amount of visible progress.

Progress, however, is a relative term, and to gauge it one must have a definite standard of comparison. The only fair basis of comparison in the case of China is to compare present-day conditions to those obtaining in China itself during, say, the last years of the Manchu dynasty, before the movement for reform and change was fairly under way. If one can draw a lesson from history, he will perceive that, although these last 23 years have witnessed no miracle, they have at least seen progress which is very encouraging. Progress is always comparative, and historical comparisons are necessary if we wish to know whether this step means progress or that step retrogression. In order to appraise the accomplishments of these 23 years, we must take the results as they appear to-day, and compare them with conditions existing 23 years ago, and after that pronounce our judgment. This is the simplest example of historical perspective.

Many of China's critics fail to realize how long we procrastinated in the work of reform and modernization. The 70 years between 1840, when China first felt to any degree the impact of the West, and 1911, may be considered the period of China's disintegration. Unlike other countries, China had to devote this long period to the purely negative work of destruction. She had to destroy utterly what was harmful in her old civilization before taking up the work of reform and modernization in earnest. And although this destruction of the old appears to many to be merely negative in character, yet since it was a necessary condition before real progress could be started, it must be counted as a positive factor in the modernization of the country. During this long period no real and permanent reform was carried through. The so-called "new navy" was destroyed by the Japanese. The "new army" merely sowed the seeds of later civil war and prepared the way for the period of military governorships, for the Tuchuns. The famous reforms of 1898 were swept entirely away by the Empress Dowager. An attempt was made to start modern education but, inasmuch as it was entirely in the hands of "old" people, there was nothing really modern about it.

In the course of a broadcast address on October 10 last Mr. Wang Shih-chieh, Minister of Education, discussing the educational progress of the past 23 years, said that, comparing the 23rd with the first year of the Republic, students in primary schools have increased four-fold, in middle schools ten-fold, and in high schools and technical colleges approximately a 100-fold. This undue disparity between the three classes is intolerable, and should be immediately rectified, but the historical comparison of figures at least reveals that during these 23 years startling progress

has been made, despite poverty and disturbances. The progress in education during that period is not confined to the matter of augmented figures to which Mr. Wang Shih-chieh called attention, but there is progress also in various other directions which cannot be disclosed merely by statistics. We who have passed our fortieth year may look back and reflect what sort of Chinese schools we had over 20 years ago. About 25 years ago, when I was a middle school student in Shanghai, science subjects, draughtsmanship, trigonometry, analytical geometry, and higher algebra were always taught in the Chinese schools by Japanese. The science classes, and even subjects such as drawing and handiwork in the Government-supported normal or middle schools in cities such as Peking (Peiping), Tientsin, Nanking, Soochow, Shanghai, Wuchang, Chengtu, and Canton, were taught by Japanese. The languages, geography and history of foreign nations were taught by members of the Y.M.C.A. or graduates of St. John's University. I recall that in our school the textbook for Western history was a "General History of the World," written by an American, who lived in the first quarter of the nineteenth century, and who used the pen-name of "Peter Parley." The very first page of the book is given up to the legend of God's creation of the world in 7 days, followed by a description of the "flood." At the end of the book, two pages are devoted to China, with a half-page illustration of Confucius—wearing a big red-tasselled cap and a long queue! Such was the state of the schools as they existed 25 years ago. At present, we have 111 colleges and universities, and in these institutions, with very few exceptions, all faculties are headed by Chinese, and employ Chinese professors. Among these faculties are several which can stand comparison with any abroad. The scientific achievements of a number of scholars have also been acknowledged by the intelligentsia of the world. One can thus hardly refuse to admit that this is no little progress made in the space of 23 years.

Again, let us take a glance at the textbooks used in primary schools 25 years ago, and the sort of language employed. When I was a primary school student in Shanghai (this most progressive Shanghai!) the ancient classics were used, and the teacher used to explain the meaning of a classical passage word by word and sentence by sentence in his Pootung dialect—in fact, he was translating! We wrote essays on subjects such as "Duty to One's Parents and to One's Brothers," "Compare the Superiority and Inferiority of Han Wu-Ti and Tang Tai-Chung." Later, in the newly-compiled textbooks, one still found the classical language, and every word and sentence still had to be translated in order to render the meaning clear. From the 6th year of the Republic we began to have the spoken-language movement. In the 9th year of the Republic the Department of Education of the Peking Government decreed that the first two grades in all primary schools should employ the *Kuo-Yu*. From the 11th year of the Republic onward all grades in primary and middle schools have changed to the *Kuo-Yu* textbooks. We may leave the positively tremendous achievements of the new literature in the past 16 years aside, but just think of the trouble that the 1,100,000 school children now avoid and the energy that they save every year. Can we deny that it is progress indeed that we have made in the past 20 years?

Again, take scientific research. At the time of the Hsin Hai Revolution (1910), there was no institution for scientific research in the whole of China! The existing

scientific research institutions in China to-day—from the earliest establishment of the Peking Geographical Research Institute to the Central Research Institute of recent years—are the product of the past 20 years. Two decades is a rather short period, and yet many of our scientific research institutions and scientific laboratories in the universities have only 4 or 5 years' history. In this short space of time, under unstable conditions and subject to financial difficulties, there have been developments along many lines in science. In the fields of natural science, geology, and paleontology, undoubtedly China has achieved more than the Japanese accomplishments of the past 60 years. In biology, physiology, physic chemistry, and meteorology there are also manifest achievements. In the fields of history and sociology, the research work of the language and history departments of the Central Research Institute, of the Geographical Research Institute, of the Peking Social Research Institute, and of the Economic and Social Science Departments of the Nankai University, has accomplished much in a short period, and the fact has been acknowledged by the world's leading authorities. During the past 20 years we have accomplished much in various fields of science. When we compare the destitute conditions of the early period of the Republic with those at present existing, it seems as though a palace has been built in the desert! Is not this progress that we have made during the past 20 years or so?

Such historical comparisons are the best antidote to pessimism and inspire self-confidence in any thinking person. Even taking the most unsatisfactory field of Chinese enterprise, communications, during the past 20 years we can find some evidence of progress if we view the matter from a historical standpoint. We, who come from Huichow, know that the journey from Huichow to Hangchow formerly took 6 or 7 days, but now only takes 6 or 7 h. That is progress 24-fold! 10 years ago a trip from Kansu to Peiping took 104 days. Recently an old pupil of mine from Kansu took only 14 days to make the journey and the time will be further shortened when the Lunghai railway is completed.

China's readiest critics often compare her with Japan, asking why it was that, since Japan could renovate and rebuild the nation within a few score years, China could not have done the same? The answer is that whereas Japan's ruling class, the samurai, at first opposed modernization, this very class later changed and became the leaders of the nation on the road to reform. In China, on the other hand, the ruling class, an alien dynasty and an aristocracy, proved itself entirely ignorant and unintelligent, incapable of leading the nation towards reform and progress. China's energy had to be dissipated in destroying this ruling class. China has suffered greatly from this lack of leadership. There was no ruling, leading class to whom she could turn for leaders, no capitalist class, no real intelligentsia, nor even a powerful middle-class from which to recruit leaders. To enumerate only a few of the many undesirable factors which China has had to do away with before beginning real progress, there was eunuchism, a corrupt literary aristocracy, monarchy, the worst forms of torture, foot-binding, and a corrupt form of literary examination. The eradication of these and other elements were important and significant in that it indicated a change in the minds of the mass of the people towards fundamental ideas and attitudes. In the abolition of foot-binding alone, modernization has accomplished something

which twenty-five centuries of Confucian humanism and twenty centuries of Buddhist mercy failed utterly to bring about. Chinese civilization during the last half of the last century was but the corrupt remnant, senile and sterile, of what had once been a great civilization. It had come to sap its own vitality when it ceased to spread. It was cruel, sleeping, decrepit, bound by the shackles of a senile and corrupt tradition. The work of destruction of all this, therefore, was necessary. It can best be compared to that of a surgical operation where it is first necessary to remove the dead and cancerous tissue before proceeding with positive work.

The political Revolution of 1911, therefore, marked not merely the overthrow of a corrupt dynasty, but the laying of the foundations for a new nation. The dynasty had proved itself unintelligent, incapable of reform. With its overthrow was swept away the most powerful centre of reaction. All changes for the better in China were greatly facilitated by the removal of the Manchu dynasty from the scene. Modern China, therefore, can only be dated from 1911. To judge whether China has made progress or not, and if so, how much, we must compare conditions at present with those in 1911. 23 years, is a very short period of time in the history of the renovation of a nation of 400 million people. The amount of progress cannot possibly be striking in that length of time; that it is even appreciable is worthy of note, and future historians would say that China during that period had made the most progress in all her history thus far.

The most remarkable, but the most overlooked, achievements in the past 23 years are social reforms, the most prominent being the feminine movement. From the physical point of view, the Chinese girls of to-day have attained their full natural physical development, and are gradually taking their place among the most beautiful in physique in the world. In the field of education, the co-education system has been in existence for only 10 years, but it has won general approval from the public. The social embarrassments between the two sexes which existed before are either disappearing or have disappeared. Moreover, the economic and legal status of women has been raised. The entry of women in the fields of business, in society and politics, has also been increased. The change of customs in marriage, and the position of divorced women or widows in society have also been enhanced. When I read the numerous advertisements of divorce proceedings every day in the Chinese Press, I bless the Civil Code and the new ideas which make this possible. When 2 months ago, I read in the papers of a case where the parents of a 16-year-old girl were sentenced to 13 years' imprisonment for having drowned the girl after she had eloped with a policeman, I blessed the new Civil Code and the attitude towards it. Formerly parents were not punishable for killing in any manner they saw fit an unmarried daughter who had committed adultery. I recall an incident which occurred around 1920. In the province of Szechuen there was a 19-year-old woman who killed her deformed husband. In defence she said: "I cannot find any means to get away from him!" The sentence of the Szechuen Court of Justice was 15 years' imprisonment. When details of the case reached the Ministry of Justice, the high officials of the Ministry considered the punishment too light, and disciplinary action was taken against the Judge of the Szechuen Court on this account. One day, at a meeting, Dr. Wang Chung-hui, (then Chairman of the Commission for Punishment of Officials),

condemned the professors at the Peking National University and accused them of advocating radicalism to overthrow the old rites and traditions, thereby influencing the decision of the Court in Szechuen to let the husband-murderer get away with such light punishment. Ten years later, some of the Codes of laws which have been published by the Republic are even more radical than any we dreamt of in 1920, but no one voices any objection, even among the "die-hard" legalists. The world has changed and they, too, are following suit.

In short, while there have been many unsatisfactory developments during the past 23 years, yet among them there are some worthwhile achievements. After all, revolution is revolution. It cannot help creating strong influences, but at the same time it cannot help destroying some of the old traditions and systems. Undoubtedly, many unhappy events result from the confusion of social orders after the revolution, but we must agree with the saying that the Revolution is not yet over. If we view the achievements of the past two decades in their true perspective, we cannot refuse to recognize that we have made wonderful progress during the life of the Republic. And we cannot refuse to confess that part of that progress is due to the beneficial results brought about by the Hsin Hai Revolutionary ideas. Recognition of the results of our efforts in the past 20-odd years should cure our pessimistic outlook, and encourage us to march forward. Although events have shown that these minor achievements are not sufficient to enable us to resist foreign invasion, and reinvigorate the nation, that fact should not discourage us. We should have faith in ourselves, and try to make such achievements possible in the coming 10 or 20 years. Our saint once said, "Scholars should be patient and courageous, for their future is great and their responsibility heavy." Pessimism can never help us either to shoulder heavy responsibility or travel a long way.

Chapter 16
An Optimist Looks at China

During these years of national humiliation and economic depression, it is very difficult for any thinking Chinese to maintain a sane optimism regarding the future of his country and people. He is disheartened by the armed aggression of a powerful neighbor against which all measures of defense have appeared hopelessly inadequate; and he is dissatisfied with the internal progress which seems so pitifully slow and infinitesimal in the face of the immense needs of the nation. He is naturally led to question himself: "Are we Chinese, as a nation, fit to survive and thrive in this new world of hard struggles? Is there a way out? Have we been wrong in giving up so much of our own ways of life and in taking over so much from the Western World?"

Such questioning has often ended in various forms of reactionism. Some writers (including persons of great political influence) have openly condemned the present age as one of moral depravity and social retrogression and have frankly advocated a movement for revival of the old civilization.

But these pessimists have misread history. The progress which China has made in recent decades has not been slow, nor in the wrong direction. Future historians will regard the Republican period (1912–1934) as one in which China has made the most rapid headway in all her history. They will see that this progress has been far-reaching and has transformed every phase of Chinese life for the better; and that, if it has not enabled China to achieve her national salvation, the explanation lies elsewhere.

It is not that China has failed to achieve tremendous progress within a relatively short time, but that, because she has procrastinated too long, all that has been achieved is not sufficient to meet the stupendous demands of the time. It is not that

Chapter Note: Asia. Mar., 1935. Vol. 35. No. 3. pp. 139–142.

C.-P. Chou (ed.) and S. Hu, *English Writings of Hu Shih: Literature and Society (Volume 1)*, China Academic Library, DOI 10.1007/978-3-642-31184-0_16,

she has discarded too much of the old, but that, because of the dead weight of her traditional civilization, she has perhaps discarded not enough of it.

It is in the direction of abolishing the numerous evils of the old tradition that China has achieved the greatest success in the past few decades. She has successfully prohibited the foot-binding which has been a terrible curse to Chinese womanhood for at least a 1,000 years. The hereditary absolute monarchy has been overthrown, and with it are gone all those institutions which for centuries have been its paraphernalia: the imperial household with its unlimited number of wives and concubines, the institution of eunuchism, the parasitic nobility born to power, and many others. With the revision of Chinese law and the reform of legal procedure, the ancient tortures and inhuman punishments were abolished. The opening of new schools marked the disappearance of the mechanical and exacting form of literary composition, known as the Octopartite, which had been required as the standard form in all state examinations, and for the mastery of which the best years and energies of the whole educated class of the past six centuries had been sacrificed.

These are a few of the more fundamental departures from the old tradition. They are not merely isolated items of reform: they are indicators of fundamental changes in attitudes toward the most important phases of life. The binding of women's feet, for example, was not merely an isolated institution of extreme cruelty and brutality, but also the clear and undeniable evidence of a general attitude toward womanhood which ten centuries of native religion and moral philosophy had failed to condemn and rectify. The abolition of foot-binding, therefore, is not merely the passing away of an inhuman institution, but an indication of the coming of an entirely new attitude toward womanhood. In that sense, it is veritably a moral revolution.

This revolution with regard to womanhood, which began with the agitation of Christian missionaries against foot-binding, has been going on all these years. It includes the opening of schools for girls, the gradual spread of co-education in practically all universities and colleges, the entrance of women into professional and even official life, the recognition under the new Civil Code of their equal rights to inherit property with their brothers and the rapid changes in the law and custom concerning marriage and divorce. The revolution is far from completion; but it has already achieved in a few decades what twenty-five centuries of Confucianist humanitarianism and twenty centuries of Buddhist mercy had never dreamed of achieving. May we not call this a great progress?

The same may be said of every phase of Chinese progress in recent decades. Progress in China is doubly difficult, because every change must involve a hard struggle to break away from the dead weight of thousands of years of tradition. It may be unfortunate for China to have to do so much undermining and eroding of her old civilization before any real positive progress can be made. The fact is that the old civilization which the modern world found in China was only the much corrupted remnant of what was once a truly great civilization. Because of geographical isolation and absence of national rivalry, because of stagnant poverty and lack of external stimulus, this old civilization had long become senile, sterile and corrupt from within. Once it ceased to create and expand, it had come to eat up its own substance and sap its own vitality. It had become trivial, petty and primitively cruel,

taking pleasure in fettering and crippling its whole womanhood and in wasting its best brains on utterly useless literary and scholastic gymnastics.

When the modern world knocked at China's doors, it found her literally a sick and badly crippled nation, very nearly breathing her last. She had to be violently shaken out of her deep torpor, and, when she finally woke up, she found herself heavily bound and burdened by the shackles of a senile and corrupt tradition. Enlightened through long contact with a modern world, and armed now with its weapons, China has been striving to free herself from these shackles in order that she may be able to lift up her head and have free movement in this new environment. The work is mainly destructive in appearance, but its destructiveness is of a kind comparable to that of a surgical operation on corrupt and dead tissues. Every cutting destroys, but at the same time brings the patient nearer to recovery. It is in this sense that we are warranted in regarding every step in the breakdown of the old tradition in China as a milestone of progress.

The political revolution of 1911–1912, one of the greatest acts of destruction young China has achieved was no mere overthrow of an incompetent and corrupt dynasty: it was at the same time the creation of a necessary prerequisite for all the subsequent changes and reforms. For the monarchy, although no longer capable of active leadership for positive reforms, was in a position to block and nullify any attempt at innovation. The best illustration was the ill-fated reform régime of 1898. Lasting only 100 days, it was swept away completely by the forces of reaction rallying around the person of the ignorant Empress Dowager Tzu Hsi, who, having crushed this movement, became the imperial patron of the "Boxers" and brought about the terrible fiasco of the Boxer War of 1900.

After 1900 it became apparent that orderly reformation was impossible so long as there still existed this ignorant and corrupt dynasty with absolute powers. Being absolute, it wielded powers that were capriciously arbitrary; being ignorant, it was incapable of intelligent direction and was always dangerously suspicious of any change. No movement for reform could hope to flourish under such circumstances; a memorial to the Throne from one of the imperial censors would be enough to bring about persecution of all its leaders and kill it in the bud.

The political revolution, however superficial it may have appeared to the outside world, and however unsuccessful it may have been in its positive object to develop a genuine constitutional democracy, was therefore no less than a precondition for China's progress in the task of rejuvenation. By removing the most formidable center of reactionary forces, it released all tendencies for innovation and experimentation. It brought home to every man the obvious lesson that even the age-old monarchy must go. And subsequent events have proved beyond doubt that all the great changes in intellectual, educational, social and political life in China have been greatly facilitated by the overthrow of the old dynasty.

Twenty-three years is a very brief period in the history of the renovation of a nation of 400 millions. The progress China has made during so short a time cannot possibly be striking or impressive. Yet, to a person trained to look at things in their historical perspective, every day brings evidence which he recognizes as significant signs of his country's progress. When yesterday I was told by an art student from the

northwestern province of Kansu that it took him less than a fortnight to reach Peiping, I blessed the railways and the motor roads; for I remembered that only a few years ago he would have required 100 days to cover the same distance. And, when I read the numerous brief advertisements of divorce in the daily newspapers of the cities—advertisements which often horrify my missionary friends—I again bless the new Civil Code and the new ideas which have made divorce easy. For I remember that in the old days divorce was well-nigh impossible. And, when I read last month that the law courts in Tientsin had sentenced to 13 years' imprisonment a man and his wife who, enraged at their 16-year-old daughter for having eloped with a young policeman, had drowned her in a river, I could not help blessing the reforms in the law and marveling how rapidly we had broken away from the old tradition under which parents who condemned to death a daughter of proven adultery were not punishable by law.

I could go on interminably with my citation of concrete illustrations of what I have termed the period of most rapid progress. But space only permits me to confine my inventory to one particular phase, namely, China's educational progress.

In a recent broadcast address to the nation, Mr. Wang Shih-chieh, the Minister of Education, reported on the educational progress since 1912. He pointed out that during this period the number of primary school students has increased four-fold; that of secondary school students, ten-fold; and that of college and university students, a 100-fold. In 1931 there were 11,667,888 primary students, 537,757 secondary students and 43,519 college students, as compared with 2,793,633 primary students, 53,100 secondary students and 481 college students in 1912.

This numerical increase is not very impressive, and the disproportionate distribution among the three main grades of education is undoubtedly not what it ought to be. But there are important aspects which the statistical figures fail to show. One of the greatest advances is in the change of the language used in the school texts and in all branches of Chinese literature. Throughout the ages, Chinese school children were taught to read and memorize the Confucian Classics, most of which were written over 2,000 years ago. When the new schools came, new textbooks began to replace the old classics; but even the new texts were written in the classical language, which had long ceased to be a living language and which had to be explained, word for word, in the spoken tongue of the people. Since 1917, the movement for the adoption of the living language as the medium for education and for all literary composition has steadily gained ground. Indeed, in these fields, the use of the vernacular has now become an accomplished fact.

The government began in 1921 to adopt the spoken language for rewriting all primary school texts; and all textbooks in the primary and secondary schools are now written in a language which no longer needs translation. The amount of unnecessary labor and toil thus avoided by the millions of school children every year, cannot be overestimated. Moreover, as a result of this "literary revolution," the new literature, both in verse and in prose, produced during these 10 or 15 years has been preponderantly in the living language, which had long been despised as the "vulgar tongue" but has now been elevated to the dignified position of the National Language (*kuo yu*) of China. This change is comparable to the use of the modern national

languages in Europe to take the place of Latin as the instrumentality of education and literature.

Another important phase of educational progress is the rapid rise of a Chinese teaching staff in the schools and colleges. When I was a student in a secondary school in Shanghai 25 years ago, my school had to engage foreign teachers to teach most of the subjects in the sciences. At that time all the normal schools (of secondary grade) established by the government at important centers from Peking to Canton, from Shanghai and Soochow to Wuchang and Chengtu, had Japanese teachers for most of the scientific subjects. Today we have over a 100 colleges and universities in which practically all departments are headed and taught by Chinese teachers. Some of the departments, like that of geology at the National University of Peking and that of physics at the National Tsing Hua University, can compare favorably with any in the best universities abroad.

Another aspect which cannot be shown statistically is the rapid advance-ment in scientific research by Chinese scholars of modern training. All the scientific progress in China has been the work of the past 20 years. The oldest scientific institution, the National Geological Survey, is only 20 years old. And yet, in spite of disturbing conditions in the country and in spite of great financial difficulties, Chinese scientists have been able to do a good deal of fruitful and original research in various sciences, notably in geology, paleontology, biology, meteorology, physiology, pharmaceutical chemistry, archeology and the historical sciences. The quality of the work done has been fully recognized by the best authorities in the scientific world.

When I watch these activities and recall the difficulties which only a quarter of a century ago the secondary schools in China had to encounter in securing a teacher of elementary science, I cannot suppress a feeling of deep gratification that, after all, the Chinese mind has not been fully crushed by long centuries of wasteful application to sterile literary gymnastics; and that the scientific attitude of the Chinese mind, which was early evidenced by the development of a scientific methodology in historical and phonological research during the past centuries, has now been fully vindicated by its new successes in the broader fields of the modern sciences. May we not hope that, with time and peaceful progress, we may yet develop a scientific civilization through the advancement of what a writer in Nature has recently termed "the Scientific Renaissance of China"?

Chapter 17
Essay in I Believe: The Personal Philosophies of Certain Eminent Men and Women of Our Time

What do I now think of my own philosophy of life of almost 10 years ago? Have I grown dissatisfied with it? Or has it grown more real to me as a result of maturer experience?

Needless to say, these last 10 years have been soul-stirring and heart-rending years in the annals of man and in particular of my own people. I lived through the Japanese aggressions of 1931, 1932, 1933, and 1935. In November and December of 1935, the Japanese military attaché at Peiping repeatedly served demands on the mayor of Peiping that I be "deported" from North China, together with the chancellor of my university because we were opposing and exposing Japanese intrigues to sever the Northern provinces from the rest of China. In 1936, when I passed through Japan on my way back from America, the Japanese press greeted me as "the most powerful leader of anti-Japanism in China." Yet, in all those years, I was frequently criticized and attacked in my own country for being too moderate and too pacifistic, and for advocating too great concessions to Japan. In 1937, both before and after the outbreak of the undeclared war, I worked hard for an eleventh-hour effort to settle the outstanding issues between China and Japan by peaceful methods. During the first months of the war, I witnessed the first 31 air raids on Nanking, and on two occasions I was within short distances from where huge bombs exploded. When it became apparent that the conflagration was beyond control, I gave up my futile efforts of peace and openly supported China's war of resistance to Japanese aggression. I have temporarily forsaken my work in historical research and taken up war service, first as an unofficial observer abroad, and now as Ambassador to the United States.

In short, during these years, I have had to think and write seriously about the problems of national policy and international relations—problems of war and peace. Both as a citizen and publicist, and as a personal friend and critic to leaders in the

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Chapter Note: Clifton Fadiman ed., I Believe: The Personal Philosophies of Certain Eminent Men and Women of Our Time. New York: Simon and Schuster, 1939. pp. 375–378.

C.-P. Chou (ed.) and S. Hu, *English Writings of Hu Shih: Literature and Society (Volume 1)*, China Academic Library, DOI 10.1007/978-3-642-31184-0_17,

government, I had to think and advise on issues which concerned the national welfare and even the national existence of China.

This experience has given me many occasions to test out one of the chief tenets of my own credo. Under the influence of Huxley and Dewey, I had worked out what I termed the concept of intellectual responsibility—the idea of holding one's self morally responsible for what one thinks and says. I had said: "To think sluggishly, to think without strict regard to the antecedents and consequences of thought, to accept ready-made and unanalyzed concepts as premises of thinking, to allow personal factors unconsciously to influence one's thinking, or to fail to test one's ideas by working out their results is to be intellectually irresponsible." "The discovery of a microscopic bacillus may benefit millions of people, but a wrong theory of political or social reconstruction may cause centuries of bloodshed." Huxley expressed it even more emphatically: "The most sacred act of a man's life is to say and to feel 'I believe such and such to be true.' All the greatest rewards, and all the heaviest penalties of existence, cling upon this act."

When in the last 10 years I was compelled to think and write about national and international problems, I was fully aware of the *tremendous responsibility of all social and political thinking*, which to me means thinking and planning for a whole society, for a whole population of hundreds of millions, and in some cases for the whole world. All social and political theorizing deals with situations wherein a careless and dogmatic theory, if taken seriously—as many a careless and dogmatic theory has been taken seriously—may bring about an incalculable amount of confusion, retrogression, and misery. These situations and problems always remind me of the prince who asked Confucius if it were really possible that one saying could build up a state and another might ruin a country. We who live twenty-four centuries after Confucius can cite numerous examples of writings which at one time or another have made or unmade states and empires.

In a sense, philosophers *are* kings. Kings reign only a short time, but philosophers sometimes may rule the mind and the destiny of mankind for ages. And all who now write or talk on social and political subjects and who advise the public on national or international polity are taking the place of ancient philosophers who had no voice in the affairs of the day but who thought and wrote only for a distant posterity. We who have a much better chance than the ancients to be listened to by the public, by the legislators, and by the governments, therefore, should be all the more imbued with a sense of moral responsibility for what we think and broadcast.

Very often I have tried to remind myself and my friends that we who pose to think and plan for the nation, should discipline ourselves in what may be called "responsible thinking." Responsible thinking implies at least, first, the duty to verify our facts and check our evidences; second, the humility to admit the possibility of error of our judgment and to guard against bias and dogmatism; and, thirdly, a willingness to work out as thoroughly as we can all the possible consequences that may follow the acceptance of our theory or policy, and to hold ourselves morally responsible for those consequences.

Some such discipline seems particularly imperative when one thinks and advises a nation on matters as grave as war and peace. More often than not, pacifists are just

as irresponsible in their thinking as the warmongers. And very often it is not wars but the bad peace resulting therefrom that has caused more lasting resentment and hatred and sown the seeds for future wars. Those statesmen, for example, who made the Peace of Versailles, and those American pacifists and isolationists who defeated Woodrow Wilson, discredited Wilsonism, and weakened the new world order that had cost eight and a half million human lives to bring forth, have probably just as much to answer for the sorry state of the world today as the men who now dictate the policies of the aggressor nations.

I do not say that such an attitude of intellectual responsibility will free us from error or fallacy in social and political thinking. Nor do I imagine that I myself was able always to practice such a discipline with success. I merely wish to state my own conviction born of almost 10 years of painful observation and experience, that we who think for the public should have the sense of public duty to cultivate as far as possible such an attitude of responsible thinking.

After all, this attitude is not new. Confucius said long ago: "Do your work reverently." And elsewhere he illustrated this attitude of reverence in these words: "When you go out of doors, act as if you were receiving a most honored guest. When you employ the people, act as if you were officiating at a great sacrificial ceremony." When we are called upon to speculate and plan on matters that involve the life and welfare of millions and generations, how dare we think irreverently?

Chapter 18
Intellectual Preparedness

A commencement address at Union College, June 10, 1940. Also the commencement address before Perdue University in 1941.

I

After this memorable ceremony, you are to be classed with that privileged minority,—the college graduates. This day marks not the conclusion or completion of a period of life, but rather the "commencement" of a new life, the beginning of real life and real responsibilities.

As university graduates, you are expected to be a little "different,"—different from the majority of the people who have not gone to college. You will be expected to talk strangely and to behave queerly.

Some of you may not like to be regarded as different and queer. You may want to mix with the crowd and be identified with it.

Let me assure you that it is very easy to go back to the crowd and be lost in it. You can do it in no time, if you so desire. In no time, you will become a "good fellow," a "good mixer,"—and the people, and you yourselves, will soon forget that you ever went to college.

But, while a university education should certainly not make "snobs" and "cranks" of us, it is not a bad thing for us college graduates always to retain a wee bit of that distinctive mark which, I believe, it is the highest ambition of any educator or educational institution to imprint on us.

What is this distinctive mark of a university man or woman? Most educators would probably agree that it is a more or less trained mind,—a more or less disciplined way of thinking,—which distinguishes, or ought to distinguish, the recipient of a higher education.

Chapter Note: Unpublished manuscript

C.-P. Chou (ed.) and S. Hu, *English Writings of Hu Shih: Literature and Society (Volume 1)*, China Academic Library, DOI 10.1007/978-3-642-31184-0_18,

A person with a trained mind looks at things critically, objectively, and with proper intellectual tools. He does not permit his prejudices and personal interests to color his views and influence his judgment. He is all the time curious, but he is never easily credulous. He does not rush to a hasty conclusion, nor does he lightly echo other people's opinions. He prefers to suspend judgment until he has had time to examine the facts and the evidences.

A trained mind, in short, is one that has been disciplined to be a little incredulous, to be a little suspicious towards the easy snares of prejudice, dogmatism, and blind acceptance of tradition and authority. At the same time a trained mind is never merely negative or destructive. It does not doubt for the sake of doubting; nor does it think "all words are suspect and all judgments phony." It doubts in order to believe, in order to establish or re-establish belief on the firmer foundation of evidence and sound reasoning.

Your 4 years of study, research, and laboratory work must have taught you some such habits of thinking independently, judging objectively, reasoning methodically, and believing evidentially. These are, and should be, the distinctive marks of a college man or a college woman. It is these characteristics which may make you appear "different" and "queer," and which sometimes may make you unpopular, unwelcome, and even shunned and ostracized by the majority of the people in your community.

Nevertheless, these somewhat troublesome traits are the very things which your Alma Mater would be most proud to have inculcated in you during the years of your sojourn here. More than your academic degree and your technical knowledge and skill in your specialized calling, these habits of intellectual discipline are the very things which, if I am not mistaken, it is your duty to cultivate in college and to carry home from these grounds and continue to practice and develop in all your life and activities.

The great English scientist and philosopher, Thomas H. Huxley, has said: "The most sacred act of a man's life is to say and to feel 'I believe such and such to be true.' All the greatest rewards, and all the heaviest penalties of existence, cling upon that act." The discipline and training of the mind in judgment, thought and belief are necessary for your successful performance of this "most sacred act of a man's life."

The first question, therefore, that you should ask yourselves on such a memorable day is: Have I been sufficiently trained in these intellectual disciplines which are expected of me as a recipient of university education? Am I intellectually well-equipped and prepared to perform what Huxley termed "the most sacred act of a man's life"?

II

We must realize that "this most sacred act of a man's life" is at the same time an act of our daily necessity. As another English philosopher, John Stuart Mill, has said: "Every one has daily, hourly, and momentary need of ascertaining facts which he has not directly observed. … The business of the magistrate, of the military

commander, of the navigator, of the physician, of the agriculturist, (and, we may add, of the ordinary citizen, of the voter) is merely to judge of evidence and to act accordingly. … As they do this (thinking or drawing inferences) well or ill, so they discharge well or ill the duties of their several callings. It is the only occupation in which the mind never ceases to be engaged."

Because thinking is often a matter of daily and hourly need, it most easily degenerates into carelessness, indifference and routine. A college education, after all, is rarely capable of inculcating in us a thoroughly mastered and lasting set of intellectual habits. Time is too short for that. The college graduate, after leaving behind him his laboratories and libraries, often feels that he has had enough hard work and laborious thinking, and is now entitled to a kind of intellectual holiday. He may be too busy or too lazy to keep up the little intellectual discipline he has barely learned but not yet fully mastered. He may not like to be marked out as a college-bred "high brow." He may find relief and even delight in baby talk and crowd reactions. At any rate, the college graduate, after leaving college, is subject to the most common danger of slipping back to sluggish and easy-going ways of thinking and believing.

The most difficult problem for the university man or woman, after leaving college, therefore, is how to continue to cultivate and master the laboratory and research attitude and technique of mind so that they may pervade his or her daily thought, life and activities.

There is no general formula which can serve as a safeguard against such relapses. But I am tempted to offer a simple device which has been found useful to myself and to some of my own students and friends.

I would like to suggest that every college graduate should have one or two or more problems sufficiently interesting and intriguing as to demand his attention, study, research or experimentation. All scientific achievement, as you all know, has come from problems that happen to have caught the curiosity and the imagination of a particular observer. It is not true that intellectual interest cannot be kept up without well-equipped libraries or laboratories. What laboratory and library equipment had Archimedes, Galileo, Newton, Faraday, or even Darwin or Pasteur? What was necessary was some intriguing problem which aroused his curiosity, defied his understanding and challenged him to seek its solution. That challenge, that defiance, was enough to lead him on to collect materials, correlate observations, devise tools and build up simple but adequate experiments and laboratories. In these days of well-equipped laboratories and museums, we can still stunt our intellectual growth simply by not taking interest in some challenging but inspiring problems.

After all, 4 years of college education do not give us more than a peep into the vast realm of knowledge, explored and unexplored. Whatever subject we have majored in should not give us such a feeling of self-complacency as to think that there is no problem left unsolved in our particular field. He who leaves the gates of his Alma Mater without one or two intellectual problems to accompany him home and to haunt him from time to time in his waking hours, is intellectually dead.

This is my advice to you: on this memorable day you should spend a few minutes to take an intellectual inventory of yourself and see to it that you should

not go forward into this big world without being armed with one or two intellectual puzzles, which you resolve to solve. You can't take your professors with you nor can you take your college libraries and laboratories with you. But you can take a few puzzling questions with you which will constantly disturb your intellectual complacency and lethargy, and which will give you no peace until you have finally attacked them and successfully dismissed them. Then, lo and behold, in tackling and solving these little puzzling problems, you not only are perfecting and mastering the techniques of thinking and research, but are at the same time opening up new intellectual horizons and achieving new scientific heights.

III

This little device of always having a few intriguing problems to challenge you serves many a purpose. It keeps alive your intellectual interest throughout life. It opens up new avocational interests, new hobbies. It lifts your daily life above the level of routine and drudgery. It often gives you a delightful taste of that intellectual rapture when you, in the stillness of the night, suddenly succeed in solving one of your difficult pet problems and feel like waking up your household and shouting at them "Eureka! Eureka!"

But the most important use of this practice of problem-seeking and problem-solving lies in its serving to train our faculties, to sharpen our wits, and thereby to thoroughly master the laboratory and research method and technique. The mastery of the technique of thinking may lead you to achieve original intellectual heights. But at the same time it should also gradually pervade your life and make you a better judge in the performance of your daily activities. It should make you a better citizen, a more intelligent voter, a more enlightened reader of the newspapers and a more competent critic of current events, national or international.

This training is most important to you, because you are citizens and voters in a democracy. You are living in a time of soul-stirring and heart-rending events, of wars that threaten to destroy the very foundations of your government and civilization. And you are swamped on all sides by powerful water-tight ideologies, subtle propaganda, and wilful falsifications of history. In this whirlwind kind of a world you are expected to form your judgments, make your decisions, cast your votes, and play your part!

You are warned to be constantly on your guard against sinister propaganda. But how are you going to guard yourselves against propaganda, when the very persons who thus warn you are often themselves professional propagandists, only for a different brand of canned goods, equally ready-made and equally hermetically-sealed!

You are told, for example, that all the idealistic slogans of the last World War, such as "War to make the world safe for democracy," and "War to end all wars," are all bunk and smokescreens. But the same debunkers want us all to believe that American participation in the last World War was brought about by the

money-lenders and war-profiteers "in the defense of the American dollar and the British pound"!

To take another group of examples, you have been brought up on the belief that your form of government,—government of the people,—which respects individual human liberty, and in particular protects the freedom of thought, belief, expression and publication, is one of the greatest achievements of mankind. But you are now told by the new prophets of our own age that democratic representative government is only a necessary concomitant phenomenon of the capitalistic system of economics and has no intrinsic merits, nor permanent value, and that individual liberty is not necessarily desirable and should be subordinated and even suppressed in the interest of collective well-being and power.

These and many other antitheses are found everywhere and are confusing your thoughts and paralyzing your actions. How are you preparing to meet all these? Surely not by closing your eyes and ears to them. Surely not by merely taking shelter under the good old traditional beliefs, for tradition itself is being challenged and attacked. Surely not by accepting whole-heartedly any one of the ready-made and water-tight systems of thought and belief, for, while such a dogmatic system may spare you the further trouble of independent thinking, it will so encase and enslave your mind that you will henceforth remain intellectually an automaton.

The only way in which you may hope to maintain some mental balance and poise and to be able to exercise some independent judgment of your own, is to train your mind and master a technique of free reflective thinking. It is in these days of intellectual confusion and anarchy that we can more fully appreciate the value and efficacy of the intellectual discipline which will enable us to seek the truth—the truth that will make us free.

There is no mystery about this discipline or technique. It is the same methodology which you have learned in the laboratories and which your best teachers have practiced all their lives and have taught you in your research papers. It is the scientific method of research and experimentation. It is the same method which you will learn to use in all your attempts to solve the little intellectual puzzles which I advise you always to have with you. It is this same method which, when thoroughly drilled into us, will enable us to think more clearly and more competently about the social, economic and political problems that we must face squarely every day.

In its essence, this scientific technique consists of a most solicitous regard for the control and testing of all suggestions, ideas and theories by their consequences. All thinking begins with a perplexing problem or situation. Ideas are welcome as hypothetical suggestions for the solution of such a perplexity. But every hypothesis must be tested out by working out all the possible consequences which must result from its adoption. That hypothesis, the consequences of which will most satisfactorily overcome the original perplexities, is to be accepted as the best and truest solution. Such is the essence of scientific thinking in all physical, historical and social sciences.

The greatest fallacy of men is to imagine that social and political problems are so simple and easy that they do not require the rigid disciplines of the scientific method, and that they can be judged and solved by the rule of thumb.

Exactly the opposite is the truth. Social and political problems are problems that involve the fate and welfare of millions of human beings. Just because of their tremendous complexity and importance, they are so difficult that they are to this day not yet amenable to exact quantitative measurement and exact method of testing and experimentation. Even the most scrupulous care and rigid methodology do not insure against error. But these difficulties do not exempt or excuse us from tackling these gigantic social and political problems with as much conscientiousness and critical insight as we can possibly apply to them.

Twenty-five hundred years ago, a prince asked Confucius these questions: "Is there any one saying that can build up a kingdom? And is there any one saying that can wreck a kingdom?"

Social and political thinking always reminds me of these two questions asked of Confucius. For social and political thinking invariably means thinking and planning for a whole nation, for a whole society, or for the whole world. Therefore all social and political theorizing deals with situations wherein a careless or dogmatic theory, if taken seriously, may bring about an incalculable amount of confusion, retrogression, war and devastation,—situations wherein one saying may actually bless a state and another may actually wreck an empire.

Only the other day Mr. Hitler issued an order to his armies which he said would determine the fate of his country and his people for the next thousand years!

But it is not Mr. Hitler alone whose thinking determines the life and death of millions of people. All of you here should have to think about your national and international problems, who have to make choice in your coming local and national elections, who have to form opinions or make decisions on problems of war and peace,—yes, you too are thinking in situations wherein the rightness or wrongness of your thinking may affect the welfare of millions of people, and may directly or indirectly determine the fate of the world and its civilization for a thousand years to come!

It is, therefore, the sacred duty of us all, as members of that privileged minority of university men and women to prepare ourselves seriously and competently to undertake our everyday thinking and judging in a time like this and in a world like this. It is our sacred duty to discipline ourselves to think responsibly.

Responsible thinking implies at least these three elemental requirements: first, the duty to verify our facts and check our evidences; second, the humility to admit the possibility of error of our judgment and to guard against bias and dogmatism; and, thirdly, a willingness to work out as thoroughly as we can all the possible consequences that may follow the acceptance of our view or theory, and to hold ourselves morally responsible for those consequences.

To think sluggishly, to allow personal and partisan factors unconsciously to influence our thinking, to accept ready-made and unanalysed ideas as premises of thinking, or to fail to test one's ideas by working out their possible consequences is to be guilty of intellectual irresponsibility.

Are you prepared to perform this most sacred act of your life—thinking responsibly?

Chapter 19
The Place of the Alumni Organization in the History of Universities

Address given at the Alumni Association of Cornell University, Boston, MA, November 15, 1940.

I come from a very old country. The first Chinese government university was established in the second century B.C. and by the second century A.D. that university had as many as 30,000 students and was considered a political force.

Our public colleges (Shu Yuan) also began quite early, the first ones dating back to the tenth century A.D. Throughout the last ten centuries many of these public colleges, scattered over the country, played a very important part as centers of philosophical thought and classical learning.

Unfortunately, the modern university in China cannot claim lineal descent from either the government university of the various dynasties or from the public colleges that flourished during these ten centuries. Those old institutions of higher learning passed away with the old regime, and China has had to build up her modern colleges and universities entirely from fresh beginnings. Paradoxical as it may sound, it is a fact that China, with thirty centuries of recorded history, has no university that can claim much over 40 years of age.

Four years ago, when I participated at the Tercentenary Celebration of the Harvard University, there were over 500 delegates representing the universities and learned societies all over the world. Each delegate was given a number, the order of which was arranged in accordance with the date of the founding of his institution. Number 1 was an Egyptian University; Number 2, the University of Bologna; Number 3, the University of Paris; Number 4, the University of Oxford; and Number 5, the University of Cambridge. Representing two government institutions and one private college, I was given three numbers, all of which were quite near the 500 mark.

You will naturally ask: Why have not those ancient Chinese universities and colleges been continued to the modern times? Why cannot the modern Chinese

Chapter Note: Cornell Papers. 1940.

C.-P. Chou (ed.) and S. Hu, *English Writings of Hu Shih: Literature and Society (Volume 1)*, China Academic Library, DOI 10.1007/978-3-642-31184-0_19,

university, like the modern University of Bologna or Paris or Oxford, trace its descent to any of the ancient historical institutions?

The fact is that the Chinese university, whether governmental or public, was never sufficiently institutionalized to insure a continuous and self-perpetuating existence. The governmental university was a part of the governmental system, its chancellors and professors being appointed under the same system of civil service. They came to be appointed professors at a certain stage of the system, and passed out of the university at another stage to become administrative officials; some one of them might return as Chancellor of the National University and then again go out to serve as a Cabinet Minister. Even the students in the government universities formed a part of the civil service examination system. There was no permanent staff or faculty, no separate endowment, no independent administration. Therefore, the government university was subject to all the changes and vicissitudes of the government and the dynasty.

The public colleges of recent centuries usually fared better than the government universities. They usually had some endowment in the form of landed property, the proceeds of which provided them with funds for their running expenses. But the administration of such property was usually left in the hands of local gentry who were often subject to the political influence of the government. The appointment of the presidents and professors of these public colleges, while not under the civil service system, was made by the highest provincial officials in consultation with the local gentry. Therefore, these public colleges, too, never attained the state of independence and self-government as attained by the universities and colleges of the West since the Middle Ages.

Historically, the permanence and continuous independence of the university in the Occident, and especially in the United States of America, has depended largely upon the degree of success in securing accumulation and preservation of material resources and intellectual tradition, economic independence, and self-government.

These essential elements have been made possible by the growth and development of three institutions: (1) the College Corporation, or the Board of Trustees, as the property-holding and financing body and as the governing and policy-forming organ; (2) the Faculty as the center of university government, the transmitter of academic tradition and the upholder of academic freedom; and (3) the organization of the alumni as the body which not only fosters college traditions and loyalty, but also contributes to the financial support and self-government of the university.

In the development of these institutions, the American college and university have played a very important part. In particular, I would like to point out that the alumni organization is distinctly an American contribution, for neither the European university nor the British university has succeeded in organizing its graduates after leaving the Alma Mater. The institution of the alumni organization is being imitated and adopted in those countries where the educational development has been influenced by the American university life.

The historical importance of these institutions is often not fully understood by those who have been accustomed to them as matters of course. We shall better appreciate their great historic importance when we realize how their non-existence

has been chiefly responsible for the impermanence and short life of universities in other lands. And we shall better appreciate their great importance when we see how easily academic freedom and university self-government can be taken away in those parts of the world where such safe-guarding institutions have not taken deep root.

Even in a democracy like this, the peculiar significance of the alumni organization, for example, can be seen in the history of those state universities and colleges where the control of the purse does not rest with the College Corporation or with the Board of Trustees, but where the development of a powerful alumni body often can greatly strengthen the university administration and faculty in the attainment of greater measures of financial independence and freedom from political control.

Indeed, the first alumni organization—that on Harvard University—was formed about 100 years ago, almost expressly for the purpose of giving financial aid to the Alma Mater and gradually freeing her from the political control of the Commonwealth of Massachusetts. As told in an interesting article by Mr. William G. Roelker in the *Harvard Alumni Bulletin* (Vol. 42, No. 30, Part 2), the movement to organize the alumni of Harvard was actuated by a realization of the need to solve the problem, "Who Shall Oversee the Overseers?"

Harvard College, as you well know, has two governing boards—the Corporation or "the President and Fellows of Harvard College," and the Overseers which for over 200 years included the Governor, the Deputy Governor, the Upper House of the Legislature and the Ministers of the six neighboring towns. The acts of the Corporation, with the exception of those relating to property and financial matters, must be sent to the Overseers for their consent.

Throughout the early decades of the nineteenth century, prominent alumni of Harvard were trying to introduce legislation in the State Legislature to free the University from the control of the State by advocating that the Governor and other officers of the Commonwealth should cease to be Overseers ex officiis, and that Harvard graduates and holders of honorary degrees might elect the Overseers and fill vacancies. This movement could not succeed until there was a well organized alumni body. The first constitution of the Harvard Alumni Association was adopted, and officers elected, on Commencement Day, August 26, 1840,—exactly 100 years ago. The first meeting of the Association was held in 1841. But this first Association was not well organized and soon "began to run down." It was reorganized about 1852 and began to work for collective gifts to the University. The reorganization and subsequent success of the Harvard Alumni Association contributed much to the success in the political movement for university self-government. The Act of April 28, 1865, completed the "dissolution of Harvard from the State." The Harvard Alumni voted for the first time in 1866 to elect Overseers. By 1871, all Overseers were chosen by the Alumni.

This episode of the founding of the Harvard Alumni Association best illustrates the historic mission of the organized alumni body. No mere get-together, nor mere renewal of old comradeship, however valuable these things may be, could justify such an elaborate organization as the alumni association of a modern American university. Behind the joviality and conviviality of the home-coming, the alumni body has a serious purpose to fulfil.

As one interested in the historical evolution of the university throughout the world, I am inclined to say that we are here gathered today to celebrate what may be historically called the "third estate" of the university,—the Alumni Association, the latest American contribution to the safe-guarding of the permanence and independence of a free university life.

Chapter 20
A Historian Looks at Chinese Painting

I know practically nothing of Chinese art in general and Chinese painting in particular. But I have a notion that Chinese art might be studied as an integral part of the history of Chinese culture. In particular, I am curious to find out whether I could apply to the study of Chinese art certain general conclusions which I have found useful in my researches in the history of Chinese literature.

Every new development in Chinese literature can be traced in a cycle of four stages: every new form has its origin among the common people; it achieves great vitality through the bold and free experimentation and revision by numberless, nameless artists of the people; it attains maturity only when master minds of the educated class are attracted to adopt the new form as their own and give it a depth in content and perfection in form; and, finally, it reaches the stage of decadence when it becomes the object of blind imitation and conservative solidification.

The Chinese novel, for example, undoubtedly had its origin in the popular tales and recitals of the street and the market place. Eventually, gifted writers of the scholarly class, attracted by the great tales of unknown authors, retouched them and made them the masterpieces which have remained best-sellers for centuries. Then came a period, from the seventeenth century down, when Chinese novelists produced great novels of their own, novels of political satire, family life and social problems. The Chinese novel has not yet reached its stage of decadence.

The history of Chinese drama is even more instructive. The drama was for a long time a form of popular entertainment. The first actors were men and women of lowliest social standing. Then came the period of Mongol conquest, first of North China, then of South China, during which Chinese scholars with classical training often had no legitimate channel for civic advancement. Some of these scholars condescended to retouch plays or write original plays for the popular stage. These were usually in four or five acts, written to meet the requirements of time and space

Chapter Note: Asia. May, 1941. Vol. 41. No. 5. pp. 215–218.

C.-P. Chou (ed.) and S. Hu, *English Writings of Hu Shih: Literature and Society (Volume 1)*, China Academic Library, DOI 10.1007/978-3-642-31184-0_20,

for such entertainment. Because of the adoption of this popular literary form by some of the foremost writers of the age, the best dramas of the Yüan period can be ranked among the great masterpieces of the world. In later periods many literary men wrote poetic dramas but, dissociated from the players and directors of the popular stage, they were no longer writing dramas for production: they were writing interminable narrative verses in a dead language. The age of the great dramas had passed. During the past two centuries various local types of popular drama have been developed but none of these has been accepted by men of letters. Consequently, the popular stage of the past 200 years has produced no drama of literary worth.

One of the questions which often puzzles the student of the history of Chinese art is: Why has China been deficient in certain arts while she excels in others? Why, for example, has China never achieved a higher level of development in architecture and in music? Why of all the plastic and graphic arts has China been most successful in painting? And why in the field of painting has China developed landscape farther than any other branches of painting?

Questions like these do not present serious difficulties to us students of the history of Chinese literature. China is deficient in those arts which have remained throughout the centuries in the hands of uneducated artisans and which have not had the illuminating touch of men of advanced education, rich experience and refined taste, as well as native artistic genius. Architecture and music are the two outstanding examples of undeveloped art in China.

All ancient schools of Chinese thought unanimously condemned extravagant public expenditure on architectural grandeur. They praised the primitive rustic simplicity of the houses wherein the legendary sage-rulers were supposed to have lived and they taught that rulers lavishing the taxpayers' money on "high roofs and carved walls" were destined to ruin their kingdoms by their extravagance. This almost universal condemnation was temporarily swept away during the long period of domination of Buddhism and later of Taoism. In the medieval period, wealthy and influential followers of both religions vied with one another in the building of temples and monasteries. The splendor and grandeur of Buddhist temples and monasteries were described in detail in Yang Hsuan-chih's Lo-Yang-Chia-Lan-Ki (The Buddhist Temples and Monasteries of Lo-Yang) which was completed in 547 A.D. and which was one of the very few Chinese books that expressed almost unreserved praise for the architectural beauty of Buddhist places of worship and meditation.

Orthodox Chinese Confucianist thought, however, continued to censure vast expenditures on either imperial palaces or religious edifices. Because of this strong prejudice on the part of the scholarly class, China has produced no great architect of the scientific and creative type. There has been no serious work on architecture by Chinese scholars. Even the famous *Ying-Tsao-Fa-Shih* of Li Ming-chung was merely a great compilation of the existing architectural forms and devices, but it was not an original contribution. It was only in recent centuries that a few artistic minds of the scholarly class took some interest in landscape gardening. But, on the whole, architecture, the art least influenced by the educated class, has progressed little beyond the traditional empirical craft of the practising carpenter and mason.

The same reason can explain the backwardness of Chinese music and sculpture. Those of us who are familiar with the great emphasis which Confucius and his early followers laid on music often cannot understand how this art failed to attain a higher level of development in subsequent ages. My own explanation is that the exaltation of music and dance by the early Confucianist school was overshadowed by two counterforces: the religious school of Mo Ti, which condemned all fine arts as useless extravagance; and the naturalistic teachings of Lao-tze, Chuang-tze and other Taoistic philosophers, who condemned music and the other fine arts as the distracting devices of an artificial civilization. Moreover, as the educated class overemphasized bookish knowledge and purely literary pursuits, music came to be regarded no longer as an important part of the education of a gentleman but only as the art of the professional entertainer. The government and the orthodoxy of Confucianism continued religiously to preserve the most ancient musical instruments, which were to be played once a year in the temple of Confucius. Nobody knew, nor cared to know, how they were played or what they played. And all modern music and all modern musical instruments were sweepingly despised as vulgar and improper.

All these arts came from the people, reached a certain level of development and then ceased to grow. But, whenever men of education and refined taste could overcome prejudice and actively take up any one of these arts, their participation often produced periods of marked progress. Such was the case of the development in landscape gardening during the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, of religious sculpture and modeling during certain periods of medieval China and of musical revival and its effect on the operatic dramas in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries.

The development of porcelain is even more strikingly illustrative. Every period of great progress in Chinese porcelain has been the result of active participation by cultivated artists under imperial patronage. The Ming pottery was essentially the product of unlettered workers who had a primitive delight in the loud colors and vulgar designs. But the masterpieces of the early Ts'ing period were the result of refined taste, artistic design and careful study and experimentation by the best artistic talent which the wealth and power of the empire could command. When that imperial patronage and supervision declined, Chinese porcelain was again relegated to the level of a commercial craft.

It has been said that painting is the preëminent art of China. The historical fact is that painting happens to be the art preëminently suited to the life and training of the Chinese scholar and man of letters. Chinese painting requires the same skill and mastery in the wielding of the brush which the Chinese scholar must acquire in learning to write well. In fact, writing is almost the only occupation in which even the most bookish scholar must use his hands. This is the main reason, I think, why calligraphy and painting are the only two fine arts which the scholarly class in China has taken up and developed to such heights.

Yet it must have been a long time before the Chinese scholar discovered that his writing brush was essentially the same as the coarser brush of the house-painter and that the skill he had acquired in the art of writing was the best preparation and training

for painting. Historically it actually took many centuries for the Chinese scholar to be sufficiently interested in the art of painting to make it his own. For, whereas calligraphy had long become an essential part of the scholar's life, painting in ancient China was still regarded as the work of the hired artisan. Even the portrait painter was a craftsman of no social standing. The following episode in the life of the great artist-statesman Yen Li-peng shows that, even as late as the seventh century, the term "painter" (*hua shih*, or "master of painting") was still distasteful and distressing to a scholar:

> One day, when the Emperor (Tai-Chung) had a boating party on the Palace Lake, his attention was attracted by a group of beautiful birds alighting and floating on the water. He told his guests to write poems to celebrate the occasion and sent for the artist Yen Li-peng to paint the birds in color. The court couriers shouted the Emperor's order in relay: "Call the painter [*hua shih*] Yen Li-peng!"
>
> Yen, who was then already an official of some rank, hurried to the Palace, knelt by the lake shore, mixed his dyes and began to paint the birds. When he looked up and saw his colleagues sitting in the Emperor's boat, he felt ashamed of himself and his art.
>
> When Yen returned to his home, he said to his sons: "I have pursued the scholarly life ever since my boyhood. But I am now appreciated only through my paintings and am treated on the same level as the servants and hired laborers. I want you never to learn my art!"

Historically, painting came to be adopted by the men of letters through two channels: religion and literature.

The almost national conversion to Buddhism after the third century A.D. brought into being a vast number of Buddhist temples and monasteries which were invariably filled with mural paintings depicting episodes in the life of the Buddha, or stories from the *sutras*. Most of the pictures were painted by professional decorators. But because these episodes were taken from the Buddhist scriptures, scholarship was necessary to understand and interpret them. As the new religion reached the best families of the nation, the influence of the Buddhist laity was gradually felt in the improvement or refinement of both the literature and the art of Chinese Buddhism. Talented and learned artists of high standing were invited or voluntarily offered to undertake the religious murals for the great temples and monasteries which were intended as an effective means of religious education for people. Stories were told of such mural paintings by Ku Kai-chih of the fourth century A.D., Chang Seng-yu of the sixth century, Wu Tao-tze of the eighth century and others.

In addition to the influence of religion, there were taking place in this formative age of Chinese art, philosophical and literary movements which also played no mean part in the development of Chinese painting. The prevailing school of Chinese thought during the third, fourth and fifth centuries was philosophical naturalism, vaguely called "Taoism." It was in terms of this philosophical naturalism that Buddhist philosophical concepts and ideas were made intelligible to the Chinese student. This naturalistic philosophy, however, had no interest either in the extravagant architectural splendor and grandeur of the Buddhist temples or in the gaudy or horrifying pictorial representations of the bliss of paradise or the horror of hell. It was making itself felt in the rise of a new school of poetry in the

fifth century, which was called the poetry of "Shan Shui" (mountain and water). The leading representatives of this new poetry were Tao Chien (d. 427) and Hsieh Ling-yun (d. 433). These poets were writing of what they had seen and felt in the flowing streams, the singing waterfalls, the mist, the snow, the rugged rocks and the fallen leaves. It was from this school of poetry that Chinese landscape painting derived its name "Shan Shui."

Buddhism underwent fundamental and radical transformation after the eighth century when the Ch'an or Zen movement sought to sweep away all the formalism, verbalism and ritualism of Mahayana Buddhism by its esoteric and frankly iconoclastic philosophy. Much of the imagery and ritualism of earlier Buddhism survived. But they no longer attracted the great painters. The age of religious painting had passed. Religious fervor and the demand for religious paintings awakened the interest of the scholarly class in painting, but, even at the height of the medieval religions, Chinese artists were already broadening the scope of painting by devoting more and more attention to such secular objects as landscapes, human portraits, animals and still life.

The existing works of the poets and prose writers of the T'ang Dynasty furnish us with much material for our understanding of the history of Chinese painting during that most important period. The poetry of Wang Wei, for example, gives us the best evidence of the intimate connection between the "Shan Shui" poetry and the "Shan Shui" painting. "There is poetry in his painting, and there is painting in his poetry." This verdict of the critics best sums up the spirit and ideal of the landscape school both in poetry and in painting.

But the T'ang records also show us that the painting of that age was essentially realistic in its discipline and technique, and still far away from the impressionistic and poetic art of later periods. Tu Fu, who died in 770, described his artist friend Wang's "Shan Shui" painting in these lines:

> It takes him ten days to paint a stream,
> And five days to draw a rock.
> He refuses to be pressed or hurried.
> Only in this way will he consent to give us his realistic pictures.

In his famous ode to General Tsao Pa, Tu Fu tells us that this great painter who retouched the imperial series of portraits of the founders of the empire was a most painstaking painter of horses and was the teacher of Han Kan, another great painter of horses. In the same poem, we are told that General Tsao Pa was fond of making portraits of the people he met and liked, and that, during the war-stricken years in the middle of the eighth century, he even condescended to sketch the faces of the ordinary men of the street. A later poet (Su Shih) quotes Han Kan as saying that his real teachers were the hundreds of horses in the imperial stables. It was this realism (*shieh chen*) in depicting secular, natural and living subjects which laid the foundation for the development of the freer school of painting in a later age.

With the decline of the medieval religions, with the development of the great schools of Zen Buddhism and with the revival and spread of secular learning through the invention of the printed book, the Chinese renaissance was entering its

period of maturity during the Northern and Southern Sung Dynasties. It was during this period that the Imperial Academy of Court Painters was founded first in the North and then in the South. And it was during the same period that Chinese "literary men's painting" first achieved its highest development in the hands of such great geniuses as Su Shih, Mi Fei and Wen Tung. For the first time, color was consciously abandoned in favor of the black and white sketches, and realistic delineation of the object was consciously considered secondary to the impressionistic grasp and expression of the idea and the spirit. It was Su Shih (1036–1101) who gives us this famous dictum:

> To judge a painting by the standard of bodily likeness,
> Is as naïve as the thinking of a child.

How far has Chinese painting broken away from the realistic art of the house decorator and even from Hsieh Ho's six canons!

This does not mean that the impressionistic artists did not have to go through the necessary discipline of a realistic portrayal of objects. On the contrary, the great painters since the time of Su Shih have always been great draftsmen, masterly wielders of the brush and careful students of the anatomy of objects. But they have sought to achieve more by transcending mere bodily likeness, by eliminating what they consider as nonessential, and by concentrating on, or even exaggerating, what they endeavor to express. As an early nineteenth-century painter of bamboo has expressed it:

> The bamboos are my teachers,
> I do not imitate the old masters.
> When the hand, the eye and the mind arrive together,
> There under the brush the spirit is expressed.

The above account practically amounts to a defense of the preëminence of the "literary men's painting" which years ago certain art critics both in America and in Japan tried to discredit and even condemn. I have tried to show that Chinese painting has followed a historical development quite similar to that of many movements in the history of Chinese literature. The moral of this historical lesson has been that, while the art had its origin in professional artisans and craftsmen, it has achieved the greatest altitude and depth only when it has become the medium of expression of the thought and experience of the greatest cultivated minds of the times. The achievement of Chinese painting has been possible only because it embodies the best contribution of the best minds of the nation throughout the ages.

But the moral does not stop there. In Chinese painting, as in every phase of Chinese literature, decadence sets in when free and creative experimentation gives way to slavish imitation and conservative solidification. Too much of Chinese painting was the product of unintelligent imitation by dilettantes or commercialized craftsmen. In every period of such complacent decadence, it was always the creative or "eccentric" artists, such as the Prince-monks of the

seventeenth century or the "cranky" artists of Yangchow in the eighteenth century, who startled the art world with their bold creations and brought Chinese painting once more out of its slumbers of complacency and commonplace. Without these creative minds, Chinese painting could not have achieved its many renaissances.

Chapter 21
The Chinese Art Society

Inaugural address delivered at the Chinese Art Society of America, November 17, 1944.

The founding and inauguration of the Chinese Art Society take place in the midst of a terrible global war which has lasted 7 years and a half in the China theater, 5 years in the European theater, and fully 3 years since the attack on Pearl Harbor and the forced participation of the United States in practically all fronts.

It seems such an unwarranted luxury for all of us to tear ourselves away from our anxious concern in the war, and turn once more to the contemplation and enjoyment of our favorite art objects from China and pledge ourselves in a new bond of comradeship for the advancement of the study and understanding of their historical development and their underlying philosophy.

All this seems so unreal in wartime! Yet, when you look at this new undertaking in the proper light, you will agree with me that we need not apologize for our presence here tonight. We are assembled here to inaugurate a kind of war work and a kind of post-war planning.

It is war work, because we recognize Chinese Art as one of the most important keys to the mutual understanding and friendship between two of the great fighting Allies in the war, China and the United States. It is serious war work, because at this critical hour every effort to maintain and enhance this mutual understanding and friendship is urgently needed in our common fight against our common enemy. And it is also post-war planning, because we want to continue and perpetuate that understanding and friendship in the decades and centuries to come when our two peoples must work together for a better world and a better associated life.

Some months ago, I was asked to make a speech in Chicago on the "Foundations of Friendship between China and America." I made that speech in April, but I have

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Chapter Note: Pamphlet. New York: Chinese Art Society of America, 1944. 10 pages.

C.-P. Chou (ed.) and S. Hu, *English Writings of Hu Shih: Literature and Society (Volume 1)*, China Academic Library, DOI 10.1007/978-3-642-31184-0_21,

ever since been thinking about that topic—What have been the historical factors that form the foundation of Sino-American friendship?

My present answer is that this unique friendship has stood upon four foundation stones:

> First, nearly a century of non-aggressive, friendly and helpful policy on the part of the United States Government toward China.
> Second, nearly a century of American missionary work, especially in the field of general education, modern medicine and surgery, and the education of women.
> Third, 70 years of education of selected young men and women in the best American universities and colleges.
> In addition to these three, there has been a fourth and equally important foundation stone, namely the 50 or 60 years of collecting, exhibiting and studying of the works of Chinese Art by the American museums, private collectors, and individual scholars.

As I traveled in this country from coast to coast, from Boston and Cambridge, New York and Washington, through the midwest, through Chicago and Kansas City, to Minneapolis, Seattle, San Francisco and Los Angeles—everywhere I could notice and realize the wide-spread interest and warm appreciation of Chinese Art on the part of the American people. Everywhere I was deeply conscious of the historic fact that the many excellent collections of Chinese porcelain, Chinese bronze and jade, Chinese sculpture and painting in those centers of population and culture had long served as Chinese cultural ambassadors to the American people and had laid a better and firmer foundation of friendship and understanding than any missionary or diplomat can possibly hope to do.

Therefore, in organizing this new society, we are only pledging to add our bit to this great foundation work of Sino-American friendship and understanding through the study and appreciation of the Art of China.

This renewal of effort in the direction of a better understanding of China is particularly needed today. We are aware that in recent months, China has had her full share of adverse criticism in the American press. China, which was the first nation to take up the fight against the aggressors and which has fought aggression the longest, has now become probably the most unpopular, the most severely criticized of all the United Nations.

In such an atmosphere of severe criticism against China, we are holding the first meeting of the Chinese Art Society. In re-kindling public interest in Chinese Art, we are in fact re-directing public attention to some of the fundamental phases in China's national life and civilization, which transcend all momentary vicissitudes of war and politics.

Only 3 days ago, *The New York Times*, in an editorial on a tragic subject has these encouraging words to say:

> There seems to be something within the Chinese people that keeps them from despair, some profound conviction that their nation cannot be destroyed.

What is that "something" within the Chinese people which keeps them from despair?

The study of the history of Chinese Art may furnish us with at least a partial answer. Think of the works of such patriot-artists as Chêng Ssu-hsiao and Wang Mien under the Mongol conquest, or Shih T'ao or Pata Shan-jen under the Manchu conquest. What a time they lived in! And yet how they worked at their art as a medium of expression for their national consciousness, their loyalty, their hope and their humor!

A people who in their artistic creations display so much genuine love of nature and love of freedom, cannot be conquered by force. A people whose artistic history shows an unbroken continuity of 3,000 years of cultural heritage and vitality,—a continuity which has never meant stagnant and slavish adherence to tradition, but which has always allowed and encouraged originality, freedom, and bold experimentation,—such a people cannot help cherishing "some profound conviction that their nation cannot be destroyed."

In this sense, our meeting tonight and the work of the society in the future may be considered as a form of war work in that all this tends to bring about better understanding between China and her great Western Allies.

The work of our Society, of course, lies mainly in the future. In that sense, our work is a kind of post-war planning.

What do we plan to do in this great field of Chinese Art?

The wealth of China and Japan is destroyed by the war. The centers of art collections in China are all in ruins. The former wealthy collectors of Peking, Shanghai, Soochow, Nanking, Hangchow, Nan-hsün, Hongkong, Canton, are fast selling their art treasures for a mere pittance of depreciated money. And the cities of Japan, where much of this treasure has gone, will certainly be bombed and destroyed before the war is over. It is inevitable that many, if not all, of the art treasures in China and Japan will be lost. And it is also likely that because of financial inflation and hard times in the years immediately following the war, many of the art objects that survive this war will probably pass into American museums and homes.

It is quite conceivable, therefore, that, within the next decade or so, America may become the richest storehouse of the best Chinese bronze, sculpture, and painting in the world.

What are you planning to do with your vast collections of Chinese Art?

As an ignoramus in Art, but speaking as a historian, I would like very much to suggest, on this propitious occasion, that the Chinese Art Society devote itself to the great work of a complete systematic "survey of Chinese Art in America." I suggest that the society raise a working fund and appoint an expert committee to conduct this "survey," which should result in a completely illustrated union catalogue of all the Chinese bronze vessels, sculptures, paintings, and porcelain in the American museums and private collections.

The catalogue should be descriptive rather than critical. It should make full use of the best technique of modern photography. In the case of bronze vessels bearing inscriptions, the inscriptions should be shown, not necessarily with translations. In the case of paintings, the cataloguing should aim at inclusiveness and completeness rather than strict authenticity in identification and dating. It may be found that the most reliable method of achieving authoritative identification and dating is through exact photographing of the spurious as well as the authentic.

The usefulness of such a survey need not be elaborated to such an expert assembly. I believe that such a comprehensive survey is the first step toward a systematic and scientific study of Chinese Art in all its branches. It is the only means to lay a scientific foundation for future advancement in our knowledge and understanding of Chinese Art.

Let us take the bronze vessels as illustration. Because of the recent planned excavations at Anyang by Chinese archaeologists, and because of the rapid advancement in the knowledge of the oracular bone writings of the Shang period, there has been a great development in contemporary Chinese scholarship in the study of the bronze vessels of both the Shang and Chou peoples. Much of this progress has been due to increased facilities of photographing and description of bronze vessels in China and Japan in the years before the war.

This new native scholarship will be found useful or even indispensable to American scholars who wish to study Chinese bronze historically and scientifically. A systematic cataloguing and exact photographing of the vast number of bronze vessels now scattered all over America will make it possible for trained scholars, both in China and in America, to compare and exchange their findings and thereby to achieve new advancement of knowledge by obtaining more materials for comparison and study. An isolated piece of bronze in a private home or in a show-case or store-room of a museum can become an important link in historical and archaeological knowledge only when it is made accessible, through exact photographing, to comparative study by competent scholars.

The same is true of the study of Chinese paintings. A union catalogue of paintings in exact photographic reproductions will no doubt furnish a fresh start in the advancement of more exact knowledge in this difficult field. It will surely render great help to the museum experts and private collectors themselves by thus gathering together so much material for comparison and critical examination. It is through such comprehensive comparative studies that we may hope to arrive at some reliable criteria of critical identification and dating of the works of individual painters.

In 1603, Ku Ping, a Chinese painter of high standing, published a remarkable work, entitled “Ku’s Book of Paintings.” It consists of 106 paintings in exquisite wood-cuts representing 106 great artists from Ku Kai-chih down to the sixteenth century. Being a master painter himself, he devoted many years to the work of making his own copies in standard size from what he considered authentic paintings of the old masters, and had these copies exactly and beautifully traced on wood.

This novel idea of preserving the old masters by hand copies cut on wood, Ku Ping tells us, he got from his friend Ch’uan Tien-hsu,—the great-great-uncle of the famous eighteenth century scholar Ch’uan Tsu-wang,—who wrote a lengthy preface to this work. From this preface I quote these passages: “The preservation and transmission of famous paintings present many difficult problems. …Because the Sung and Yuan painters have become so popular, there have been many imitators who dared to pass on their forgeries as original works of the old masters. And because young artists rarely have the privilege to see the original works of the great masters, they are learning their art through the poor and spurious copies.

"Therefore, those of us who wish to go back to the old masters, must establish the ideal standards by means of exact reproductions of the great works. …"

"It is strange that the world willingly accepts ancient calligraphy through reprints from stone, but refuses to study paintings except in their original form. Does the world really think that the paintings on paper and silk are protected by the gods and therefore can survive the ravages of time even better than bronze and stone?

"That, of course, is impossible. The only possible way is, therefore, to apply to paintings the method which has been used for the preservation and transmission of the knowledge of bronze vessels and early calligraphy: namely, to have the paintings carved [on wood or stone]. If there could be a work which would preserve the paintings of the old masters in exact copies or prints that would rival the Sung prints of early calligraphy and of ancient bronze, then, the famous paintings of ancient and modern times, through these authentic copies, would be able to reach a larger public and achieve a longer posterity, and, at the same time, to serve as criteria for the detection of the spurious forgeries."

What Ch'uan T'ien-hsu and Ku Ping wished to do with paintings 340 years ago, indeed what the Emperor Hui Chung of the Sung Dynasty wished to do with bronze and jade 820 years ago, we can do much more exactly and scientifically today with both bronze and paintings, and indeed with all objects of Chinese Art.

Shall we not try it?

Chapter 22
"Foreword" to *How to Cook and Eat in Chinese*

Long, long ago, Confucius made this observation: "There is no one who does not eat and drink. But few there are who can appreciate taste."

This observation is all the more remarkable because it came from a man who elsewhere declared that he could enjoy life even though he had only coarse food to eat and water to drink and his own bended arm to pillow.

The essence of Chinese cooking lies in the traditional insistence that food must have taste or flavor even though the materials used may be the most common and inexpensive kind of fish or vegetable. It is taste which gives joy in eating. And it is the art of the housewife, the cook, or the gourmet to work out the ways and means to give taste to food.

A Chinese gourmet of the eighth century A.D., has left us this dictum: "Every eating material can be made palatable provided that it is given the proper cooking-time (huo-hou, literally, 'fire-timing')." Please note that this expert did not say that palatability depended upon the use of the right kind of seasoning or flavoring materials. It is the proper "fire-timing" which really counts in all good cooking.

"Good cooking," says Mrs. Chao, "consists in making the best use of the eating material. The cooking materials should only enhance the natural taste of the eating material and not take its place." In these words, our author has summed up the art and the philosophy of Chinese cooking. All the "twenty and one" principal methods of cooking described in this book—from the slow and time-consuming "red-cooking" and "clear-simmering" to the quick and impressionistic "stir-frying" and "plunging"—are in reality gradations in "fire-timing."

Mrs. Buwei Yang Chao has prepared a really wonderful book on Chinese cooking. Her chapters on Cooking Materials and Methods of Cooking are masterpieces of analysis and synthesis. With the help of her daughter and her husband, who is an artist with the written word, she has created a new terminology, a new vocabulary,

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Chapter Note: Buwei Yang Chao, How to Cook and Eat in Chinese. New York: John Day, 1945. pp. vii–ix.

C.-P. Chou (ed.) and S. Hu, *English Writings of Hu Shih: Literature and Society (Volume 1)*, China Academic Library, DOI 10.1007/978-3-642-31184-0_22,

without which the art of Chinese cooking cannot be adequately introduced to the Western world. Some of the new terms like "Defishers," "Stir-frying," "Meeting," "Plunging," and a host of others, I venture to predict, will come to stay as the Chaos' contributions to the English language.

Of course I am not qualified to pass judgment on her recipes, not even to praise them. But I must tell a story to testify to the accuracy of her descriptions. I happened to be at Mrs. Chao's house just before she returned the galley proofs of her book to the publisher. I picked up one sheet at random and read the tail end of a recipe. "Why," I exclaimed, "this must be the Huichou Pot!" When I found the preceding page, there it was, the title "Huichou Pot," which, I believe, Mrs. Chao had learned from my wife and which was nostalgically familiar to me.

Twenty-three years ago, I was one of the two friends who had the honor to serve as witnesses at the wedding of Dr. and Mrs. Yuen-ren Chao. The unconventional bride cooked the dinner for the four of us. Since that memorable evening, I must have partaken at least a hundred meals prepared by Mrs. Chao. She has become not only a truly excellent cook, but, as this book testifies, an analytical and scientific teacher of Chinese cooking. It is, therefore, as a family friend and an appreciative "taster" of her food that I now have the pleasure of presenting her book to the English-speaking world.

Chinese cooking, as Mrs. Chao tells us in the introduction, is not difficult to learn. A little thinking and a little willingness to experiment will go very far. Here is what our author has to say about roasting chestnuts:

> Roast chestnuts are never good in America. They crack and stay raw because of uneven and interrupted heating. In China chestnuts are roasted in sand. The hot sand, stirred all the time, surrounds the chestnuts on all sides with medium heat. In the course of time, the meat becomes soft and fragrant like well-baked sweet potatoes.

All of her hundreds of recipes, like this one on roasting chestnuts in hot sand, represent the successful results of thinking and experimentation on the part of numberless frugal and ingenious men and women. They are now precisely recorded for the benefit and enjoyment of all those who would approach them in the spirit of willingness to think and experiment.

Chapter 23
Chang Poling: A Biographical Tribute

On the fourth of June, before the Alma Mater on Morningside Heights, in the city of New York, Columbia University will confer on Chang Poling the honorary degree of Doctor of Letters. It will not be the first time that tribute is paid to the great educator, founder and president of China's famous Nankai University. Now in America to undergo a much-needed operation, after a lifetime of public service and 8 years of wartime sacrifices, Dr. Chang is looking forward to restoring the Nankai group of schools on their old campus in Tientsin.

The China Magazine is proud to present, as its own tribute to Chang Poling of Nankai, two articles which seek, respectively, to portray the man and evaluate one aspect of his work. Hu Shih, himself a philosopher-educator of world renown, pens the warm biographical tribute; and Professor J. B. Condliffe of University of California makes the scholar's discriminating appraisal of the Nankai Institute of Economics. Both articles are abridged from chapters in a forthcoming book, Fifty Years of Modern China: Essays in Honor of Chang Poling of Nankai, edited by Professor James T. Shotwell, among whose contributors are Dewey, Holcombe, and many others who are friends of Dr. Chang and of China.

In his book One World, the late Wendell Willkie wrote of Chang Poling: "He is an enormous man, with the grave, deliberate manner of a scholar but a fine, warm sense of humor. … Whether we talked of India, or the war, or American universities he spoke with a background and a judgment which would be hard to equal in the United States."

Chapter Note: China Magazine. June, 1946. pp. 14–26.

C.-P. Chou (ed.) and S. Hu, *English Writings of Hu Shih: Literature and Society (Volume 1)*, China Academic Library, DOI 10.1007/978-3-642-31184-0_23,

"I have no special talent, nor have I acquired advanced skill in any particular field. The little measure of success I have had in my life-long endeavors is entirely due to the simple fact that I have faith and interest in education."

This is Chang Poling's description of himself. He often quotes, apparently with relish, the observations made by a Korean friend who once said: "Chang Poling is a very simple man who cannot emulate the clever manipulations of his brilliant contemporaries but who by standing on solid soil and working very hard, achieves success in his own work."

Starting with five pupils in a private school when he was only 22 years old, his middle school had a 1,000 students in 1917, when he was 41. In 1936, when he was 60, the Nankai Schools—now comprising the middle schools for boys and girls, a primary school, the university and graduate school—had 3,000 students.

When, in 1937, the Japanese destroyed his schools in Tientsin, he had already started a new middle school in Chungking, which in the course of a few years, has grown to be once more the greatest middle school in China with an enrollment of 1,600.

A Naval Cadet

Chang Poling was born in Tientsin on April 5, 1876. His father was a talented scholar who loved music and enjoyed life. He was an accomplished player on the pipa and a master of archery on horseback. Having spent a fair family fortune on the pleasures of life, the elder Chang was forced to earn his living by teaching young children. Poling, his eldest son by a second marriage, was born in poverty. The father who considered his own life a complete failure, was determined to give his son a good Chinese education and a strict moral discipline.

At the age of 13, Chang Poling, thanks to his father's good teaching of written Chinese, passed the entrance examination at the Peiyang Naval School which was then in the hands of a remarkable group of English-educated men, including Yen Fu, the future translator of Adam Smith, Thomas Huxley, John Stuart Mill and Herbert Spencer; and Wu Kuang-chien, the future writer of a number of scientific textbooks and translator of Dumas and Gibbon. Because of his youth and his good record in Chinese, Chang was admitted to the Navigation Class. He worked hard and always took first place in the examinations. Among his favorite teachers was a Scotchman named MacLeish, whose thoroughness in teaching coupled with a personal interest in his pupils left a lasting impression on him.

After 5 years in the Naval School, Chang Poling graduated in 1894 at the head of his class. He was only 18.

But in that year, the Chinese Navy was defeated and destroyed in the first Sino-Japanese War. There was no ship for his advanced training. He had to go home to wait for a year before he was taken on the naval training ship Tungchi on which he served as a cadet officer for 3 years. It was on board the Tungchi that Chang Poling experienced one of the most unforgettable episodes of China's national humiliation which brought about in him and finally led to his decision to leave the Navy and devote his life to education.

Under Three Flags

In those years immediately following China's defeat by Japan, the great imperialistic powers of Europe were striving to compete with Japan in securing by force territorial concessions from China. With various territorial seizures, Russia, Germany, Great Britain and France were mapping out their "spheres of influence" in China. The "partitioning of the Chinese Empire" was openly and frequently discussed everywhere.

It was at Weihaiwei, on the northeastern coast of Shantung, that young Chang Poling was made to realize most vividly and indelibly the depth of China's humiliation. The Chinese naval base of Weihaiwei had been occupied by Japan since early 1895. It was now to be returned by Japan to China and then to be leased by China to Great Britain. The training ship *Tungchi* was sent by the Chinese Government to receive the port back from the Japanese and then to transfer it the next day to the British.

"I was there," says Chang Poling, "and saw the flags over Weihaiwei change color three times in 2 days. I saw the Dragon Flag replace the Rising Sun, and the next day I saw the Dragon replaced by the Union Jack. Sorrow and indignation set me to thinking. I came to the firm conviction that our national survival in this modern world could depend only upon a new kind of education which would produce a new generation of men. And I resolved to dedicate my own life to this task of national salvation through education."

The "Yen" School

This decision that was shaping itself in the mind of a young naval cadet on board the Tungchi, was an echo and a reflection of the great nationwide agitation for reform which in that memorable year of 1898 culminated in "the Hundred Days of Reform." The leaders of this movement had succeeded in moving the youthful Manchu Emperor to issue in rapid succession a large number of edicts abolishing old abuses and inaugurating new policies. The old empire seemed to be at last awakened from its long centuries of complacency by the grave dangers of foreign encroachment and national extinction. For a time, it looked as if it might be possible to bring about the long needed reforms through government leadership and imperial patronage.

But these false hopes were soon shattered by the reactionary forces headed by the ignorant Empress-Dowager who made her son virtually a prisoner, put to death six of the leaders of the reform movement, exiled a number of others, and annulled all the reform edicts and policies.

Among the enlightened officials who retired from political life after the failure of the Reforms of 1898, was the scholar Yen Hsiu, a native of Tientsin and a friend of Chang Poling's father. In October of that year, Mr. Yen invited the young Chang Poling, now 22 years old and recently retired from his training ship and his naval career, to be private tutor in his Tientsin home and teach "western learning" to his own and his friends' children. Chang gladly accepted the invitation and began his life-long mission with five young pupils.

The association and co-operation of Chang Poling and Yen Hsiu was a very happy event from the very beginning of the Nankai Schools. Mr. Yen was one of the most lovable and most inspiring representatives of the best intellectual and moral tradition of the old China. He was a scholar, bibliophile, poet and philosopher, a public-spirited citizen and patriot. His faith in education, his open-mindedness to the new learning of a new age, and his great moral prestige in the Tientsin district and in the Chihli (Hopei) province were of immense help to the youthful Chang Poling in building up his great educational enterprises.

The late Fan Yuen-lien, one time Minister of Education in the early years of the Republic, who in 1918 was with Mr. Yen on an educational tour in the United States, told me this story about Mr. Yen. The United States Government, alarmed by a recent case of assassination of a prominent Chinese writer by a Chinese terrorist on the western coast, assigned a secret service officer to accompany the Chinese educators on their tour. Although Mr. Yen could not speak a word of English, the American officer was so deeply impressed by his quiet and humble ways of life that, at the end of the long journey, he said to Mr. Fan: "I have been assigned to accompany many distinguished foreign visitors to America, but I have never seen a more lovable character than your Mr. Yen!"

Such was the host in whose back yard Chang Poling started his first school of five students. It was called the Yen Kwan (Yen School). Three years later, another Tientsin leader, Wang Kwei-chang, invited Chang to teach his six children at his home in the afternoon. This was called the Wang Kwan (Wang School).

My friend, Mr. L. K. Tao, Director of the Institute of Social Research of the Academia Sinica, who was one of the early pupils in the Yen School, tells me that Chang Poling's teaching even in those early days justly deserved to be called "modern education." He was a good teacher in the "western learning": English language, mathematics, and the elements of natural science. He laid great emphasis on the physical exercises of his pupils. He made designs from memory of the dumbbells and Indian clubs used in the Naval School, and ordered them to be made for the use of his students. He played with his students and taught them various exercises and outdoor sports, such as bicycle-riding, high jumping, broad jumping and football. Mr. Tao also recalls that his first lessons in whist and billiards were from his teacher Chang Poling. It was this recognition of the place of science and physical culture in education and this free and democratic association of the teacher and the pupil in work and play that marked out the young tutor Chang as one of the founders of modern education in China.

Birth of Nankai

In 1903, Yen Hsiu and Chang Poling visited Japan to study the schools and colleges there. Chang brought back numerous educational and scientific apparatus for the use of his school. Both he and Mr. Yen were impressed by the rapid educational development in the Island Empire. On their return to China, they decided to expand their private tutoring schools into a full-sized middle school.

The middle school, known as the First Private Middle School, was opened in the fall of 1904, with 73 students and 4 teachers occupying a part of Mr. Yen's house and operating with a monthly budget of 200 taels of silver equally borne by the Yen and Wang families. To meet the need for teachers, a special class was organized for a number of mature students selected from the two earlier private schools, who were to be part-time teachers in the school while continuing their advanced studies. Among these select students was Mr. L. K. Tao who after graduation studied in Japan and England and has been a pioneer and leader in Chinese sociological studies.

In 1906, a wealthy friend gave to the new school two acres of land in the suburban area of Tientsin, locally known as Nankai. Funds were raised to build a school house on this land. When the school moved into its new building in 1907, it was renamed the Nankai Middle School, a name which, together with that of its founder, will always occupy an illustrious place in the history of Chinese education.

The story of Nankai during the next 30 years was one of rapid but planned expansion and progress. In 1910 and 1911 the school began to receive financial contributions from the local and provincial governments. Endowments from private sources continued to increase throughout the years. In 1920, General Li Chun, a native of Tientsin and Military Governor of the Province of Kiangsu, committed suicide and left a will by which a part of his estate amounting to half a million Chinese dollars was given to Nankai as an endowment. The China Foundation and the Sino-British Indemnity

Fund Commission which administer the Boxer Indemnity funds remitted by the United States and Great Britain, respectively, have been among the chief public contributors to Nankai. The Rockefeller Foundation of New York City has given generously to the building and equipment funds of Nankai University and to the maintenance of its Graduate Institute of Economics. Beginning with two acres of land, Nankai was able, in the course of years, to buy over a hundred acres adjacent to the school and to build up a spacious campus for its expansion.

Chang Poling had long dreamed of a university built on the foundation of his middle school. After several unsuccessful attempts in the early years of the Republic, the dream came true in 1919 when Nankai University formally opened with three colleges: Liberal Arts, Science and Commerce. A college of Mining was added in 1920. The Graduate Institute of Economics was established in 1931, and the Institute of Chemistry in 1932.

A middle school for girls was founded in 1923, and an experimental primary school was added in 1928.

Thus by 1932, the Nankai group of schools comprised five main divisions: a university, a graduate school, a middle school for boys, another for girls, and a primary school. Total enrollment reached 3,000 in the years before their destruction by the Japanese.

This rapid expansion was chiefly due to Chang Poling's remarkable leadership. He often tells his friends that an educational institution ought to be always in the red, and that any school administrator who leaves a bank balance at the end of the year, is a miser who misses his opportunity to do a good job with the money. He started from nothing and never was afraid of spending more money than the budget allowed

him to spend on the school. He was always planning for new projects of expansion. Lacking funds never stopped him from dreaming wilder and bigger schemes. He was always optimistic about the future. "I have a way of deceiving myself," says he. That is his manner of saying that he can always make himself believe that things will turn out all right in the end.

And things do turn out all right in the end, and he always got the help he desired for carrying out his new schemes.

His Educational Credo

"The Nankai Schools," says Chang Poling in an autobiographical account written in 1944, "was born in China's national calamity. Therefore its object was to reform the old habits of life and to train youth for the salvation of the country." He summed up China's weaknesses under five headings: (1) physical weakness and poor health, (2) superstition and lack of scientific knowledge, (3) economic poverty, (4) disunity in the sense of a deplorable lack of associated life and activity, and (5) selfishness.

To correct these shortcomings, Chang proposed his five-fold educational reform. The new education must aim at the improvement of the bodily fitness of the individual. It must train the youths in the results and methods of the modern sciences. It must enable the students to organize and actively participate in group life and team work. It must give them a vitalized moral training. And, lastly, it must cultivate in each and every individual the capability to work for his country.

All this sounds platitudinous today. But it was Chang Poling's great achievement to have succeeded in actually making most of these ideals an integral part of the life in his school. There is no doubt, for example, that, of all the non-missionary schools in China, Nankai has been the most famous and most successful school in athletics. Chang Poling's athletes have won high honors in North-China, All-China and Far-Eastern Olympic Meets. Ever since 1910, he was always invited to be the presiding umpire in all important athletic meets. His life-long interest in physical culture and his constant preaching of the importance of sportsmanship in all games, have been responsible for the high standard of athletics in Nankai.

Nankai also enjoys the highest reputation in the training of group activities and team work. The most famous of Nankai's student activities has been its New Drama Club. As early as 1909, Chang Poling was encouraging his students in dramatics. He wrote a play for them and directed its staging and acting; and, to the surprise and scandalization of the outside audience, the principal character was played by no other person than the school principal himself! In later years, his talented younger brother, Dr. Pengchun Chang (P. C. Chang) who studied literature and dramatics at Columbia University, took over the leadership in this field. Several Nankai "new dramas" were quite successful on the public stage. Under the directorship of Dr. P. C. Chang, several European masterpieces, including Ibsen's *A Doll's House and An Enemy of the People*, were successfully enacted in their Chinese version and were enthusiastically received by the general public. One of the student actors in the

Ibsen plays was Mr. Wan Chia-pao who, better known by his pen-name, Tsao Yu, has become one of the celebrated playwrights in present-day China.

In the sphere of moral and patriotic education, Chang Poling's personal leadership played an important role, especially in the early years when the enrollment was small. On every Wednesday afternoon, he would call the entire school to a special convocation at which he would discuss with the students problems of life and affairs of the state and the world. He knew almost every student by name and took pains to give personal advices to the boys.

In 1908, he paid his first visit to the United States and Great Britain and made a study of the educational institutions in those two countries. His own moral earnestness, his long association with Christian friends and his recent observations of the social and civic life in America and England led him to cherish great faith in the Christian religion as a powerful force for good. The year after his return from America and England (1909) he was baptized as a Christian. He was then 33 years old.

But my friend Chang Poling is never an austere moralist. He has too much sense of humor to be that. One of his students, Dr. Ling Ping, one-time Chinese Minister to the Republic of Cuba, loves to tell this story about his first meeting with his teacher and schoolmaster. Mr. Ling, then a young boy from the interior province of Honan, called at the office of Chang Poling to apply for admission to his middle school. He was told to wait, because the master was coaching his football team in the field. After half an hour, Ling saw a tall and perspiring man walk into the office with long leathern boots full of mud. This was the great Chang Poling! He immediately perceived the expression of amazement on the face of the young visitor. Smilingly he asked him a few questions and told him to sit down at the desk and write a short Chinese composition on the old dictum: "The teacher must himself be dignified before the Truth could be respected!" This sense of humor disarmed the young applicant who wrote his composition on how austere and reverent his ideal teacher ought to look. Chang glanced over the piece and said: "Good! Good! You are admitted to the Fifth Class."

Chang Poling is first and last a patriot and nationalist. His life mission has been national salvation through education. He sums up his educational theory in the motto he coined for his school: *Kung Neng*, which means "Public-spiritedness and Competence." All teaching and all training should aim at this double objective: public-spiritedness and professional competence to work for society and the state.

Wartime Blows

As a patriotic educator, Chang Poling was worried about Japan's aggressive movements in Manchuria. In 1927, he made a study trip through the Northeastern Provinces. After his return, he formed in the University a club for the study of the Northeast, and sent a group of professors to make a survey of the conditions and problems in Manchuria.

With the Japanese invasion and occupation of the Northeastern Provinces in 1931 and with the Japanese wars brought to the Peiping-Tientsin area since 1933, the nationalistic tradition of Chang Poling's schools often came into direct conflict with the invading enemy. Between Nankai University and the Nankai Middle Schools lay the barracks of the Japanese Garrison Army in Tientsin. "Yet," says Chang Poling, "in those years before the fall of Peiping and Tientsin in July, 1937, the patriotic demonstrations of the students in North China were mostly led by our Nankai students."

For this patriotic leadership, the Nankai Schools and University were deliberately destroyed by the Japanese military on July 29 and 30, 1937. For two successive days, low-flying Japanese bombers rained destruction on the Nankai buildings. The sad news reached Chang Poling in Nanking. Generalissimo Chiang Kai-shek said to him: "Nankai has been sacrificed for China. As long as China lives, Nankai will live."

Shortly after the destruction of the Nankai Schools, Chang Poling suffered a great personal loss in the death of his beloved son Hsihu, who was killed when the bomber he was piloting to the front crashed in the Kiangsi mountains. Hsihu had graduated from the National Military Aviation School 3 years before. At the graduation ceremonies, the Generalissimo spoke as president of the school, and Chang Poling made a stirring address on behalf of the parents of the graduating class. When he learned of his son's death, he said after a moment's silence: "I have given this son to the nation. He has done his duty."

The destruction of Nankai by the Japanese army had been foreseen by Chang Poling and his colleagues. In 1935, he made a trip to the western province of Szechuan, and visited many of its cities. A few months later, the dean of the Nankai Middle School was sent to Szechuan to survey the possibilities of establishing a branch school in western China. A site near Chungking was decided upon; the building began. The new school was opened in September 1936, and was called the Nanyu (South of Chungking) Middle School. Among the first contributors to its building and equipment fund, was Generalissimo Chiang Kai-shek.

In 1938, at the request of the Nankai Alumni Association, the new school was renamed "Nankai School of Chungking."

After the fall of Peiping and Tientsin, the Ministry of Education asked Nankai University to join National Tsinghua University and National Peking University in forming the first "Associated University" at Changsha, Hunan, 1,000 miles away from the Peiping-Tientsin area. When the Changsha site was bombed by the enemy in 1937, the three universities were ordered by the Government to move on another thousand miles to Kunming, Yunnan, where for 7 years they have been functioning as "The National Associated University of the Southwest."

"Nankai Will Live"

But Chang Poling stayed most of the time with his Nankai School near Chungking. The Institute of Economics was revived in Chungking in 1939. A Nankai Primary School was opened in 1940. During those years of most severe Japanese bombing

of Chungking (1939–1940), the new Nankai buildings were three times bombed. Thirty huge bombs were dropped on the campus in August, 1940. But the damaged buildings were soon repaired and school work was never interrupted.

Chang Poling who loves his country has naturally been always deeply interested in China's political developments. But he many times declined high offices in the government, including the posts of Minister of Education and Mayor of Tientsin, because he wanted to devote himself whole-heartedly to the carrying out of his educational ideals of Nankai.

It took the war to draft him into public service as one of the unquestioned leaders of the nation. He was called upon to serve on the People's Political Council ever since its formation in 1938, first as Deputy Speaker and later as a member of its Presidium. He has great faith in this body as an experiment in democratic parliament for China. Except on occasions of serious illness, he has never missed a PPC session, including the bi-weekly meetings of its Resident Committee. He seldom spoke; more often than not he made his influence felt in the Council Chambers by his "weighty" presence. Essentially educational in outlook, he would like to teach every one of his students to be politically conscious, though they do not necessarily have to be in government.

During these 9 years of war Nankai University has been supported by the National Government, but Nankai Middle School remained a private institution. Recently the Government acted to continue the support of the three universities associated in the wartime Southwest University, of which Nankai is one, after each has returned to its original campus. But all his life Chang Poling has believed in and encouraged private support of educational efforts. He will continue to exert in that direction and his middle schools will remain private. Last October, shortly after formal Japanese surrender in China, the principal of Nankai Middle School returned on the same plane with the Mayor of liberated Tientsin to reopen his school in that city. The Chungking Nankai Middle School will carry on its splendid wartime record. Whether by private or public support, as Chiang Kai-shek has promised, "As long as China lives, Nankai will live."

At 70, Chang Poling continues to dream wild dreams for his Nankai. "As I look back on Nankai's past history of heroic struggles and as I look forward to the great task of rehabilitation," says he to his colleagues and alumni, "I see a great future full of bright hopes. The work of Nankai has no end, and its development has no limit. Let us work together with the same courage and perseverance as of old, and endeavor to make Nankai play a greater role than ever in the period of reconstruction facing our country."

Chapter 24
Ten-Year Plan for China's Academic Independence

Hu Shih, world-renowned scholar and Chancellor of National Peking University, recently proposed a ten-year plan for the development of Chinese universities to lay the foundation for China's "academic independence." His plan has aroused nation-wide interest and discussion in Chinese educational circles. The following is a translation of the text of Dr. Hu's proposal as published in the Nanking Central Daily News. Hu Shih, known for his work as "Father of the Chinese Literary Renaissance," served as Chinese Ambassador to the United States during the war years, 1938–1942.

I keenly feel that our higher education needs a ten-year plan, the aim of which is to lay the foundation within the next 10 years for the academic independence of China.

By academic independence I do not mean that we should cling to our own culture and not learn from other nations—a bigotry shared by many conservative persons. I have never thought for a moment that Chinese scholarship and learning can remain isolated from intellectual currents and achievements of the contemporary world. Nor do I believe that 10 years from now China will not send scholars to study abroad.

The academic independence I mean must comprise the following four conditions: (1) China should rely upon her own universities for basic training in modern sciences; sending students abroad for this particular purpose should be unnecessary. (2) In China, there should be institutions with sufficient equipment and capable teachers to enable those who have already received basic training in modern sciences to continue their studies in their specific fields of scientific research. (3) For the solution of problems concerning Pure Science, Industry, Medicine, Public Health and National Defense, there should be enough experts and research institutes in China to assist the Government and private individuals to answer their

Chapter Note: China Magazine. Dec., 1947. Vol. 17. No. 12. pp. 25–29.

C.-P. Chou (ed.) and S. Hu, *English Writings of Hu Shih: Literature and Society (Volume 1)*, China Academic Library, DOI 10.1007/978-3-642-31184-0_24,

crying needs. (4) In the world development of science and technology, institutes and individual scholars in China should be able to cooperate, with those in other countries and jointly share the responsibilities involved.

Why Ten-Year Plan

To achieve this independence, a good, solid foundation should be laid at the earliest possible time. This is why I propose that China should have a ten-year plan for university education. Under the plan, maximum efforts of the nation should be concentrated for the next 10 years on improving from five to ten universities with excellent records and enabling them to develop fully their research projects, to become important centers of learning in China and serve as operation bases for the movement of national academic independence.

This plan may be divided into two stages of 5 years each. In the first stage, five universities should be chosen and improved; in the second stage, another five. The realization of the plan by stages has the following merits: First, it is designed to meet the exigency created by the lack of competent personnel and financial resources of the nation, which may not be adequate to improve ten universities at the same time; and second, by improving five universities first, encouragement would be given to other universities, which would compete with one another for the honor of being chosen in the second stage by improving their academic standards.

Dr. Hu's Proposals

In proposing a ten-year educational plan, I do not suggest that while from five to ten universities are to be developed with concentrated efforts, all other universities and independent colleges could be ignored. To be presented as a whole, my proposals are as follows:

1. The Government should be determined not to establish any additional university or independent college within the next 10 years.
2. After the Constitution takes effect, the Government must strictly enforce the provisions of Article 164, which provides that expenditure for educational, scientific and cultural purposes shall be, in case of the Central Government, not less than 15% of the total national budget; in case of the province, not less than 25% of the total provincial budget; and in case of the *hsien* (county), not less than 35% of the total hsien budget. The nation should check from time to time on the Government at all levels to see that these provisions are strictly implemented.
3. The Government should have a ten-year educational plan to be carried out in two stages of 5 years each.

4. In the first 5 years, five universities would be chosen and improved with maximum national efforts. Special emphasis should be laid on the development of their post-graduate research institutes, so that within a short period they will be developed into important centers of modern culture.
5. In the second 5 years, five more universities would be chosen and improved with the same concentrated effort. Special emphasis should also be laid on the development of their post-graduate research institutes, so that they may also become important centers of learning.
6. In these 10 years, the 40-odd national universities and national independent colleges which are not chosen under the plan should be provided by the Government with adequate funds to enlarge their existing facilities, and they should be ensured a chance for continued development, so that in due course of time each may become the best university or college in the locality where it is established. Regarding private-operated universities and independent colleges with good records, the Government should strengthen its policy first initiated in 1933 to render proper financial aid to them to make possible their continued development.
7. In selecting the ten universities, no discrimination should be made for or against any university, be it State-operated or privately owned. Competent teaching personnel, sufficient research facilities and past achievement should be the criteria of selection.
8. This ten-year educational plan should imply a thorough renovation of the Chinese higher education system and bring about a fundamental change in the conception of a university.

Post-graduate Study

The much-debated question in recent years as to how many colleges are required to constitute a university is totally meaningless. In the development of Chinese universities, the main emphasis should be on the improvement of their post-graduate institutes. Any university worthy of its name must be capable of training its scholars to do research work. It must have competent professors and research fellows to conduct independent scientific research. Any institution that can only offer 4-year under-graduate courses cannot fulfill the mission of a university and therefore cannot be called one. The number of colleges that it has will not make it a university.

Based on this point of view, the current system of higher education soon should be thoroughly revised. Bureaucratic interference in academic pursuits should be cut to a minimum, while freedom and responsibility of the university should be considerably increased. Take for example the existing regulations governing the conferment of scholastic degrees, which were promulgated 16 years ago. The provision for the awarding of the doctorate degree by the State, especially, is the greatest stumbling block to the development of graduate departments.

I propose, therefore, that the Government soon accept the recommendations on doctorates made by the Academia Sinica last year. They provide that the research work and thesis of a candidate for the doctor's degree should be examined and the degree conferred by those universities that have maintained their post-graduate schools for 5 years, and which have been permitted to receive candidates for the doctor's degree.

Change Psychology

To promote independent scientific research, to elevate the position of research institutes of universities, and to correct the unsound psychology that to be an expert one has to go abroad for further studies, the regulations governing the conferment of university degrees must be revised. Only in this way can qualified universities in the country be given a chance to assume the responsibility for the conferment of the doctor's degree.

The above are outlines of the plan I have proposed. Most important is the part that provides for the intensive improvement of from five to ten universities. It would be as effective as it is simple and it could be expected to yield immediate returns. The number of competent teaching personnel is far from enough to operate 100-odd universities and independent colleges. (According to statistics compiled last year, there are 28 national universities, 18 national colleges, 20 private universities, 13 provincial universities and 21 private colleges in China. In addition, there are 48 technical schools, both public and private, in the country.—Ed.)

Let me ask how many outstanding physicists we have in China and abroad? How many outstanding historians do we have who are specialized in European History? Physics and History are two indispensable courses in a university curriculum in which we suffer an acute shortage of qualified personnel. Since competent personnel is the prerequisite to cultural development, we have to concentrate our first-rate scholars and make available for them the best facilities, so that they can carry on their work and train others. With these from five to ten universities as centers of post-graduate work, years from now China will be able to achieve academic independence. This is no over-optimism on my part; instances in cultural histories of the world are not lacking to substantiate my seemingly bold predictions.

American Examples

In 1891, when I was born, the Rockefeller Foundation appropriated $20,000,000 for the establishment of the University of Chicago, and W. R. Harper, its first president, was entrusted with the job of making the necessary preparations. After an extensive tour of the nation, President Harper offered the unprecedented salary of $7,500 a year to first-rate scholars who consented to become head professors of the university.

When he failed to find any one suitable in the United States for a vacant post, he went to Britain or other European countries to continue the search. Following a year of preparation, the Chicago University was formally inaugurated and was immediately recognized as a first-rate university. What a private foundation has achieved can be easily accomplished by the collective efforts of a nation.

Years before, in 1876, D. C. Gilman founded Johns Hopkins University, dedicated to the promotion of post-graduate work. At that time, few American universities had post-graduate schools. The Post-Graduate School of Yale was established in 1871; that of Harvard, in 1872. But Gilman was the pioneer in founding a university that was to be exclusively a post-graduate school from the very start. And its professors were the best of the time. Philosophers such as John Dewey and Josiah Royce, economists and political scientists like President Wilson were all products of the Johns Hopkins Graduate School. Cognizant of the importance of the medical laboratory (there was none in the U.S.A. in 1876 when Johns Hopkins was founded), President Gilman picked some young doctors of established fame such as Sir William Osler and William Henry Welch to inaugurate the first medical school devoted to medical research, thereby laying the foundation of modern American medicine. It has been generally acknowledged by historians that President Gilman was instrumental in bringing about American academic independence by stressing the importance of research work. What one private individual has done can be accomplished more easily by the collective efforts of a nation.

I am convinced, therefore, that through improvement of from five to ten universities with the maximum efforts of the nation our academic independence could be achieved within a short period of time. I am also convinced that only through concentrating our personnel and equipment can this independence be attained.

Chapter 25
My Early Association with the Gest Oriental Library

The Green Pyne Leaf was a staff newsletter printed every other month by the Princeton University Library Staff Association. The hand-written draft of this article was published in Jindai xueren shouji, 2 vols, (Taipei: Wenxing, 1964), Vol. 1, pp. 77–91.

The best way to know a library is to use its books. My earliest knowledge of the Gest Oriental Library at Princeton came through my use of its books in connection with my research work in the years 1943–1946.

From 1943 to 1948, I devoted 5 years to a piece of historical research which may be described as a re-trial of the *cause célèbre* of four definitive texts of the geographical classic, *Shui-ching chu* (for which, see A. W. Hummel: *Eminent Chinese of the Ch'ing Period*, pp. 970–982). I was in the United States during the first 3 years (1943–1946) of this period, and received very friendly aid from the four great centers of Chinese books in America—the Library of Congress, Columbia University, Harvard University and the Gest Library at Princeton. I borrowed over a thousand volumes from these four libraries. As the case involves 150 years of controversy over alleged or suspected plagiarism among these collated and amended four texts by three great scholars of the eighteenth century, it was necessary for me to keep many of the borrowed books for months and even for years in order to enable me to carry on some detailed work in textual comparison and criticism.

This privilege of borrowing and keeping books in my New York apartment for months and years was especially appreciated in the case of the Gest Oriental Library which was then housed in 20 Nassau Street, and under the care of Dr. Nancy Lee Swann, who was herself a research student and was most generous in permitting me to use and keep in New York some of the rare books in the Gest collection.

One of the controversial texts of the *Shui-ching chu* was that collated by Chao I-ch'ing (1709–1764) whose work, the *Shui-ching chu shih*, had the honor being

Chapter Note: Green Pyne Leaf. Jan. 1, 1951. No. 6. pp. 1–3.

C.-P. Chou (ed.) and S. Hu, *English Writings of Hu Shih: Literature and Society (Volume 1)*, China Academic Library, DOI 10.1007/978-3-642-31184-0_25,

copied into the great Imperial Manuscript Library (the *Ssu-k'u ch'uan-shu*) of the Emperor Kao-tsung. It was later printed by Chao's son in 1786. This voluminous work, because it contains 12 books of detailed textual notes, has had numerous editions throughout the last one century and a half.

But it has been asserted that Chao's son engaged well-known scholars to edit his father's manuscript copy and that those editors made full use of the collated text of *Shui-ching chu* by Tai Chen (1724–1777) which had also been copied into the Imperial Manuscript Library and which had been printed by the Palace Movable Type Press in 1775, 11 years before the printing of Chao's text. According to another assertion, Chao's son bought another manuscript text of the *Shui-ching chu* collated by Chao's learned friend, Ch'uan Tsu-wang (1705–1755), and incorporated it into the manuscript work of Chao I-ch'ing.

It has, therefore, been said that Chao's *Shui-ching chu shih* in its printed form must be textually different from its earlier manuscript copy in the Imperial Library. This part of the controversy could be easily settled by a textual study of the two texts. But up to 1943, no one had undertaken to compare the printed book with the manuscript copy in the *Ssu-k'u ch'uan-shu*. This Imperial Library in 36,000 volumes had only seven complete and essentially identical sets made. Of these seven sets, three were completely destroyed in the nineteenth century. Of the four surviving sets, one was in Imperial Palace in Peking; another in the Imperial Palace in Mukden; a third in the Summer Palace in Jehol; and an incomplete set (recently made complete by copying the lost volumes) in Hangchow. Until recent decades, all the four sets were inaccessible to the research scholars.

It was, therefore, a great surprise to me when I learned in 1944 that I could borrow from the Gest Oriental Library a complete hand copy of Chao I-ch'ing's *Shui-ching chu shih* in 20 volumes. These volumes were copied out of the manuscript copy in the Imperial Library at Yangchow through the effort of a well-known bibliophile of that city. Although there are three other manuscript copies made before the work was printed, the Gest copy is the only copy in the whole world which was actually copied out of a manuscript copy in one of the seven sets of the Imperial Library. By careful study of this text in comparison with its many printed editions, I was able to clear up many problems and destroy not a few unfounded assertions and accusations.

This *cause célèbre*, the re-trial of which cost 5 years of my life, involves three great men of the eighteenth century: Ch'uan Tsu-wang, Chao I-ch'ing and Tai Chen,—who in the brief space of about 25 years (1750–1775) produced four collated and emended texts of the great geographical classic which originally contained probably more than 400,000 words (the surviving portion, with five books missing, contains about 345,000 words).

Of the three men, Tai Chen has been given credit for having produced two of the four texts in question. One of these was the text copied into the Imperial Manuscript Library and printed by the Imperial Press in 1775. The Emperor wrote a poem in praise of this text which was supposedly based on the text in the great Encyclopaedic Library (the *Yung-lo ta-tien*) of 1407, which text in turn was based on the printed text of an earlier age. This eulogistic poem by the Emperor was prominently printed in the front of the Palace Edition of Tai Chen's text.

But in the year following the publication of the Palace Edition (1776) Tai published another definitive text of the *Shui-ching chu*. This private edition has no textual notes which abound in the Palace Edition. There are also numerous textual differences between the two texts. The most interesting fact is that Tai, in his own preface to his private text, made no mention of the *Yung-lo ta-tien*, nor of the Emperor's poem praising the official edition.

Why should Tai find it necessary to publish a private edition? Did he wish thereby to repudiate or protest against the Palace text? And why did he refuse to mention the eulogistic poem by the Emperor? Was he ashamed of it? Did he wish thereby to indicate that he was not pleased with the high praises contained in the poem?

The text of the *Shui-ching chu* for the Imperial Library was officially presented to the Throne in the tenth moon of the 39th year of Chien-lung (November, 1774). When did the Emperor write the poem? The most natural guess would be that he wrote it some months after the date of the official presentation of the collated text,—probably some time in 1775.

But I had a hypothesis and wanted to find out the exact date of this poem. I knew the Emperor Kao-tsung (Chien-lung) wrote over 40,000 poems which were arranged according to chronological order. It might be easy to date this poem, if I could only find his "Complete Poems."

The Emperor was such a very poor poet that few collectors cared to collect his poems. Neither Harvard, nor Columbia, nor the Library of Congress had his Complete Poetical Works covering 60 years of his reign. But the Gest Library has two editions of Chien-lung's Complete Poems! With the help of Dr. Nancy Lee Swann and Dr. Tung Yiu, the Emperor's poem on the *Shui-ching chu* is dated almost to the day. It was written on March 15 or 16, 1774. That date was beyond even my boldest hypothesis. The poem was written 8 months before the newly edited text of the *Shui-ching chu* was presented to the Throne in its final collated form.

That is, the poem was written on a first draft of this newly collated text which had been presented to the Emperor not later than the Chinese New Year, that is, not later than February 11, 1774. But that text could not have been the work of the scholar Tai Chen who did not arrive in Peking until September 1773. There are only 5 months between September and February. Tai could not have completed the textual collation of a work of 345,000 words within that short time.

The date of that poem, therefore, helped me to solve many puzzling problems. The most important meaning of that date is that it confirms all contemporary testimony to the effect that Tai Chen had devoted many years to the collation and correction of the long corrupted text of the *Shui-ching chu*; that he came to Peking in 1773 with his own collated text, which he was naturally anxious to check against the text newly discovered in the *Yung-lo ta-tien*; that while the *Yung-lo ta-tien* text was undoubtedly the oldest and best text available, it was still full of thousands of grave cases of textual corruption, and Tai's own text, representing a life-time of conscientious research, bold hypotheses and careful verification, was a far superior text which contains thousands of major textual amendations; and that there-upon the chief editors of the Imperial Manuscript Library ordered and assigned Tai to take charge of the editing of the *Shui-ching chu*.

But in undertaking this official work of editing one of the major items of the Imperial Manuscript Library, Tai Chen was forced to contribute to it the fruits of his own life-long researches, and to give *all* credit to the *Yung-lo ta-tien* which the great Emperor and his court were promoting!

The poem in praise of the new text gives not the slightest credit to Tai Chen's researches, but it glorifies the great discovery of the *Yung-lo ta-tien*, out of which the most perfect text of the *Shui-ching chu* was supposed to have come.

It was in all probability against this deceit and despotic denial of individual credit that Tai Chen decided to publish his own private text which best represents his own free thinking and independent researches.

For all this, I give thanks to the Gest Oriental Library.

Chapter 26
The Gest Oriental Library at Princeton University

The Princeton University Library held from February 20 to April 20, 1952, an exhibition of books from the Gest Oriental Library, entitled "Eleven Centuries of Chinese Printing," which brought to the attention of the general public for the first time the resources of this remarkable collection of Chinese printed books and manuscripts. The exhibition suggested to the Editors the desirability of publishing in the Chronicle a description of the collection, and at their request the following article was kindly written by Dr. Hu, Curator of the Gest Library from 1950 to 1952 and Honorary Curator since 1952.

The Gest Oriental Library was founded by two men, Guion Moore Gest and his friend and adviser Commander I. V. Gillis. Mr. Gest (1864–1948) was a Quaker in religion and an engineer by profession. In 1914 he founded in New York City the construction engineering firm bearing his name, which specialized in laying underground electrical conduits and which did important engineering work in South America and Asia as well as in the United States and Canada. It was during one of his business visits to China that Mr. Gest met Commander Gillis, then Naval Attaché at the United States Legation in Peking, who later was to resign his naval commission and become Mr. Gest' s adviser and agent in the selection and purchase of the Chinese books which now form the Gest Oriental Library. In a true sense, Gillis (who died also in 1948) was a cofounder of the Gest Library.

The story of the accidental founding of the Gest Library is told in the unpublished autobiography of my friend Mr. Thomas C. S. Sze, who was a fellow member with Gillis in the International Lodge, Peking, a Massachusetts constitution masonic lodge. According to this story, it was Mr. Gest's eye trouble that first aroused his interest in Chinese books. He had long suffered from a disease known as glaucoma,

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Chapter Note: The Princeton University Library Chronicle. Spring, 1954. Vol. 15. No. 3. pp. 113–141.

C.-P. Chou (ed.) and S. Hu, *English Writings of Hu Shih: Literature and Society (Volume 1)*, China Academic Library, DOI 10.1007/978-3-642-31184-0_26,

for the treatment of which he had visited the leading ophthalmologists in America and Europe. It was in Peking that Commander Gillis suggested to Mr. Gest that he try an "eye medicine of the Ma family of Tingchow," which was so well-known among the people of Peking that the family shop selling only that one item was able to make a livelihood from it. It is said that Mr. Gest bought the Chinese "eye medicine" and tried it on himself. It did not cure his glaucoma, but gave him some temporary relief. This interested Mr. Gest so much that he left an amount of money to enable Mr. Gillis to buy for him Chinese books on medicine, materia medica, and, in particular, the treatment of diseases of the eye.

That was how the Gest collection of Chinese books was started. This story, which has been confirmed from other sources, helps to explain the prominence of a special section of the Gest books, marked as "CM" (Chinese Medicine), which includes some 500 works in nearly 2,000 volumes and constitutes the largest collection of Chinese medical books outside of China and Japan.

It was Gillis who made Gest more and more deeply interested in collecting Chinese books far beyond his original narrow scope. Mr. Gest was not a very rich man even before the depression, and he could not read nor house the large number of Chinese books which Gillis was buying for him in Peking. This great collection, which began as a hobby and developed into a kind of investment, soon became a burden to the founder. The most urgent problem was to house the thousands of rare books and in particular the Chinese encyclopedias and the "*ts'ung-shu*" (collectanea), each numbering many hundreds of volumes.

Arrangements were made by Mr. Gest, whose firm had a branch office in Montreal, Canada, to deposit the collection in the Redpath Library building of McGill University, where it was formally opened on February 13, 1926, as "The Gest Chinese Research Library," with 232 works consisting of about 8,000 volumes. By 1931 the collection had increased to some 75,000 volumes. In 1937 the Institute for Advanced Study in Princeton, with the assistance of the Rockefeller Foundation, acquired the Gest collection with the understanding that it was to be administered as a part of the University Library. About 27,000 additional volumes were sent by Gillis from Peiping to Princeton, giving the collection a total of approximately 102,000 volumes. With Princeton University's Chinese collection added to it, and with the acquisitions of recent years, the Gest Oriental Library has 137,087 volumes as of June, 1953. Dr. Nancy Lee Swann, whose connection with the collection began in 1928, was its curator from 1931 until her retirement in 1948. Mr. Shih-kang Tung, who joined the Gest Library in 1951 as my assistant, became its librarian in 1952 at the conclusion of my 2 years of curatorship. When the collection came to Princeton, it was installed at 20 Nassau Street, a building belonging to the University, where it remained until 1948, when it was moved into the Firestone Library.

Because of Mr. Gest's financial difficulties during the depression years, Mr. Gillis' book-buying seems practically to have ceased after 1931. Gillis, who had married a Chinese wife and bought a house in her name, continued to stay in Peiping and worked on his bibliographical notes and his *Title Index to the Catalogue of the Gest Oriental Library*, which was printed in Peiping in 1941, shortly before Japan's attack on Pearl Harbor. When war was declared, he was ordered by the

Japanese military to be interned in Shantung. But he was too sick to go, and his Chinese friends persuaded the Japanese to allow him to live in Peiping. He died in September, 1948.

Mr. Gillis was a very remarkable man. Originally trained for naval intelligence work, he was an expert in microscopic analysis of fingerprints and of typewriters and typewriting. Mr. Yüan T'ung-li, Director of the National Library of Peiping, told me that Gillis would often entertain his friends by showing them how to identify a writer who typed his writings on two or three different typewriters. He would use a magnifying glass and lecture to them on his method of detection through the more or less similar lightness or heaviness in the imprint of the same letter of the alphabet, although different machines were used.

It was this remarkable training in detective work which Gillis applied to the study of Chinese books and editions. He had studied the Chinese language and was able to speak the Peking dialect with some fluency, although he could not read an unpunctuated text in classical Chinese. By hard work and by many years of intimate handling of authentic material, he succeeded in acquiring a very good knowledge of Chinese books. Mr. Wang Chung-min, of the National Library of Peiping and of the Library of Congress, who was invited in 1946 to make a study of the rare books in the Gest collection, wrote of him in these words: "I have also examined the I. V. Gillis *Notes* in English on items [1029 through 3707], and feel that his knowledge of Chinese bibliography is exceptionally good. He made almost no mistakes in his *Notes*, but at times he failed to point out the significance of a certain rare edition."

After examining about a third of the rare books in the Gest collection, Mr. Wang had this to say:

> Among all the [Chinese] collections which I have ever examined, I think that the Gest collection is a very important one. I have examined 1,500 items at the Library of Congress, and also the 2,700 items which have been on deposit [during the war] in this country by the National Library of Peiping, yet I have found that of Gest's A section (Classics) seventy per cent are not duplicated either in the Library of Congress "Orientalia" section, or in the National Library of Peiping's rare book section. Of the D section (literary writings) I found that fifty per cent are not duplicated. This suffices to prove the value of the Gest collection.

This is a great tribute to the Gest collection and to Mr. Gillis, who was responsible for its selection and purchase. I heartily endorse this tribute from Mr. Wang, whom I consider one of the best trained experts in Chinese bibliography.

I have also examined Gillis' *Notes* and have been greatly impressed by his remarkable qualities of bold vision and painstaking attention to minute details—an unusual but necessary combination of virtues which make a good research worker in any branch of knowledge. Let me cite his *Notes* on items 1337 and 1338 as an illustration of his method of working. These two items are two sets of the Imperial collectanea known as the *Wu Ying Tien Chü Chên Pan Ts'ung Shu* ("The Imperial Palace Movable Type Reprint Series").

This series was started by the Emperor Ch'ien-lung in 1773 for the reprinting of rare and long-lost works which were then being copied out of the *Yung-lo ta-tien*, the great Encyclopedic Library of A.D. 1403–1407. The first four reprints were printed in 1773 from wood blocks. In the same year, an ingenious official

named Chin Chien suggested to the throne that these reprints could be more economically and more speedily printed with movable wood type. Accordingly, some 250,000 wood types were cut and 134 works, totaling over 800 volumes, were printed with the Palace movable type in the course of the next 20 years (1774–1794). These, together with the four works printed from wood blocks, made a total of 138 reprints, and were collectively known as "The Imperial Palace Movable Type Reprint Series."

As soon as the work of printing any particular work was completed, the types were immediately distributed to prepare for printing other works. For each reprint, 20 copies were made for the Emperor's various studios in the palaces, and some 300 copies would be offered for sale. Because the books were printed and sold separately throughout a period of 20 years, no attempt was made to assemble them in a complete set—except for one complete set of all 138 works originally kept in the Summer Palace at Jehol and now preserved in the Palace Museum of Peiping.

"Now," said the bibliophile T'ao Hsiang, "after nearly two hundred years, although copies of individual works of this series are often found in circulation, a complete set of all the original reprints is something hitherto unknown to collectors. … Only recently the bibliophile Mr. Miao Ch'üan-sun [1844–1919], after a lifelong search, finally succeeded in getting together a complete set of the 138 works, all of the original movable type edition."

Here the emphasis is placed on the difficulty in getting together a complete collection of all the 138 works in the *original movable type edition*. The original edition of each work was probably never more than the specified 300 copies, and the more technical works, such as the mathematical and medical books of ancient and medieval times, were probably printed in even smaller numbers of copies. In 1776–1777 the provincial governments in the Southeast were ordered by the Emperor to make new wood-block editions of these reprints for wider circulation. Eight works were printed in Nanking and 38 in Chekiang—these were printed from wood blocks in much reduced format, and are therefore easily differentiated from the original editions. But the Kiangsi provincial government printed 54 works and the Fukien provincial government printed 123, both using the original movable type edition as a model for cutting the wood blocks. These provincial editions continued to be reprinted throughout the nineteenth century, and in 1895 the provincial press at Canton made a new wood-block edition entirely modeled on the Fukien edition. These editions were all loosely called by the same name as "The Imperial Palace Movable Type Reprint Series."

Mr. Gillis was determined to acquire for the Gest collection one complete set of the original movable type edition. He bought the set originally collected and owned by the bibliographical scholar Miao Ch'üan-sun, of which the 138 works were bound in 812 volumes. This Gillis called "The First Copy" (No. 1337). Then he succeeded in acquiring a nearly complete set of 137 works rebound in 600 volumes. This he called "The Second Copy" (No. 1338). And he also succeeded in getting together a complete third set for the Harvard-Yenching Institute at Harvard. In 1940 he got together a complete fourth set and offered to sell it to the Library of Congress for 2,000 dollars. The Library of Congress could not buy it, and when Gillis was interned in Peiping, his books were looted by the Japanese and this set was scattered.

Thus Gillis achieved the almost impossible task of acquiring four of the only five sets of the original "Imperial Palace Movable Type Reprint Series" in the world, the fifth set being the one in the Imperial Palace in Peiping. To appreciate the magnitude of Gillis' achievement, one must realize that neither the National Library of Peiping, nor the Library of the National Peking University, nor the most celebrated private collectors in China, can boast of possessing more than a few of the 138 works in the original Palace movable type edition. Mr. Gillis' great achievement, however, lies not so much in his boldness in conception and execution in the acquisition of these four sets, as in his painstaking method in establishing the minute criteria for distinguishing *every one of the 800-odd volumes* of the original movable type edition from that of the provincial wood-block editions.

It seems that Mr. Gest was somewhat troubled by the high price offered by Gillis for the first complete set in 812 volumes, and he made independent inquiries of American Sinologues in this country. At least one of them wrote Gest a letter challenging Gillis' judgment in accepting the whole set as of the original movable type edition. This letter said in part:

> If the edition being offered is of the first, *every* individual work in it should be printed from these movable types. If there is one that is not, this would prove that the edition in question is one of the later provincial reprints. In other words, it is not sufficient that some or most of the individual work show this characteristic of lack of alignment of the characters, because this feature would naturally be transmitted when the [provincial] wood-block carvers used the pages of the first edition as their models.

In a lengthy reply to this challenge, Gillis pointed out:

> When this collection of works (with the exception of the first 4 works in 8 volumes which were printed from wood blocks before the types were made) was printed with movable types, it was found upon final proof-reading that there were many errors in each and every work, so these were corrected in the usual manner—the incorrect character was cut out, the space filled in by pasting on a small slip on the under side, and the correct character substituted. The provincial reprints were undoubtedly made by using copies of the original edition as models, so unless the copy made use of was an *uncorrected* one the resulting reprint would not contain the errors just mentioned above. …
>
> It may be taken for granted, therefore, that provincial reprints do not contain the errors to be found in copies of the original edition, and so may be readily detected.

I may add that, in the original Palace edition, the name of the proofreader was printed on the middle margin of every double page, and there was a prescribed penalty for errors undetected and uncorrected by the responsible proofreader. So these final and post-printing corrections were very good evidences of the original edition.

To establish these criteria, Gillis and his Chinese assistants had to examine minutely each of approximately 37,600 double pages to detect the cut-out spaces and the pasted corrections. In his *Notes* on the first copy, there are 36 foolscap pages of a double-column table of 2,082 such corrections, listing the volume, chapter, page, line, and words for each. This task probably involved many months of hard work. By this painstaking method, Gillis proved that literally "there were many errors in each and every work" of the 134 works printed with movable type; and thereby he established for the first time in Chinese bibliography an indisputable criterion for identifying the original edition of this huge series of valuable reprints.

In his *Notes* (No. 19), Gillis applied this criterion to his second set, and said that "one or more pages of each booklet has been compared with the same pages of the First Copy and the corrections found to be the same in every instance," with the important exception of one work (No. 128) wherein "no corrections have been made…at the time of publication or subsequently. …" I have no doubt that he applied the same criterion to the third copy, which he got for Harvard, and to the fourth copy, which he offered to the Library of Congress.

It was this ability to work hard and attend to very minute details that enabled Gillis to overcome the tremendous obstacles of language and culture and to earn the well-deserved eulogy from Mr. Wang Chung-min that "his knowledge of Chinese bibliography is exceptionally good."

The Gest collection has often been described—sometimes disparagingly—as a collector's library. That is what Mr. Gest and Commander Gillis originally intended it to be. And it is precisely as a collector's library that the Gest collection is unique, priceless, and so far matchless among all Chinese collections outside of China and Japan. That is the pride and the real worth of this remarkable collection.

What are the collector's pieces in the Gest collection? What is a "rare book" according to the traditional Chinese bibliophile's standards? What are the distinctive features of the Gest collection, which was collected by an American naval officer turned Chinese bibliographer and collector? And, finally, what is the value of this collection to the trained research scholar in the field of Chinese and Oriental history and culture? These questions I shall try to answer in a form which I hope will be intelligible to the Occidental reader.

What are the collector's pieces in the Gest collection?

Broadly speaking, of the 100,000 volumes that form the original Gest Library, at least 40%—about 40,000 volumes—may be properly described as "collector's pieces." They are grouped here for the purpose of giving a general picture of the Gest treasures:

	Volumes
1. Books printed from wood blocks cut in the years A.D. 1232–1272 (Sung dynasty editions)	700
2. Books printed from wood blocks cut in the years 1297–1322 (Yüan dynasty editions)	1,700
3. Books printed in the Ming dynasty (1368–1644)	24,500
4. Manuscripts	3,000
a. Manuscripts copied before 1602	2,150
b. Other manuscripts	850
5. The complete set of the 1728 edition of the Imperial Encyclopedia in movable copper type	5,020
6. Two copies of "The Imperial Palace Movable (wood) Type Reprint Series"	1,412
7. A complete set of the Palace Wood-block Edition of the Twenty-four Dynastic Histories (printed between 1739 and 1784)	754
8. First editions, rare Palace editions, rare reprints of Sung, Yüan, and Ming editions, made in recent centuries (1644–1920)	2,000
9. The Kanjur ("translations of Buddhist Scriptures") in Mongol (translations from the Tibetan Kanjur), 1772–1790	109
10. Books on medicine and materia medica	2,000
Total	41,195

In short, more than 40% of the original Gest-Gillis collection was gathered with the express desire to make it a collector's library—a library of rare and exquisite manuscripts, of notable examples of fine and early printing, and of the oldest and best editions of well-known works of reference, history, religion, philosophy, and literature.

What is a "rare book" to the traditional Chinese booklover and collector?

To begin with, there are no Chinese "incunabula" in the European sense of the term. This is, in the first place, because book printing from carved wood blocks began in China so long ago—undoubtedly as early as the eighth century A.D. and very probably even earlier—and its evolution from seal-cutting and from "rubbings" of stone inscriptions was so gradual that its exact beginnings were never particularly noticed or recorded. And, secondly, because block printing probably had a rather lowly birth, being born of a superstitious belief cultivated by the medieval religions of Buddhism and Taoism that duplicating and distributing a charm or a sacred scripture meant an accumulation of great "merit" toward the salvation of the soul (either of one's self or of his beloved parents or relatives) after death. Thus the earliest extant specimens of block printing are the meaningless Buddhist tantric charms (*The Muku Joko Sutra*) printed in one million copies about A.D. 769 by order of the Japanese Empress Shotoku. And the oldest extant Chinese printed book is the Buddhist Diamond Sutra with a charm at the end, "printed in May, 868, by Wang Chieh for free general distribution in memory of his father and mother." Such short pieces, printed in tens of thousands of copies for distribution for religious "merit," were usually ignored by early collectors of books, to whom books meant only the beautifully and carefully handwritten scrolls of respectable literature, and to whom such cheaply duplicated short pieces were no books at all. The old prejudice was still strong that good books were for the enjoyment of the qualified few, and not for the masses. There were bookshops recorded as early as the first century A.D. But poets and philosophers never wrote for the general public—and they certainly never intended to have their writings sold for money.

The famous poet Yüan-chên (A.D. 779–831) wrote in 824 that, for 20 years past, some of his poems and songs and those of his friend Po Chü-i (772–846) had been hand-copied and printed without authorization from wood blocks by enterprising persons in Soochow and Hangchow and that the printed copies were sold in the market place for money or in exchange for wine and food. It was a tribute to the popularity of those two great poets, who, however, would never have thought of condescending so low as to have their collected works cut on wood blocks and printed for sale.

Indeed, Po Chü-i had his complete poetic and prose works carefully copied in four copies, one to be kept in his own home, three to be deposited in three Buddhist monasteries (one in Lushan in the South, and two in the two capitals of Ch'ang-an and Lo-yang in the North). These four complete copies were made in the years 835, 836, and 839. In 840 he had his latest writings similarly copied for deposit. He was apparently not attracted by the new art of book printing, which had certainly already been making great progress in the preceding century.

The printed Diamond Sutra of 868, which consists of six sheets of text and one sheet of a woodcut illustration, all neatly pasted together to form a continuous roll 16 ft long, shows already a highly advanced technique: the text was written in good calligraphy and the cutting and printing were both well done. A contemporary poet and statesman, Ssu-k'ung T'u (who died a martyr's death in 908), wrote a circular letter soliciting funds for block printing a large learned work by a monk-lecturer of Lo-yang. The new art of printing was already attracting the attention of the Buddhist monasteries and lay Buddhists by the second half of the ninth century.

It was in the tenth century that book printing was taken up seriously and enthusiastically by individuals and by governments. The Imperial Government in the North began in 932 the big undertaking of block printing the Canonical Classics of Confucianism, which took 21 years (932–953) to complete. The text was based on the "Stone Canon" cut on stone in 837, the copies were written by selected calligraphers and checked by competent scholars of the National Academy, and the cutting was done by selected wood carvers. A prime minister of that government, Ho Ning (898–955), who was also a popular poet, copied his collected poetic and prose writings in his own fine calligraphy to be carved on blocks for printing. "Several hundred complete sets of his collected works, each totaling 100 chüan in volume, were thus printed for presentation to friends as gifts." It was beneath his dignity to have his works printed for sale, although books printed by the government and the monasteries were for sale.

Another scholar-statesman of the age, Mu Chao-i (died *circa* 960), left an instructive story which has become famous in the history of Chinese book printing. When he was a young struggling scholar, he suffered the humiliation of being refused the loan of a manuscript copy of a famous anthology of ancient and medieval poetry and prose. Thereupon, he made a vow to himself that, if he should achieve honors and wealth, he would have that voluminous anthology block printed for the benefit of scholars. He did achieve high honors and became prime minister in the western Kingdom of Shu. He fulfilled his vow by selecting his best students to copy and collate, not only the *Wên-hsüan* which had been refused him, but also a number of useful encyclopedias, and having them block printed in Chengtu for general circulation. His family preserved the blocks and continued to print from them long after the Kingdom of Shu was conquered by the Sung Empire (965) and it was said that, as late as the early decades of the eleventh century, his descendants still made a comfortable living from the printing and sale of books of the Mu impress, which were then being sold in all parts of the reunited Empire.

This is the brief history, not of the earliest centuries of obscure and humble beginnings, but of the glorious development of the fine art of block printing in the tenth century.

Books printed in the first four centuries, from the tenth to the thirteenth, roughly corresponding to the Sung dynasty (960–1276), and therefore loosely called "books of Sung editions," have always been eagerly sought by all lovers and collectors of Chinese books. Their passionate love and search for "Sung editions" is quite comparable to the Occidental collector's love and search for the European incunabula. And as Sung editions became rarer and rarer with the ravages of time,

the collector's zeal for such books rose to even greater heights. When we read the many personal and intimate "colophons" which the famous collector Huang P'ei-lieh (1763–1825) wrote to each of his rare items of Sung printing, we can still catch the contagion of his enthusiasm and the enthusiasm of his age. Huang often signed himself as "A Man Biased in Favor of Sung Editions," and named his library "One-Hundred-Sung-Editions-in-One-House." Another famous collector, Lu Hsin-yüan (1834–1894), built a special library to house his Sung editions and named it *Pi Sung Lou*, "The Library of Two Hundred Sung Editions." Such names attest to the zeal and pride of these collectors.

Books printed in the next dynasty—the Yüan or Mongol dynasty (1277–1368)—were sought by collectors with almost equal fervor. In the nineteenth century, books of Sung and Yüan editions were often purchased at so many silver dollars per leaf.

But this passion for Sung and Yüan editions (books printed in the tenth, eleventh, twelfth, thirteenth, and fourteenth centuries) constituted only one of the many phases of Chinese book collecting. The vast majority of collectors naturally could not afford to pay for those early editions. The general principle for the wise collector is to seek the best available edition (*shan-pên*) for every work. A Sung edition based on a defective manuscript is not so good as a much later edition based on a more perfect text or collated by competent scholarship. As for works of the later ages, the practice has always been to search for the first or earliest available printed edition or an original manuscript copy. During the last 300 years there has developed what may be called a science of textual collation and criticism. Scholarly collectors no longer regarded early editions as mere objects of antiquarian adoration, but as tools for textual comparison and emendation. They would borrow the best and earliest editions from the wealthy collectors and note down all textual variations on their own copies. Such collated texts are highly valued by booklovers, and very often new editions are made with detailed textual notes by scholarly editors.

In the last century, the introduction of the photolithographic processes enabled collectors and publishers to reproduce many rare books in facsimile form at prices well within the reach of thousands of readers. Hundreds of very rare editions of classical literature, the voluminous dynastic histories, philosophical works, the dramas of Yüan and Ming dynasties, and others have been photolithographically preserved and made accessible to a larger public.

I may sum up this brief sketch of the history of Chinese book collecting by a quotation from a contemporary bibliographer, Mr. Ku T'ing-lung, who in the preface to his "Illustrated Descriptive Catalogue of Classified Specimens of Ming Editions" (*Ming-tai pan-pên t'u-lu, 1941*) says: "Even booklovers of our own day have not been entirely free from the old prejudice of treasuring Sung and Yüan editions far more than the books printed in the Ming [1368–1644] and Ch'ing [1644–1911] periods. … They do not seem to realize that most of the Sung and Yüan editions have been either exactly reproduced in wood-block editions of recent centuries or photolithographically reprinted in facsimile editions, or reprinted with textual emendations and supplements, or indirectly preserved by having their textual variations recorded and published by scholars. How few of them still remain hidden and unknown?

"On the other hand, the books printed in the Ming period [1368–1644] deserve our attention no less than the earlier editions. We are today as far removed in time from the Ming dynasty as the Mings were from the early Sung age. Many Sung editions of important works of classical learning were very well preserved in exact reproductions in the Ming period. And there were important Ming works of great historical value which have never been reprinted and are available only in their original Ming editions. Many of these works (because they happened to contain uncomplimentary references to the Manchus) were often destroyed or suppressed by the Manchu rulers. Surviving copies must be collected and preserved in the interest of history. And, finally, many of the Ming editions, because of their conscious emulation of the best printing of a preceding era, are themselves of such artistic excellence as to deserve the admiration and care of all booklovers."

What are the distinctive features of this collection made by an American naval officer who trained himself to be a Chinese bibliographer and collector?

There is clear evidence that Mr. Gillis made a careful study of the published descriptive catalogues of a number of the well-known libraries and collections, catalogues of books which were to be destroyed or suppressed by order of the Manchu government, indices to the *Ts'ung-shu* (collectanea), and bibliographical works by recognized scholars. In his Title Index, Gillis listed about 200 such catalogues and bibliographies, but he indicates that only about 28 of these were frequently consulted by him in his *Notes* and *Title Index*.

Being a shrewd Yankee, Gillis could readily see that it would be sheer madness for him, with his limited allowance from Mr. Gest, to try to compete with Chinese and Japanese collectors in the game of hunting for Sung and Yüan editions, which, by the early decades of the twentieth century, were almost no longer obtainable except through elaborate negotiations with private owners and at prohibitive prices. Yeh Tê-hui (1864–1927) reported in 1911 that he knew of a Hunan collector who paid 3,000 silver dollars (at that time equivalent to about 3,000 American dollars) for an incomplete copy of a Sung edition of Su Shih's Poems! So Mr. Gillis made the very wise decision to concentrate his limited resources on collecting Ming (1368–1644) editions, which have the double advantage of being old enough to be "rare books," but not old enough (according to Chinese collectors' standards) to command very high prices. This explains why the Gest collection contains about 24,500 volumes of Ming editions. That is to say, almost one quarter of the original Gest-Gillis collection consists of books printed between 1368 and 1644. This is the largest collection of Ming editions outside of China and Japan, and one of the best in the world.

It is not easy to single out particular items from this huge collection of Ming editions for special mention. A few significant points of general interest may be stressed here.

In the first place, the collection contains representative specimens of the development of the art of book printing throughout the 276 years of the Ming dynasty. More than a tenth of this Ming collection consists of books (mostly government editions of the Confucianist Canon and Buddhist Scriptures in several different editions) which were printed before the end of the Ching-t'ai reign (1450–1456)—that is,

before the Gutenberg Bible. Of this group, there are 17 volumes of punctuated Buddhist texts printed from blocks cut in 1399, which are unusual rarities in being the earliest Buddhist books using punctuations (punctuated Confucianist Canonical works having begun as early as the twelfth century), and in being probably the only known *clearly dated* books printed from blocks cut under the reign of Emperor Chien-wên (1399–1402), which reign, having been overthrown by the Emperor Yung-lo (1403–1424), was deliberately obliterated from all documents and publications. These 17 volumes show that the "reign-name" was also obliterated from the blocks, but the date "year one" and the cycle-number "chi-mao" combine to identify the year beyond question. Such unmistakable marks showing how the tabooed reign-name was cut from the blocks explains why collectors of Ming editions could never find books printed during that ill-fated reign. Mr. Wang Chung-min has also pointed out that there are Ming books in the Gest collection which Gillis acquired without knowing that they might be "the only extant copies in the whole world." The work Mr. Wang cited is a collection of poems by Hsü Chung-hsing of the sixteenth century.

Secondly, this collection includes practically all types of book printing of the Ming period: Imperial Palace editions, editions made by the many royal princes who were well-known as patrons of learning and literature, editions by the two National Academies at Peking and Nanking, editions by provincial and local governments, and books printed by private families and by commercial printers. Of the Imperial Government editions, mention may be made of the most beautifully printed copy (1595) of the *Yüeh-lü chüan-shu* ("Treatises on Music") by Prince Chu Tsai-yü, one of the most learned men of the sixteenth century. Of the books printed by private families and commercial printers, special mention should be given to the many works in the Gest collection which were printed by the great bibliophile and publisher Mao Chin (1599–1659), who, as a private individual living in an age of war, foreign invasion, and change of dynasties, undertook to print and publish in his lifetime a total of about 600 works, including a large number of very voluminous works, such as the "Thirteen Classics with Standard Commentaries" and the "Seventeen Dynastic Histories." "The printing of these books," says Mr. Fang Chao-ying in his brief biography of Mao Chin in *Eminent Chinese of the Ch'ing Period*, "aggregating more than 200,000 double pages, required a large quantity of paper which Mao Chin purchased in Kiangsi province in two varieties—a rather heavy kind known as mao-pien and a thinner kind called *mao-t'ai*. Both names retain the surname Mao, and the papers…are still so designated in publishing circles."

In the third place, this collection of Ming editions includes a number of works which the Manchu rulers, for political and racial reasons, had ordered burned and completely prohibited, or partially deleted and banned. At the height of the power of the dynasty, notably in the eighteenth century, this despotic destruction and prohibition of such books was harshly effective, violators being actually punished by capital punishment, and hundreds of books were probably irretrievably lost. Commander Gillis, in common with Chinese collectors of his day, took special interest in collecting items on the official lists of "Books to be Burned and Prohibited." Of this group, I like to mention the *Ch'u hsüeh chi* (first series of

collected works) of Ch'ien Ch'ien-i (1582–1664), who was a great scholar and intellectual leader of his age as well as one of the most famous collectors of rare books, but whose works came to be intensely hated by the Manchu Emperor Ch'ien-lung (1736–1795) and were ordered to be burned and destroyed wherever found. The Emperor's wrath was so strong that works of any of Ch'ien's contemporaries containing a preface by him, or correspondence with him, or even a complimentary reference to him, were ordered to be either partially or wholly banned or destroyed. This edition of Ch'ien's earlier collected works was made in 1643, the year before the fall of the Ming dynasty, and, having been copied by the best calligraphers and carved by a well-known artist, is considered by all experts as a most perfect example of the art of block printing of the Ming period. That such a voluminous work in 110 *chüan*, which could have been secretly kept by a collector only at the most dangerous peril to his life and to his family, has been preserved to this day in perfect condition, is an eloquent tribute to the great courage which the love of good books can inspire in the true bibliophile.

But Gillis the detective and collector could not suppress his ambition to hunt for the Sung and Yüan editions. He bided his time and waited for his opportunity to satisfy his long-cherished desire. In the meantime, he was training himself to be able to recognize and acquire such early and rare specimens of Chinese printing without having to pay exorbitant prices for them. In other words, he expected to find his treasures among the large loads of books that were often offered at "junk" prices by impoverished noble families and dilapidated temples and monasteries in Peking and its vicinity.

His great opportunity came when he found and bought an incomplete set of the Buddhist Canon of Scriptures in apparently an admixture of various printed editions and hand-copied supplementary volumes. The total number of folded volumes was about 5,348. This purchase was probably made in 1926 or 1927. I have not found Gillis' correspondence or notes on the details of this most remarkable find. But Dr. Berthold Laufer, in his preliminary report on the Gest collection, which he had examined at McGill University on July 11–12, 1929, said that the consignment of this Buddhist collection "had just reached Vancouver, B.C.," and that Mr. Gest had shown him photostats of a number of pages. Dr. Laufer had also been told by Mr. Gest that this collection included "698 volumes printed under the Sung in A.D. 1246 [and] 1,635 volumes printed under the Yüan (14th century) mostly in A.D. 1306. …" All this shows that this collection must have been acquired a few years before July, 1929, and that Gillis had already had time to examine and determine these dates.

It is very interesting that Dr. Laufer was informed that these Buddhist Scriptures "were obtained in a remote part of China." Gillis called this collection "Ta-pei-ssŭ ching" (the Buddhist Scriptures in the Ta Pei Monastery). I have not found any document of his describing the location and history of this monastery, but, judging from the colophons at the end of a number of the manuscript volumes, I have no doubt that this must be one of the monasteries in the city of Peking, which was the capital of the Mongols from 1264 to 1368 and of the Ming dynasty from 1421 to its downfall in 1644. It was quite possible that Mr. Gillis had his reasons for not revealing to anyone

where and how he acquired this historic collection. At any rate, he found it expedient not to consult his learned Chinese friends about this precious find, and had to work all by himself on this collection and to rely on only one of his 200 catalogues for guidance in making his own catalogue of the 5,348 volumes. It happened that Chinese collectors and bibliographers of the old school were not interested in the Buddhist Canons, which were usually too voluminous for the private library and which orthodox Chinese scholars were supposed to view with disdain and contempt. So the one catalogue Mr. Gillis consulted did not give him much information or guidance. He did not even realize that this edition of the Tripitaka, like all other editions, was arranged according to the order of the characters in the "Thousand-Character Primer," which every Chinese child could recite by heart. So in his catalogue he followed the "order" or disorder of the 580 packages that were haphazardly numbered by the monks who sold him the collection! And nobody corrected him.

Moreover, his secret find was made a few years before the Chinese discovery in 1931 of an almost complete copy of the Chi Sha edition of the Buddhist Canon housed in two Buddhist monasteries in Sian, in Shensi province. General Chu Ch'ing-lan, a leader in Chinese famine relief work and a lay believer in Buddhism, found this collection on one of his relief missions to Shensi. He immediately reported it to his Buddhist friends in Shanghai. A society was organized in October, 1931, to plan the work of reprinting this entire Canon in photolithographic reproduction in greatly reduced size. An editorial committee of this society took up the work of photographing the collection and checking the missing volumes and pages, for which corresponding volumes and pages from other old editions were photographed as replacements. The committee by that time was able to consult the three-volume "Catalogue of Catalogues of All Editions of Buddhist Canons," which was published in Japan in 1929–1934 after the completion of the Japanese publication of the *Taishō Tripitaka*, and which includes a "Catalogue of the Buddhist Tripitaka of the Yen-shêng Monastery at Chi Sha in P'ing-chiang-fu"—originally printed in A.D. 1234. The editorial committee found that the catalogue of 1234, having been printed at the beginning of the great undertaking, contains only 548 *han* (cases) numbered by 548 characters, while the Canon at the completion of printing in 1322 included 43 more *han*, making a total of 591 numbered cases, comprising 1,532 works in 6,362 *chüan*, originally bound in about 5,910 folded volumes. A new catalogue of the photolithographic edition was made and similarly printed when the reprinting of the whole Canon was completed in December, 1935.

As a result of this checking and replacement, this set seems to have been completed about 1602, but it came to Mr. Gillis incomplete. The Canon should have about 5,910 volumes. According to Gillis' count, the Gest copy has only:

	Volumes
Sung editions	697 ½
Yüan editions	1,632 ½
Ming editions	868
Manuscript recopies	2,150
Total	5,348

In his *Notes* (No. 2198), Gillis gives a detailed list of all these 5,348 volumes, each volume being marked by "S" (Sung), "Y" (Yüan), "M" (Ming), or "W" (white paper manuscript). In the same *Notes*, he makes another catalogue in which all the dated volumes are recorded with the years and months in which the blocks were made. There are 55 Sung volumes dated from 1232 to 1271 (the lithographic reprint edition contains one volume dated 1231 and three volumes dated 1272). There are 124 Yüan volumes dated from 1297 to 1315 (the lithographic reprint edition contains two volumes dated 1322).

With these dated volumes as criteria, Gillis was able to judge 697 ½ volumes as of Sung editions and 1,632 ½ volumes as of Yüan editions. The remaining printed volumes were of Ming editions. Gillis' judgments are valid in practically all the Sung and Yüan volumes, with only very few cases of oversight or miscount. I have found six volumes dated 1233, 1235, 1238, 1239, 1240, and 1241 respectively which were not noted in Gillis' catalogue of dated Sung volumes. But these overlooked dates only confirm Gillis' judgment that they were of the Sung editions. These nearly 700 volumes of Sung editions and nearly 1,700 volumes of Yüan editions (1,632 ½ volumes of the Chi Sha Canon plus a set of a Yüan cyclopedia in 60 volumes printed from blocks made in 1307) make the Gest Library richer in block printed books of the thirteenth and early fourteenth centuries than any other library in Europe or America.

Although we are still ignorant about where and how Gillis acquired this collection, and although he did not fully understand what he had found, it is time for us to announce that the Gest Library owns one of the two incomplete copies of the now famous Chi Sha Tripitaka of 1231–1322 known to be extant. For the Sian copy, from which the 1931–1935 photolithographic edition was made, is also incomplete, with about 600 volumes originally replaced by corresponding volumes in a Huchow edition of 1332, in addition to other missing volumes and pages which have been replaced by the editorial committee in Shanghai.

But the editors of the reprint edition informed us in their introductory notes that there were apparently 11 volumes which could not be replaced because their titles were unknown. These are:

Vols. 3, 4, 9, and 10 of Case 568
Vols. 1, 2, and 3 of Case 571
Vols. 7 and 8 of Case 576
Vols. 8 and 9 of Case 585

We have checked the Gest copy and can now inform the editors and owners of the reprint edition that, of the 11 missing volumes, the Gest copy has the following 7:

Vols. 3 and 4 of Case 568
Vols. 1, 2, and 3 of Case 571
Vols. 7 and 8 of Case 576

And the Gest copy also has Volumes 9 and 10 of Case 568, which are the same as Volumes 11 and 12 respectively of the reprint edition. They are not missing, but only wrongly numbered. The only volumes which are missing in both the Gest copy and the Sian copy are Volumes 8 and 9 of Case 585. At a more propitious time,

these missing volumes found complete in the Gest copy should be made accessible to China and Japan through photostatic reproductions.

I have used "The Imperial Palace Movable Type Reprint Series" to illustrate the scientific technique of Commander Gillis in his book collecting, which is one of the distinctive features of the Gest-Gillis collection. That same microscopic analytical technique he applied also to his identification of the volumes in the Chi Sha Tripitaka and of the tens of thousands of volumes in his huge collection of Ming editions.

As an Occidental, Gillis was more deeply interested in the movable type editions than is the traditional Chinese bibliophile. It was this interest which led him to make the large collection of Chinese books printed with movable type of wood, lead, and copper (which were used before the invention of modern machine-made metal type). This collection, the largest in the world, includes a number of Ming books printed with movable type as well as the two copies of the wood type Imperial Palace Reprint Series in 1,412 volumes, and the great Encyclopedia (the *Ku-chin t'u-shu chi-ch'êng*) of 1728 in 5,020 volumes, all in the original copper type edition. Only 64 sets of this Encyclopedia were printed in the original edition. They were given by the Emperor Ch'ien-lung and his successors only to families and persons as rewards for special services to the state. In 1884–1888 a new edition of this Encyclopedia was made in Shanghai with much smaller modern lead type, and 1,500 sets were printed as a private commercial enterprise. In 1890 the Chinese government ordered a lithographic reproduction made of the original edition. One hundred sets were printed of this edition, which was completed in 1898. But it was Mr. Gillis' ambition to get together a complete set of the original copper type edition for the Gest Library. It is said that it took him years of search and minute checking to complete the Gest copy. It is one of the three or four sets of the original edition extant in the world. Because this set in 5,020 volumes was made up of volumes from a number of incomplete lots, Gillis probably paid very little money to have this complete copy—with many spare volumes for possible replacement of missing ones!

The patient picking of a complete set of this huge Encyclopedia out of numerous scattered and inexpensive volumes illustrates another of the distinctive features of Mr. Gillis' book collecting. The Chinese bibliographer and collector Mr. Miao Ch'üan-sun had spent years patiently selecting odd items of "The Imperial Palace Movable Type Reprint Series" and in the end made a complete set of it in 812 volumes, all of the original edition. The shrewd Yankee collector could readily recognize in such an enviable collection the principle that odd and inexpensive books could become valuable when they were made parts of a collection selected with a far-sighted design or objective.

For instance, many of the voluminous works published by the Manchu government and often printed on very good paper were usually ignored by Chinese collectors and their market-price has never been high. Even in the old days, incomplete sets of such bulky works were often sold to dealers by weight, and the pages were sometimes used for "paddings" in rebinding of old and rare books. (In recent years, such Palace and government editions are being collected in Red China to be delivered to state-controlled paper factories to make pulp.) But Mr. Gillis' love for good editions and his modern sense of values (and the fact that his wife was a

Manchu lady) led him to collect for the Gest Library one of the excellent collections of books published by the Imperial Palace and government, including official histories of major military campaigns, collected works of all the Manchu emperors, scientific works in mathematical and astronomical fields, collections of imperial edicts in both Chinese and Manchu, and hundreds of volumes of Manchu translations of Chinese classics, moral philosophy, and popular literature. He also made a complete collection of the Palace edition of the Twenty-four Dynastic Histories in 754 volumes, the block printing of which spread over a period of 45 years (1739–1784). Mr. Gillis in his early days of book collecting was often criticized for his "fondness for Palace editions." I believe that the time is already coming when his vast collection of these official publications of the Manchu dynasty will be classed as valuable rarities of historical importance; and in particular his large collection of Manchu translations of Chinese works (among them the famous pornographic novel *Chin p'ing mei*—not a Palace or government edition, of course) will be found a very important source of material for the student of the language and literature of this once great people, as well as for historians and anthropologists interested in problems of cultural contact and diffusion.

Of the large collection of manuscript volumes, there are many items of interest. Our oldest manuscript is a copy of three chapters of a Buddhist sutra, which is one of the many thousands of ancient manuscripts hidden for nearly a 1,000 years in a cave-library in the desert region of Tun-huang. The manuscript can be conservatively dated as of the sixth century A.D. It has a hemp-cloth wrapper bearing the official seal of the local collection of Buddhist Scriptures. The woman who did the sewing of the wrapper had the inspiration to sign her name, with the date which corresponds to A.D. 685. Another old manuscript—one of the few items bought by Mr. Gest himself in Japan—is a copy of a Buddhist text bearing a colophon which tells us that the copying was ordered by a Japanese empress in A.D. 740.

Of the 2,000-odd manuscript volumes copied in 1600–1602 for replacements of missing volumes in the Chi Sha Tripitaka, I may cite one colophon of human interest:

> I, Mrs. Chao, née Shen, a devout believer, give fifteen taels of silver for the purpose of copying 100 of the missing volumes of the Sacred Tripitaka with the most devout prayer that my husband, Chao Chih-kao, the Grand Secretary of the Chien-chi Palace [i.e., Prime Minister of the Empire], may be blessed with improved health, that his hands and feet may be restored to smooth functioning, and that our young son, Chao Feng-ko, may be free from all calamities and be blessed with long life and happiness.
>
> The copies were completed on the sixth day of the Sixth Moon of the 28th year of Wan-li [1600].

Her husband (whose biography appears in chapter 219 of the Ming Shih) was Prime Minister from 1594 until his death in 1601, but was confined to his sickbed for about 4 years before he died. Her pious vow will interest the student of history, of religion, and of the development of book printing. It was the same belief in the "merit" of duplicating and spreading sacred scriptures—the belief that had been responsible for the origin of block printing in China—that made Madame Chao contribute money for copying the missing volumes. And it will interest the economic historian to know that 15 taels of silver in 1,600 was sufficient to pay the

scribes for making careful and exact hand copies of 100 volumes. The scribe got 0.15 of a tael of silver for copying each volume, which meant at least two whole days' labor. According to contemporary records, the official rate in 1,606 was 690 copper cash for one tael of silver, but the market rate was only 450 cash for one tael. So the scribe got about 70 copper cash for 2 days' labor!

And, finally, what, after all, is the value of this collection—in nucleus "a collector's library"—to the trained research scholar in the field of Chinese and Oriental history and culture?

In much that I have said above, I have already tried to answer some such question, not with abstract discussions of the real worth of "a collector's library" to the research scholar, but with concrete examples of how difficult research problems can sometimes be solved with the help of rare and authentic documents and books found only in some collector's library.

It is unnecessary to defend or apologize for the Gest collection with the often repeated statement that "it is really more than a collector's library." Of course it is much more than a collector's library, especially with the thousands of additional volumes acquired in recent decades. But there is nothing wrong for any learned institution to have and take pride in having as many collector's libraries as can be had. Such libraries may remain for months and years without being consulted or utilized. But it is always the dream of a research scholar to find someday in some collector's library the very item for which he has long been hunting in vain. As an old Chinese proverb says: "An army is maintained for a 1,000 days so that it may be used on one particular morning." That is the luxury and the utility of libraries of rare and very rare items.

The thousands of "Tun-huang manuscripts," for example, had been lying idle for decades at the British Museum and the Bibliothèque Nationale. Then there came a Chinese professor who found among them a great many pieces of Buddhist and secular stories retold in popular rhymed recitals hitherto unknown to the historian of Chinese literature. Then came another Chinese professor who found among these manuscripts long rolls containing the recorded discourses of Shên-hui (died A.D. 760), a great Buddhist monk of the eighth century who was the real founder of Ch'an (Zen) Buddhism but whose works had long been lost. He also found in the London and Paris collections other long-lost documents of great historical significance in understanding the development of Buddhism. Such finds have resulted in the rewriting of the history of medieval Chinese literature and the history of Chinese Buddhism.

It is my sincere belief that the Gest Oriental Library will become a place to which scholars will resort more and more in their hunt for rare and authentic materials needed in their historical researches in various specialized fields. A few of those fields may be mentioned here.

In Buddhist literature, the Gest Library not only owns 2,300 volumes of Sung and Yüan editions of the original Chi Sha Tripitaka and its Ming replacements, but also 4,000 volumes of the "Ming Northern Canon" (*Pei tsang*), 800 volumes of the "Ming Southern Canon" (*Nan tsang*) and hundreds of volumes in other editions of the Ming period. Serious scholars not satisfied with such modern Japanese reprint

editions as the *Taishō Tripitaka* (a set of which is in the Gest Library) may find it necessary to turn to these Gest volumes for textual collation and authentication. And any student interested in the historical development of Buddhist printing will certainly find it profitable to make use of the Gest Buddhist collections.

The Gest collection of books on Chinese medicine and materia medica will surely interest scholars investigating the history of Chinese science in general and Chinese medicine in particular. In fact, this collection is now being utilized by an American scholar, Professor W. A. Lessa of the University of California, who is interested in Chinese works on anatomy and physiognomy.

The Gest Library has an incomplete copy of the *Ta-ming shih-lu* ("Veritable Records of the Ming Dynasty") in 1,492 *ch'üan* and 173 volumes. This copy, though incomplete, is a good copy once owned by the bibliophile Sung Yün (1681–1760). Another more complete copy of this work in 343 volumes, belonging to the National Library of Peiping, has been microfilmed by the Library of Congress, and positive copies of it are now accessible in a few leading university libraries. A copy of the *Ta-ming shih-lu* in Nanking was reproduced photolithographically and published in 500 volumes by the "puppet" regime in Nanking during the Japanese war in China. As this work constitutes one of the most important sources for the study of the history of the entire Ming period (1368–1644), the time will come when trained scholars will want to make a detailed textual comparison and collation of the published set against such available manuscript copies as the Gest copy and the microfilm copy of the National Library of Peiping. (Other manuscript copies are to be found at the "Academia Sinica" now in Taipei, Taiwan, at the University of Cambridge, and in private collections.) Such a huge work which has remained in manuscript copies for many centuries cannot be safely used without the necessary work of textual collation by competent scholarship.

I shall conclude this survey by mentioning a few of the intellectual delights which I have personally derived from the collections of the Gest Library. One of the very recent delights was my discovery of a perfectly preserved copy of the first edition of *Liao-chai chih-i* (which Herbert A. Giles partially translated into English in 1908 under the title of *Strange Stories from a Chinese Studio*), by P'u Sung-ling (1640–1715), one of China's greatest writers and story-tellers. As a devoted student of the life and works of this author and as one who once wrote a 50,000-word introduction to establish his authorship of an anonymously published great novel, *Hsing-shih yin-yüan chuan* ("A Married Life that Would Awaken the World"), I had been searching everywhere without success for a copy of this first edition of his short stories, which was not printed until 1766, 50 years after his death. It was therefore an entirely unexpected pleasure to find it here.

In 1943 I undertook the retrial of a celebrated historical case involving three great men of the eighteenth century. This piece of historical research took me 5 years to finish (1943–1948). One of the controversial points required my examination of a manuscript copy of a work by Chao I-ch'ing (1709–1764), one of the three men involved—and I had to have it *in the manuscript form as it was copied into the "Imperial Manuscript Library" of Emperor Ch'ien-lung*. I was then in the United States and fully realized that it was absolutely impossible for me to have access to

any of the four surviving copies of this manuscript library in 36,000 volumes. It was a great and happy surprise to me when I learned in 1944 that I could borrow from the Gest Library at Princeton a complete exact copy of Chao's work which was originally copied in the early nineteenth century from the Imperial Manuscript Library at Yangchow by the well-known bibliophile Ts'en Yung of that city. I was permitted to keep this copy for a time and compare its 20 thick volumes in detail with the printed editions. The controversial question was settled satisfactorily with the help of this copy, the only one which was available to me in those war years.

In connection with the same research work, I also wanted to find out the date of a poem which the Emperor Ch'ien-lung wrote in praise of a manuscript copy of the newly emended text of the *Shui-ching chu* supposedly collated by the scholar and philosopher Tai Chên (1724–1777), one of three great men involved in the case I was retrying. But in the whole United States there was no complete copy of the collected poems of that emperor—except in the Gest Library. I appealed to my friends Dr. Nancy Lee Swann and Dr. T'ung Yiu at the Gest Library, who were kind enough to find the date I wanted to ascertain. The date turned out to be March 27 or 28, 1774, which, however, was beyond even my boldest hypothesis, for I had expected it to be some time in 1775 or very late in 1774. The poem was written *eight months before* Tai Chên's collated text was presented to the throne in November, 1774! I was therefore forced to conclude that the poem was in praise, not of Tai Chên's text, but of a text collated and edited earlier by someone else. Tai Chên did not arrive in Peking until September, 1773, and could not have completed before March, 1774, the detailed collation and editing of a work which, minus textual notes, comprises some 345,000 words.

That was in 1945. Many years afterward, I was myself working at the Gest Library and one day I came upon the collected poems of Emperor Ch'ien-lung. I re-examined the poem and its short preface. To my great surprise, I found that the Emperor's preface to the poem contains three important words totally different from the corresponding words on the first page of Tai Chên's text as it was published in 1775 in the Palace Movable Type edition. The preface in the Emperor's collected poems praised the editor for having supplied many missing words in the text—"from a few words to as many as *eighty or ninety words*". That was apparently the original wording in His Majesty's own copy which nobody had the opportunity to change. But in the Palace Movable Type edition published in 1775, the words "eighty or ninety words" were changed into "over four hundred words"! The chief editors of the Manuscript Library had apparently taken the liberty to change these words in order that the eulogistic poem might appear to apply to the later and much better collated text.

So my early conclusion was more strongly verified that the text eulogized by the Emperor in March, 1774, was not the text collated by Tai Chên and presented in November, 1774. The great Emperor, the most conceited and "omniscient" dictator as he was, never knew the difference! My hero, Tai Chên, apparently so much detested this action of his powerful superiors that he published in the same year his own text in a private edition at his own expense, without the textual notes *and without the Emperor's eulogistic poem*, as a silent protest. That conclusion solved one of

the most baffling mysteries in the celebrated controversy. For those evidences leading to its solution, I gladly give my hearty thanks to Mr. Gillis, who had the good sense to collect the complete works of an emperor who in his long life (1711–1799) and long reign (1736–1796) composed some 42,000 poems which were so poor that no Chinese bibliophile and no other library in the United States seemed to care to collect the six huge collections of his verse totaling 454 *chüan*.

Chapter 27
Rabindranath Tagore in China

India's great teacher, Rabindranath Tagore, came to China twice, in 1924 and 1928. On the first trip, in 1924, he stayed several months. He visited Shanghai and spent most of his time in Peiping. In the latter city, he made several public lectures. As I recall, that particular trip was arranged under the auspices of the *Shang Chih Hsueh Hui* (Aspiration Society) of Peiping.

Tagore seemed to attach much importance to this trip. He brought with him an entourage of teachers of the Santiniketan University, including Mr. Sen, an authority on Sanskrit, Mr. Bose, a painter, and Mr. Tagore's own Boswell, a Briton named Mr. Elmhirst who was his secretary. Santiniketan University was founded by Mr. Tagore himself. It was often called "Tagore's International University." In Sanskrit, Santiniketan means "Solitary Village." More often than not, the teachers and students of the university held classes in the shadows of trees. Permeating the campus was an atmosphere of liberalism.

In 1924, many of Mr. Tagore's works such as "The Crescent Moon" and "Chitra" were available in translated Chinese versions. The works had inspired Hsu Chih-mo, an outstanding poet, and his friends, to organize the "Crescent Moon Society" in Peiping. It was followed later by the appearance in Shanghai of the "Crescent Moon Society," "Crescent Moon Bookstore" and "Crescent Moon Magazine."

On May 8, 1924, Mr. Tagore observed his 64th birthday in Peiping. His friends there got together and held a celebration. The main program was the staging, in the English language, of his play "Chitra." Miss Lin Hui-ying, daughter of Lin Chang-min, played the leading role of Chitra. Mr. Lin and Mr. Hsu also got themselves into the acting. That pleased the old master immensely.

The saddest moment for Mr. Tagore, during that visit as far as we could see, was when the leftist youths of China chose to oppose his lectures. They distributed leaflets in the lecture halls. The leaflets were quite uncomplimentary, indeed. One of

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Chapter Note: Free China Review. Aug., 1961. Vol. 11. No. 8. pp. 19–21.

C.-P. Chou (ed.) and S. Hu, *English Writings of Hu Shih: Literature and Society (Volume 1)*, China Academic Library, DOI 10.1007/978-3-642-31184-0_27,

the lectures was held at the Chen Kuang (True Light) Theater. I was invited to be the moderator. I introduced Mr. Tagore to the public and requested the listeners respect his right to freedom of speech.

Mr. Tagore told me one day: "You have listened to my speeches. You also have read my manuscripts. They say I am against science. Isn't it a fact that in each of my speeches there are passages eulogizing science?" I told him not to worry, least of all to despair. I said: "It is a matter of emphasis. Your lectures are so poetic and so much devoted to the spiritual freedom of man that the listeners are apt to forget your laudatory references to modern science. When we talk to a great number of people we cannot but be misunderstood unwittingly by some or misrepresented intentionally by yet others. As the Chinese saying goes, it is impossible to please everybody at the same time."

Therefore, on the eve of his birthday, I presented him with a scroll on which was written my poem "Parinamana." I acquainted him with the general idea of the poem. He knew I was trying to console him with it, and asked me to translate it into English for him to keep as a souvenir. Parinamana (meaning "Return to Earth") is a school of thought in Mahayana Buddhism ("The Great Vehicle") insisting that even those who have gained the status of Buddha should go back to the world and work for the multitudes.

Henry Pu Yi at that time was still living in his Peiping palace. Informed by the royal tutor, Reginald Johnston, that Mr. Tagore wanted to have a look at the palace, the former emperor invited Mr. Tagore and his entourage into the Forbidden City for tea.

On another day, the Tagore party also had a chance to visit the Great Wall and the Mausoleum of the Ming Dynasty.

Mr. Tagore's second trip to China was in 1928 or 1929. (I am not sure which.) He passed through Shanghai during his travels and went ashore for a few hours to visit Mr. Hsu. (Mr. Elmhirst seemed to be with him, too.) I happened to be in Shanghai at that time. So I took my son Chu-wang to see him. The old man took a group picture with us. The picture included Chih-mo, his wife, Lu Hsiao-man and Mr. Elmhirst. The ship sailed the next morning. We went to the dock to see him off.

Mr. Tagore wrote his poems and essays in Bengali. In fact, all his works were in the dialect of Bengal. His success has made Bengali the most popular "literary language" of India. The old master, therefore, had in his heart a soft spot for China's "*pei hua*" (plain language) movement in literature. He liked Mr. Hsu the most, treating the Chinese poet like a kinsman.