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Two Republican Projects

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Meat avoidance had an important place in Chinese dietary practices, not only as a Buddhist food taboo but also as a popular food ritual.¹ It was ambiguous in the dietetic tradition of the literati elite, often called “life-nurturing” (*yangsheng*) practices, for the maintenance of the individual’s somatic vitality, intellectual acuity, and spiritual fulfilment. These health practices, prioritizing light, pure (*qing*), and bland (*dan*) eating but not excluding animal food,² emerged around the eleventh century and reached maturity in the late imperial period, forming a tradition that is still evolving today, as shown in Volker Scheid’s contribution in this volume.³ The significant point of departure in the modern period from the traditional understanding of life-nurturing foods is the clear-cut dichotomy between vegetal and animal foods that redefines good and bad food choices in a new, scientific language. Vegetal foods are more digestible, thus “light” and better for health. The modern scientific explanation of the nutritional benefits to the individual of vegetarian foods, moreover, was readily extended to national health in terms of economic development and cultural identity at the turn of the twentieth century, in a discourse formulated by political elite with a scholarly background.

However, this modern version of vegetarianism reformulated as a hygienic and patriotic dietetic practice gradually lost its appeal in the late

1920s as attention was turning to China's peasantry, now seen as the root of the nation's backwardness. When 80 percent of China's population was made up of peasants thought to be physically and morally inferior, China's modernization seemed doomed. To reform this peasantry by improving their vegetarian diet with more animal protein to maximize energy and moral strength became an urgent task. This shift was concurrent with the appearance of biomedical nutritional science in newly established Chinese universities and research institutions, steadily filled with Western or Western-trained biochemists and nutritionists. These young scientists, unlike the first generation of revolutionaries, did not see any future in China as an agricultural country.

The most common Chinese term for vegetarianism, *sushi* ("plain/modest food"), is an ancient term that could be traced back to the oldest classics. In dietetic texts it was often used to designate ordinary, plain, largely but not exclusively plant-based food.⁴ In probably the most influential life-nourishing text of the late imperial period, *Eight Chapters on Venerating Life* (1591), on the ideal lifestyle of elite literati, food was ranked according to its importance for a literatus' well-being in the following order—tea and water, congee, meat and alcohol, sweet cakes, fruit—showing the priority but not the exclusivity of plant-based food in an ideal diet. This text reiterates the key concepts of a healthy diet, bland (*dan*) and light (*bo*): "Blandness is relative to strong taste. It is like eating plain [*su*] foods after too much fat and alcohol [has been consumed]. . . . Strong taste damages health without people knowing."⁵ To live a healthy, long life thus required making moral choices between modesty and excess, refinement and vulgarity, control and indulgence, but not necessarily between plant and animal foods. Meat held only a relatively marginal place in traditional dietetics.⁶

Another term increasingly used for vegetarian diets in the early twentieth century, *shushi* (plant food), also an old term in classical texts,⁷ on the contrary, clearly designates vegetal foods. The interchangeability of *shushi* and *sushi* in this period indicates an increasing confusion between "plain food" and plant-based food. I would argue that the new "scientist" language on food, nutrition, and body, and the emerging concern of "national" health for a China to be industrialized were the two key developments that fundamentally reformulated the moral meanings of vegetarian *sushi* diets in opposition to a meat-based diet, a dichotomy that did not exist in traditional lay Chinese society.⁸

Modern Life-Nourishing Vegetarianism

The first generation of Chinese vegetarian activists, all from literati background but with Western training, found traditional life-nurturing practices highly relevant to China's quest for modernity. The pioneer and the most influential among them was the cosmopolitan Malay-born Cantonese statesman Wu Tingfang (1842–1922), a prominent lawyer and diplomat trained in Britain in the 1870s, who served the Hong Kong colonial government, as well as the late Qing and the Republican governments.⁹ Wu made a series of efforts during the last decade of the Qing to raise the profile of vegetarianism by detaching it from Buddhism, associating it with science, and exploring ways to make it marketable. He had famously tried to persuade Empress Cixi to go vegetarian to improve her health but without success.¹⁰ After the Republican Revolution in 1911, he continued his activism in Shanghai, where he published his *New Method for Prolonging Life* (*Yanshou xinfā*) in 1914, which echoed basic concepts of the *yangsheng* tradition but with new justifications based on his take of biomedical knowledge. In this text, Wu first provided an account of biomedical anatomy and warned that blood vessels and the digestive system could be blocked and weakened by excessive, indigestible foods. The most digestible foods, he said, were “all those that grow on soil because these are nourished by air and especially by the sun. . . . Fruit, vegetables, cereals and beans all rely on the sun to grow and are most suitable for humans. . . . Whereas beef and mouton are fat and heavy, and fish, shrimps and shellfish stink mud dirt [i.e., they stink like muddy dirt].” Compared to the light and pure stuff [*qingqing zhi pin*], [animal foods] are full of residues and hard to digest, definitely harmful for the free flow within the stomach and the intestines.”¹¹

The principles of traditional life-nourishing practices persisted here, as shown by the repeated use of adjectives like “light and pure” to qualify the best foods, now unequivocally meaning plant-based foods. The traditional aversion toward “fat and heavy” foods was explained in terms of “toxins” in meats. The traditional literati's food preferences were thus given new, “scientific” justifications. Wu ended the section on the vegetarian diet by giving examples of European prize-winning vegetarian athletes to prove that humans did not need meat to cultivate physical strength. For him the increasing popularity of the vegetarian diet was self-explanatory, as “vegetarian diets are the best medicine.”¹² Using medicine and examples of the

industrialized West to justify a vegetarian diet, Wu subtly made a clear distinction between modern vegetarianism and Buddhist meat avoidance, a taboo considered irrelevant to the modern Chinese state.¹³

Wu's younger friend, scholar and political activist Li Shizeng (1881–1973), further developed Wu's mission and became the most systematic publicist of scientific vegetarianism in early twentieth-century China. Li was from a prominent family of scholar officials, and in 1902 went to study biochemistry in Paris, where he was converted to anarchism and became a supporter of the Republican Revolution. He was also known for his research on the chemistry of the soybean and for the bean curd factory he set up in Paris in 1908.¹⁴ A long essay he wrote in the 1910s titled "On Meat-Eating" (*Rou shi lun*) was probably the most comprehensible history of vegetarianism in the West at the time.¹⁵ The focus of the article was on the "scientific view on vegetarianism" in which Li privileged the chemical over Wu's physiological approach: vegetables were better because they contained all the basic nutrients (protein, fat, and especially carbohydrates) and were less toxic, whereas meats were harmful because of poisons such as ptomaine and parasites. Meat was, moreover, a "stimulant" that could harm brain nerves, causing mental diseases. Li concluded by pointing to the economic advantages of growing food plants, as these were much cheaper sources of nutrients, and by suggesting that China, as a vegetarian culture, should not be misled to develop meat industries.¹⁶

Scientific vegetarianism evolving from the *yangsheng* tradition was seen by Wu and Li as a rational choice for China's modern nation-building project. This idea helped to formulate the most important nationalist discourse on state building made by none other than Sun Yat-sen (1866–1925), father of the Chinese Republic shortly after its establishment in 1911, in his *Strategies in State Building*. Sun began with a chapter called "Food and Drink" in which he elaborated on the role of Chinese culinary art in China's nation building: "China is backward in every aspect, except in food and drink. China's achievements in this area are superior to all civilized countries." More specifically he praised Chinese technique in preparing vegetarian foods: "Westerners' recommendation on vegetarian eating is based on scientific knowledge on hygiene and for the purpose of improving life expectancy. Yet their vegetarian foods are not as refined, their culinary art not sophisticated. Therefore enthusiastic vegetarians are often malnourished as their diet is entirely based on vegetables . . . whereas in China, vegetarians eat bean curd, which is actually the "meat"

in vegetarian diets. . . . This is why China is entirely attuned to vegetarian diets even before [Western] scholars made recommendation.”¹⁷

Sun used dietetics as the first of ten examples to illustrate his conviction that what the Chinese lacked was not the ability to do the right thing in transforming China into a modern nation but the “scientific understanding” of such good practices. In the rest of the chapter, like Wu and Li, Sun presented a scientific account of the basic nutritional components of food, and the caloric requirements for various daily tasks. From there Sun reminded his readers of the danger of excessive meat eating common in “advanced civilizations,” and of “the excellence of vegetarian diets in prolonging life” as recognized by modern scientists.¹⁸

The Chinese political elite’s recommendation of a vegetarian diet was not an isolated case but part of a global trend at the time when vegetarianism was emerging first as a spiritual movement reacting to industrialization, and developing into civil campaigns unifying socialists, feminists, and abolitionists in Europe and America. It was in England that the term “vegetarian” was coined and the first Vegetarian Society was formed in 1847.¹⁹ By this time, the movement was gaining ground in America as well, as stated by a prominent American advocate, the physician William Alcott (1798–1859): “Vegetable diet lies at the basis of all reform, whether civil, social, moral, or religious.”²⁰ At the same time, biomedical justifications of vegetarian diets were systematized between the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries in the West.²¹ By the 1920s vegetarianism in Europe was widely seen as a progressive, scientific, and hygienic practice.²² In pre-industrial Asia, however, vegetarianism had a distinct nationalistic take, as there was an element of cultural heritage or national identity associated with the practice, as in the case of Gandhi, who became vegetarian like his parents only after his stay in London in the late 1880s.²³

Popular writings in China on vegetarianism also revealed both a fascination with Western vegetarians’ utopian thought and a yearning for Chinese foods to be scientifically confirmed as good. An outstanding magazine that conveyed such ideas was *Eastern Miscellany* (*Dongfang zazhi*, 1904–1948), a progressive magazine run by leftist intellectuals and famous for its role in introducing encyclopedic world knowledge. In 1917 *Eastern Miscellany* published a series of articles on different aspects of vegetarianism, including one on “natural living” (*tianran shenghuo*) by Zhang Xicen (1889–1969), a Shanghai leftist intellectual and the magazine’s editor. Inspired by the German naturopath Adolph Just’s (1859–1936)

book, *Return to Nature*, this article discussed the harm of meat eating as an “unnatural” diet. Hu Yuzhi (1896–1986), Zhang’s close colleague at the magazine, wrote an article quoting the French socialist Pierre-Joseph Proudhon to suggest a global promotion of vegetarian diets as a strategy to reduce world poverty. Meat consumption by the rich was criticized for having raised the cost of living and further deprived the poor of land needed for the production of cheap and healthy foods.²⁴ Such ideas were reiterated in another article in 1918 by the Harvard-trained rising star in meteorology, Zhu Kezhen (1890–1974), who cited cosmopolitan vegetarian celebrities such as Wu Tingfang, Leo Tolstoy, Sarah Bernhardt, Auguste Rodin, and Robert Lafollette, the US Republican senator, to demonstrate the “progressiveness” of vegetarian eating.²⁵

However, readers’ nationalistic sentiment was certainly satisfied after reading a 1917 translation of an American article in praise of eating rice originally published in a journal called *Health Culture*. This article praised rice as the best of all cereals, as it fed the largest world populations in Africa and Asia at a low cost. Moreover, it went on, “Rice-eating peoples are exceptionally strong. Chinese, in particular, are known for their stamina and industriousness.” The exceptional qualities of rice that fed people in “backward” parts of the world were then contrasted against the adverse effects of “toxic meat” that the author considered unfit for human consumption.²⁶ Such publications of Western origin confirming rice as nutritiously superior to meat certainly helped the valorization of rice as national food for China, as seen in a 1921 university text book on human physiology, in which animal foods were described as of highest nutritional value, but cereals, headed by rice, were defined as “indispensable” for all peoples on earth.²⁷ Meat was thus a dispensable luxury, while rice was a necessity.

The impact of the vogue of the vegetarian diet on intellectual youth was illustrated by the request made by a Peking University student to set up a vegetarian canteen. In an open letter in November 1917 to university president Cai Yuanpei (1868–1940), an early anarchist and Esperantist, the student urged the university to promote a frugal and hygienic lifestyle by encouraging vegetarian diets. As meat was both unhygienic and expensive, he further suggested drafting regulations to standardize vegetarian diets, and using the money saved by eliminating meat from meals to help victims of natural disasters. Cai responded positively to the student’s suggestion, encouraging interested students to sign the request.²⁸

Early twentieth-century promotion of a new “scientific” vegetarianism²⁹ was readily translated into activism, as shown by Li Shizeng’s bean curd factory in Paris and the Peking student’s proposal for vegetarian canteens. But the early popularization of modern Chinese vegetarianism was less a result of pure idealism than of an emerging modern urban culture and market.

Vegetarianism Modern

As the first preacher of Chinese modern vegetarianism, Wu Tingfang was also the first to envision its future in an urban commercial setting. After Wu retired from public service in 1910, he began to promote vegetarianism as an urban, cosmopolitan, and trendy lifestyle. He established the first vegetarian society in Shanghai, the Society for Sensible Diet and Hygiene (Shenshi Weisheng Hui), with Li Shizeng in September 1910, a year before the Republican Revolution, to campaign for vegetarianism, and began to experiment on new vegetarian cuisine in a restaurant, known in Chinese as Micaili. The society, with a branch at the Biology Society in Paris, was housed in Wu’s own residence, where members met for biweekly public lectures.³⁰ Micaili was a short-lived Western restaurant in Shanghai, at the Hôtel des Colonies in the French Concession, on Avenue Edward VII (today’s Yanan East Road), the most dashing part of Shanghai before the fall of the Qing.³¹

This Shanghai modern vegetarian eatery, created some forty years after the first European vegetarian restaurants,³² was new for China in many ways. It was the first vegetarian restaurant in China experimenting with new styles of cuisine. Being part of a trendy French hotel defined the nature of this “modern” vegetarian restaurant as completely different from old-fashioned Buddhist vegetarian meals served in monasteries. The radical nature of the adventure, like that of Li Shizeng’s bean curd factory in Paris,³³ however, also explained its short life. A 1924 study on this ambitious venture provides an explanation: “It was a period of revolutionary changes [when] new and Western diets were being experimented, including vegetarian cuisine. . . . Mr. Wu Tingfang established a vegetarian restaurant in Shanghai [to teach people about vegetarian foods] some twenty years ago. However [it failed because] people at the time were [not ready and] strongly opposed to radical food changes.”³⁴

The article continued to explain that, some twelve years later, a vegetarian restaurant called Gongdelin set up by Shanghai celebrities in the artistic and business circles in 1922, was much more successful, because people were then ready to try new culinary flavors in this “democratic age.” The restaurant had three objectives: to make a profit, to demonstrate the superiority of vegetarian food, and to familiarize people with Buddhist principles. “It welcomes foreign clients, and focusing on promoting vegetarianism, it plans to stop using animal names [for vegetarian dishes].” The key to its success was its superb cuisine that made vegetables “taste like meat,” and its innovative menu created by famous chefs recruited from major monasteries in the region.³⁵ The owners of this restaurant succeeded especially in turning the restaurant into a prestigious venue for trendy cultural events and high society gatherings.³⁶ News on the restaurant was frequently reported in Shanghai’s *Shenbao* newspaper, which published its first press conference in the spring of 1922, followed by reports on meetings of various Shanghai business, artistic, and cultural groups in the restaurant throughout the 1920s and 1930s.³⁷ Ding Fubao (1874–1952), a successful popular medical writer and publisher in Shanghai, initiated a highly publicized weekly “rice-meal gathering” (*fanhui*) at the restaurant from 1923 onward to promote vegetarian living, triggering a trend of vegetarian restaurants in major Chinese cities.³⁸

Smart marketing of commercial vegetarian enterprises was made more effective with popular scientific nutritional discourse justifying the practice in the media. Vegetarianism in Shanghai found its most effective spokesmen in two American doctors, Dr. Harry Willis Miller (1879–1977) and Dr. Arthur Selmon (1877–1931), both Seventh-day Adventists working in China since 1903. Miller was influential in Shanghai as director of and nutritionist at the Shanghai Sanitarium from 1925 until the Second Sino-Japanese War. Widely known in Chinese as Dr. Mi-le-er and Dr. Shi-Lie-min, respectively, both were prolific writers of books and articles translated in Chinese, and respected as scientific authorities on the vegetarian diet. The media, however, kept silent on their religious background.³⁹

Miller, an old China hand, was known for the “universal diet” he designed for the Sanitarium, consisting of a core made up of whole-wheat bread, half-polished rice, and “nutritious milk” based on soybeans, and for his interest in experimenting with Chinese Buddhist culinary art in enhancing the flavor of such a diet.⁴⁰ His reputation in nutritional science was further boosted with the Chinese translation of his book *The Way to*

Health, published in Shanghai in 1932 with a preface penned by the much-respected British-trained doctor Wu Lien-teh (1879–1910), then director of the National Quarantine Service. The book notably contained a chapter on eating vegetables that was often reproduced in Chinese magazines. Miller started by correcting the “wrong idea commonly held by Asians” that the strength and wealth of Western civilizations came from their meat-eating traditions. On the contrary, he noted, “From my 30-year experience as a doctor . . . I am convinced that abstinence from meat is beneficial to health” and that “Vegetarian populations usually have longer life span.” Physiologically, he added, the human body was designed to consume cereal, fruits, and vegetables but not meat. Wu Lien-teh particularly praised Miller’s discussions on vegetarian eating as “thorough” and concrete, “well adapted to China’s customs.”⁴¹ Selmon’s book *Health and Longevity*, however, was first translated into Chinese in 1917 and had at least eleven reeditions until 1928, four years after he left China.⁴²

Miller also spoke through the radio to promote vegetarianism, and his ideas were frequently cited in both medical journals and popular Buddhist magazines.⁴³ Miller was often quoted by Chinese vegetarian activists to justify the practice of vegetarianism as scientific, as were also John Harvey Kellogg, Miller’s mentor in the Adventist Church and creator of American breakfast cereal, Selmon, and other Western champions of vegetarianism.⁴⁴ Ding Fubao reassured his readers in 1940 that “in America and Germany, vegetarianism is a very powerful trend.”⁴⁵

Clearly by the early 1920s all the ingredients in the recipe for modern Chinese vegetarian living imagined by Sun Yat-sen were in place: soy milk (see Jia-Chen Fu’s chapter in this volume on the development of this food) and bean curd were celebrated as modern “national” foods, national culinary art performed in chic urban vegetarian restaurants was universally acclaimed, biomedical theories on the benefits of vegetarian diets propagated by biomedical celebrities were widely publicized, and a devoted and creative urban business class was ready to invest in the business. Vegetarian diets were also seasoned with universal socialistic utopianism, becoming part of a trendy intellectual lifestyle. Old-fashioned religious ideas associated with vegetarianism and incompatible with the secular Republic were conveniently camouflaged in a scientific vocabulary seamlessly built into flourishing businesses run by lay Buddhist entrepreneurs. However, such success could not reverse the growing antivegetarian movement that emerged in the late 1920s.

Crippling Protein-Deficient Vegetarianism

Beginning in the late 1920s, a totally different view of the Chinese vegetarian diet and a highly publicized plea for more consumption of animal foods, including milk (as described in Hilary Smith's chapter in this volume) began to gain momentum.⁴⁶ A key figure in this mounting campaign was the US-trained biochemist Wu Xian (Wu Hsien, 1893–1959), whose 1927 article “Chinese Diet in the Light of Modern Knowledge of Nutrition” had a huge international and national impact.⁴⁷ This article, inspired by an influential American book, *A Newer Knowledge of Nutrition* (1925) by Elmer McCollum and Nina Simmonds,⁴⁸ powerfully demonstrated Chinese diets to be dangerously deficient. Wu highlighted the lack of meat in the average diet observed in social surveys previously done by William Adolph, biochemistry professor at Yenching University, and by himself on dietaries of agricultural “middle-class families” in northern China. According to his strong-worded conclusion, “It is evident that in the Chinese diet there is little margin of safety with regard to the protein factor.” “The Chinese diet is far from being satisfactory if not decidedly inadequate,” he wrote, because the amount of animal protein consumed was inferior not only to Westerners but even to the Japanese. More significant still, Wu had a different historical explanation: vegetarian diets were not “traditional” Chinese practice as claimed by Li Shizeng and Sun Yat-sen. He blamed agricultural development and Buddhism for introducing vegetarian eating in China. For Wu, ancient nomadic Chinese consumed more meat and were taller, stronger, and lived longer than modern Chinese. The unfortunate shift to vegetarian eating, especially under Buddhist influence, had made Chinese totally unfit for modern life, as they are now “small in stature . . . with a higher mortality . . . [and] low vital resistance. . . . They are non-persevering, non-progressive, non-enterprising, and are easily contented.” Wu urged that modern Chinese should fully develop their inherited potentialities to face the challenge of competitive modern living by adopting biomedical nutrition, the goal of which was precisely “the optimum and not the minimum.” To optimize energy and power, he believed, one should eat more meat.⁴⁹

In 1927 Wu began a series of laboratory experiments on rats at Peking Union Medical College (PUMC) to demonstrate his points. He published his first article on the experiment, “Growth of Rats on Vegetarian Diets,” in 1928. Feeding four-week old albino rats vegetarian diets consisting of

cereals, legumes, and vegetables common in North China, Wu observed that the rate of growth of these rats was about half of that of the stock rats on a high-animal-protein diet. The vegetarian rats had “normal growth . . . with no sign of any abnormality,” he wrote, but “the young of the second generation are undersized.” He thus concluded, “Optimum nutrition of human beings cannot be obtained with purely vegetarian diet.”⁵⁰ Wu continued the experiments on the impact of vegetarian diets on the reproduction, metabolism, growth, and physical measurement of rats from 1929 until at least 1938, and each time he found that the vegetarian rats underperformed.⁵¹

Wu Xian’s background explained his strong opinion on the dietetic origin of moral flaws. He was one of the best Western-trained scientists of his generation, with a strong classical background: after taking one of the last civil service examinations at age eleven, he attended a modern secondary school in 1906. In 1911 he was granted a Boxer Indemnity Scholarship and went abroad to study at MIT, and obtained a PhD in physiological chemistry at Harvard in 1919. He returned to China in 1920 and began a brilliant career at the PUMC with a research project on the denaturation of protein and was promoted to full professor in 1928.⁵² Wu’s views on diet and race were those of a typical May Fourth intellectual, and were probably reinforced by mainstream American discourse during his study abroad in the 1910s.⁵³ He might have come across the popular booklet published by the American Federation of Labor in 1906, *Meat vs Rice: American Manhood and Chinese Coolieism*.⁵⁴ He nurtured a passionate urge to lift China from its low moral state up to Western standards. This was a position he shared with leading cultural leaders of the time, especially humanists Hu Shih (1891–1962) and Fu Sinian (1896–1950), with whom he created the influential magazine *Independent Opinions* (*Duli pinglun*), where he published short articles to educate a broader public with his passionate, nonscientific prose, including notes and observations made during his social surveys.

Such surveys were carried out by scientists in the 1920s to provide “hard facts” on the nutritional status of the Chinese, especially the peasantry, and to propose scientific solutions.⁵⁵ Wu began to carry out such surveys in 1928,⁵⁶ and continued to work with educator James Yen (1890–1990) on the Mass Education Movement’s program for nutrition improvement in Ding Xian in the early 1930s.⁵⁷ These social surveys were carried out mainly with American Boxer Indemnity funds administered in

China.⁵⁸ Wu Xian began with a survey on “middle-class families” in Peking, followed by a series done in Shanghai and Nanking. In his book on nutrition in China, he listed fourteen surveys conducted between 1923 and 1936 by nutritionists and sociologists to study the nutritional status of different social groups (e.g., workers of different industries, peasants in different regions, university students, middle-school children in different regions). Mostly published in new, scientific journals in China, these social surveys became some of the most authoritative social knowledge production sources of the period.⁵⁹

Wu’s popular writings in *Duli pinglun*, based on his surveys in Ding Xian and the Peking region, however, sentimentally articulated unspoken points built into his scientific articles on the harm of vegetarian diets. In a 1932 article, for instance, he accused “Buddhist superstitions” of turning vegetarian diets into a virtuous practice in China resulting in the Chinese dislike of meat, which was the cause of national “cowardice.” For Wu, the solution to the disastrous consequences of this unfortunate historical development could only be found in science: “While heredity could not be reversed, nutrition could be improved.”⁶⁰ Even the apparent physical force of the peasant workers he encountered did not shake his conviction of the intrinsic flaws of vegetarian diets. He commented on a robust sedan-chair bearer fed on baked cereal cakes with dried vegetables: “His strength and perseverance seemed tremendous, which is a bit strange. But don’t be mistaken, [these people] were trained to appear so. Their body may not be healthy. Had they eaten like us, they would even have been bigger and stronger.”⁶¹ His experience in impoverished Ding Xian led him to conclude about its vegetarian peasants (which represented 80 percent of China’s population), “This impoverished, ignorant, drained, and selfish China needed a strong government to re-educate. When on earth will we become strong and prosperous?”⁶² Wu’s popular writings had great impact on contemporary social Darwinists determined to improve the Chinese race.⁶³

This intensifying wave of “scientific” attack on Chinese vegetarian diets culminated in the 1938 publication of the article “Vegetarian China” by the above-mentioned William Adolph, in the influential journal *Scientific American*, which would have at least five different Chinese translations in popular science magazines.⁶⁴ This article was a summary of research done in China on the topic by Wu Xian and Adolph himself,⁶⁵ focusing on the low animal content of the Chinese diet. Its publication in a major American

scientific magazine greatly increased the international visibility of China's wartime nutritional problem. The article began by stating exactly the opposite of what Ding Fubao said at the same time, that "as an accepted nutritional regimen, pure vegetarianism is on the wane." Adolph began by first giving credit to the "unconscious" vegetarian dietary strategy of the Chinese peasantry practiced over thousands of years, describing it as economical, practical, and sufficient. He then reiterated the points that Wu Xian had already made in the 1927 article on the new *optimum* goal of nutrition and urged China to industrialize quickly in order to release land for the production of more nutritious animal foods. Like Wu, he highlighted the importance of an improved diet for "greater vigor, increased longevity, and a higher level of cultural development" for China.⁶⁶ Wu's 1927 article clearly and unprecedentedly established the link between vegetarianism and China's inferior culture, a sensitive issue that Western scientists now felt safe to elaborate on. The condemnation of vegetarianism at this historical moment was in keeping with the image in the West of Asian bodies as malnourished and deficient.⁶⁷

This affirmation contrasts interestingly with Adolph's earlier (1923) uncertainty about the necessity for more meat in the Chinese diet,⁶⁸ and is also in disagreement with John Lossing Buck's statement in 1930 that there was a downward trend in the amount of land devoted to animal raising even in the United States, and that "whether or not China is producing too few animals for the best interests of health and national economy is still an open question."⁶⁹ Luo Dengyi (1906–2000), a younger US-trained nutritionist, also had a more nuanced stance in 1931, suggesting that vegetarianism was more advantageous to the national economy and had the welcome effect of subduing the excessive sexual drive of the young, even though animal food provided better protein for physical growth.⁷⁰

Wu Xian's pledge to transform China by increasing animal protein in the diet received a boost during the anti-Japanese war (1937–1945), when, as Michael Liu shows in his chapter in this volume, providing sufficient protein to the military became a critical issue for fighting a difficult war. The challenge was increasingly taken up by younger China-trained biochemists such as Hou Xiangchuan (1899–1982, PUMC in 1924), Zheng Ji (1900–2010, Central University in 1928), and a few others. They later formed professional groups during the escalation of military conflict with Japan, notably the Committee on Nutrition (1936) of the Chinese Medical Association that published the first report on the "minimum nutritional

requirement for China” in 1938, attempting to set national standards in this period of great crisis.⁷¹ Wu himself published a book on the nutritional components of all foods in 1940, which included long sections on various meats.⁷² He was soon to head the Nutrition Department of the National Institute of Health of the Republican wartime government that set up toward the end of the war in 1945 a Committee of People’s Nutritional Improvement with leading nutritionists of the time, including Wu, Zheng, and Hou, and PUMC’s Robert Lim (1897–1969) and Adolph as advisors.⁷³ By then the Republic had completely turned away from the national dietary plans envisioned by its founding father, Sun Yat-sen, relying exclusively on the expertise of Western-trained biochemical nutritionists for its nation-building project.

Abortive Vegetarian Modernity?

The discussions on vegetarianism in the first half of the twentieth century captured with precision important historical moments in the state-building process of Republican China, articulating in a scientific language the shifts in the way this young nation, emerging from an old civilization, imagined itself engaging with the modern world.

The long and complex history of non-Buddhist “life-nourishing” techniques in China made early Republican political elites particularly receptive to modern “scientific” vegetarianism. In it they saw their cultural heritage justified by new science, great opportunities for China’s superior culinary technique that could “make vegetables taste like meat,” recognition of the nutritional values of “national” grains and plants such as rice and soya, and a smooth transition from the traditional to the new political order for literati elites. Vegetarianism could even be nicely packaged to become lucrative businesses in modern cities.

However, more significant than anything else for the Chinese, new biochemical nutritional science radically reformulated the value of meat: it could be poisonous, but it also provided the highest-quality energy-generating protein. Nutritional science thus framed meat as a distinct category, whereas in Chinese traditional life-nourishing practices it occupied only a marginal place in a wide spectrum of foods. With meat becoming the most obvious measure of dietetic value, its absence in the poor man’s diet was soon perceived to be China’s major problem.

Research and surveys on the Chinese diet, revealed as dangerously vegetarian, and the promotion of meat eating became a logical part of a more radical nation-building project that was to deliberately break with old agricultural traditions in order to accelerate industrialization. The war facilitated closer collaboration between Western-trained scientists and the government to improve diets for the peasants and for the soldiers, for a more competitive modern China.

Nutritional “deficiency” predicated on the lack of animal protein obsessed Chinese scientists and informed revolutionary discourse from the late 1920s well into the postwar period. While vegetarianism probably continued to attract urban elites as an individual dietetic practice, it had lost its earlier appeal as an option for a modern, strong China. It had to wait until the early twenty-first century to attempt a comeback.⁷⁴

Notes

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1. Meat avoidance is still widely observed in China by lay society on important occasions such as mourning, or when making a wish of great consequence. The moralistic aspects of meat avoidance is shown in a psychological study: Paul Rozin, Maureen Markwith, and Caryn Stoess, “Moralization and Becoming a Vegetarian: The Transformation of Preferences into Values and the Recruitment of Disgust,” *Psychological Science* 8, no. 2 (1997): 67–73.

2. On the principles of traditional elitist diets, see Françoise Sabban, “La diète parfaite d’un lettré retiré sous les Song du Sud,” *Etudes chinoise* 16, no. 1 (1997): 7–57. This tradition continued well into the late imperial period. In a sixteenth-century dietetic text (see note 5), the principles of a good diet included moderation. Meat avoidance was considered good for cultivating a peaceful mind, but not a necessity for a good diet.

3. On the more contemporary engagement of the art of nurturing life, see Judith Farquhar, *Appetites: Food and Sex in Post-Socialist China* (Durham, NC: Duke University Press, 2002), 216–263.

4. On an important sixth-century agricultural text, *Qimin yaoshu* (Essential techniques for governing the people), in which the section on *sushi* includes animal food, see the example given in Sabban, “La diète parfaite,” 9. The Song dietetic text analyzed by Sabban was a recipe book of mostly but not exclusively vegetarian dishes.

5. Gao Lian, *Zun sheng ba jian* (Eight chapters on the ways to foster life), 1591 (Beijing: Remin weisheng chubanshe 1994), *juan* 11, 381–382.

6. Françoise Sabban, “La viande en Chine: Imaginaire et usages culinaires,” *Anthropozoologica* 18 (1993): 79–90.

7. *Shushi* was also used in a short southern dietetic text discussed by Sabban, the *Benxinzhai shushi pu* (Vegetarian recipes from True Mind Study); see Sabban, “La diète parfaite,” 10.

8. For a thorough discussion on “scientism” in modern China, see Grace Y. Shen, “Scientism in the Twentieth Century,” in *Modern Chinese Religion II: 1850–2015*, ed. V. Goossaert, J. Kiely, J. Lagerwey (Leiden: Brill, 2015), 1:91–140.

9. See Wu’s biography in Linda Pomarantz-Zhang, *Wu Tingfang (1842–1922): Reform and Modernization in Modern Chinese History* (Hong Kong: Hong Kong University Press, 1992).

10. Wu Tingfang, “Weisheng xinfu cuoya” (The essentials of the new hygienic method), *Zhongxi yixue bao* 9 (1910): 1–6.

11. Wu Tingfang, “Weisheng xinfu cuoya.”

12. Wu Tingfang, “Yanshou xinfu” (1914), in *Wu Tingfang ji* (Collected writings by Wu Tingfang), ed. Y. J. Ting and Z. F. Yu (Beijing: Zhonghua shuju, 1993) 2:542–543. Wu had published an earlier similar but obscure text, *Vegetarian hygiene* (*Sushi weishengxue*), annotated by Ding Fubao (repr., n.p.: Weisheng xueshe, 1914).

13. See Vincent Goossaert, “1898: The Beginning of the End for Chinese Religions?” *Journal of Asian Studies* 65, no. 2 (2006): 307–335.

14. He Baoshan, “Li Shizeng xiansheng yu Gaoyang Qi jia,” *Zhuanji wenxue* 57, no. 6 (1999): 36.

15. This work was published only in 1930 when Li recovered his original manuscript from a friend. See “Rou shi lun” in *Guoli Beiping yanjiuyuan yuan wu huibao* (Journal of the National Academy of Beijing) 1, no. 1 (1930): 1–15. This article is reprinted in *Li Shizeng xiansheng wenji* (Works by Mr Li Shizeng) (Taipei: Zhongguo guomindang dangshi weiyuan hui, 1980), 263–278.

16. Li, “Rou shi lun,” 4–11.

17. Sun Wen, *Sun Zhongshan quanshu* (Complete works by Sun Yat-sen), vol. 2, *Jianquo fanglue* (Strategies in state building), (1919; repr., Shanghai: Guangyi shuju, 1927), 1–3.

18. Sun, *Sun Zhongshan quanshu*, 7.

19. James Whorton, “Vegetarianism,” in *Cambridge World History of Food*, ed. Kenneth F. Kiple (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press 2000), 1558.

20. Donna Maurer, *Vegetarianism: Movement or Moment?* Philadelphia, PA: Temple University Press, 2002, 26.

21. For the movement in the United States, see Richard Shryock, “Sylvester Graham and the Popular Health Movement, 1830–1870,” *Mississippi Valley Historical Review* 18, no. 2 (September 1931): 172–183. The US movement would have a great influence on Chinese activists; see Whorton, “Vegetarianism,” 1557, 1560–1561.

22. Ulrike Thomas, “Vegetarianism, Meat, and Life Reform in Early Twentieth-Century Germany and Their Fate in the ‘Third Reich,’” in *Meat, Medicine and Human Health in the Twentieth Century*, ed. David Cantor, Christian Bonah and Matthias Dörries (London: Pickering and Chatto, 2010), 148–152. Deborah Lupton, *Food, the Body, and the Self*. London: Sage 1996, 123–124. Li Shizeng also noted the trend, see Li, “Rou shi lun,” 4.

23. Stephen Hay, “The Making of a Late-Victorian Hindu: MK Gandhi in London, 1888–1891,” *Victorian Studies* (Autumn 1989): 75–98; Tristram Stuart, *The Bloodless Revolution: A Cultural History of Vegetarianism from 1600 to Modern Times* (New York: W. W. Norton & Company, 2006), 425. On the impact of Indian immigrants on British

vegetarianism, see Jon Gregerson, *Vegetarianism: A History* (Fremont, CA: Jain Publishing Company, 1994), 77.

24. Jun Shi, "Tianran shenghuo" (Natural life), *Dongfang zazhi*, 14, no. 4–5 (1917): 89–98, 81–92; Yu Zhi, "Su shi yu jingji wenti" (Vegetarian diet and economic problems), *Dongfang zazhi* 14, no. 10 (1917): 83–84. Zhang Xicen (Jun Shi) wrote a number of articles on healthy eating in the magazine in this period clearly to promote vegetarianism.

25. Zhu Kezhen, "Shi su yu shi hun zhi lihailun" (Pros and cons of eating vegetables and meat), *Dongfang zazhi* 15, no. 11 (1918): 170–172.

26. Ren fu, trans., "Mishi hu? Ruoshi hu?" (Rice-eating or meat-eating?), *Dongfang zazhi* 14, no. 4 (1917): 177–180.

27. Xue Deyu, *Renti shengli weisheng xue tiyao* (Outline of human physiology and hygiene) (Shanghai: Shangwu yinshuguan, 1921), 49–52.

28. "Xuesheng sushi zhi tiyi" (A student's suggestions on vegetarianism), *Beijing daxue ri kan*, November 25, 1917, 3–4.

29. Arif Dirlik, "Vision and Revolution: Anarchism in Chinese Revolutionary Thought on the Eve of the 1911 Revolution," *Modern China* 12, no. 2 (1986): 123–165, especially 155–161, where Dirlik evokes Buddhist ideals and scientism in the anarchists' radicalism.

30. "Shenshi weisheng hui" (Society for sensible diet and hygiene), *Zhongxi yixuebao* 6 (1910): 1–3, especially 2 on the establishment of the restaurant in article 3. See also the report on the inaugural meeting of the Society and the Society's regulations in "Ji Shenshi weisheng hui kaiyi shi" (Report on the inaugural meeting of the Society for sensible diet and hygiene), *Shaoxing yiyao xuebao* 23 (1910): 12.

31. Chen Dingshan, *Chunshen jiuwen* (Reminiscence of Shanghai) (Taipei: Chenguang yuekan chubanshe, 1964), 190. Chen Dingshan (1897–1987) was the son of famous Shanghai early industrialist and novelist Chen Deixian (1879–1940).

32. The first European vegetarian restaurants were set up in the 1870s; see Whorton, "Vegetarianism," 1559.

33. Li's factory suffered loss and had to survive on government subsidy during World War I. See Li Huang, "Liu Fa qingong jianxue de lilun yu shiji" (Theory and practice of the work-study program in France), *Zhuanji wenxue* 16, no. 6 (1970): 23.

34. "Shanghai sushi zhi shiyan" (Experiments on vegetarian diets in Shanghai), trans. Li Zhonghe, *Lingnan nongke daxue nongshi yuekan* 2, no. 9 (1924): 22.

35. "Shanghai sushi zhi shiyan," 22–23. See Chen Jianhua's work on the recruitment of vegetarian chefs, "Huangyan ren chuangan Shanghai Gongdelin," (A native of Huangyan created Gongdelin), "Huangyan xinwenwang," December 30, 2015, accessed October 15, 2016, <http://hynews.zjol.com.cn>.

36. They were prominent Shanghai cultural and business elite known for their lay Buddhism. The biggest shareholders were the Jian brothers (Zhaonan [1870–1923] and Yujie [1875–1957], owners of a major tobacco company). For the complete list of shareholders, see the 1934 document on the belated registration of the "Xu Yongzuo kuaiji-shi shiwusuo guanyu Gondelin gongsi boxing dengji" (About the belated registration of Gondelin Company by the Xu Yongzuo Accounting Office), Gondelin Company, Q92-1-171(3): 3–4, 25–28, Shanghai Municipal Archive, Shanghai Municipal Archive, Shanghai. Most of them belonged to the newly established (1918) Buddhist Lodge of Laity (Jushi Lin) in Shanghai. "Shijie fojiao Jushi Lin zuzhi gangyao caoyi yuanqi"

(Origin and Draft of the Organization of the global Buddhist Jushi Lin), *Shijie fojiao Jushi Lin Lin Kan*, 1 (1923): 1–8.

37. More notable events included the reception of the Indian poet Rabindranath Tagore in April 1924 hosted by Commercial Press; the Japanese poet Satō Haruo hosted by the Liangyou Group with the presence of prominent writers such as Yu Dafu, Tian Han, Ouyang Yuqian, and so on. See clips in the Shanghai daily newspaper *Shenbao*, “Gondelin Shushichu zuowan yanqing baojie” (Gondelin Vegetarian Restaurant hosted the media last night), August 29, 1922, 15; “Ge tuanti huanying Tai-Ge-Er choubei hui ji” (Social groups met to organize the welcoming party for Tagore), April 15, 1924, 14; “Xiangren jiji choumu zhenkuan, Jinri zai Gondelin” (Hunanese enthusiastically donated relief charity money today at the Gondelin) July 20, 1924, 14; “Gongdelin xinzhi su yuebing” (Gongdelin makes new vegetarian mooncakes) August 25, 1924, 21; “Gondelin de yige wanshang” (One night at the Gongdelin), July 24, 1927, 23; “Gongdelin Shushichu yanke” (A banquet at the Gondelin Vegetarian Restaurant), October 26, 1930, 16.

38. Ding organized a weekly “congee gathering” in his home in the 1920s and a “Wednesday rice-meal gathering” at Gongdelin beginning in 1923 to promote vegetarianism in Shanghai. Qian Huafo, *Sanshi nian lai zhi Shanghai* (Shanghai in the past thirty years) (repr., Shanghai: Shanghai shudian 1984), 53–55. On Ding’s conversion to vegetarianism and his activism, see Liu Xuan, “Tongsu zhishi yu xiandai xing: Ding Fubao yu jindai Shanghai yixue zhishi de dazong chuanbo,” PhD diss., Chinese University of Hong Kong, 2013, 110.

39. The Adventist Church recommended abstinence from meat, alcohol, tobacco, and illegal drugs. Miller was a follower of another Adventist, John Harvey Kellogg, known for his creation of the modern American breakfast-food industry. A loyal friend of Chiang Kai-shek, Miller was to establish the Adventist hospital in Taiwan after the war. See Raymond Moore, *China Doctor: The Life Story of Marry Willis Miller* (New York: Harper & Brothers, 1962), 36, 201–202.

40. Moore, *China Doctor*, 126–128.

41. Mi Le Er, *Jiankang shenghuo* (Healthy living) (Shanghai: Shizhao baoguan, 1932), 67–68, 72, 73.

42. The publisher of his translated book, titled *Yannian yishou* (Health and longevity), is a major Christian book publisher in Shanghai, the Shizhao Baoguan (Signs of the Time Publishing House).

43. Mi Le Er, “Mi Le Er boshi lun sushi zhi yi” (The benefits of vegetarian diets by Dr. Miller), in *Guangxi weisheng xun kan* 2, no. 13 (1934): 24; Mi Le Er, “Xiandai kexue jie zhi sushi guan” (Vegetarianism from the perspective of modern science), *Luo han cai* 64 (1940): 395–399.

44. Ding Fubao, “Caishi yu roushi zhi youlei” (Pros and cons of vegetable and meat eating), *Sushi tekan* June (1935): 2–3, 21–22; Ding Fubao, *Shiwu zui jingji fa* (The most economic way of [consuming] food) (Shanghai: Yixue shuju, 1945), 24–25.

45. Ding Fubao, “Shiwu yu zaolao” (Food and early aging), *Zhiye yu xiuyang* 3, no. 8 (1940): 162; *Zhenyang chuanguzao wo de jiankang shenghuo* (How I create my healthy living) (Shanghai: Yixue shuju, 1942), 44.

46. See also Françoise Sabban, “The Taste for Milk in Modern China (1865–1937),” in *Food Consumption in Global Perspective: Essays in the Anthropology of Food in Honour of Jack Goody*, ed. Jakob A. Klein and Anne Murcott (Basingstoke, UK: Palgrave Macmillan, 2014), 182–208, especially 189–190; also Susan Glosser, “Milk for Health, Milk for Profit: Shanghai’s Chinese Dairy Industry under Japanese Occupation,” in

Inventing Nanjing Road: Commercial Culture in Shanghai, 1900–1945, ed. Sherman Cochran (Ithaca, NY: Cornell East Asia Series 103, 1999), 207–233.

47. Published in the *Chinese Social and Political Science Review* (Peking: Chinese Social and Political Science Association, 1927), 11:56–81. A shorter Chinese version appeared in the Peking Union Medical College monthly journal *Xieyi tongshu yuekan* (4, no. 3 [1927]: 1–14) in the same year. There were many requests for offprints of this article; see the three files on Wu Xian in the PUMC Archive in Beijing, 3428 (2) 1931–1960, 3428(3) 1931–1969, 3428 (4) 1931–1969. The work was quoted in T. Swann Harding, “Diet and Disease” *Scientific Monthly* 26, no. 2 (1928): 150–157.

48. Wu cites the 1925 New York edition on 59 of his article.

49. Wu, “Chinese Diet,” 74, 77, 81.

50. Hsien Wu and Daisy Yen Wu, “Growth of Rats on Vegetarian Diets,” *Chinese Journal of Physiology* 2 (April 1928): 173–194, esp. 192.

51. At least four articles were published on his experiments with vegetarian and omnivorous rats in the *Chinese Journal of Physiology* between 1929 and 1938.

52. Mary B. Bullock, *An American Transplant: The Rockefeller Foundation and Peking Union Medical College* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1980), 109n2.

53. See Tse-tsung Chow, *The May Fourth Movement: Intellectual Revolution in Modern China* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1960). Intellectuals growing up in the 1910s and 1920s argued for adopting Western science and democracy to replace traditional Chinese values.

54. Helen Zoe Veit, *Modern Food, Moral Food: Self-Control, Science, and the Rise of Modern American Eating in the Early Twentieth Century* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2013), 190.

55. On the trend of building “hard” objective social facts in Republican China, see Tong Lam, *A Passion for Facts: Social Surveys and the Construction of the Chinese Nation-State, 1900–1949* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2011), especially 149–158.

56. His first report on a survey done in Peking was published in the report series of the same journal in 1928.

57. The movement was heavily subsidized by the Rockefeller Foundation. See Bullock, *American Transplant*, 75n86, 150. Wu Xian sent his scientific work to James Yen and offered to send a collaborator to carry out nutritional experiments in 1930. Letters dated March 27 and May 2, 1930, Folder: Wu Xian 3428 (2), 1931–1960, 104–105, 172, PUMC Archive, Beijing.

58. The fund was administered by the China Foundation (established in 1924). See Yung-chen Chiang, *Social Engineering and the Social Sciences in China, 1919–1949* (Cambridge University Press, 2001), 232; Yang Cuihua, *Zhongzhi hui dui kexue de zanzhu*. (The contribution of the China Foundation to Science) (Taipei: Academia Sinica, Institute of Modern History, 1991), 86, 191; Peter Buck, *American Science and Modern China, 1876–1936* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1980), chap. 7.

59. Wu Xian, *Yingyang gailun* (Overview of nutrition) (Taipei: Commercial Press, 1954), 88. The Henry Lester Institute in Shanghai also published a series of similar surveys in the 1930s not listed by Wu. Lesser-known surveys have recently been republished in the first volume of *Minguo shiqi shehui diaocha congan: Yilao weisheng yu shehui baozhang juan* (Social surveys in the Republican Period: On medicine, hygiene, and social protection) (Fuzhou, China: Haixia chuban faxing jituan, 2014); see especially the wartime social surveys.

60. Wu Xian, "Woguo ren zhi chifan wenti" (Rice-eating problem of our people), *Duli pinglun* 2, no. 2 (1932): 5–19.
61. Tao Ming (Wu Xian), "Miaofeng shan zagan," *Duli pinglun* 240 (1937): 18–19.
62. Tao Ming (Wu Xian), "Dingxian jianwen lu," *Duli pinglun* 4 (1932): 14, 18.
63. See Zhang Junjun, *Minzu jiankang yu yingyang huanjing* (National health and nutritional environment) (Shanghai: Zhonghua shuju, 1943).
64. William H. Adolph, "Vegetarian China," *Scientific American* 159, no. 3 (September 1938): 133–135. The five translations were published between 1940 and 1947.
65. William H. Adolph, "Diet Studies in Shantung," *China Medical Journal* 37 (1923): 1013–1019; William H. Adolph, "A study of North China Diets," *Journal of Home Economics* 17, no. 1 (1925): 1–7.
66. Adolph, "Vegetarian China."
67. Michael Worboys, "The Discovery of Colonial Malnutrition between the Wars," in *Imperial Medicine and Indigenous Societies*, ed. David Arnold (Manchester, UK: Manchester University Press, 1988), 208–225; David Arnold, "The 'Discovery' of Malnutrition and Diet in Colonial India," *Indian Economic and Social History Review* 31, no. 1 (1994): 1–26; Melanie DuPuis, "Angels and Vegetables: A Brief History of Food Advice in America," *Gastronomica* 7, no. 3 (2007): 34–44.
68. In his earlier articles, Adolph was "surprised to discover such a large variety of foodstuffs in the North China dietary," and estimated that "the Oriental suffers less from lack of meat than does the Occidental with his excess," Adolph, "Diet Studies in Shantung," 1016, 1019; Adolph, "Study of North China Diets," 3, 6.
69. J. L. Buck, *Chinese Farm Economy: A Study of 2866 Farms in Seventeen Localities and Seven Provinces in China* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1930), 365.
70. Luo Dengyi, *Shushi lun* (On vegetarianism), *Dongfang zazhi* 28, no. 23 (1931): 51–59.
71. "Minimum Nutritional Requirement for China," Special Report Series no. 10 (Shanghai: Chinese Medical Association, 1938).
72. Wu Xian, *Shiwu chengfen biao* (Tables on food nutrients) (Changsha, China: Commercial Press, 1940).
73. "Quanguo shengchan huiyi jueyi ge an youguan yingyang gailiang" 全國生產會議決意各案有關營養改進 (Resolutions on nutritional improvement at the National meeting on production) for file 028000003172A (1943); "Yingyang yanjiu huiyi gexiang ti'an ji jihua an" 營養研究會議各項提案及計畫案 (Projects and proposals in the Meeting of Nutritional Research [1941]) Academia Historica (Taipei), files 028000003172A (1943), 028000003182A (1941).
74. Vegetarianism has recently become a new trend for educated urbanites in today's China who are concerned with environmental and food safety issues. See the popular book by Ye Ping, *Xin sushi zhuyi: Chengshi guizu shenghuo qunti de yingyang zhexue* (New vegetarianism: The nutritional philosophy for the daily life of urban aristocratic communities) (Beijing: Zhongguo qing gongye chubanshe, 2004), in which Buddhism is rehabilitated.