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## II Visual Perceptions of the West and Russia in Chinese Cartoon Magazines of the 1930s

**Abstract.** This chapter focuses on the way the West and Russia were shown in Chinese political cartoons from a turbulent decade, the 1930s. It is based on caricatures, photo collages, and other pictorial materials published in cartoon magazines: *Duli Manhua*, *Manhuajie*, *Qunzhong Manhua*, *Shanghai Manhua*, *Shidai Manhua*, *Wanxiang*, and *Zhongguo Manhua*. The central questions raised by Chinese cartoonists about the Western world of that time included the problems of how powerful states struggled in what seemed to be their ambition to rule the world, causing military clashes in colonies and even in Europe itself (Ethiopia and Spain attracting a great deal of attention); how the disarmament movement and peace-keeping negotiations failed and the new global conflict loomed on the horizon; and, finally, what the daily life of foreigners both inside and outside of China looked like.

The abundance of new media, of the visual one in particular, expanded the Chinese public's perceptions of the West and Russia. It also created a sense of interconnectedness of things happening on the planet, thus shifting the focus of attention from China as the civilized centre to concerns for global, planetary civilization falling prey to warmongering barbarians. The absence of positive power in international relations created a pessimistic outlook on the Earth's prospects. Yet, on a "ground" level, routines and mundane affairs went on, with Western additions – from Hollywood movies to strip-tease, from Christian churches to roller-skating – becoming ever more inextricable from the fabric of urban China and, primarily, Shanghai.

**Keywords.** Cartoon, Communism, Fascism, Abyssinian Crisis, Spanish Civil War.

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## Introduction

This chapter aims to reconstruct the image of the West and Russia through the medium of Chinese cartoons published in cartoon magazines in the 1930s. The phenomenon of illustrated or pictorial periodicals was not new for China by that decade: apart from the centuries-old tradition of popular prints and books with woodcut illustrations, several pictorials were produced in China from the late 19th century. The earliest one was *Dianshizhai Huabao* 點石齋畫報 (published 1884–1898), followed later by many others. By the 1930s the term *manhua* 漫畫 (cartoon, etching, or sketch) came to be used in the magazines' titles to indicate the priority of such items in the contents, with some 20 titles appearing then.<sup>1</sup> This chapter is based on cartoons from *Duli Manhua* 獨立漫畫 (publ. 1935–1936, DLMH), *Manhuajie* 漫畫界 (publ. 1936, MHJ), *Qunzhong Manhua* 群眾漫畫 (publ. 1935, QZMH), *Shanghai Manhua* 上海漫畫 (publ. 1936–1937, SHMH), *Shidai Manhua* 時代漫畫 (publ. 1934–1937, SDMH), *Wanxiang* 萬象 (publ. 1934–1935, WX), and *Zhongguo Manhua* 中國漫畫 (publ. 1935–1937, ZGMH).<sup>2</sup> Their important common trait is that they struggled to be in the avant-garde of fashion, news, and artistic trends while digesting these novelties and reinterpreting them through hand-

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1 For a list of cartoon magazines published in that decade see: Nick STEMBER: *The Shanghai Manhua Society: A History of Early Chinese Cartoonists, 1918–1938*, Master's thesis, Vancouver: University of British Columbia 2015, pp. 119–120. A commentary on the term *manhua* and its evolution in China is given in the introduction of Paul BEVAN's detailed study of the 1920s–1930s cartoons in Shanghai: Paul BEVAN: *A Modern Miscellany: Shanghai Cartoon Artists, Shao Xunmei's Circle and the Travels of Jack Chen, 1926–1938*, Leiden: Brill 2016, pp. 7–14. For more about pictorial magazines and the history of cartooning in China see: Bi Keguan 毕克官 and HUANG Yuanlin 黄远林: *Zhongguo manhua shi* 中国漫画史 (The history of Chinese *manhua*), Beijing: Wenhua Yishu Chubanshe 1986; John A. CRESPI: "China's Modern Sketch—1: The Golden Era of Cartoon Art, 1934–1937". In: *MIT Visualizing Cultures* (2011). Available online: [http://ocw.mit.edu/ans7870/21f/21f.027/modern\\_sketch/](http://ocw.mit.edu/ans7870/21f/21f.027/modern_sketch/) (last access 2019, 13 August); Hans HARDER and Barbara MITTLER (eds.): *Asian Punches: A Transcultural Affair*, Berlin, Heidelberg: Springer 2013; HUANG Ke 黄可, GAN Zhenhu 甘振虎, CHEN Lei 陈蕾: *Lao Shanghai manhua tuzhi* 老上海漫画图志 (Old Shanghai *manhua* pictorials), Shanghai: Shanghai Kexue Jishu Wenxian Chubanshe 2010; Lynn PAN: *Shanghai Style: Art and Design between the Wars*, South San Francisco: Long River Press 2008; "Shenghuo Yuekan" 生活月刊 (eds.): *Shidai Manhua: bei shiguang chen feng de 1930 niandai Zhongguo chuangaoli* 时代漫画: 被时光尘封的 1930 年代中国创造力 (*Shidai Manhua: 1930s China's creative force covered by the dust of time*), Guilin: Guangxi Shifan Daxue Chubanshe 2015.

2 All of these magazines except *Qunzhong Manhua* did not have pagination, so the phrase "Unnumbered page" is omitted from all relevant footnotes, unless the quoted image was placed on the front or back cover of a magazine.

drawn images. This makes the cartoons an important source for studying Chinese perceptions of large and small domestic and foreign affairs.

The 1930s were a time when such magazines were still politically neutral (or, at least, independent from direct governmental propaganda and party ideology, although affected by censorship), but the fundamental principles of cartoon art and magazines had already become established.<sup>3</sup> The periodicals, following examples set by foreign pictorials (*Punch*, *Puck*, *Vanity Fair*, *Life*, etc.) and by local predecessors, included a wide assortment of materials; apart from cartoons, there were news items, photographs, jokes, essays, fictional stories, poetry, advertisements, and much more. The cartoons themselves varied in size, style, themes, and artistic value. Yet, it must be noted that many of the *manhua* magazines published works by the same artists, e.g. LU Shaofei 魯少飛 (1903–1995), YE Qianyu 葉淺予 (1907–1995), HUA Junwu 華君武 (1915–2010), WANG Dunqing 王敦慶 (1899–1990), ZHANG Guangyu 張光宇 (1900–1965), ZHANG Zhengyu 張正宇 (ZHANG Zhenyu 張振宇, 1904–1976), CAO Hanmei 曹涵美 (1902–1975), and WANG Zimei 汪子美 (1913–2002), etc. This means that the style of all these magazines was quite homogeneous. For that reason this chapter draws upon as many cartoons from the magazines as was possible to locate in the available databases. However, the quantitative data is given only for *Shidai Manhua* as the longest-running of them and for *Shanghai Manhua* as an example of a later 1930s publication since, by that time, the political involvement of cartoonists grew stronger.

The term “the West” is problematic in and of itself. Its variations in Chinese, such as *xiyang* 西洋, *xifang* 西方, *xitu* 西土, as well as derivatives like Western goods (*xihuo* 西貨), Westerner (*xiren* 西人), and Western hemisphere (*xibanqiu* 西半球), are used in the magazines; the notion is thus not altogether inappropriate. However, there are no clear boundaries of what is or is not the West from the cartoonists’ point of view. When speaking about international politics, the cartoonists often referred to the world at large or divided it not by geographical principle but along the lines of strong against weak or big against small. In such cases, Soviet Russia and Japan were among the strong, along with European powers and the USA. When depicting matters of culture, on the other hand, the cartoonists separated Japan from the West, which is visible in the prevalent presence of “Americanized” or “Europeanized” fashions, entertainment, and art (Japanese influence in the cultural sphere was not a noticeable narrative in cartoons, with the exception that when Chinese magazines quoted foreign caricature, some Japanese examples were given along with Soviet, American, and European).

Differentiation between the West and non-West is also complicated by the obvious fluidity of categories, such as democratic and totalitarian states, capitalism

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3 BEVAN: *A Modern Miscellany* (2016), pp. 7–14.

and Communism; in the 1930s the nearing split into Axis and Allied powers was not clear, so in cartoons one often finds interchangeable clashes and alliances of random combinations: the USSR with or against Germany, Germany with or against the UK, the USA together with Germany, the USSR, Italy, and Japan, etc. This makes the idea of including or excluding either of these countries from this chapter a partly arbitrary choice. However, for the cartoonists whose work is studied in this chapter the world powers in the political sense included the USA, the USSR, the UK and more generally Europe, and Japan; simply the countries which had concessions in China (in the case of the USSR it is “had had”), so they are considered to be the West in this chapter. Yet the cartoons where Japan is the sole actor or is in a bilateral confrontation with China are excluded from the corpus of this chapter’s sources, because Japan by the 1930s was playing its cards quite differently from the other “colonial” powers in China; so, due to the simmering conflict after the Manchurian incident of 1931, cartoons satirizing Japan and Sino-Japanese relations built up into quite a separate account. The League of Nations is also a part of the “Western” narrative, because much of it is described in the light of Western powers’ domineering agenda-setting and decision-making, both of which, as cartoons reminded the readers, took place in Geneva.

In cartoons on various aspects of “culture”, the West is mostly depicted as Europe and America, with Soviet Russia often included as well, because it was part of the “white people” or “white race” narrative, and its cinematographers, artists, dancers, and architects were in line with the Western styles, even though the Communist nature of art would sometimes be noted. By the same logic of the “white race”, the presence of Russian emigrants is part of the “foreigners in China” group further in this chapter whereas the Japanese are excluded, again with the argument that their presence at the time was mostly part of the satire on the Sino-Japanese conflict, rather than China’s relations with the rest of the world. The West, thus understood, was one of the central themes for the cartoon magazines in the 1930s. In *Shidai Manhua*, various things and events related to the West appear in around 180 cartoons while in *Shanghai Manhua* they are around 60, suggesting that of the total number of cartoons in both magazines, such Western narratives and references amount to more than 10%.<sup>4</sup>

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<sup>4</sup> This figure is very rough, appearing from the calculation that in cases of both magazines each issue consisted of around 40 pages, almost every page containing one or several cartoons (textual references are not taken into account here) while some cartoons could be of double-page size. As a result, for 39 issues of *Shidai Manhua* and 13 issues of *Shanghai Manhua*, there would be approximately 1560 and 520 cartoons in total respectively. This arithmetic is rather hypothetical because in many cases cartoons consist of several parts and counting them as one or several items is subject to researcher’s interpretation. Yet, however loose the above mentioned percentage might be, it is still informative in the sense that out

The range of topics for cartoons about the West is very varied, oscillating between world powers and average individuals appearing in the news, as well as Westerners staying in China and living abroad. Out of this sweeping multitude the recurring large groups of narratives emerge. These are world politics on the one hand, and people's daily life and entertainment on the other. The "world politics" group covers a vast field of intertwining themes, among which are: major world powers and their attempts to control the globe; imperialism, capitalism, militarism, and totalitarian ideologies being the driving forces behind international affairs; smaller nations and the wars into which they are dragged by the powers; the international struggle for peace and disarmament and its failures; premonitions of a "second World War" and the extinction of humankind. The "daily life" group also varies greatly, including cartoons of foreigners living in, or visiting, Chinese cities; photographs or cartoons of places and people abroad; pictures of foreign theatric and cinematic celebrities, outstanding writers, sportsmen, etc.; annotated reprints of foreign cartoons or paintings on various subjects. The ways each of these Western themes unfolded in the magazines deserve some elaboration.

## World Powers in the Struggle for Global Dominance

The 1930s were certainly a provocative decade for an observer of world affairs, when the planet grew ever more engulfed in struggles for global dominance and total power. The key instigators of this trend, according to Chinese magazines, were, unsurprisingly, Japan, Germany, Italy, the USSR, the USA, the UK, and, albeit to a much lesser degree, France. Each of these frequented the cartoons. The statistics for *Shidai Manhua* and *Shanghai Manhua* are provided in Table 11-1 (Japan is only counted for cases where other powers appear, too).

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of the entertaining features, domestic problems, and, crucially, Sino-Japanese affairs of the decade, the matters of wider international trends and foreign life took up quite a visible share. This percentage varies between different magazines: e.g. *Duli Manhua*, having published 9 issues, produced over 50 cartoons related to the West while for the 8 issues of *Manhuaqie* the number is around 30, but such fluctuations hardly demonstrate any pronounced attitude to the world or China's place in it. The number of pages in each issue varied (from 30 to 50) in these cases, as well as in *Shidai Manhua* and *Shanghai Manhua*, but it is mostly comparable as the magazines were produced in similar technical principles.

Table II-1: Quantity of references to nations, their leaders, and symbols in *Shidai Manhua* and *Shanghai Manhua* cartoons

	<i>Shidai Manhua</i>	<i>Shanghai Manhua</i>
Germany (directly mentioned)	25	5
HITLER (mentioned or portrayed)	35	23
Swastika (depicted)	33	30
Italy (directly mentioned)	23	7
MUSSOLINI (mentioned or portrayed)	27	23
Fascis (depicted) <sup>5</sup>	9	4
The USSR (directly mentioned)	13	2
STALIN (mentioned or portrayed)	12	11
Hammer and sickle (depicted)	18	14
Five-ended star (depicted)	11	6
The USA (directly mentioned)	23	5
ROOSEVELT (mentioned or portrayed) <sup>6</sup>	4	5
Stars-and-stripes flag or pattern (depicted)	11	5
The UK (directly mentioned)	26	8
— in explicit relation to Hong Kong	5	0
Union Jack or its pattern (depicted)	9	10
France (directly mentioned)	13	6
Marianne (portrayed, always in Phrygian cap)	2	1
Japan (mentioned or depicted as national flag)	36	25

It is visible from the table that Fascist states are featured in cartoons very prominently, attracting a great deal of attention, especially through the portrayal of their leaders – Benito MUSSOLINI (1883–1945) and Adolf HITLER (1889–1945), or their ideological symbols – primarily the swastika. A similar ratio is noticeable in the case of the USSR: Joseph STALIN (1878–1953) and the Soviet emblems (hammer

<sup>5</sup> Noticeably fewer than the swastika in both magazines, with a similar tendency in other periodicals, probably for the plain reason that fasces take more time to draw and more space in the picture. In some cases, MUSSOLINI has a swastika rather than fasces somewhere on his uniform (e.g. ZHANG E 張謬: “Tongyang de shensu” 同樣的伸訴 (The same complaint). In: *SDMH* no. 15 (March), 1935).

<sup>6</sup> Meaning, of course, Franklin Delano ROOSEVELT, although in one case *Shidai Manhua* explicitly mistook him for Theodore ROOSEVELT (GE Baoquan 戈寶權 and LU Shaofei: “Zhi ci yi jia” 只此一家 (Only this bunch...)). In: *SDMH* no. 1 (April), 1934).

and sickle, five-ended star, or both) appear more frequently than the name of the state. The case of the USA is different, as ROOSEVELT, while portrayed in a very recognizable way (in several cases as an eagle with a characteristically drawn human head, see figs. 11-1 and 11-2), is not shown in the cartoons so proportionately as was the case with Italy, Germany, and the USSR, in which the leaders could be regarded as absolutely synonymous to the country they represented. The stars-and-stripes pattern was used more often to represent the USA than the president's figure, but visibly less so than the party symbols of Communists and Fascists. As for the UK and France, their heads of state did not become in any degree recognizable. In the 1920s–1930s the UK government was presided in turns by Stanley BALDWIN and Ramsay MACDONALD, and the absence of any stable personified depiction of the UK can be traced to this merry-go-round of the two faces, with the final switch between them occurring in June 1935, at the time of *Shidai Manhua* and other magazines' publishing. Additionally, the abdication of Edward VIII in December 1936 triggered a flow of cartoons, distracting attention from any single political actor and creating several images of a stereotypic “royal” figure.<sup>7</sup> In the case of France, which figures in cartoons much less in any case, the then president, Albert LEBRUN, remained obscure and of little import for the Chinese cartoonists. France, while occasionally depicted among the nations influencing the fates of the world,<sup>8</sup> seems to have lost its might by the 1930s in the eyes of Chinese cartoonists.

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7 For example, see CAO Hanmei and WANG Dunqing: “Manhua manhua: yi jiu san liu nian shiyi yue” 漫畫漫話：一九三六年十一月 (Occasional talks on *manhua*: November 1936). In: *MHJ* no. 8 (December), 1936; CHEN Zhenlong 陳振龍: “Yi jiu san liu nian de huigu: shier yue, Ying wang Aidehua wei qu Xin furen xunwei” 一九三六年的回顧：十二月，英王愛德華為娶辛夫人遜位 (Remembering 1936: December, English king Edward abdicated to marry Mrs. Simpson). In: *SHMH* no. 9 (January), 1937; Lao Ji 老紀: “Lian'ai yu yiwu! Shengdanjie qian zhi shijie xinwen” 戀愛與義務！聖誕節前之世界新聞 (Love and duty! World news before Christmas). In: *SDMH* no. 33 (December), 1936; see also fig. 11-3.

8 For example, see ZHANG Guangyu: “Baise taimian, he lai huang li?” 白色檯面，何來黃狸？ (At the white table, whence the yellow dog?). In: *DLMH* no. 2 (October), 1935; TE Wei 特偉: “Rong miao ji yu yi chang, jin mo xiang zhi bai tai” 容妙技於一場，盡魔相之百態 (One stage contains amazing skills, the diversity of all magic appearances). In: *DLMH* no. 5 (November), 1935; LU Shaofei: “Yu wo suo yu ye” 魚我所欲也 (I like fish). In: *SDMH* no. 5 (May), 1934; CHENG Liushen 程柳燊: “Zaomu gun-er da lang, lang ye pa ren, ren ye pa lang” 棗木棍兒打狼，狼也怕人，人也怕狼 (Jujube stick hits the wolf, both the wolf fears the man and the man fears the wolf). In: *SDMH* no. 8 (August), 1934; see also figs. 11-4 and 11-5.



Figure II-1: [WANG Zimei or ZHANG Guangyu?]: “Yuzhou feng” 宇宙瘋 (Universal madness)<sup>9</sup>

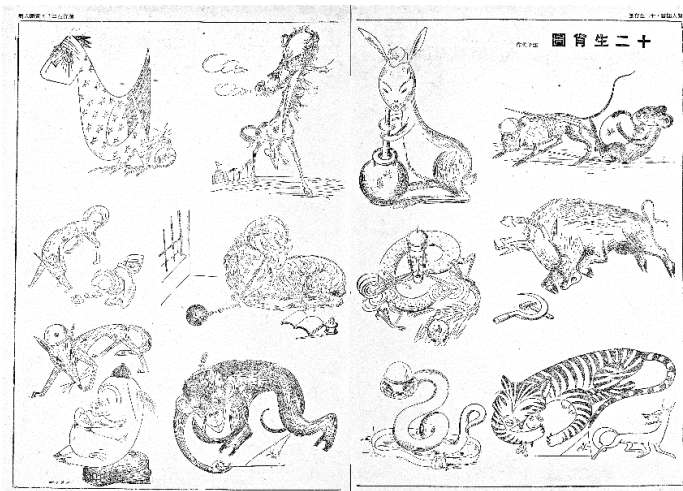


Figure II-2: WANG Zimei: “Shi’er shengxiao tu” 十二生肖圖 (Twelve zodiac animals)<sup>10</sup>

9 In: *SHMH* no. 8 (December), 1936. Digital platform for documents on War of Resistance and modern Sino-Japanese relations (*Kang Ri zhanzheng yu jindai Zhong-Ri guanxi wenxian shuju pingtai* 抗日战争与近代中日关系文献数据平台). Available online: <http://www.modernhistory.org.cn/index.htm> (last access 2019, June 14).

10 In: *SDMH* no. 33 (December), 1936.





Figure 11-3: Ai Zhongxin 艾中信: “Fu Weisiminsite dajiaotang tu zhong” 赴威斯敏司特大教堂途中 (En route to Westminster Cathedral)<sup>11</sup>

The caption reads:

Emperor: Sitting in this 18th century chariot, my bottom hurts, really can't stand it anymore!

Empress: Be patient, being an emperor is just like that!

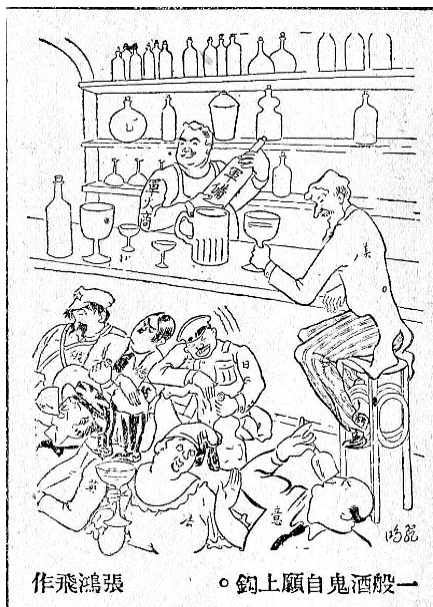


Figure 11-4: ZHANG Hongfei 張鴻飛: “Yi ban jiugui ziyuan shang gou” 一般酒鬼自願上鉤 (A bunch of drunkards eagerly gets hooked)<sup>12</sup>

The captions on drinking figures indicate their countries (from right to left, front row: Italy, France, England, second row: Japan, Germany, Russia, person sitting on the high stool: America), the bar tender is “arms merchant”, the bottle he is holding is “weaponry”.

11 In: *ZGMH* no. 14 (June), 1937.

12 In: *SDMH* no. 9 (September), 1934.



Figure 11-5: JIANG Mi 江敕: “Zai lai yi ge!” 再來一個! (Once more!)<sup>13</sup>

The inscription on the “angelic” figure reads “peace”.



Figure 11-6: Author unstated: “Xiandai Napolun” 現代拿破崙 (Contemporary Napoleons)<sup>14</sup>

The caption reads:

Black Napoleon MUSSOLINI, red Napoleon STALIN, brown Napoleon HITLER.

13 In: *SDMH* no. 21 (September), 1935. Back cover.

14 In: *SHMH* no. 2 (June), 1936. Digital platform for documents on War of Resistance and modern Sino-Japanese relations (*Kang Ri zhanzheng yu jindai Zhong-Ri guanxi wenxian shuju pingtai*). Available online: <http://www.modernhistory.org.cn/index.htm> (last access 2019, June 14).



，道公張主，平和護保，士騎四  
死生之類人司，券惡善之界世操  
。薄

Figure II-7: WANG Zimei: “Jindai shenhua” 近代神話 (Legends of modern times)<sup>15</sup>

The caption reads:

Four knights, protecting peace, advocating justice, controlling good and evil in the world, managing the lives and deaths of people.



Figure II-8: WANG Zimei: “Dizhonghai” 地中海 (Mediterranean Sea)<sup>16</sup>

15 In: *SDMH* no. 31 (October), 1936. Fragment.

16 In: *DLMH* no. 2 (October), 1935.

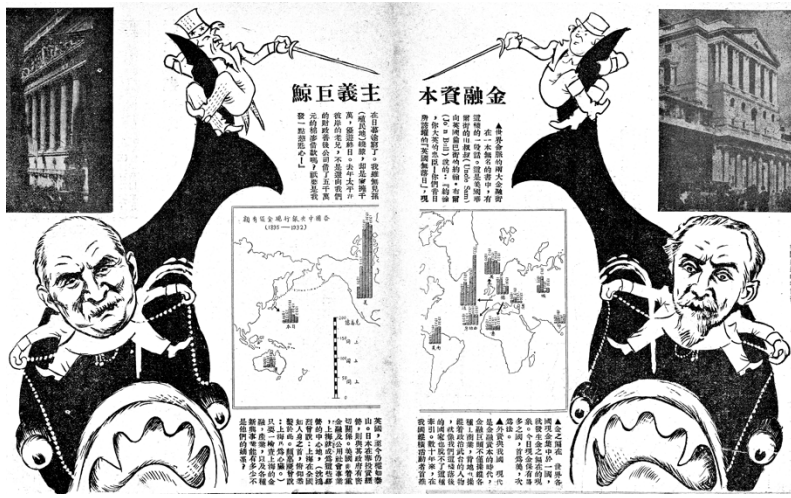


Figure II-9: Author unstated: “Jinrong ziben zhuyi ju jing” 金融資本主義巨鯨 (Great whales of financial capitalism)<sup>17</sup>



Figure II-10: ZHANG Guangyu: “Yi shen lanlü” 一身襤褸 (Being all in rags...)

The caption of Figure 10 reads:

Being all rags, two lines of tears; left ear hears right, right ear hears left. What a fat head he has by nature, who is his suitable hat? Oh! Oh! He is a good commoner!

The inscription on the hat worn by the “commoner” is the “government”, the “patches” on the robe are references to Mongolia (*Meng* 蒙), Hebei 河北 and Chahar 察哈爾 (*Jicha* 冀察) provinces, North-East of China (*Dongbei* 東北) and most probably the Xi’an incident (*Shanbian* 陝變).<sup>18</sup>

17 In: *SDMH* no. 4 (April), 1934.

18 The Xi’an incident (*Xi’an shibian* 西安事變) took place on 12 December 1936, when an ex-militarist, high-ranking officer of the National Revolutionary Army, ZHANG Xueliang 張學良 and his fellow officer YANG Hucheng 楊虎城, arrested (or, depending on the point



Figure II-II: WEI Chenying 魏沉影: “Nao de jiepou ji bijiao” 腦的解剖及比較 (Dissection and comparison of the brain)<sup>19</sup>

The rightmost column states the age: 6–20, 20–30, 30–40, 40–50, 50–60, 60–70. The columns from right to left are: Japan, Russia, China.

of view, took hostage) the head of the Republic of China, their direct commander CHIANG Kai-shek (JIANG Jieshi 蔣介石), requesting that the anti-Communist campaign in China be stopped and all national forces united in the struggle against the Japanese invasion. As a result, after over a week of nationwide uproar and confusion, CHIANG was forced to agree to the United Front and was released on 25 December. For more about the incident see Edmund O. CLUBB: *20th Century China*, N.Y., London: Columbia University Press 1964, pp. 202–210; Lloyd E. EASTMAN: “Nationalist China during the Nanking decade 1927–1937”. In: Denis TWITCHETT and John K. FAIRBANK (gen. eds.): *The Cambridge History of China*, John K. FAIRBANK, Albert FEUERWERKER (eds.): vol. 13, Republican China 1912–1949, Pt. 2, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press 1986 [2002], pp. 162–163; Jay TAYLOR: *The Generalissimo: Chiang Kai-shek and the Struggle for Modern China*. Cambridge (Mass.), London: The Belknap Press of Harvard University Press 2009, pp. 124–137. 19 In: *SDMH* no. 21 (September), 1935.



Figure 11-12: ZHANG Zhengyu: “Shijie paolongtao”  
世界跑龍套 (World walk-ons)<sup>20</sup>

The poem in caption reads:

Walk-ons, / walk-ons, / you wear green clothes, / I wear red hat, / you carry gun, / I  
drag cannon, / after we’ve finished bleeding, / they put on dragon robes.

The individual pictures have indications of national attribution; in the bottom row from left to right are: Russia, America, England, France, Germany (the character for the latter is invisible here but visible on a black-and-white microfilm copy which was cropped differently).

Top row, left to right: unstated (intentionally, with the possible interpretation that dragon robes will not belong to a nation but to a ruler of the whole world), Abyssinia, Italy, China, unstated (Japan, possibly not mentioned to avoid censorship).

‘Walk-ons’ is used here to translate the word *paolongtao* 跑龍套 which refers to utility personnel or actors playing small parts in theatrical shows.

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20 In: *SHMH* no. 1 (May), 1936. Digital platform for documents on War of Resistance and modern Sino-Japanese relations (*Kang Ri zhanzheng yu jindai Zhong-Ri guanxi wenxian shuju pingtai*). Available online: <http://www.modernhistory.org.cn/index.htm> (last access 2019, 14 June).

As already mentioned above, the future divide between the Axis and Allied powers was definitely not self-evident to the Chinese cartoonists in the mid-1930s. Although caricature portrayal of national leaders was applied less often in the case of countries which from today's point of view can be classified as liberal than in the case of totalitarian regimes, it can be explained by generally closer attention to the aggressive actions of the latter (the Second Italo-Ethiopian war, the Spanish Civil War and foreign interference therein), rather than by cartoonists' sympathies for either a liberal or a totalitarian model. The opposition of Communism and Fascism was also a dubious phenomenon, because while in some cases the two would fight each other (see fig. 11-1, where HITLER and STALIN are instigating the scrap between Spanish "crabs" on a frying pan, and fig. 11-2, where a "bull", again as reference to Spain, with swastika and fasces for horns attacks the Communist hammer and sickle emblem), in other examples they would work toward some common goal (see fig. 11-6, with HITLER, MUSSOLINI, and STALIN equally called "contemporary Napoleons", and fig. 11-7, where the same three and a Japanese Prime Minister, either HIROTA Kōki 廣田弘毅 or OKADA Keisuke 岡田啓介, are named "four knights protecting peace"). Moreover, not infrequent are the cartoons where various combinations of the world powers participate in unjust dealings in some way. In addition to fig. 11-1, where all powerful actors of international affairs behave like madmen, see also fig. 11-8, where an octopus with MUSSOLINI's head is fighting a dark-skinned merman (Haile Selassie I, 1892–1975, emperor of Ethiopia) while swastika-shaped starfish with Hitler's moustache and two fish bearing stars-and-stripes and Union Jack patterns (ROOSEVELT and, possibly, king George V) are watching the battle. In several cases foreign countries are united as "imperialist" (*diguo zhuyi* 帝國主義), "capitalist" (*ziben* 資本 and derivatives), and influential parts of their business circles as "arms merchants" (*junhuoshang* 軍火商, see fig. 11-4). Sometimes the cartoonists also used clichéd figures of Uncle Sam, John Bull, or a vague generalized figure of a fat imperialist/capitalist, possibly wearing a top hat or a monocle (see fig. 11-9). Imperialism and capitalism were a widespread topic for cartoons: there are 28 and 15 references to each phenomenon in *Shidai Manhua* and 17 and 7 in *Shanghai Manhua* (not counting cartoons where only the Japanese imperialist endeavors are shown), mostly in relation to imperialist ambitions of the states which had concessions in China, but also to enslavement of native peoples in Africa as well as Italy's perceived revival of "Roman Empire" rhetoric and the like.

The cartoonists paid much heed to the importance of ideology and indoctrination for totalitarian regimes. This is corroborated by ZHANG Guangyu's cartoon published in December, 1936, where a hammer and sickle emblem and a swastika are marked as "ideologies" (*zhuyi* 主義), whereas American and British flags as

well as Japan's rising sun emblem are "organizations" (*zuzhi* 組織), while yet other influences pestering the Chinese government are "elements" (*fenzi* 份子), "clique" (*xi* 系), and "front" (*zhenxian* 陣線), all of an unspecified nature (marked as X or XX, see fig. 11-10). The ideological pressure of Communism (along with Japanese militarism) onto the common citizens was satirized in a cartoon by WEI Chenying 魏沉影, where the "brains" of three men – a Chinese, a Japanese, and a Soviet Russian – are "dissected". While mocking the Chinese people's primitive desire for bodily pleasures, prosperity, and quiet elderly age, the cartoonist demonstrated the megalomaniac aspirations of both Japanese and Soviet citizens who were educated from childhood into thick-headed confidence, believing that the whole planet should become their dominion (see fig. 11-11). This sort of ideological, even tyrannical pressure on the common people led to a large number of cartoons showing the disastrous effects of dictatorship on a nation. The pictorial descriptions of dictators oppressing people, manipulating them, starving them, standing on top of them, or throwing them into meaningless wars appear almost 20 times in *Shanghai Manhua* and over 20 times in *Shidai Manhua*. However, such pressure was not produced exclusively by totalitarian regimes; on the contrary, the juxtaposition of dictators versus people crossed national borders and political principles in the same way as "imperialism", "capitalism", and "militarism" appeared transnational. A vivid example of an abstract "them" oppressing commoners (in this case, low-ranking soldiers) is shown in a 1936 cartoon by ZHANG Zhengyu (see fig. 11-12), while other examples can be found, where the dictators are either specified (in most cases those are MUSSOLINI, HITLER, and STALIN) or unspecified.<sup>21</sup> As a proof that the overall panorama of world affairs could at times appear quite confusing and distorted, it should be noted that on more than one occasion HITLER was shown to be secondary to some other tyrannical force: in one case he is called

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21 Some examples featuring MUSSOLINI are: ZHANG E: "Guangrong keyi dang fan chi de ma" "光榮可以當飯吃的嗎?" ("Can glory substitute food?"). In: *SDMH* no. 22 (October), 1935; TE Wei: "Guangrong yu mianbao" 光榮與麵包 (Glory and bread). In: *DLMH* no. 4 (November), 1935. A case of people against Fascist dictatorship can be seen in: WANG Zimei: "'Ba zhege dongxi dadao'. Ruoxiao minzu de lianhe husheng" "把這個東西打倒". 弱小民族的連合呼聲 ("Away with this thing". United cry of the smaller peoples). In: *SHMH* no. 2-1 (July), 1937. A fairly straightforward reference to STALIN's Great Purge appears in CHEN Haoxiong's 陳浩雄 strip where, among other figures, one can find STALIN holding a big sword and a bunch of heads dripping with blood: CHEN Haoxiong: "Shijie jutou de dongtai" 世界巨頭的動態 (Developments of the world's giants). In: *SHMH* no. 2-1 (July), 1937. HITLER is present in the same set, as well, bringing bombs to his people instead of food. A kind of "imperialistic" crown is being forcibly put on the bodies of common people (wearing "Indian" turban and "Egyptian" fez distantly similar to those in fig. 11-1 and thus hinting at the "Britishness" of the crown) in: WANG Zi[mei] 汪子[美]: "Jiamian" 加冕 (Coronation). In: *SHMH* no. 2-1 (July), 1937.



“a straw dog” (*chugou* 芻狗), which is a reference to Taoist texts meaning things that are presently useful but will be thrown away later<sup>22</sup>; in another case, HITLER, GOERING, and GOEBBELS appear to be obediently following instructions from the then minister of economics Hjalmar SCHACHT while the title of the cartoon makes the reader wonder who is the real dictator of Germany.<sup>23</sup>

Generally, the struggle for ultimate power was an underlying theme for many cartoons, constructing a parallel between dictatorial ambitions of individual leaders inside the state and imperialistic claims of world powers well beyond national borders. While some cartoons prophesied the emergence of rulers wearing “dragon robes” (as in fig. 11-12), others translated a foreboding that in the end there would be one dictator, trampling the planet and committing suicide as a final act of a great tragedy.<sup>24</sup> This final act was preceded by a line of odious military events leading up to World War II, as observed, mocked, and mourned by the cartoonists.

## Small Nations Ground Into Dust

If one were to look at the 1930s through the prism of any of the *manhua* magazines published in Shanghai at the time, two great international clashes would stand out, thundering along with China’s own misery: the Abyssinian Crisis (1934/35–1936, usually known now as the Second Italo-Ethiopian war, but never entitled thus in

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22 The meaning is explained in the commentary to the cartoon itself, stating that “of old, dogs were made of straw, used for sacrifice, and thrown away after the ritual”. See CHEN Jingsheng 陳靜生: “Chugou yu miao gen du ye” 芻狗與妙根篤爺 (A straw dog and reverent grandpas). In: *SDMH* no. 9 (September), 1934. The second part of the title, “reverent grandpas”, is explained in the same commentary as a reference to “the old style humourist” WANG Wuneng’s 王无能 (sic!) masterpiece, in which mice are shedding false tears over a cat’s death. From the cartoon it is clear that HITLER is “worshipped” by England, Italy, and France, but will be discarded after his purpose is fulfilled (the cartoon does not specify what such purpose was perceived to be).

23 [Alois DERSO and Emery KELEN]: “Shui shi Deguo zhenzheng de diketuiduo?” 誰是德國真正的狄克推多? (Who is the real dictator of Germany?). In: *SDMH* no. 13 (January), 1935. This cartoon is a reprint from foreign papers, but it was still a part of the overall impressions that Chinese magazines’ readers were to get after considering such a point of view. Worth noting also are the questioning title of the cartoon and the use of transliteration “*diketuiduo*” 狄克推多 rather than the already existing word *ducai* 獨裁. There is hardly any complicated motive for such translation, but the “foreignness” of the cartoon and the word “dictator” emphasize each other well.

24 LIAO Bingxiong 廖冰兄: “Weida beiju de zhong mu” 偉大悲劇的終幕 (The end of the great tragedy). In: *SHMH* no. 1 (May), 1936.

the cartoons) and the Spanish Civil War (1936–1939), the atrocities of which were emphasized by aggressive foreign interference. Both of these (primarily the Abyssinian case) brought about considerations of China’s destiny and of the helplessness of those who cannot rely on brute force. Yet both conflicts, Ethiopian and Spanish, were looked at with a lot of sympathy to the people’s sufferings as such. These events amount to over 20% of all “Western” narratives in both *Shidai Manhua* and *Shanghai Manhua*.<sup>25</sup>

Table II-2: Quantity of references to the Abyssinian Crisis and Spanish Civil War in *Shidai Manhua* and *Shanghai Manhua* cartoons

	<i>Shidai Manhua</i>	<i>Shanghai Manhua</i>
Abyssinia (black figure)	17	24
Haile Selassie, king of Ethiopia	9	7
Spain	14	11
Bull	4	4
General FRANCO	2	4
Madrid	1	1
Toreador	1	0
League of Nations (Geneva, disarmament)	13	4

As can be seen from table II-2, Haile Selassie became a very frequent personified image for the Italo-Ethiopian conflict. His iconographic traits – curly hair, beard, “African” clothing– can be recognized especially easily in works by WANG Zimei (see the horse in fig. II-2 and the merman, already mentioned above, in fig. II-8).<sup>26</sup>

25 More specifically, the Italo-Ethiopian war appeared in 20% of Western references in *Shidai Manhua* cartoons and in 40% of *Shanghai Manhua* ones; the Spanish Civil War took up 24% and 23% respectively. Only the issues published after the outbreak of each conflict, October 1935 and July 1936 accordingly, are taken into account although Haile Selassie appeared in *Shidai Manhua* already in September 1935. As this is but one appearance, it does not severely distort the statistics in table 11-2.

26 For some other examples see WANG Zimei: “Xin Shengjing” 新聖經 (New Bible). In: *SDMH* no. 27 (June), 1936; Idem: “Jindai shenhua” 近代神話 (Legends of modern times). In: *SDMH* no. 31 (October), 1936; Idem: “Shizijia” 十字架 (Crucifix). In: *SHMH* no. 6 (October), 1936; Idem: “Qun ying hui” 群英會 (Assembly of heroes). In: *SHMH* no. 10 (March), 1937; Idem: “Gou xin dou jiao” 鉤心鬥角 (Elaborate maneuvers). In: *MHJ* no. 8 (December), 1936. Similar iconography in the depiction of Haile Selassie as the embodiment of Abyssinian people’s sufferings can be seen in fig. 11-1.

The fate of Abyssinia was compared to China's helpless stand against Japan's encroachment. Direct comparison can be found in a small black-and-white cartoon portraying two people: a tiny black person wearing a straw skirt and a larger figure clad in an old-fashioned Chinese robe. The inscription explains the meaning: "A black slave who lost his country thoughtfully speaks: 'He isn't resisting, why doesn't he ever lose his country?'"<sup>27</sup> Another example of likening the Abyssinian conflict to the Sino-Japanese confrontation can be found in *Duli Manhua*, where Mussolini and a Japanese man (unspecified) are called "two sculptors" aiming "to passionately express the spirit of the 20th century" (see fig. 11-13). Among the most telling of such cartoons is a very laconic work by HU Tongguang 胡同光: a "visitor" in a portrait gallery, again in an old-fashioned Chinese robe, looks at two portraits, most probably of Mohandas GANDHI (1869–1948) and Haile Selassie (see fig. 11-14), comparing them. While the attitude to GANDHI in China was dubious, because his belief in Satyagraha inspired both admiration and criticism from different groups,<sup>28</sup> Haile Selassie, at the time of the cartoon's publication, appears to have been praised for preparing for battle and resisting Italian troops, unlike China after the Manchurian incident of 1931. So in this cartoon, the Chinese nation faces a choice between non-violence and armed resistance, thus the Abyssinian policy toward military preparations is shown as a possible example.<sup>29</sup> Yet another case

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27 亡了國的黑奴想著說：《他不抵抗，為什麼總也不會亡國呢？》。See: LAO [?] 老 [?]: "Wang le guo de hei nu" 亡了國的黑奴 (A black slave who lost his country...). In: *SHMH* no. 6 (October), 1936.

28 For some remarks on how GANDHI and his non-violent resistance were perceived in China, see SHANG Quanyu: "Mahatma Gandhi in mainland China: Early 1920s to late 1970s". In: *Gandhi Marg*, vol. 35, no. 2 (July/September), 2013, pp. 245–261. Available online: <https://www.mk Gandhi.org/articles/mg-and-china-1920-1970.html> (last access 2019, August 6). GANDHI and Indian ways of resistance were satirized several times in the cartoons. For example, there is a drawing where Buddha tells a pilgrim coming to India from China that the pilgrim ought to return and tell his compatriots, "those muddle-heads" (*hutuchong* 糊塗蟲), that praying to Buddha is useless since he cannot even get rid of an eagle gripping his head (Author unstated: "Fo dui dao Yindu lai chaosheng de Zhongguo shizhe shuo" 佛對到印度來朝聖的中國使者說 (Buddha tells a Chinese pilgrim coming to India...)). In: *SHMH* no. 11 (April), 1937). Another example is a cartoon ridiculing GANDHI's repetitive hunger strikes as a method of leading the national resistance (a clenched-fisted Indian approaches a bold bony figure of GANDHI sitting with a book and demands some action, to which GANDHI responds that he is prepared to go to prison and decline food for a week; WANG Zimei: "Assembly of heroes". In: *SHMH* no. 10 (March), 1937). See also fig. 11-15 for an impeccable caricature of GANDHI, who, while being mocked, all the same is placed among the prominent figures of the age.

29 For more about the Abyssinian Crisis itself and Ethiopian preparations to it, see Asfa-Wossen ASSERATE; Peter LEWIS (transl.), Thomas PAKENHAM (foreword): *King of kings: The triumph and tragedy of emperor Haile Selassie I of Ethiopia*, London: Haus Publishing Ltd. 2015 (originally published in German as *Der Letzte Kaiser von Afrika: Triumph und*

demonstrating Haile Selassie's heroism while comparing Abyssinia to China is a reprinted foreign cartoon quoting the "Unconquerable", Bernard PARTRIDGE's famous work for *Punch* magazine. In this pictorial quote Haile Selassie replaces Albert I, king of the Belgians, as an unconquerable, just leader of his people opposing the aggressor.<sup>30</sup>

Haile Selassie's exile, on the other hand, caused a couple of less amicable remarks because the cartoonists saw it as a flight: soon after the king left Ethiopia (May 1936) *Shanghai Manhua* published two cartoons, one mocking Haile Selassie's distress at hearing bad news from the motherland<sup>31</sup> and another ridiculing his retreat as "inspection of foreign land" or "travelling for health",<sup>32</sup> the latter being an often-used pretext for Chinese politicians and militarists to leave the country after being moved away from power in the Republican years. Notwithstanding, Haile Selassie or a generalized dark-skinned figure did become a symbol of resistance and a metaphor for unjust hostilities involving innocent civilians and poorly armed soldiers. The main villain of the narrative, MUSSOLINI, was depicted eating the Africans, enslaving them, sitting on top of them, suffocating them, and generally killing them in various ways.<sup>33</sup> A frequently applied technique was to

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*Tragödie des Haile Selassie*, Berlin: Propyläen Verlag 2013); Robert MALLETT: *Mussolini in Ethiopia, 1919–1935: The origins of Fascist Italy's African war*, N.Y.: Cambridge University Press 2015, chapters 6–7; John H. SPENCER: *Ethiopia at bay: a personal account of the Haile Selassie years*, Hollywood: Tsehai Publishers 2006, chapter 3; Bruce G. STRANG (ed.). *Collision of empires: Italy's invasion of Ethiopia and its international impact*, Abingdon, N.Y.: Routledge 2016.

30 Author unclear: "Ge you zunyan" 各有尊嚴 (Each has dignity). In: *SHMH* no. 5 (September), 1936. This cartoon is one of eight in a set with a common caption: "Such an easy-to-resolve Italo-Abyssinian conflict! Truly inexplicable Sino-Japanese strife!", again comparing the situation in Ethiopia to Japanese encroachment, this time from the point of view of the League of Nations' passivity in both conflicts. The cartoon quoted by the author of "Each has dignity" (with explicit acknowledgement of that quotation) is a work by Bernard PARTRIDGE published in *Punch, or the London Charivari*, vol. 147 (21 October), 1914. The issue is available at Project Gutenberg: <https://www.gutenberg.org/files/28382/28382-h/28382-h.htm> (last access 2019, August 6).

31 HUANG Miaozhi 黃苗子. "Wuyue manbi" 五月漫筆 (May cartoons). In: *SHMH* no. 2 (June), 1936. Here MUSSOLINI is represented in the shape of a radio transmitting bad news, and Haile Selassie steps on that radio with the comment "The newly-bought London apartment shall never have a radio."

32 WENG Xingqing 翁興慶. "Zhongguo jizhe" 中國記者 (Chinese reporter...). In: *SHMH* no. 2 (June), 1936. Haile Selassie is drawn as an oversized head sticking out of a ship sailing under the British flag.

33 Some samples are: GU Ba 古巴: "Yi ri jian. Yi jiu san liu nian wuyue shiwu ri" 一日間. 一九三六年五月十五日 (In one day. 15 May 1936). In: *SHMH* no. 2 (June), 1936; TE Wei: "Xumu" 序幕 (Prelude). In: *DLMH* no. 3 (October), 1935; WANG Zimei: "Shenglizhe" 勝利者 (Winner...). In: *ZGMH* no. 7 (May), 1936; Idem: "Ershi shiji zhi Luoma gudian jingshen" 二十世紀之羅馬古典精神 (Roman classical spirit in 20th century). In: *MHJ*

portray him grotesquely larger than either Haile Selassie personally or an African in general, so that the injustice of the war and the stark contrast between the opponents are ever more evident (see fig. 11-16).

Among the things causing the biggest indignation in the eyes of Chinese cartoonists was the ineffectiveness of steps taken by the League of Nations. Out of the four images featuring the League in *Shanghai Manhua*, three satirize the insufficiency of its sanctions against Italy,<sup>34</sup> and in the issues of *Shidai Manhua* produced around the time of the Italo-Ethiopian war five out of nine references to the League relate to Abyssinia in some way.<sup>35</sup> The League's slow, tortoise-like reaction (see fig. 11-18), the limited scope and non-existent results of sanctions, the endless talks, speeches, and resolutions were all objects of sharp criticism from Chinese cartoonists. The same can be said of the international disarmament efforts generally: the *manhua* magazines printed both Chinese and foreign cartoons ridiculing the negotiations as talks between predators and prey at the time when deadly combat was going on.<sup>36</sup>

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no. 3 (June), 1936; Idem: Elaborate maneuvers. In: *MHJ* no. 8 (December), 1936; YAN Zhexi 嚴折西. "Yi ge wei ruo de guke" 一個胃弱的顧客 (A customer with a weak stomach). In: *SHMH* no. 10 (March), 1937; ZHANG E: "Mosuolini lishi de yiguan zhengce – feichu nuli!" 墨索里尼歷史的一貫政策——廢除努力! (Mussolini's sole historic policy – destroying slavery!). In: *SDMH* no. 23 (November), 1935.

34 GU Ba: In one day. 15 May 1936. In: *SHMH* no. 2 (June), 1936; CHEN Zhenlong: "Yi jiu san liu nian de huigu: wuyue, Yi tun A chengong" 一九三六年的回顧: 五月, 意吞阿成功 (Remembering 1936: May, Italy successfully swallows Abyssinia). In: *SHMH* no. 9 (January), 1937; LU Zhensheng 陸振聲: "Guolian zaoxiang" 國聯造像 (The statue of the League of Nations). In: *SHMH* no. 5 (September), 1936.

35 ZHANG E: "The same complaint". In: *SDMH* no. 15 (March), 1935; JIN Mo 金沫: "Jue-jiang de Mosuolini" 倔強的墨索里尼 (Stubborn Mussolini...). In: *SDMH* no. 23 (November), 1935; Manren 漫人 (lit. Cartoonist): "Zhong jie ku qi" 眾皆哭泣 (Audience all in tears). In: *SDMH* no. 28 (July), 1936; Photo by magazine's correspondent: "Wumian zhi wang Sailaxi lai Hua fang you" 無冕之王塞拉西來華訪友 (Crownless king Selassie comes to China to visit friends). In: *SDMH* no. 30 (September), 1936; also see fig. 11-17. It is reasonable to assume that the League's inaction in the case of the Abyssinian Crisis rang familiar to the Chinese who were dissatisfied by that body's measures taken after the Manchurian incident so that even more perceived parallels sprang up between China and Ethiopia.

36 One of the most outstanding examples of a foreign cartoon reprinted together with the whole text accompanying it is DERSO and KELEN's illustrated article about Mikhail LITVINOV, Soviet Foreign Minister and representative in Geneva (ZHANG Ruogu 張若谷: "Manhuajia yanguang zhong zhi Liweinuofu" 漫畫家眼光中之李維諾夫 (LITVINOV through the eyes of a cartoonist). In: *SDMH* no. 16 (April), 1935). A fable in the text compares the USSR to a bear that, upon listening to a lion's idea of banning horns and a bull's idea of banning fangs, suggests banning everything and just hugging each other. Another cartoon shows the literal simultaneity of diplomatic chitchat and dying in battle (TE Wei. "Zhanzheng yu heping tongshi jinxing zhe" 戰爭與和平同時進行著 (War and peace happening simultaneously). In: *DLMH* no. 5 (November), 1935). Since I have discussed Chinese

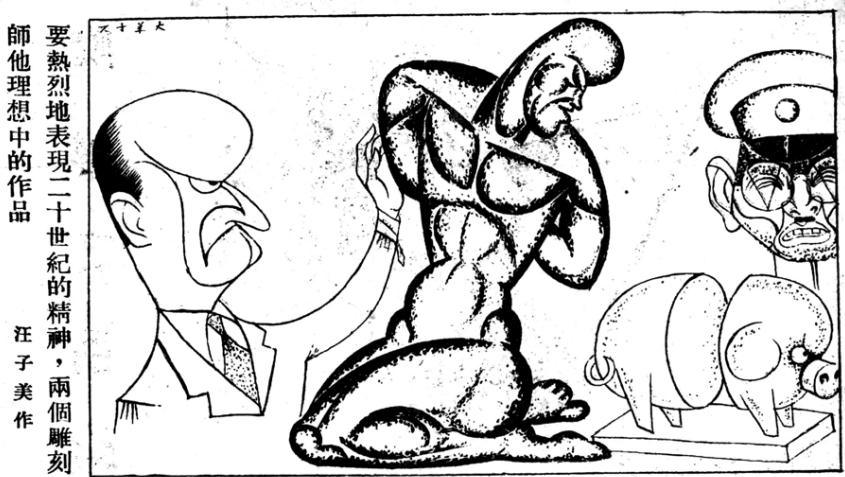


Figure II-13: WANG Zimei: “Yao relie de biao xian” 要熱烈地表現  
(To passionately express...)<sup>37</sup>

The caption reads:

To passionately express the spirit of the 20th century, the two sculptors [produce] their ideal works.

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perceptions of the League of Nations and disarmament efforts to some extent in an earlier paper, I have not gone into much detail here. See Mariia GULEVA: “Strangled China, Mighty Russia: The Sino-Japanese Conflict in *Krokodil* and Soviet Diplomacy in *Shidai Manhua*, 1931–1937”. In: *Bochum yearbook of East Asian studies*, vol. 40, 2017, pp. 97–131.  
37 In: *DLMH* no. 5 (November), 1935.

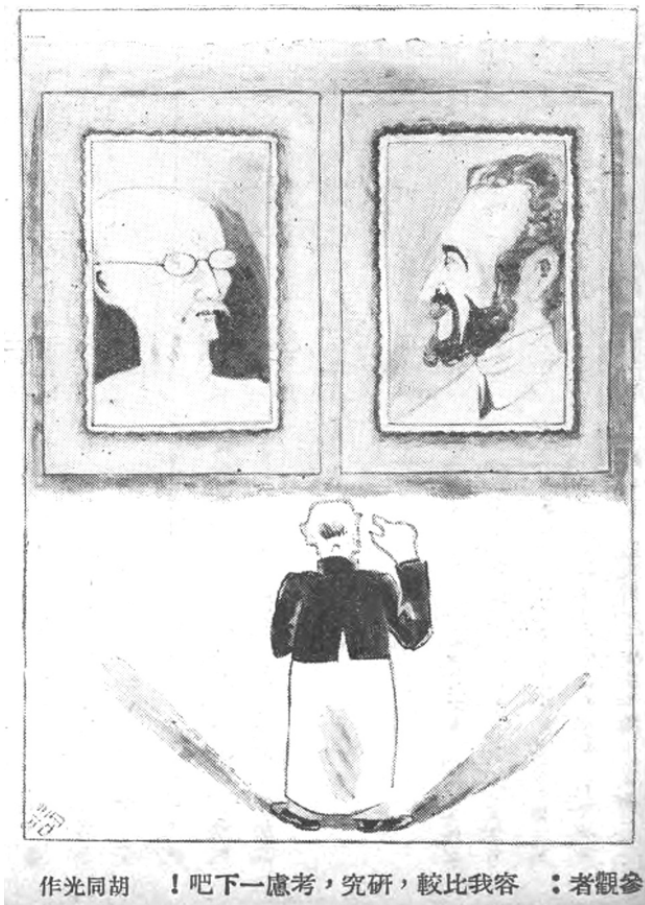


Figure 11-14: HU Tongguang: “Canguanzhe”  
參觀者 (Visitor...) <sup>38</sup>

The caption reads: Visitor:

Let me compare, study, consider a little!

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38 In: *SDMH* no. 21 (September), 1935.

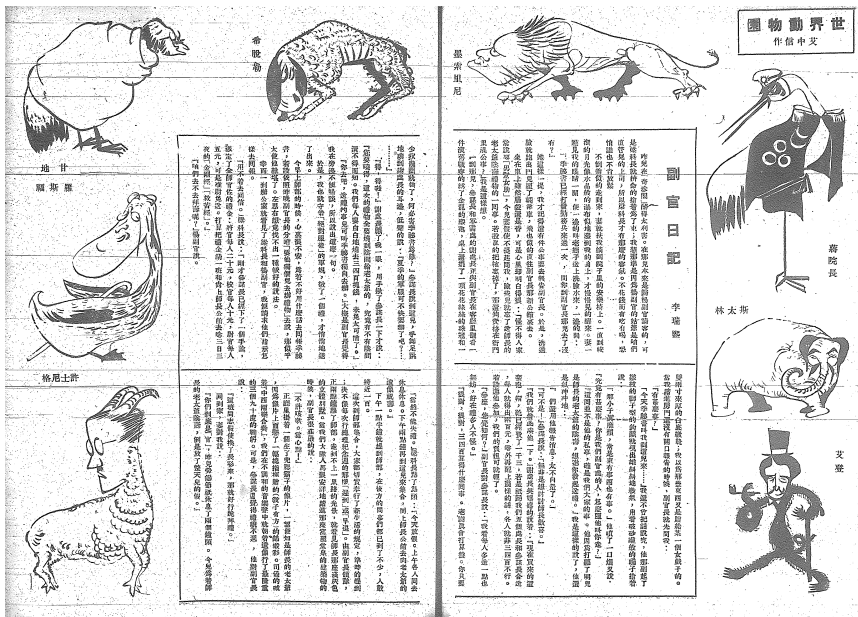


Figure 11-15: Ai Zhongxin: “Shijie dongwuyuan” 世界動物園 (World zoo)<sup>39</sup>

The “animals” are, from the bottom left corner: [Chancellor of Austria, Kurt] SCHUSCHNIGG, [Franklin Delano] ROOSEVELT, [Mohandas] GANDHI, [Adolf] HITLER, [Benito] MUSSOLINI, JIANG Jieshi, [Joseph] STALIN, [the UK Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs, Anthony] EDEN. The text in the middle of the page is not directly relevant.

39 In: *SHMH* no. 8 (December), 1936.





Figure II-16: LU Shaofei: “You shengming li de luan” 有生命力的卵 (A vigorous egg)<sup>40</sup>

The inscriptions indicate that the “egg” is Abyssinia and the green (possibly rock-like) creature is Italy.



Figure II-17: ZHANG Wenyuan 張文元: “Hei bai hong” 黑白紅 (Black, white, red)<sup>41</sup>

The caption reads:

A reward given by a white man to a black man (probably it was a fatal mistake), the black man finally leaks some fresh red blood!

The speech addressed by the black man to the white man (probably it was a wasteful mistake), is the white man going to blush in embarrassment?

The text on a piece of paper in front of the Abyssinian spokesman (likely to be portraiture of Haile Selassie) can be a vague quotation of ideas expressed by the Ethiopian monarch in his speech to the League Assembly on 30 June 1936.<sup>42</sup>

40 In: *SDMH* no. 20 (August), 1935. Cover.

41 In: *SDMH* no. 29 (August), 1936.

42 The text of the speech in Amharic and French is available online at World Digital Library: <https://www.wdl.org/en/item/11602/> (last access 2019, August 9).

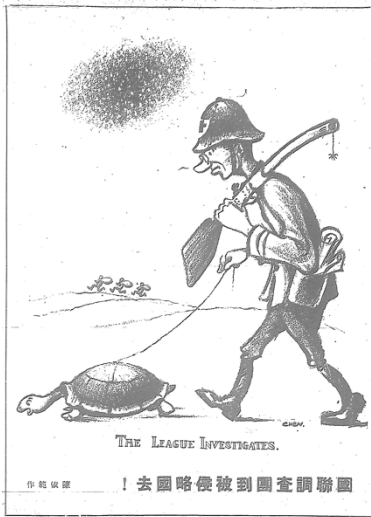


Figure II-18: CHEN Yifan 陳依範 [Jack Chen]: “The League investigates”<sup>43</sup>

The Chinese title is slightly different from the laconic English variant, which reads: Investigation committee of the League of Nations goes to an occupied country!



Figure II-19: CHEN Haoxiong: “Xibanya Neizhan de guojihua” 西班牙內戰的國際化 (Internationalisation of Spanish Civil War)<sup>44</sup>

The left bull has “Popular Front” written on its side, the right one has “Fascists”. The two figures riding the right bull are inscribed “Germany” and “Italy” (that and iconographic traits make them recognizable as HITLER and MUSSOLINI). The placard between two animals reads “Spanish bullring”, while the document in the hand of the pilot (upper left corner, also note the Union Jack pattern on the tail of the plane) reads “Non-interference agreement”.

43 In: *SHMH* no. 9 (January), 1937. Jack CHEN is one of the most unusual figures of the cartooning circles of Shanghai. For his biography and impact see BEVAN: *A Modern Miscellany* (2016).

44 In: *SDMH* no. 29 (August), 1936.

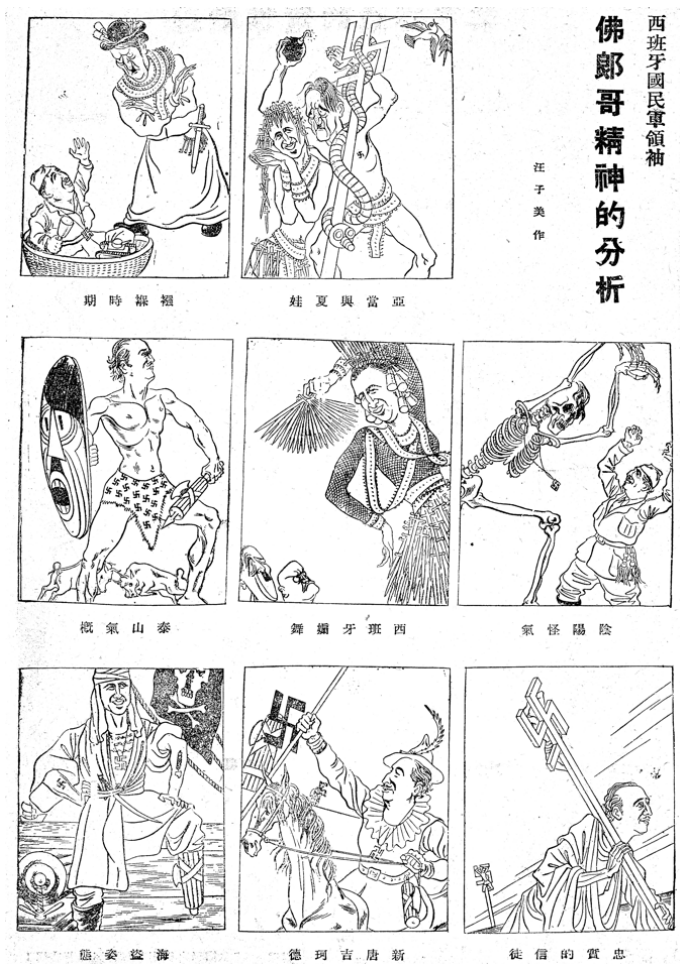


Figure 11-20: WANG Zimei: “Xibanya guominjun lingxiu” 西班牙國民軍領袖 (Spanish nationalist army leader...) <sup>45</sup>

The captions under each cartoon read (right to left, top to bottom): Adam and Eve / Infancy period / Eccentricity / Spanish dance with a fan / Tarzan manner / Faithful disciple / New Don Quixote / Pirate posture.

45 In: *SDMH* no. 35 (February), 1937. Such “psychological analysis” can be regarded as a re-interpretation of a strip by William SHARP, where an analysis of HITLER’s psyche is offered. SHARP’s cartoon was quoted in *SHMH* some half a year before this work by WANG Zimei was published (Willim (sic!) SHARP 威廉希浦: “Xitela zhi jingshen fenxi” 希特拉之精神分析 (Hitler’s psychological analysis). In: *SHMH* no. 4 (August), 1936).



作字正張 ! 惜足不憐可, 子路小這你: 說神平和對神戰

Figure II-21: ZHANG Zhengyu: “Zhanshen dui hepingshen shuo” 戰神對和平神說 (The god of war tells the angel of peace...)<sup>46</sup>

The caption reads: The god of war tells the angel of peace: You hussy<sup>48</sup>, so pathetic that no pity is enough!



Figure II-22: FENG Zikai 豐子愷: “Shanzai lao yisheng” 善哉老醫生 (The good old doctor...)<sup>47</sup>

The caption reads: The good old doctor listened, shook his head, frowned and said: this gentleman is very ill.

46 In: *DLMH* no. 3 (October), 1935.

47 In: *SDMH* no. 21 (September), 1935.

48 The phrase *xiao tizi* 小蹄子 used here is an abusive form of address to a girl (lit. “small hoofs”, thus a reference to bound feet, but not exclusively). An authoritative dictionary goes so far as to translate it as “bitch” in addition to “hussy” chosen here (WU Jingrong 吴景荣, CHENG Zhenqiu 程镇球 (eds.): “Xin shidai Han-Ying da cidian” 新时代汉英大词典 (New Age Chinese-English dictionary), Beijing: Shangwu Yinshuguan 2005, p. 1702). Such an offensive address creates the sense of falsehood in the following pitying remark.

The Spanish Civil War was depicted differently from the Abyssinian Crisis. While the civilians, innocent victims of the bloodshed, were pitied and mourned for, there was no symbolic hero of this conflict. When choosing tropes suitable for cartoons about the hostilities in Spain, the artists resorted to the images of bull-, crab- or cockfighting, endless ruins, and mutilated bodies, and, importantly, various representations of foreign manipulations in the events. For example, what might be a corrida scene gets turned into a clash between two bulls, the “Fascist” one of which is being ridden by HITLER and MUSSOLINI (see fig. 11-19). In another bloodthirsty cartoon, Fascists “re-inflate” a fallen bull so that the animal can attack a toreador again<sup>49</sup> while, in the third example, HITLER singlehandedly roasts a whole (and very dead-looking) bull on a turnspit with a swastika-shaped handle.<sup>50</sup> The Communist interference is well visible in the crab-battle in the already quoted fig. 11-1, where one of the crabs even grows a hammer and a sickle for pincers. Soviet and Fascist meddling is also satirized in a caricature of STALIN and HITLER about to engage in a fight while the much smaller figure of General FRANCO leads some swastika-tagged tanks into battle at their feet.<sup>51</sup>

FRANCO himself, as visible in Table 11-2, does not appear in the cartoons very often although there is at least one whole-page strip demonstrating his “biography” in a very telling way (see fig. 11-20). His figure appears in turns armed with multiple kinds of weapons, presented as a primitive barbarian, feminized, or mockingly glorified, all in the best traditions of caricature art. FRANCO’s friendly encounter with the skeletal embodiment of death present in this set is recreated in another of WANG Zimei’s multi-figure cartoons, where a skeleton entrusts FRANCO with a sword.<sup>52</sup> This generally leads the cartoons’ readers to perceive FRANCO interchangeably as HITLER’s and MUSSOLINI’s protégé or as Death’s ambassador on Earth. This is further emphasized by the cartoons and photomontages

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49 ZHANG Ding 張釘: “Zhu Jie wei nüe zhe zai zhe dang-er yao gei tamen tiaoting le” 助傑為虐者在這當兒要給他們調停了 (Those who help the tormentor are about to act as go-betweens). In: *SHMH* no. 2-1 (July), 1937. The character 傑 here substitutes Jie 桀, a tyrant of the mythological Xia 夏 dynasty.

50 Ai Zhongxin: “Xibanya de mo ri” 西班牙的末日 (The last day of Spain). In: *SHMH* no. 11 (April), 1937.

51 WANG Zimei: “Shui you bu ping shi? Jin ri ba shi jun, shuang ren wei chang shi, shi nian mo yi jian” 誰有不平事? 今日把示君, 霜刃未嘗試, 十年磨一劍 (Who does unjust deeds? Today I show to you, the frosty blade as yet untried, the sword polished for ten years). In: *SHMH* no. 10 (March), 1937. The title of the cartoon is a reference to JIA Dao’s 賈島 (779–843) poem “The swordsman”, which has the same wording, but the four lines go in reverse order. A possible explanation is that such inversion creates an additional level of mockery toward the falsehood of foreign “good intentions” at meddling in the complications of internal strife.

52 WANG Zimei: “Assembly of heroes”. In: *SHMH* no. 10 (March), 1937.

presenting ruins of Spanish towns with either MUSSOLINI and HITLER “showing appreciation to Fascist warriors” against the background of wanton destruction<sup>53</sup> or women and children left homeless, alone, and desperate amidst desolation.<sup>54</sup> Moreover, the Chinese cartoonists did not miss the chance to explore the parallels between the Civil War of 1936–1939 and the century-old events of the Peninsular War (1807–1814) shown in Francisco GOYA’s “The disasters of war” (*Los desastres de la guerra*); *Shidai Manhua* published a selection of 7 prints from this series.<sup>55</sup> The cartoonists appear to have been outraged by the atrocities of a war inside one country, although so far I have found no cartoons directly comparing the Spanish events to China’s own recent fratricidal battles.<sup>56</sup> It is noticeable, however, that both the Abyssinian Crisis and the Spanish Civil War were often depicted

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53 A vivid example is the anonymous photomontage: “Diao jin zhanchang tu” 弔今戰場圖 (Grieving on today’s battlefield). In: *SDMH* no. 30 (September), 1936. Although the image is claimed to be a shot by “World Peace” news agency (世界和平通訊社攝), it is a clear montage of two photographs: one of a city annihilated almost to the ground and another of HITLER and MUSSOLINI walking side by side. Another case of similar photomontage is an anonymous work: “Ouzhou jiti anquan yundong chenggong” 歐洲集體安全運動成功 (Success of Europe’s collective security movement). In: *MHJ* no. 6 (September), 1936. Here the background is a photograph of multitudes of people marching with flags and banners containing pacifist and Communist slogans (all in Spanish) and hammer and sickle emblems, while in the foreground are MUSSOLINI and HITLER shaking hands. Again this is quite obviously two images pasted together, although similarly the caption claims that the image was telegraphed by a news agency.

54 Author unstated: “Xibanya Neizhan zhong panjun qianxian mudu canzhuang ji” 西班牙內戰中叛軍前線目睹慘狀記 (Eyewitness account of the tragedies at the front of the rebel army in the Spanish Civil War). In: *SDMH* no. 36 (March), 1937; WANG Zimei. “Zhanling Bierbo” 佔領比爾波 (Occupying Bilbao...). In: *SDMH* no. 39 (June), 1937; Author unstated: “Canku de Xibanya Neizhan! Zhe ban wu linghun de qinshou!!” 慘酷的西班牙內戰! 這般無靈魂的禽獸!! (The cruel Spanish Civil War! Those soulless beasts!!). In: *ZGMH* no. 14 (June), 1937.

55 GEYA 哥雅 [Francisco GOYA]: “Bai nian qian Xibanya Neizhan de canku yiji” 百年前西班牙內戰的殘酷遺跡 (Ruthless traces of Spanish Civil War a hundred years ago). In: *SDMH* no. 30 (September), 1936. The translator, QIAN Boming 錢伯明, mistakenly calls the Spanish events of the 19th century a civil war, thus making them directly equal in their monstrosity to the horrendous hostilities of the day.

56 The only possible exception, and rather far-fetched at that, can be a set of drawings united under the title “Left and Right”. Here a tight-rope walker tagged “Spain” is balancing between left and right, while a neighbour image is that of Confucius dragged in the opposite directions by HITLER and STALIN. However, this is reference not so much to the civil wars in Spain and China or their victims, but rather to the choice the whole planet faced in the 1930s: the choice between Communism and Fascism as ideologies of totalitarian control. That is confirmed by yet another cartoon in the same set, where the whole globe is divided into a Taiji scheme with a hammer and sickle emblem and a swastika instead of two dots. HUANG Baibo 黃白波: “Zuo yu you” 左與右 (Left and right). In: *SDMH* no. 36 (March), 1937.

either through photographic images or via strips of several cartoons. This is most probably a trend similar to the one analyzed by Susan SONTAG in *Regarding the Pain of Others* in a sense that photographs can act as clearer accusations because they add verisimilitude and create an illusion of eyewitness involvement.<sup>57</sup> Sets of several cartoons tied into a narrative chain of evidence aim to demonstrate the many faces of horror, and the Spanish Civil War thus becomes the crescendo of despair right before the full-scale eruption of the Sino-Japanese War in July 1937.

## Peace on Earth and Danse Macabre

The avalanche of aggressive acts, ubiquitous struggle for world dominance, the League's failure to uphold justice, and ultimate inability of countries and, more generally, humans to reach peaceful coexistence and security led the 1930s cartoonists to an unmistakably pessimistic outlook on the prospects of China, humankind, and the planet at large. The magazines provide a wide assortment of predictions, almost all of which forebode destruction of humanity.

The premonition of a new world war was a widespread feeling of the 1930s, not only in China, but also in the West. For example, Richard OVERY notes about Britain that: “[w]ar was regarded as unavoidable whatever the nature of modern humans or modern civilization. This was a profoundly pessimistic conclusion because a common assumption in the inter-war years was the relationship between the next war, if it came, and the end of civilization.”<sup>58</sup> It is precisely that premonition of doom that can be seen vividly in most of the cartoons included in the numbers of table II-3. China was, of course, in a very vulnerable position, being among the first victims and participants of clashes which eventually fused into World War II. Being in a state of unannounced hostilities with Japan and torn by internal contradictions, China and its society had every reason for a grim view of the days to come. The word collocation “second world war” appeared in *Shidai Manhua's* West-related cartoons in January 1936,<sup>59</sup> but the idea of a nearing global conflict

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57 Susan SONTAG: *Regarding the Pain of Others*, N.Y.: Picador 2004, pp. 6, 116–122.

58 Richard J. OVERY: *The Inter-War Crisis 1919–1939*, 2nd ed., Harlow: Pearson Education Ltd. 2007 [1994], p. 47. See also chapter 8, “The voyage of the ‘Death Ship’: war and the fate of the world” in his other book (Richard J. OVERY: *The Morbid Age: Britain between the Wars*, London: Allen Lane 2009).

59 HUANG Miaozi: “Shijie di er ci dazhan de Shanghai kuangxiangqu” 世界第二次大戰的上海狂想曲 (Shanghai rhapsody of the second world war). In: *SDMH* no. 25 (January), 1936.

was envisioned earlier, first through questioningly tentative works containing military vocabulary or symbols (for example, a cartoon titled “New Front?” showing the march of Fascists against the background of crimson color<sup>60</sup>), then through bolder depictions of forsaken corpses, total armament<sup>61</sup> and gunpowder barrels<sup>62</sup>, and finally through the arrival of Mars or the god of war (*zhanshen* 战神) chasing the whole planet.<sup>63</sup> The opposition of the god of war and the angel of peace became a recurring motif for the *manhua* magazines.<sup>64</sup> While the angel (always a feminine winged creature) might try to leave the planet, the god of war, on the contrary, was very eager to get hold of it. He would poke the “belly” of the planet to see if it was “ready”,<sup>65</sup> or run around with a torch setting gunpowder on fire,<sup>66</sup> or invite the whole of humankind into a grave.<sup>67</sup>

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60 YE Qianyu 葉淺予: “Xin zhenxian?” 新陣線? (New front?). In: *SDMH* no. 1 (April), 1934.

61 Author unstated: “Ouzhou jindai shi de guocheng ji qi xian jieduan – zhanzheng yu heping yundong” 歐洲近代史的過程及其現階段——戰爭與和平運動 (The course of recent European history and its current stage – war and pacifist movement). In: *SDMH* no. 6 (June), 1934.

62 ZHOU Hanming 週汗明: “Wanyi-er (Xituola xiang)” 玩意兒 (希脫拉像) (Toy (Hitler)). In: *SDMH* no. 11 (November), 1934.

63 TAN Meizi 譚沫子: “Diqu ai hua” 地球哀話 (Earth’s pitiful words). In: *SDMH* no. 22 (October), 1935. This is the first appearance of Mars in *Shidai Manhua*.

64 See fig. 11-21. More examples are: Author unclear: “Heping zhi shen shi zhanshen de duishou ma?” 和平之神是戰神的對手嗎? (Is angel of peace an equal opponent to god of war?). In: *SDMH* no. 27 (June), 1936; MA Mengchen 馬夢塵: “Bu dikang zhuyi de xiangzheng” 不抵抗主義的象徵 (Symbol of non-resistance). In: *SDMH* no. 28 (July), 1936; Author unstated: “Xin shi le tu” 新失樂園 (New paradise lost). In: *SHMH* no. 1 (May), 1936, Cover; WANG Lijun 王立鈞: “Weixian de biao’yan” 危險的表演 (Dangerous performance). In: *SHMH* no. 2 (June), 1936; QING Ru 青如: “Shou qi” 受欺 (Bullied). In: *QZMH* no. 2 (April), 1935, p. 43. See also fig. 11-5, where the “War” is not Mars per se, but rather a skeletal embodiment of death, and yet the juxtaposition of war and peace is present.

65 CHEN Yifan: “Mars: Are they ready?” In: *SHMH* no. 12 (May), 1937.

66 CHEN Quanke 陳權可: “San ge huoyaoku” 三個火藥庫 (Three gunpowder magazines). In: *DLMH* no. 5 (November), 1935.

67 YU Yan 愚言: “Zhangshen shuo: ‘Zhe shi nimen zui anquan chu a’” 戰神說: “這是你們最安全處啊” (The god of war says: “This is the safest place for you”). In: *QZMH* no. 3 (May), 1935, p. 95.



Table 11-3: Quantity of references to a future war and planetary catastrophe in *Shidai Manhua* and *Shanghai Manhua* cartoons

	<i>Shidai Manhua</i>	<i>Shanghai Manhua</i>
Future war	54	20
God of war, Mars	5	6
Angel of peace	8	9
Dove of peace, olive branch	8	6
Macabre (skulls, mutilated bodies, skeletons, graves, etc.)	26	14
Planet, globe	13	14
Death personified	7	6
Peace on Earth in absence of humankind	6	5

In several cases the planet is depicted as a ball playfully tossed around by different powers, such as Mars himself, Japan, Fascists, or Communists, or else the earth turns into a bomb with the wick already on fire.<sup>68</sup> The very idea that the planet suddenly becomes so small and defenseless is accompanied by the perception of the world becoming sick (see fig. 11-22). This reflects a vast change in the angle of Chinese perceptions: from the imperial times of China as the centre of civilization and from the 19th century ideas of motherland besieged by barbarians to a new perspective, where civilization is still besieged and threatened by uncivilized warmongers, but it is not only China, and not even mainly China but, rather, it is the whole planet and human civilization nearing destruction and not getting any help from anywhere.

The pessimism of this outlook was explicitly conveyed in over a dozen cartoons foretelling the end of the world, establishment of a kingdom of death, and the total extinction of humankind. The words “the last day(s)” or “doomsday”, *mori* 末日, featured in several titles,<sup>69</sup> and the traditional idea of universal peace, *tianxia taiping* 天下太平, also turned into an apocalyptic vision of peace with no survivors. Perpetual wars (or the perception of wars becoming an inevitable

68 CHEN Shaobai 陳少白: “Zhanshen zhi xishua pin” 戰神之戲耍品 (Mars’ trinket). In: *QZMH* no. 3 (May), 1935, p. 95; HUANG Baibo: “Left and right”. In: *SDMH* no. 36 (March), 1937; ZHAN Yihe 詹益和: “Hai wai qi tan” 海外奇談 (Of amazing things abroad). In: *SDMH* no. 17 (May), 1935; ZHANG Guangyu: “Hepingshen wu li zu di” 和平神無立足地 (The angel of peace has no foothold anywhere). In: *DLMH* no. 1 (September), 1935, Cover.  
69 AI Zhongxin: “Kexue shijie de mo ri” 科學世界的末日 (Last days of the scientific world). In: *DLMH* no. 5 (November), 1935; HUANG Wenqing 黃文清: “Shijie mo ri” 世界末日 (Last days of the world). In: *SHMH* no. 3 (July), 1936; see also fig. 11-23.

element of existence) led to the obvious conclusion that at some point everyone would be dead and only after that the ultimate tranquility would be achieved (see fig. 11-23). The statement that peace will prevail after everyone dies occurs several more times in different variations.<sup>70</sup> The appearance of corpses walking, skeletons dancing, and graves covering the surface of the planet was all in line with the idea of inevitable death. This trend can be found both in cartoons dealing with specific conflicts (e.g., Italian soldiers “returning from Abyssinia” in a train cart seen as a pile of uniform-clad corpses in a cartoon by TE Wei<sup>71</sup>) and in depictions of universal, cosmic calamity (most of those quoted in this paragraph are in said category).

The atmosphere created on the magazines’ pages by these ominous apparitions was further emphasized by the Danse Macabre cartoons of Death personified. Its arrival is announced by a relatively light-hearted work by MAI Lüzhi 麥綠之 where a skeleton is dancing next to a severed head of one who used to dream of a crown (see fig. 11-25). The image references two Christian visual traditions at once: the ‘Dance of Death’ and Salome with the head of John the Baptist. As more conflicts erupted in the 1930s, the imagery became more sinister: the same MAI Lüzhi produced a vision of death in a much darker style only a year later (see fig. 11-26).

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70 LAN Weibang 藍蔚邦: “Zui hou, liang ge shengwu si le, shijie zhongyu heping le” 最後，兩個生物死了，世界終於和平了 (In the end, the two living creatures died, and the world was finally peaceful). In: *SHMH* no. 6 (October), 1936; LIAO Bingxiong: “The end of the great tragedy”. In: *SHMH* no. 1 (May), 1936; WU Zhen 吳震 and DA Lei 大雷: “Shijie zui xin xiangqi pu” 世界最新象棋譜 (World’s newest manual on playing chess). In: *SDMH* no. 14 (February), 1935; YAN Zhexi: “Pu tian tong qing tu” 普天同慶圖 (Universal rejoicing). In: *SDMH* no. 30 (September), 1936; YANG Bian 楊鞭: “Xian zhanzheng er hou heping” 先戰爭而後和平 (First war and then peace). In: *SDMH* no. 22 (October), 1935; see also fig. 11-24.

71 TE Wei: “Cong Abixiniya huilai” 從阿比西尼亞回來 (Returning from Abyssinia). In: *DLMH* no. 8 (January), 1936.

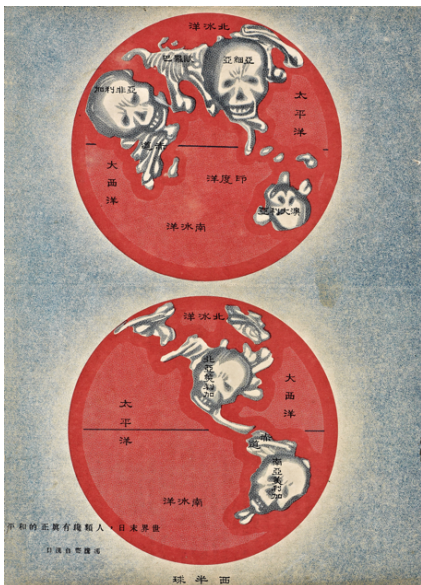


Figure II-23: FENG Teng 馮騰: “Shijie mo ri, renlei cai you zhenzheng de heping” 世界末日，人類才有真正的和平 (Only in the last days of the world will humankind have real peace)<sup>72</sup>

Characters on the hemispheres mark oceans and continents.

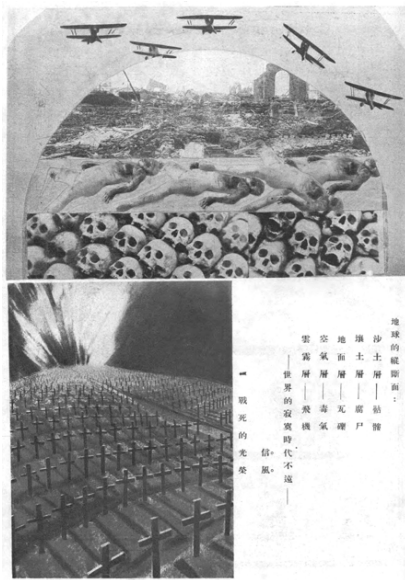


Figure II-24: XIN Feng 信風: “Diqu de zongduanmian” 地球的縱斷面 (Vertical section of earth) (top). “Zhansi de guangrong” 戰死的光榮 (The glory of dying in battle) (bottom)<sup>73</sup>

The caption to the top cartoon reads:

Sand layer – bones / Fertile layer – rotting corpses / Surface layer – debris / Atmosphere – poison gas / Cloud layer – airplanes / The times of the world’s loneliness are not far away.

72 In: *SDMH* no. 22 (October), 1935.

73 In: *SHMH* no. 4 (August), 1936.

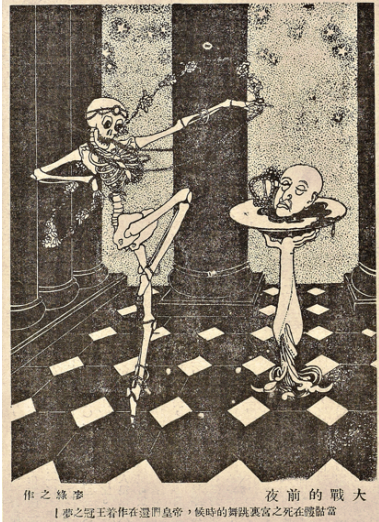


Figure 11-25: MAI Lüzhì [MAI Fangming 麥放明]: “Dazhan de qianye” 大戰的前夜 (The eve of the great war)<sup>74</sup>

The caption reads:

When the skeleton dances in the palace of death, kings and emperors are still dreaming about crowns!



Figure 11-26: MAI Lüzhì: “Tianxia yingxiong, wei wo shi cong” 天下英雄，惟我是從 (Heroes of the world, obey me...) <sup>75</sup>

The caption reads:

Heroes of the world, obey me, ha! ha! I come again.

74 In: *SDMH* no. 12 (December), 1934.

75 In: *SDMH* no. 25 (January), 1936. The phrase “obey me” is a reworded idiom “always do as told” 惟命是從, lit. obey the fate, but here “fate” becomes “me”, i.e. death.

Other cartoonists engaged in depicting death, moved by China's own misfortunes and international plummet into disaster: Death walked over bodies of new-born baby soldiers, ran into battle carrying assorted weapons, smiled down on fields of the dead as a skull-faced Moon, threw corpses down cannon muzzles while wearing Papal robes, and dropped a bomb onto a city over the shoulder of the Pope of Rome.<sup>76</sup>

## Getting on with daily life

Shockingly, yet reasonably, this all-devouring whirlwind of apocalyptic visions existed parallel to a completely different world of daily life. The cartoons in this section are hard to categorize because the group is at once noticeable and yet so diverse and dispersed between many small issues that almost no patterns emerge. It is noticeable, because there are no less than 70 cartoons or even sets of cartoons from the *Shidai Manhua*'s 180 works related to the aspects of the West (around 15 items out of *Shanghai Manhua*'s 60), so this is by no means a small fraction. However, the wide range of topics appearing in this "daily life" group means that for each topic there are but a few cartoons. From the point of view of contents, there are items describing: cinema and celebrities; fine art and literature; foreigners in China; Christianity; architecture; fashions, lifestyles, and entertainment; Westernized Chinese; common people abroad; and foreign cartoon art.

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76 TE Wei: "Yuce" 預測 (Prediction...). In: *MHJ* no. 7 (October), 1936; XU Yan 許炎: "Weilai de zhanshi" 未來的戰士 (Warrior of the future). In: *SHMH* no. 4 (August), 1936; Author unstated (reprint of foreign cartoons): "Shouhuo zhi yue" 收穫之月 (Harvest moon). In: *SDMH* no. 17 (May), 1935; TE Wei: "Luoma jiaohuang" 羅馬教皇 (Pope of Rome...). In: *SDMH* no. 23 (November), 1935; HU Dan 胡丹: "Bei tian min ren" 悲天憫人 (Lament [the state of] heaven and pity [the state of] man). In: *SDMH* no. 23 (November), 1935. The two cartoons satirizing the Pope's role in warmongering are probably a reaction to the Vatican's inactivity in preventing Italian invasion of Ethiopia in the previous month. For more about the relations between the Pope and Fascist Italy see: Lucia CECI; Peter SPRING (transl.): *The Vatican and Mussolini's Italy*, Leiden: Brill 2017. About the Vatican's relations with Fascist regimes in other countries see: Emma FATTORINI; Carl IPSEN (transl.): *Hitler, Mussolini, and the Vatican: Pope Pius XI and the Speech That Was Never Made*, Cambridge: Polity Press 2011; Karlheinz DESCHNER: *God and the Fascists: the Vatican Alliance with Mussolini, Franco, Hitler, and Pavelić*, N.Y.: Prometheus Books 2013. A startling example of cartoons envisioning China's own sufferings as Death's plough is a cartoon where a dystrophic peasant whips his bull to carry on plowing across a field of skulls; the whole cartoon done in black-and-red: ZHANG Ding: "Chun geng tu" 春耕圖 (SPRING plowing). In: *SDMH* no. 34 (January), 1937.

The last topic, including both reprints of Western (rarely Japanese) cartoons and lengthy explanations of the cartooning tradition, is one of the largest by quantity: nearly every issue of *Shidai Manhua* contains a special section (often more than one page long) devoted to introducing and demonstrating works of Miguel COVARRUBIAS, Honoré DAUMIER, Alois DERSO and Emery KELEN, David LOW, Boris YEFIMOV (EFIMOV), Sapojou (Georgy SAPOZHNIKOV), and generally French, British, German, American, and other “Western” cartoonists or whole magazines, primarily *Punch*, but also *Life*, *Simplicissimus*, *Krokodil*, *Tokyo Puck*, and others.<sup>77</sup> This reflects an important mission for *Shidai Manhua*, published through the efforts of SHAO Xunmei 邵洵美, its owner, and LU Shaofei, its editor: SHAO Xunmei was eager to prove that *manhua* magazines can be “serious”, and providing the evidence from foreign experience was in line with this idea.<sup>78</sup> Thus, in a sense, reproducing foreign cartoons as an example provided both glimpses of foreign lifestyles and a way to legitimize *manhua*’s own existence in China. *Shidai Manhua* was not the only periodical to reproduce such sets of foreign cartoons: *Wanxiang*, *Duli Manhua*, *Manhuajie*, *Shanghai Manhua*, etc. were also quite eager to familiarize their readers with the already mentioned foreign cartoonists and

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77 GEWALUOBIYASI 哥瓦羅彼亞斯 [Miguel] COVARRUBIAS: “Moxige canjia geming jun de nüren” 墨西哥參加革命軍的女人 (Mexican women participating in revolution). In: *SDMH* no. 2 (February), 1934; [Bernard PARTRIDGE]: “Jue bu qufu” 絕不屈服 (Unconquerable). In: *SDMH* no. 10 (October), 1934; LI Baoquan 李寶泉: “Shi xiang manhua de linghun” 世相漫畫的靈魂 (The soul of worldly cartoons). In: *SDMH* no. 11 (November), 1934; WANG Dunqing: “‘Benzhuo’ xiansheng xiaozhuan” 《笨拙》先生小傳 (A short biography of Mr. “Punch”). In: *SDMH* no. 14 (February), 1935, continued in: *SDMH* no. 15 (March), 1935; Idem: “Manhua de xuanchuan xing” 漫畫的宣傳性 (The propagandistic nature of cartoons). In: *SDMH* no. 17 (May), 1935; Idem: “Meiguo youmo zazhi de jiantao” 美國幽默雜誌的檢討 (About American humour magazines). In: *SDMH* no. 20 (August), 1935; Idem: “Manhua de leibie” 漫畫的類別 (Kinds of cartoons). In: *SDMH* no. 21 (September), 1935; Idem: “Weilian GELUOPO qi ren ji qi zuopin” 威廉格羅泊其人及其作品 (William Gropper: man and his works). In: *SDMH* no. 22 (October), 1935; Idem: “Manhuajia de xiuyang” 漫畫家的修養 (Cartoonist’s cultivation). In: *SDMH* no. 23 (November), 1935; Idem: “Yingguo xinwenjie de manhua dashi LUO Dawei” 英國新聞界的漫畫大師羅大維 (The great cartoonist of English journalism, David Low). In: *SDMH* no. 30 (September), 1936; Idem: “Ziji jiaoyu er chenggong de manhuajia MEI Feier” 自己教育而成功的漫畫家梅菲爾 (Self-taught successful cartoonist Phil MAY). In: *SDMH* no. 32 (November), 1936; Idem: “Xiyang lüxing manhua teji” 西洋旅行漫畫特輯 (Special edition of Western travel cartoons). In: *SDMH* no. 33 (December), 1936; Idem: “‘Benzhuo’ de changpian youmo” 《笨拙》的長篇幽默 (Long-format humour [pieces] in “Punch”). In: *SDMH* no. 38 (May), 1937; ZHANG Ruogu 張若谷: “Faguo shiji shiji de manhua” 法國十九世紀的漫畫 (French 19th century cartoons). In: *SDMH* no. 18 (June), 1935. The list is not exhaustive.

78 For more about attitudes to pictorials and SHAO Xunmei’s endeavors see: BEVAN: *A Modern Miscellany* (2016), pp. 56–59.

magazines, as well as with others, e.g. Diego RIVERA, Mitchell SIPORIN, George GROSZ, in rare cases even giving a retrospective of cartoon art in China itself.<sup>79</sup> These reproduced foreign cartoons covered various aspects of politics, society, and entertainment, proving at once that foreigners laugh, too, and that cartooning can reach high artistic levels.

The other fields of Western creative endeavors reflected in *manhua* magazines include literature (references to GOETHE's *Faust*, GORKY (GOR'KII)'s life and creations, Henrik IBSEN's *A Doll House*, etc. can be found<sup>80</sup>), architecture (in the form of either occasional photographs of streets and cartoons with cityscapes and skylines or rare pictorial jokes, e.g. relating to skyscrapers<sup>81</sup>), and, of course, stage and cinema. For China, as for the rest of the world, the 1930s became the age of talking pictures, and this triggered a huge demand for celebrities' photos and

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79 Some examples are: Diego RIVERA: "Diyage Lifeila zhi bihua" 第亞戈·李費拉之壁畫 (Diego RIVERA's mural paintings). In: *WX* no. 1 (May), 1934; WANG Dunqing: "Jieshao Shanghai zui lao de yi ben youmo zazhi" 介紹上海最老的一本幽默雜誌 (Introducing Shanghai's oldest humour magazine). In: *DLMH* no. 2 (October), 1935; Idem: "Di yi hui shijie dazhan de manhua zhan" 第一回世界大戰的漫畫戰 (Cartoon war during WWI). In: *DLMH* no. 3 (October), 1935; Mitchell SIPORIN: "Xijuhua le de shijie zhengzhi zhongxin renwu" 戲劇化了的世界政治重心人物 (Theatricalized key figures of world politics). In *MHJ* no. 4 (July), 1936; Baolisi AIFEIMAOFU 鮑里斯·愛菲冒夫 [Boris YEFIMOV] 鮑里斯·愛菲冒夫: "Yi jiu san si nian yiqian shijie heping de yuyan manhua" 一九三四年以前世界和平的預言漫畫 (Prophetic cartoons about peace in the world before 1934). In: *MHJ* no. 4 (July), 1936; YU Er 魚兒: "Xiang ming shijie di yi liu manhua" George Grosz" 享名世界第一流漫畫家 George GROSZ (World-renowned master cartoonist George GROSZ). In: *MHJ* no. 5 (August), 1936; Weilian GELUOPO 威廉·格羅泊 [William GROPPER] 威廉·格羅泊: "Maxituan yi lan" 馬戲團一覽 (Circus at a glance). In: *SHMH* no. 5 (September), 1936; Autuo SUOGLUO 奧托·梭格羅 [Otto SOGLOW] 奧托·梭格羅: "Pingmin huangdi canjia pingmin baodong" 平民皇帝參加平民暴動 (Common emperor participates in common riot). In: *SHMH* no. 5 (September), 1936; Xisi LUOBINSHENG 錫斯·羅賓生 [W. Heath ROBINSON]: "Mei ri xing yi shan ju de tongzijun" 每日行一善舉的童子軍 (A boy scout who makes a good deed every day). In: *SHMH* no. 6 (October), 1936; Author unstated: "Xiyang xiaohua" 西洋笑話 (Western jokes). In: *SHMH* no. 10 (March), 1937.

80 ZHANG Guangyu: "Fushide laoren de beiai" 浮士德老人的悲哀 (Old Faust's grief). In: *SHMH* no. 7 (November), 1936; WANG Zimei: "Lu Xun fendou hua zhuan" 魯迅奮鬥畫傳 (Lu Xun's illustrated biography). In: *SDMH* no. 32 (November), 1936; Idem: Crucifix. In: *SHMH* no. 6 (October), 1936; Idem: "Lu Xun yu Gao'erji" 魯迅與高爾基 (Lu Xun and GORKY). In: *SHMH* no. 7 (November), 1936, Cover; LIU Zhongwei 劉仲煒: "Liuyue shiba ri zhe yi tian" 六月十八日這一天 (The day of June 18th). In: *Wanxiang Tuhua Yuekan* 萬像圖畫月刊 no. 1 (September), 1936; LU Shaofei: "Xin wan'ou" 新玩偶 (New dolls). In: *SDMH* no. 19 (July), 1935.

81 ZHANG Guangyu: "Xitele wan zi shangbiao de youlai" 希特勒卐字商標的由來 (Origins of HITLER's swastika emblem). In: *WX* no. 1 (May), 1934; Idem: "Pai yongchang" 派用場 (Putting it to use). In: *SDMH* no. 15 (March), 1935; WANG Dunqing (compil.): "Xiyang shehui dongtai de yi pie" 西洋社會動態的一瞥 (A glance at trends in Western society). In: *SDMH* no. 37 (April), 1937; see also figs. 11-9 and 11-27.

biographies, advertisements for movies, and news of world tours. Hollywood stars were eulogized and mocked,<sup>82</sup> Tarzan and Charlie CHAPLIN reached the popularity of such a degree that their images were re-applied in political cartoons,<sup>83</sup> and one of the most popular cartoon characters, Niu Bizi 牛鼻子 (lit. “Ox-nose”), went into deep grief upon hearing the news that his “beloved Jena (sic!) HARLOW”, a Hollywood actress, died.<sup>84</sup> In other words, images of the West and Westerners created by imported films reverberated further by being reproduced and remade in printed cartoons.

Yet, if it came to commoners, not celebrities, and realistic scenery, not idealized city- or landscapes of Hollywood films, a reader of magazines would have a very vague idea of Western life. There are very few photographs, and even those are mostly of curious people or objects rather than what one might come across on a daily basis; the resulting image of ‘abroad’ would thus be a distorted picture.<sup>85</sup>

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82 For some examples see: Author unstated: “Zhaoyao Haolaiwu tiankong de si ke mingxing” 照耀好萊塢天空的四顆明星 (Four stars that shine in the sky of Hollywood). In: *WX* no. 1 (May), 1934; WANG Zimei: “Haolaiwu Shuihu renwu xuan” 好萊塢水滸人物選 (Selection of characters from Hollywood’s “Outlaws of the Marsh”). In: *SHMH* no. 4 (August), 1936; Author unstated: “Shi nian lai qianhou Meiguo shu Hua yingpian de jinbu guan” 十年來前後美國輸華影片的進步觀 (Progress of American films imported in China in the last 10 years). In: *SDMH* no. 37 (April), 1937.

83 For an example of Tarzan references see fig. 11-20, where FRANCO wears animal hide as a loincloth; a similar reference is applied to MUSSOLINI and STALIN in a cartoon by ZHU Jinlou 朱金樓: although here the commentary does not allude to Tarzan, the very idea of “primitive” clothes is visually quite close (ZHU Jinlou: “Xin ‘Shitu xing zhuan’” 新《使徒行傳》 (New “Acts of the Apostles”). In: *ZGMH* no. 9 (October), 1936). Charlie CHAPLIN figures in a cartoon clearly quoting the film “Modern Times”, while satirizing social and economic injustice through the appearance of a “capitalist” (Ai Zhongxin: “Modeng shidai” 摩登時代 (Modern times). In: *SHMH* no. 3 (July), 1936). An even more explicit case is a cartoon where CHAPLIN appears thinking about China’s military and political troubles (see: HUANG Ling 黃陵: “Huoshao Hongliansi” 火燒紅蓮寺 (Burning the Red Lotus temple). In: *ZGMH* no. 6 (April), 1936).

84 HUANG Yao 黃堯 and XU Ruoming 徐若明: “Ying mi ‘Niu Bizi’ ru sang kao bi” 影迷《牛鼻子》如喪考妣 (Movie fan “Niu Bizi” is grief-stricken). In: *SDMH* no. 39 (June), 1937. Jean HARLOW was one of the most famous stars of the decade, a “sex goddess” as her official website calls her (note the very existence of a website for an actress who did indeed die on 7 June 1937; “Jean HARLOW, the official website”, 2019. Available online: <https://www.jeanharlow.com/>, last access 2019, August 12). The cartoon with Niu Bizi is a collage of photographed puppet Niu Bizi cropped into a drawing of sacrificial table before the funerary scrolls, amongst which a photograph of a very scantily dressed Jean HARLOW appears. The visual irony is reinforced by the title, since *ru sang kao bi* 如喪考妣 means “to be sorrowful as if one’s parents died”.

85 This is quite understandable given the specifics of a *manhua* magazine; more photographs appeared in other periodicals, such as the famous “Young Companion” (*Liangyou* 良友), but photographs are quite a different source, closer to cinema in some sense, and



Seeing foreigners inside of China gave a clearer understanding of their ways, and it also concerned the cartoonists much more, especially since the foreign presence in China touched upon the injured national feelings. For that reason, two narratives catch the eye: one is foreigners themselves, their lives and habits, and another is foreign influence – bad for the most part – on Chinese people and life. These two narratives are closely intertwined, with foreigners in China rarely shown as positive elements of urban daily life.

One group of foreigners living in China in the 1930s stands aside from other Westerners: namely, Russian emigrants. “White Russians”, *bai'e* 白俄, generally, were seen as an object of condescending disapproval from the cartoonists; being foreigners yet not enjoying any of the special rights in China, they attracted some sympathy as homeless exiles, but more often it turned into contempt or irritation, though rarely open hostility. This group produced an unpleasant and unfavorable impression on the Chinese and wealthier foreigners in China alike. Generally, the cartoons categorized Russian émigrés into three “professions”: “ladies”, tradesmen, and military men. While the “Russian ladies” (*Luosong taitai* 羅宋太太) – i.e. prostitutes – were seen as a bad influence and demonstrated the depths of immorality,<sup>86</sup> the other two groups invited other sentiments. Tradesmen, i.e. shop owners, restaurant keepers, tailors, and other representatives of honest toil, appeared to be the least obtrusive. The cartoonists ironically noted that White Russian stores were ready to serve anyone with money, including the Chinese; this visibly set them apart from the Western stores dealing in trade exclusively with Western clientele and discriminating Chinese.<sup>87</sup> It can be said that the cartoons did not produce an impression of objecting to the presence of Russian competitors.<sup>88</sup>

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deserve a separate study. It should also be kept in mind that technical difficulties of typography and black-and-white technique available in the 1930s meant that photography was hardly a very realistic medium.

86 Among the most typical cases of cartoons about Russian “ladies” plying the streets are: Huazi 華子: “Xiafei lu shang de Flirtation” 霞飛路上的 Flirtation (Flirtation on Xiafei street). In: *SDMH* no. 7 (July), 1934; SHEN Yiqian 沈逸千: “Xiafei lu de yese” 霞飛路的夜色 (Xiafei street’s twilight). In: *SDMH* no. 21 (September), 1935.

87 Japanese stores attracted attention of a different kind due to calls for the boycott of Japanese goods although sometimes they appeared along with other foreign enterprises. For an example, see: Wu Shiji 吳實基: “Zai Shanghai de waiguo dian huanying zhe women ne!” 在上海的外國店歡迎著我們呢! (Shanghai foreign stores are welcoming us!). In: *SDMH* no. 1 (April), 1934.

88 For example, see descriptions of Russian life, including prostitutes and business endeavors, on Avenue Joffre in Shanghai: Huazi: “Flirtation on Xiafei street”. In: *SDMH* no. 7 (July), 1934. Another case, albeit not a cartoon but a text, is about a Chinese who prefers to eat cheaply, yet in a restaurant, thus choosing a Russian establishment: ZHU Qing 竹青: “Si yao mianzi” 死要面子 (To save face at all costs). In: *SDMH* no. 27 (June), 1936. However, the Russians’ readiness to serve whoever had money was not always noted – an example is

What they did object to, however, was the pompous behavior of former generals and ex-nobility, who, while being degraded to begging in the streets or working in the lowest ranks of city police, put on airs and looked down on the Chinese themselves.<sup>89</sup> Their pretense, “eagle-like” noses, and attempts to look “like nothing had happened” (*ruo wu qi shi* 若無其事) caused some sharp remarks from journalists, and the lack of gratitude to the country that sheltered “eternal exiles” triggered reactions verging on enmity – consequently the emigrants were called “Russian high-class beggars” (*Eguo de gaoji bisan* 俄國的高級畢三).<sup>90</sup> All in all, not many aspects of Russian daily life side by side with the local population were noted in the cartoons, and those matters that were commented upon ran along the lines of either pity or ridicule, but, unlike cartoons about other foreigners, no hint of China’s injured national pride was visible here.

It is unsurprising that the presence of the British in Hong Kong and Shanghai (as well as in other concessions) caused much more criticism. Of the 26 cartoons mentioning the UK, five do so in connection to Hong Kong (see table 11-1 above). Such references include the behavior of British or Hindu policemen and discriminatory attitudes of the British to the Chinese populace.<sup>91</sup> Apart from the British, cartoonists were concerned about and sometimes outraged by the offenses of unspecified Westerners in China: those ranged from drunken sailors creating demand for prostitutes to a Chinese girl being raped by a member of an international circus touring the world.<sup>92</sup> Interestingly, almost no blame was placed on foreigners for

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a set of photographs, where several foreign stores’ windows are shown, and, although all stores are located in Shanghai, none have inscriptions in Chinese – a Russian shop appearing in this set shows how Russians were not always seen as welcoming Chinese customers. See: WU Shiji: “Shanghai foreign stores are welcoming us!” In: *SDMH* no. 1 (April), 1934. 89 A good example of textual description can be found in: OU Luluo 歐露羅: “‘Cha paisi’ ji” 《查派司》記 (On “checking the documents”). In: *SDMH* no. 19 (July), 1935.

90 LUO Shan 羅姍: “Allegretto”. In: *SDMH* no. 13 (January), 1935; LÜ Zhen 履箴 (WANG Dunqing). “Weishenme wo chuan zhongshanzhuang” 為什麼我穿中山裝 (Why I wear Sun Yatsen-style suit). In: *SDMH* no. 12 (December), 1934; Piaobo wang 漂泊王: “Wuqiong’ de xiwang” “無窮”的希望 (“Inexhaustible” hope). In: *SDMH* no. 1 (April), 1934; WU Chang 無常: “Eren dalishi” 俄人大力士 (Russian strongman). In: *SDMH* no. 12 (December), 1934.

91 LIN Yan 林焱: “Lüxing manhua shouzha” 旅行漫畫手札 (Cartoon notes of a journey). In: *SDMH* no. 23 (November), 1935; JIN Mo: “Xianggang qiaobao huawai ji” 香港僑胞化外記 (Uncivilized compatriots in Hong Kong). In: *SDMH* no. 24 (December), 1935; LAO Ji: “Ji ren li xia de tongku xianzhuang” 寄人籬下的痛苦現狀 (Hard situation of living under another’s roof). In: *SDMH* no. 37 (April), 1937.

92 JIN Mo: “Huanghun de Zhujiang shui mian” 黃昏的珠江水面 (Dusk on Zhujiang river). In: *SDMH* no. 19 (July), 1935; LAN Weibang: “Street angel”. In: *SDMH* no. 9 (September), 1934; LU Zhixiang 陸志庠: “The most marvelous performance of the Isako’s circus – the rape of a young Chinese girl”. In: *SDMH* no. 17 (May), 1935.

the opium trade in *manhua* magazines' cartoons, although drug-addiction itself was frowned upon there as well as in other media. Prostitution, on the other hand, disgusted the cartoonists somewhat more, both in the case of Chinese girls selling themselves to foreign clients and in the case of foreign women giving a bad example, as already mentioned above.

Other foreigners and items of Western culture present in Chinese cities did not inspire warmer remarks either. Even things smaller than prostitution or the police's lawlessness, such as drinking Coca-Cola,<sup>93</sup> wearing exceedingly Westernized suits, and the existence of strip-tease shows, evoked criticism.<sup>94</sup> Nationalist feelings were offended by the mass popularity of dancing, learning and speaking English even among Chinese, listening to Christian priests, forgetting national celebrations, and generally being Westernized. At the same time, this was all in a form of cartoons, strange and foreign in themselves. The cartoonists, while mocking their compatriots' desire to be more European than Europeans, laughed at the over-conservative part of Chinese society as well. A good example of such dubious satire is apparent in fig. 11-28, where Confucius and some of his disciples find themselves in 1930s Shanghai. The oddness of it all is that for every situation there is a (more or less) suitable quotation from *The Analects*, but since every quotation loses its philosophical meaning, Confucius, the embodiment of Chinese traditions, gets degraded to the level of an old village bumpkin, surprised and disapproving of the new devices and manners, but eventually giving in to some of them.

A vivid example of a panoramic view of the West is fig. 11-27, done by WANG Dunqing. He was the most active propagandist of learning from foreign examples in cartoon art in *Shidai Manhua* and other magazines.<sup>95</sup> Yet in this case, he created

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93 Prostitution is among the most frequent evils appearing in relation to the Westerners' effect on daily life. See: CAI Ruohong 蔡若虹: "Dushi li de seqing shangren" 都市裏的色情商人 (Pornography merchants of the city). In: *SDMH* no. 24 (December), 1935; JIN Mo: "Dusk on Zhujiang river". In: *SDMH* no. 19 (July), 1935; LAN Weibang: "Street angel". In: *SDMH* no. 9 (September), 1934. The Coca-Cola reference appears on a cartoon by TAO Mouji 陶謀基, where a fashionably dressed couple are sitting at the table sipping their drinks and discussing how stupid peasants suffer from lack of water. The two wonder, "why do the peasants even need water, when there is Hires and Coca-Cola?" It is hard to tell if the cartoonist meant to allude to the notorious "*Qu'ils mangent de la brioche*", but the perceived gap between the depicted couple and Chinese peasants suffering from drought is as wide as between the apocryphal princess and French commoners. TAO Mouji: "He guo le Hires" 喝過了 Hires (Drank Hires...). In: *SDMH* no. 8 (August), 1934.

94 LI Kangnian 李康年: "Yishu sixiang" 藝術思想 (Artistic thinking). In: *SDMH* no. 10 (October), 1934; LIU Xiyun 劉茜芸: "Shechipin" 奢侈品 (Luxurious items). In: *SDMH* no. 15 (March), 1935; ZHANG Zhenshi 張振仕: "Shui shuo fentong bu hui Ouhua!" 誰說糞桶不會歐化! (Who said that a dung barrel cannot become Europeanized!). In: *SDMH* no. 21 (September), 1935.

95 See notes 77 and 79 in this chapter.

a highly unattractive image of “Western civilization”. A row of naked dancers is followed by marching soldiers against the unsettling cityscape of factories, a cathedral, and windowless skyscrapers. All of these are seen as being blessed by a priest wearing a gasmask while the whole picture is a big playing card, a queen of hearts, whose pallid countenance adds to the eerie atmosphere of the cartoon. Although there is no direct statement of “bad influence” on Chinese culture, it is hardly wrong to assume that the cartoon warns against the temptations and pleasures of Western civilization, behind which trouble lurks. It is apparent that here, in the “daily life” narratives dealing with more “nationalist” issues, the contradictions between the “Chinese” and “foreigners” were still strong whereas in the “world politics” group, such contradictions moved further into the background.



Figure 11-27: WANG Dunqing: “Xiyang wenming” 西洋文明 (Western civilization)<sup>96</sup>

<sup>96</sup> In: *SDMH* no. 15 (March), 1935.



Figure 11-28: GAO Longsheng 高龍生: “Kongfuzi you Shanghai” 孔夫子游上海 (Confucius wanders in Shanghai)<sup>97</sup>

Captions to individual cartoons (right to left, top to bottom):

The Master said: Eight rows of dancers in the court, if he can bear to do this, what may he not bear to do!

The Master said: How can a large carriage be made to go without the crossbar for yoking the oxen to, or a small carriage without the arrangement for yoking the horses?

Yan Yuan, in admiration of the Master’s doctrines, sighed and said: I looked up to them, and they seemed to become more high!

The Master said: I will not be concerned at men’s not knowing me; I will be concerned at my own want of ability.

97 In: *SDMH* no. 22 (October), 1935. All captions are direct or slightly changed quotes from *The Analects*, so the translations given here are either verbatim or readjusted versions of James LEGGE’s translation: James LEGGE (transl., comm.): *The Chinese Classics with a Translation, Critical and Exegetical Notes, Prolegomena, and Copious Indexes*, vol. 1: *Confucian Analects. The Great Learning. The Doctrine of the Mean*, 3rd ed., Taipei: SMC Publishing Inc. 1991. Wade-Giles transliteration is changed into Pinyin here for consistency with the rest of the text.

Confucius having visited Nan Zi, Zi Lu was displeased.

The Master said: Do not eat [meat] which was not cut properly...

Qi, by one change, would come to the State of Lu.

The Master said: What the superior man seeks, is in himself. What the mean man seeks, is in others.

The Master said: The study of strange doctrines is injurious indeed!

When there was an abundance of provisions set before him, he would change countenance and rise up.

The Master said: He who offends against Heaven has none to whom he can pray.

The Master said: After the pouring out of the libation, I have no wish to look on!

The Master said: The filial piety nowadays means the support of one's parents, as for dogs and horses!

Well pleased and smiling, Confucius said: Why use an ox knife to kill a fowl!

The Master, when he entered the grand temple (probably by mistake it was the city god's temple), asked about everything.

It is said in the Book of Poetry: We should be apprehensive and cautious, as if on the brink of a deep gulf, as if treading on thin ice.

## Concluding remarks

The cartoons produced in 1930s Shanghai present an eclectic mosaic of situations in which China, its people, and the world found themselves. Perceptions of the West and Russia intertwined with concern for China's misfortunes, and from the frequent news of military clashes on Chinese soil and further away arose the omnipresent fear of a global war which would leave the planet devastated and destroy humankind. The might of warmongers was emphasized by both the weakness of their victims and by the helplessness of international negotiations on peacekeeping and disarmament, as well as by the League of Nations' passivity. The cartoonists did not praise any of the Western powers: neither Communism, nor Fascism, neither liberalism nor capitalism appeared in a favorable light in the *manhua* form. This is in part due to the very nature of caricature, cynical and critical in itself, but

also to the sentiments of Chinese people who felt discriminated against and humiliated by “imperialists” and did not expect any support from the totalitarian regimes either. A cartoon, itself a Western phenomenon, was thus turned against the West by the Chinese. At the same time, the very fact that foreign practices assimilated quite easily into China’s daily life manifested itself in the production and mass popularity of *manhua* magazines and cartoon art. The visual clichés of world affairs (with the narrative of the West interwoven with the rest of the world) and those of foreign presence in China as well as of the life of Westerners abroad were fixed through the foreign medium of the cartoon with ease and readiness.

The inflow of information, including visual materials, allowed the Chinese society to better imagine the world outside its national borders, and the accumulation and absorption of this multitude of information brought with it the illusion of proximity and interconnectedness of events on the planet; comparisons between Abyssinian and Chinese problems as well as depiction of the Earth as a small globe in somebody’s hands demonstrate that for the cartoonists and (to some extent) their readers, China stopped being the only concern. The reconsideration of the foreign world visible through the cartoons provides evidence that the traditional paradigm of civilized center against barbarian periphery changed into a contraposition of peace-seeking humanity against power-hungry belligerents.

