

A CRITICAL BIBLIOGRAPHY OF RUSSELL'S ADDRESSES AND LECTURES IN CHINA

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This paper is devoted to a bibliographical study of Russell's addresses and lectures in China in 1920–21. In particular, the study focuses on providing a (nearly) complete and correct list of original sources pertaining to them, including speaking dates and translators. There has been, historically, considerable disagreement over the details. Extensive notes discuss and aim at solutions. The study adds significantly to our knowledge of Russell's speaking and teaching activities in China.

I. INTRODUCTION

After accepting an invitation to come to China for a year to give lectures, Bertrand Russell visited China during 1920–21.² About a year before Russell's visit, the May Fourth Movement, which is often—though not uncontroversially—taken to be part of the New Culture Movement starting around 1915 and continuing through the 1920s, was launched in Beijing. The New

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² As noted by SIMPSON (2015), Liang Qichao, the founder of the Chinese Lecture Association, suggested that Russell be invited to give lectures in China. This idea was supported by Zhang Yuanji, head of the Commercial Press. The Press paid for Russell's trip. Russell's letter of invitation was actually written by Fu Tong, Professor of Philosophy at the Government University of Peking (now Peking University), to J. H. Muirhead (Fu's former teacher at Birmingham), saying: "Would you kindly ask Mr Bertrand Russell for us whether he can accept such an invitation as to come to China for a year to give us some lectures?" For more on Russell's trip to China and related topics, see ARGON (2015), DING (2012, 2015), XU (2014), TAN (2013), LI (2010), MONK (1996), ZHU (1996), DONG (1992), FENG (1991, 1994), SCHWARCZ (1991), HU (1983), OGDEN (1982), CLARK (1976), CHAO (1972), and YANG (1921).

Culture Movement expressed Chinese intellectuals' and radical thinkers' enthusiasm for new cultures, especially democracy and science, and the May Fourth Movement turned this culture movement into a political one. Numerous social and political leaders emerged after the May Fourth Movement, and in the meantime China entered into a period in which radical cultural, social, and political changes occurred in the whole country. Russell's visit, together with the visits of several other great thinkers from the Western world such as John Dewey, was not only a contribution to the spread of Western thought in pre-modern China but also part of the forces at the time exploring ways to improve social and political conditions in China.³ The approximately 63 addresses and lectures delivered by Russell during this period of time reflect the two kinds of significant contributions he made. Many of Russell's lectures concerned philosophy, physics, psychology, and mathematical logic, while many others dealt with education and social and political issues.

A few important things about Russell's visit in China should be mentioned. First, Russell, in company with Dora Black, arrived at Shanghai on 12 October 1920 and left Beijing on 11 July 1921 (Dewey left Beijing the same day).⁴ Second, during his visit, Russell spent most of his time in Beijing, starting 31 October 1920, and he lived at No. 2 Sui'anbo Hutong in the eastern part of the city.⁵ Third, Russell fell ill with pneumonia within days of his lecture on education at Baoding Yude Middle School on 14 March 1921, and his illness resulted in the cancelling of several of his lectures.⁶ Zhao Yuanren, Russell's official interpreter, reported this incident in great detail:

On March 14, I went with him to Paoting [Baoding], about 100 miles south of Peking, where he lectured at the Yu Te [Yude] ("Culture Virtue") Middle School on the subject of education. It was still wintry and windy and he lectured as usual without an overcoat while I shivered

³ Henri Bergson was invited but did not visit for some reason. As WANG (2007) points out, the selection of the three represented the ideological interests of three different social and political groups in China at the time: the liberal, the traditionalist, and the socialist. Russell was a hero to the socialist, although, within the camp of the socialist, people still had different opinions about Russell's social and political views. E.g., for a comment on Russell's social and political views from Mao Zedong, see n. 21.

⁴ See YUAN, SUN AND REN (2004); *Papers* 15: xlviij; and FENG, among others.

⁵ See CHAO, DING (2015) and TURCON (2015).

⁶ For more detail on cancelling the lectures due to his illness, see nn. 28, 45 and 48.

beside him even with my overcoat on. Three days after his return to Peking, he ran a high fever and was attended by Dr. Dipper of the German Hospital.... [H]e became worse. March 26 was a black day for me.... The next day Dr. Esser said that Mr. Russell was “more worse”. But by March 29 Miss Black reported that Russell was better. From then on he improved steadily until he was discharged from the hospital and returned to the house. Meanwhile a garbled Japanese report said that Russell had died. When the report reached Russell himself, he said, “Tell them the news of my death was very much exaggerated.”

(CHAO, “With Bertrand Russell in China”, p. 16)

This paper is devoted to a bibliographical study of Russell’s addresses and lectures in China (“RALCs”). In particular, the study focuses on providing a (nearly) complete and correct list of RALCs with extensive notes and commentaries.⁷ To make it easy for readers to study the results, I have compiled a numbered list of RALCs together with their publications, from which readers can easily find information about when and where RALCs were delivered, and when and where they were published as far as we know. Scholars in the English-speaking world might find these results interesting, given that most RALCs have not yet been published in English.

The remainder of the paper is divided into two sections. As preliminaries to the list of RALCs and their publications, I show all the sources that I use in my study of RALCs, including newspapers, periodicals, collections, book series, and so forth (in section II). Abbreviations are introduced and used in my citations of these sources in the subsequent section. Following this, I present a list of RALCs together with their publication (in section III). Meanwhile, when disagreements arise over some details of this list, I discuss (in footnotes) such disagreements and propose solutions. I end by outlining suggestions for further work to improve our understanding of RALCs.

II. SOURCES FOR RUSSELL’S ADDRESSES AND LECTURES

I start with an introduction to these sources, as well as the abbreviations employed in my citations of the RALC sources. For the sources

⁷ Previous work on this list can be seen in DING (2015), FENG (1994), YUAN, SUN AND REN and *Papers* 15, among others. It should be noted that ZHANG (1920) provided an early Chinese bibliography of Russell; see also SCHWARCZ on Zhang (1991).

included in *A Bibliography of Bertrand Russell* (“B&R”), I show (in parentheses or footnotes) the item numbers in that system as well.

Records of RALCs exist in a variety of sources, though most of them only appear in Chinese publications. The first kind of source that I have found concerning RALCs is newspapers and periodicals. Sources of this kind, especially newspapers, are usually very early (or even original) publications of RALCs, since they are always published in a timely manner. They cover not only short addresses but also longer lectures delivered by Russell. Almost all of these sources are written in Chinese. I begin by creating abbreviations for these sources and then present their full titles (in Pinyin and English) and the places where they were published. With respect to the few English publications in this category, I provide only their abbreviations, English titles and places.

- BR: *Beijing Daxue Rikan* [The University Daily], Beijing
 CB: *Chen Bao* [The Morning Post], Beijing
 CD: *Dagong Bao* [Dagong Post], Changsha
 CR: *The Chinese Social and Political Science Review*, Beijing
 DZ: *Dongfang Zazhi* [Eastern Miscellany], Shanghai
 JF: *Jingbao Fukan* [Jing News Supplement], Beijing
 JG: *Jiefang Yu Gaizao* [Liberation and Reformation], Shanghai
 KX: *Kexue* [Science], Shanghai
 LY: *Luosu Yuekan* [Russell Monthly], Shanghai⁸
 MR: *Min'guo Ribao* [The Republican Daily News], Shanghai
 PD: *The Peking Daily News*, Beijing
 PL: *The Peking Leader*, Beijing
 PP: *Pinglun Zhi Pinglun* [The Review of Reviews], Shanghai
 SB: *Shen Bao* [Shen Post], Shanghai
 SZ: *Shaonian Zhongguo* [Young China], Shanghai
 XC: *Xin Chao* [The Renaissance], Beijing
 XZ: *Xin Zhongguo* [New China], Beijing
 ZX: *Zhexue* [Philosophia], Beijing⁹

The second kind of source to be introduced is books, including monographs, collections, book series, and so forth. Many are early publications of RALCs. Nevertheless, unlike the kind of source listed

⁸ This journal, which was published under the editorship of Qu Shiyong by Shanghai's Commercial Press, was one of the key journals to publish RALCs.

⁹ Although most of these sources are mentioned in *B&R*, that referencing system does not employ abbreviations or symbols for newspapers and periodicals.

above, quite a few that I present below are later (or even recent) publications of RALCs, which are sometimes simply reprints of their early versions. One reason for bringing in later sources is that there is little chance of locating many of the preceding early publications.¹⁰ The early publications of RALCs are mostly republished by the hand of editors in later publications. So our knowledge of the former is often obtained from the latter, although I have also checked many of the earlier publications and had reports of Russell's diaries and letters. Another reason is that some of the later published sources include information that can be used in our decisions on when and where RALCs were delivered. All of the second kind of source is presented below, following the style and format of the first kind. But given that the second kind is books, in addition to their abbreviations and titles, I include information about their editors (if any), place, publisher and year of publication. Chinese family names precede given names, following Chinese usage. The year of publication is used as the abbreviation for a publication. For cases in which different publications have the same year, a letter after the year differentiates them.

- 1921a *Zhexue Wenti* [The Problems of Philosophy]. Beijing: Beijing Daxue Xinzhi Shushe [Peking University New Knowledge P.].
- 1921b *Xin Zhi Fenxi* [The Analysis of Mind]. Beijing: Beijing Daxue Xinzhi Shushe [Peking University New Knowledge P.].
- 1921c *Wu Zhi Fenxi* [The Analysis of Matter]. Beijing: Beijing Daxue Xinzhi Shushe [Peking University New Knowledge P.].
- 1921d *Shuli Luoji* [Mathematical Logic]. Beijing: Beijing Daxue Xinzhi Shushe [Peking University New Knowledge P.].
- 1921e *Duwei Luosu Yanjianglu Hekan* [Collected Speeches of Dewey (B&R B10) and Russell]. Zhang Jinglu, ed. Shanghai: Taidong Tushuju [Taidong Book Company].

¹⁰ It is very difficult to get access to the sources from pre-1949 China. Copies of many of these early newspapers can be found in places such as Peking University Libraries (Beijing), Renmin University of China Libraries (Beijing), and Jilin University Libraries (Changchun). The National Library in Beijing has some photocopies of these early newspapers as well. A more efficient way to find these early publications is through the Dacheng Old Journals Database. Scholars based in China usually search pre-1949 sources through such databases as the Dacheng Old Journals Database, the Late-Qing Journals Database based in Shanghai Library, etc., but their collections of old journals are often incomplete. Another widely used index of Chinese books and articles is Duxiu, through which readers can readily find various Chinese sources, some of which have full-text available.

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- 1921f *Wu De Fenxi* [The Analysis of Matter]. Beijing: Weiyi Ribaoshe [Weiyi Daily P.].
- 1921g *Shehui-Jiegouxue* [Science of Social Structure]. Beijing: Chenbaoshe [The Morning Post P.].
- 1921h *Shehui-Jiegouxue* [Science of Social Structure]. Beijing: Beijing Daxue Xinzhi Shushe [Peking University New Knowledge P.].
- 1921i *Luosu Ji Bolake Jiangyanji* [A Collection of Lectures by Russell and Black]. Liang Qichao, ed. 2 vols. Beijing: Weiyi Ribaoshe [Weiyi Daily P.].
- 1921j *Luosu Bolake Jiangyan Hekan* [Collected Lectures of Russell and Black]. Cheng Ping, ed. 2 vols. Beijing: Beijing Daxue Xinzhi Shushe [Peking University New Knowledge P.].
- 1922a *Zhexue Wenti* [The Problems of Philosophy]. Shanghai: Shangwu Yinshuguan [Commercial P.].
- 1922b *Wu De Fenxi* [The Analysis of Matter]. Shanghai: Shangwu Yinshuguan [Commercial P.].
- 1922c *Shehui-Jiegouxue* [Science of Social Structure]. Shanghai: Shangwu Yinshuguan [Commercial P.].
- 1923 *Luosu Lunwenji* [A Collection of Russell's Papers]. 2 vols. Shanghai: Dongfang Zazhishe [Eastern Miscellany].
- 1926a *Wu De Fenxi* [The Analysis of Matter]. Shanghai: Shangwu Yinshuguan [Commercial P.]. (A reprint of 1922b.)
- 1926b *Shehui-Jiegouxue* [Science of Social Structure]. Shanghai: Shangwu Yinshuguan [Commercial P.]. (A reprint of 1922c.)
- 1928 *Xin De Fenxi* [The Analysis of Mind]. Beijing: Weiyi Ribaoshe (Weiyi Daily P.) (A reprint of *Xin De Fenxi* included in 1921i.)
- 1994 (B&R) *A Bibliography of Bertrand Russell*.
- 2000 *Uncertain Paths to Freedom: Russia and China, 1919–22*. (Russell's *Papers* 15) *Collected Papers*.) Includes RALCS 3, 15, 18, 21 (Preface), and 26.
- 2001 *Luosu Tan Zhongguo* [Russell's Talks on China]. Shen Yihong, ed. Hangzhou: Zhejiang Wenyi Chubanshe [Zhejiang Arts P.].
- 2004 *Zhongguo Dao Ziyou Zhi Lu: Luosu Zaihua Jiangyanji* [China's Road to Freedom: a Collection of Russell's Lectures in China]. Yuan Gang, Sun Jiaxiang, and Ren Bingqiang, eds. Beijing: Beijing Daxue Chubanshe [Peking University P.].
- 2007 *Zhexue Shengyan: Luosu Zaihua Shida Jiangyan* [Philosophical Feast: Russell's Ten Lectures in China]. Jiang Jiwei, ed. Hefei: Anhui Jiaoyu Chubanshe [Anhui Education P.].
- 2009 *Tongwang Ziyou Zhi Lu: Luosu Zai Zhongguo* [The Road to Freedom: Russell in China]. Cao Yuanyong, ed. Nanchang: Jiangxi Gaoxiao Chubanshe [Jiangxi Universities and Colleges P.].
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- 2014 *Luosu: Huanqi Shaonian Zhongguo* [Russell: Awakened Young China]. Qin Yue, ed. Shanghai: Cishu Chubanshe [Lexicographical Publishing House].

III. BIBLIOGRAPHY OF RUSSELL'S ADDRESSES AND LECTURES

Having briefly introduced the sources that I use in my study of Russell's addresses and lectures in China, I now provide a list of RALCs and discuss some of the details of this list in footnotes, if necessary. In my list, I present the topics of RALCs, as well as information about when and where RALCs were delivered. Although similar work has been done in *Papers 15* and in *2004*, among others, my job in this section is to correct some wrong information which appeared in previous works and to introduce some relevant information which could only be found in Chinese publications. Furthermore, I provide a bibliography of RALCs, in which I start with the first publication of an address or lecture and then introduce its later versions or reprints. Each entry of the bibliography includes information such as the full title of a publication, translator's or notetaker's names, and information about when and where a publication appeared, as well as its page numbers (especially if it is the first publication of a RALC). For RALCs that are published in English in *Papers 15*, I also provide the paper number of each RALC in this book so that readers can easily find these English versions, which are usually based on Russell's manuscripts. As I said previously, I use abbreviations in my citations of various sources. For example, several RALCs are listed in *1994 (B&R)*. *B&R* has item numbers for the listed RALCs. To assist readers in finding the listed RALCs in this book, I note the *B&R* numbers in my bibliography as well.¹¹

Before presenting the bibliography, I should note first that a number of different versions of the same address or lecture, which were contributed by different notetakers, might have been published almost at the same time. Thus the information on the first publication of RALCs may be wrong. Correction of such data is more than welcome.

Second, although I have tried to collect as much information as

¹¹ For publications in newspapers and periodicals, I will specify in their entries when they were published. For books, the abbreviations already indicate when they were published. Moreover, since Zhao Yuanren was the official interpreter for RALCs (*cf.* CHAO), he might be regarded as the translator for all RALCs. However, a check of these publications shows that there were, in fact, several other translators.

possible about RALCs, some translators' and notetakers' names are still unknown to us. There are also in my list some RALCs which were unpublished as far as we can see. These apparently unpublished RALCs are included, because they may lead to future discovery of their publication as well as providing a more complete record of Russell's speaking and teaching activities in China, even though (without publication information) they do not count as bibliographical.

Third, given that this is a project about RALCs, I am not concerned with Russell's writings that are not addresses or lectures (such as C20.23 and C20.24 in *B&R*, and writings for publication such as Paper 38 in *Papers* 15).

Fourth, as I mentioned above, the list of RALCs below is not merely my achievement; rather, all these results are based on plenty of previous work contributed by many others (such as *Papers* 15 and 2004). I note such previous work in the footnotes and provide solutions when disagreements arise over details of the list.

Here is my list of RALCs, as well as their publication information.

I. 13 Oct. 1920, evening Address at the reception by seven groups in Shanghai at Dadong Hotel, Shanghai.¹²

“Zai Shanghai Qi Tuanti Huanyinghui Shang De Daci” [“An Address at the Reception by Seven Groups in Shanghai”], first published in *SB*, 14 Oct. 1920, p. 10. Also in *CB*, 16 Oct. 1920, p. 3, translated by Zhao Yuanren.¹³ Reprinted in 2004.

¹² The dating of this event is controversial. 2004 seems to follow the record in *CB* and notes that it took place the evening of 14 Oct. 1920, while FENG (1994), 2001, 2014, and the *Papers* 15 “Chronology” seem to follow *MR* and *SB*, claiming the date is 13 Oct. *MR* and *SB* seem to have the correct record. *MR* reported on 13 Oct. that the reception by six groups in Shanghai would take place the evening of that day. *SB*, then, offered a timely report of this event on 14 Oct., earlier than the similar report in *CB* on 16 Oct. Moreover, *CB* reported that seven, rather than six, groups attended the reception at Dadong Hotel. According to *CB*'s report, President Shen Xinqin (of Jiangsu Education Association) noted in his welcome speech that, in addition to the six groups which had planned a dinner with Russell, the Christian Association of Shanghai temporarily joined the reception. This information seems reliable. The records of the event under discussion in *MR*, *SB* and *CB* can be seen in 2009.

¹³ The date when this address was published in *CB*, according to 2004, is 16 Nov. 1920, which is more than a month after the completion of Russell's delivery of this address on 14 Oct. 1920. Given that some of Russell's later lectures were published in *CB* much earlier than 16 Nov., it seems that 2004 has given wrong information about when the address was first published in *CB*. A check of *CB* shows that the address appeared in *CB* on 16 Oct. 1920. *B&R* D21.01 has the incorrect month.

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2. **14 Oct. 1920, 2 pm** Lecture on “Principles of Social Reconstruction” at the Public School of China, Wusong, Shanghai.
“Shehui Gaizao Yuanli” [Principles of Social Reconstruction], first published in *SB*, 15 Oct. 1920, p. 10.¹⁴ Also in *CB*, 17 Oct. 1920, p. 3, translated by Yu Jiaju. Reprinted in 2004, 2007 and 2009.¹⁵

 3. **16 Oct. 1920, 4 pm** Lecture on “The Uses of Education” to Jiangsu Education Association, Chinese Vocational Education Association, and New Education Co-Progressiveness Association, Shanghai.
“Jiaoyu Zhi Xiaoyong” [The Uses of Education], first published in *SB*, 17 Oct. 1920, p. 10. Also in *CB*, 24 Oct. 1920, p. 7, translator/notetaker unknown.¹⁶ Reprinted in 2004, 2007 and 2009. An English version, from Russell’s manuscript, is in *Papers* 15: 40.

 4. **19 Oct. 1920** Lecture on “The Problems of Education” at Zhejiang No.1 Normal School, Hangzhou.¹⁷ Unpublished as far as we know.

 5. **20 Oct. 1920, 6:30 pm** Address at the welcoming party by Jiangsu Education Association at Yipinxiang Hotel, Shanghai.
“Zai Jiangsu Jiaoyuhui Zhaodaihui Shang De Jiangyan” [An Address at the Reception by Jiangsu Education Association], first published in *SB*, 21 Oct. 1920, p. 3. Also in *CB*, 24 Oct. 1920, p. 6, translated by Guo Bingwen. Reprinted in 2004.

 6. **21 Oct. 1920, 2 pm**¹⁸ Lecture on “Some Aspects of Einstein’s Theory of Gravitation” to the Science Society of China, Nanjing.
“Aiyinsitan Yinli Xinshuo” [Some Aspects of Einstein’s Theory of Gravitation], first published in *SB*, 25 Oct. 1920, p. 7. Also in *CB*, 31 Oct. 1920, p. 7, translator/notetaker unknown.¹⁹ Reprinted in 2004.

¹⁴ It is reported in *SB* on 16 Oct. 1920, p. 10, that an *SB* reporter interviewed Russell at Yipinxiang Hotel on 15 Oct., at 10 a.m.

¹⁵ In connection with this lecture, there were, in 1920, two publications of a Chinese version of Russell’s *Principles of Social Reconstruction*: this version was translated by Wang Xiulu. Another Chinese version was translated by Chen Tingrui and Zou Enrun and published in *XZ* in several issues. Moreover, a discussion of Russell’s work on this topic written by (Yu) Songhua appeared in *JG*, 2, no. 2 (1920): 10–18.

¹⁶ Publication of this lecture in *CB* is *B&R* D20.03a. *CB* does not identify the translator/notetaker for this lecture.

¹⁷ This event is cited in DING (2015), FENG (1994), *Papers* 15, 2001, 2004 and 2014.

¹⁸ According to DING (2015), Russell gave a lecture, titled “Guanyu Zhexue” [About Philosophy], at Nanjing University on the same day. It seems that this lecture is reported only in Ding’s list of Russell’s activities in China.

¹⁹ Publication of this lecture in *CB* is D20.03b in *B&R*. According to 2004, this lecture

7. **25 Oct. 1920** Lecture (topic unknown) in Hankou. See General Education Association's letter to Russell, 11 Oct. 1920, *Auto.* 2: 127. Unpublished as far as we know.
8. **26–7 Oct. 1920, 4, 7:30 pm/9:30 am, 2:30 pm** Four lectures on “Bolshevism and World Politics” to Hunan General Education Association, Changsha.²⁰
 “Buersaiweike Yu Shijie Zhengzhi” [Bolshevism and World Politics], first published in *CD*, 27 Oct. 1920, p. 9, 28 Oct., p. 9 (1st lecture); 29 Oct., p. 9, 30 Oct., p. 9 (2nd lecture); 31 Oct., p. 9, 1 Nov., p. 9 (3rd lecture); 2 Nov., p. 9, 3 Nov., p. 9 (4th lecture); notes taken by Li Jimin and Yang Wenmian. The same version can be seen in *MR*, 3, 7, 8, 9 Nov. 1920. Reprinted in *2001* (1st lecture only) and *2004*. Also in *CB*, 2 Nov. 1920, p. 6 (1st lecture); 3 Nov., p. 6 (2nd lecture); 9 Nov., p. 7, 10 Nov., p. 7 (3rd lecture); 14 Nov., p. 7, 17 Nov., p. 7 (4th lecture); notes taken by “Xiang Jiang Shaonian” [Xiang River Boy].²¹

was published in *CB* on 21 Oct. 1920. But a check of *CB* shows that it was published in *CB* on 31 Oct. 1920. *CB* does not identify the translator/notetaker.

²⁰ Russell later noted that he gave “four lectures, two after-dinner speeches, and an after-lunch speech, during the twenty-four hours” (*Auto.* 2: 126). The topics of the three speeches are unknown. Interestingly, in his letter of 25 Oct. 1920 Russell told Constance Malleson, “[Dewey] and I are both to give 6 lectures [in Changsha] ... on this boat I have had to prepare 6 lectures at a moment's notice....”

As for the main set of four lectures, according to *2007's* Foreword, “Bolshevism and World Politics” was just *one* of the four delivered by Russell when he was in Changsha. But in “Chronology” it is noted that the topics of the four lectures were as follows: “The Idea of Bolshevism”, “Personal Incidents in Russia”, “The Labour Failures of Bolshevism”, and “Necessary Elements for a Successful Communism”. On my reading of *CD*, *CB* and *2004*, which include a complete record of the four lectures under discussion, it is clear that all four lectures are about “Bolshevism and World Politics”, while each lecture corresponds to a topic which is made explicit in “Chronology” and may be from, or covered in, Russell's *The Practice and Theory of Bolshevism* (1920). The same result is found in a big sheet (which is titled “Hon. Bertrand Russell's Views on Russia” and is likely from *PL*) in the Russell Archives (710.048306). So the preceding information provided by *2007* seems incorrect.

²¹ Publication of these lectures in *CB* is D20.03d in *B&R*, which does not identify the notetaker (the lectures are not in *Papers* 15). Nonetheless, a check of *CB* shows that the notetaker for this publication is Xiang Jiang Shaonian. “Xiang Jiang Shaonian” is obviously the notetaker's pen name. This notetaker's real name remains unknown to us. But it is worth noting that Mao Zedong seems to have attended Russell's lectures on “Bolshevism and World Politics”, and that Mao was hired by *CD* as one of the notetakers and editors for these and other lectures (*cf.* LI and TAN). This confirms HU's guess that Mao might have attended Russell's lectures in Changsha (for a discussion of this issue, see also MONK, p. 592).

As reported in many places, Mao commented on the lectures in a letter to his friends in France on 1 Dec. 1920: “In his lectures at Changsha, Russell, who shared

9. 7 Nov. 1920–Jan. 1921, Sundays, 10 am–12 pm Twelve lectures on “The Problems of Philosophy” at Peking University²² and, after the second lecture, at Liulichang Higher Normal School.²³ “Zhaxue Wenti” [The Problems of Philosophy], first published in *BR* in several issues (e.g., 23 Dec. 1920, p. 2, which is *B&R* D20.04), notes taken by Zhang Tingqian, edited by Zhao Yuanren, reprinted in *1921a* and *1921j*. A different version is in *CB*, 8 Nov. 1920, p. 3, 9 Nov., p. 3, 10 Nov., p. 3, 11 Nov., p. 3 (1st lecture); 16 Nov., p. 3, 17 Nov., p. 3, 18 Nov., p. 3 (2nd lecture); 23 Nov., p. 3, 24 Nov. p. 3, 25 Nov. p. 3 (3rd lecture); 29 Nov., p. 3, 30 Nov., p. 3, 2 Dec., p. 3 (4th lecture); 6 Dec., p. 3, 8 Dec., p. 3, 9 Dec., p. 3 (5th lecture); 13 Dec., p. 3, 14 Dec., p. 3, 16 Dec., p. 3, 17 Dec., p. 3 (6th lecture); 20 Dec., p. 3, 21 Dec., p. 3, 23 Dec., p. 3, 24 Dec., p. 3 (7th lecture); 10 Jan. 1921, p. 3, 13 Jan., p. 3, 14 Jan., p. 3, 15 Jan., p. 3, 17 Jan., p. 3 (8th lecture); 21 Jan., p. 6, 22 Jan., p. 6 (9th lecture); 26 Jan., p. 6, 27 Jan., p. 6, 28 Jan., p. 6, 29 Jan., p. 6 (10th lecture); 31 Jan., p. 3, 1 Feb., p. 6, 2 Feb., p. 6, 3 Feb., p. 6 (11th lecture); the 12th lecture is not found in *CB*; notes taken by (Sun) Fulu. The same version was published in *CD* starting 13 Nov. A different one appeared in *LY* in 1921 in several issues,²⁴ notes taken by Qu Shiyong,²⁵ reprinted in *1922a*, *2001*, and *2007*. Another version is in *1921i* (*B&R* A37) and *2004*.²⁶

the same view with Zisheng and Hesheng, took a position in favor of communism but against the dictatorship of the proletariat. He argued that it is acceptable to employ the method of education to inspire the bourgeoisie without interfering with freedom, triggering wars, or causing bloody revolutions. But after Russell’s lectures, I had an extensive dispute with Yinbai and Lirong, among others, and my comments on Russell’s view can be summarized in two sentences: [Russell’s view] is sound in theory. But it doesn’t work in practice” (my translation from CAI [2013], p. 63). Given that Mao once worked as a notetaker for Russell’s lectures in Changsha and that Mao’s hometown was Shaoshan in Xiangtan, which is next to Xiang Jiang (the Xiang River), it seems likely that “Xiang Jiang Shaonian” refers to Mao.

²² According to http://english.pku.edu.cn/News_Events/News/Campus/8184.htm, during 1912–19 the received English name of Peking University was “Government University of Peking”. This name was soon replaced by “The National University of Peking”, “National Peking University”, or “Peking National University”. The first option was officially recognized on 12 Aug. 1919, as recorded in *Beijing Daxue Jishi (1898-1997)* [Peking University Chronicle]. For a discussion of Beijing universities at this time, see Russell’s *The Problem of China*, Ch. 13, pp. 217–19.

²³ Only three of these lectures and the place where the first lecture was delivered are recorded in “Chronology”. I have updated the information in this entry by adding information that exists in *2004*. FENG (1994), *2001* and *2014* have similar records.

²⁴ The first four lectures were published in *LY*, no. 1 (Jan. 1921): 21–81; the second three in *LY*, no. 2 (March 1921): 1–55; the last four in *LY*, no. 3 (July 1921): 1–47.

²⁵ According to *B&R* A37 (Reprints), the notetaker’s family name is Zhu. A check of *LY* shows that the notetaker’s family name is Qu rather than Zhu.

²⁶ Russell’s book, *The Problems of Philosophy*, had been introduced to Chinese readers

10. 9 Nov. 1920 Address at the welcoming party by the Chinese Lecture Association at the National School of the Arts, Beijing.

“Zai Jiangxueshe Huanyinghui Shang De Daci” [An Address at the Welcoming Party by the Chinese Lecture Association], first published in *CB*, 10 Nov. 1920, p. 3, translator/notetaker unknown. Reprinted in *LY* no. 1 (Jan. 1921): app. 1, 135–41,²⁷ and 2004.

11. 3 Nov. 1920–Feb. 1921, Wednesdays, 7–9 pm Fifteen lectures on “The Analysis of Mind” at Peking University.²⁸

“Xin Zhi (De) Fenxi” [The Analysis of Mind], first published in *CB*, 12 Nov., p. 3, 13 Nov., p. 3, 14 Nov., p. 3, 15 Nov., p. 3 (1st lecture); 19 Nov., p. 3, 20 Nov., p. 3, 21 Nov., p. 3 (2nd lecture); 26 Nov., p. 3, 27 Nov., p. 3, 29 Nov., p. 5, 30 Nov., p. 7 (3rd lecture); 7 Dec., p. 7, 8 Dec., p. 7, 10 Dec., p. 7 (4th lecture); 27 Dec., p. 5, 28 Dec., p. 7, 29 Dec., p. 7 (5th lecture); (the 6th and 7th lectures are not found in *CB*); 19 Jan., p. 7, 20 Jan., p. 7, 21 Jan., p. 7, 24 Jan., p. 5 (8th lecture); 1 Feb., p. 7, 2 Feb., p. 7 (9th lecture); 3 Feb., p. 7, 5 Feb., p. 7 (the 2nd and 3rd parts of the 10th lecture, the 1st part not being found in *CB*); 15 Feb., p. 7, 17 Feb., p. 7 (11th lecture); 24 Feb., p. 7, 26 Feb., p. 7, 27 Feb., p. 7 (12th lecture; the remaining three lectures are not found in *CB*); notes taken by Jiyi. The same version was published by *CD* starting 18 Nov. 1920. Also in *1921b*, notes taken by Sun Fulu, reprinted in *1921j*, 2001 and 2007; *LY* in 1921 in several issues,²⁹ notes taken by Xu Guangdi; and *1921i* (*B&R* A37), notes

even before the lectures were delivered and published. One of multiple Chinese versions of the work was translated by Xu Yanzhi and published in *XC* in April 1919. Another Chinese version, translated by Huang Lingshuang, appeared as a contribution to “Xinqingnian Congshu” [New Youth Book Series] in 1920. The Commercial Press reprinted this version in 1921 (thanks are due to a report by the Press’s Guo Chaofeng on Russell’s publications with the Press, 1921–2016). In addition, Pan Gongzhan wrote a series of papers, “Russell on the Problems of Philosophy” (C20.21a, but not properly a report), published in *DZ*, 17, nos. 21, 23–4 (1920).

²⁷ This reprint is D21.01 in *B&R*, entitled “Response to Speech of Welcome in China” (not in *Papers* 15).

²⁸ Only two of these lectures on “The Analysis of Mind” are recorded in “Chronology”. I have updated this entry by adding information that exists in the first appendix to 2004. FENG (1994), 2001 and 2014 have similar records. Moreover, according to *1921b*, although Russell delivered fifteen lectures on “The Analysis of Mind”, he did not finish lecturing with the materials that he had prepared for this topic. His lectures covered approximately half of the materials. All these materials were published in 1921 as a book in London with the same title and also with fifteen lectures. A discussion of this book in China written by Peng Jixiang can be found in *JF*, nos. 135–6 (1925). Peng mentions that Russell’s illness stopped him from further lecturing.

²⁹ The first four of these lectures were published in *LY*, no. 1 (Jan. 1921): 83–133, the second three in *LY*, no. 2 (March 1921): 57–99, and the remaining eight in *LY*, no.

taken by Zong Xijun and Li Xiaofeng, reprinted in 1928 and 2004.³⁰

12. 19 Nov. 1920 Lecture on “Bolshevik Thought” at Women’s Higher Normal School, Beijing.

“Buersaiweike De Sixiang” [Bolshevik Thought], first published in *BR*, notes taken by (Zhang) Tingqian.³¹ Reprinted in *CB*, 26–7 Nov. 1920, *MR*, 29 Nov. 1920, *DZ*, 17, no. 24 (Dec. 1920), *LY*, no. 1 (Jan. 1921): app. 2, 143–153, 2001, 2004, and 2007.³²

13. 24 Nov. 1920 evening Lecture on a topic related to Sincerity, likely in Beijing.³³ Unpublished as far as we know.

14. 27 Nov. 1920, evening Address (topic unknown) to Mutual Aid Society,³⁴ at the Second House (Science dept.), Peking University. Unpublished as far as we know.

15. 3 Dec. 1920 Lecture on “Industry in Undeveloped Countries” to the Chinese Social and Political Science Association, Beijing.³⁵
Printed in English from Russell’s manuscript or typescript, first published

4 (Oct. 1921): 113–205.

³⁰ It is reported in 2004 that one of the notetakers for “The Analysis of Mind” published in 1921i was Song Xijun. I take the family name of this notetaker recorded in 2004 to be a typo, since a check of a photocopy of 1921i shows that his family name was Zong instead of Song, though their Chinese characters look similar.

³¹ The exact date when this lecture was published in *BR* is not clear. But since it is recorded in *CB* that this is a reprint of the one in *BR*, I take the latter to be the first publication of the current lecture. I checked *BR* issued in 1920 but did not find this lecture. Maybe it was published in *BR*’s Supplement.

³² A published version of this lecture in *LY* is *B&R C21.02*.

³³ A letter from C. Spurgeon Medhurst (a Baptist missionary) to Russell on 25 Nov. 1920 states: “The effects on my humble self of your lecture last evening may interest you. First,—It showed me that if all men thought sincerely many world evils would almost immediately disappear, as most of our troubles arise from our own insincerity.... Second,—Your address illuminated the dark places of Confucianism.... In Confucianism—see especially The Doctrine of the Mean—Sincerity seems to occupy the place occupied by Christ in Christianity, and by The Tao in Taoism....”

³⁴ Apparently this lecture is only recorded in “Chronology” (but supported by Russell’s 1920–22 appointments diaries and a thank-you letter from the Mutual Aid Society’s Secretary, all documents in the Russell Archives).

³⁵ In “Chronology” it is recorded that this lecture was delivered on 3 Dec. 1920, while according to DING (2015), FENG (1994), 2001, 2004 and 2014, Russell delivered it on 10 Dec. There is textual evidence supporting both sides of the disagreement over the date of this lecture. *PD* on 6 Dec. (Monday) 1920 says that this lecture was delivered “last Friday”, namely 3 Dec. By contrast, 1921e notes that the date of the lecture under discussion was 10 Dec. The record in *PD* seems reliable.

in *CR*, 5a (Dec. 1920): 239–54.³⁶ An English text, using the manuscript, is in *Papers* 15: 37. In Chinese as “Weikaifa Guo Zhi Gongye” [Industry in Undeveloped Countries], *DZ*, 18, no. 1 (10 Jan. 1921): 7–18, translated by Yang Duanliu, reprinted in *1921e* (*B&R* B10), 1923, 2004, and 2007.

16. 10 Dec. 1920, evening Lecture on Einstein at Tsinghua College (now Tsinghua University), Beijing.³⁷ Unpublished as far as we know.³⁸

17. 18 Dec. 1920, 7:30 [pm] Lecture on and perhaps titled “Conditions in Russia” to Wenyouthui [Learned Friends’ Society], Hotel Nord, Beijing.³⁹ A *PL* editorial, “Bertrand Russell on the Religion of Bolshevism”, 19 Dec. 1920, p. 6, reports and discusses the lecture, which was comprised of extracts from *The Practice and Theory of Bolshevism*, and refers to a second report (on conditions under Soviet rule) to appear the next day. Mentioned in a letter to *Shanghai Life*, dated 21 Dec. 1920, as “a recent discussion on Russia here in Peking” (*Papers* 15: 214).

18. 6 Jan. 1921⁴⁰ Lecture on “Religious Beliefs” to Philosophy Research Group, Beijing.

“Zongjiao Zhi Xinyang” [Religious Beliefs], first published in *CB*, 9 Jan. 1921, p. 7, 10 Jan., p. 5; notes taken by Tieyan. The same version was published in *CD*, 16–18 Jan. 1921, p. 7, and *LY*, no. 2 (March 1921), app. 131–40. A different version was in *MR*, 20 Jan. 1921, with a different title, “Zongjiao De Yaosu Jiqi Jiazhi” [The Element and Value of Religion], notes taken by Zhang Tingqian, reprinted in 2009 and 2004. Also in *SZ*, 2 (Feb. 1921): 36–43; and *ZX*, 1 (1 May 1921): 25–32.⁴¹ Another reprint is in *1921e* (*B&R* B10). An English translation, drafted by Feng Chongyi and Dong Yu, is in *Papers* 15: App. VIII, “The Essence and Effect of Religion”.

³⁶ The published version of this lecture in *CR* is *B&R* C20.22.

³⁷ Apparently this lecture is only recorded in “Chronology” (from Russell’s diary).

³⁸ DING (2015), pp. 61–2, mentions that, during this period of time, Russell also delivered a lecture on “Wuzhi Shi Shenme?” [What Is Matter?] at Beijing Normal University. Additionally, according to Ding, on 14, 21 and 28 Dec. 1920, Russell attended discussions on the objectivity of truth and on the reason why Communism could not be realized in China. Since Ding does not cite original sources pertaining to these events, further study is needed to verify his data. Interestingly, “28 Nov. 1920 Discussion 3” is recorded in Russell’s diary.

³⁹ Apparently this lecture is only recorded in “Chronology” (from Russell’s diary).

⁴⁰ There is no disagreement over this date among FENG (1994), *Papers* 15, 2001, 2004, and 2014. Russell’s diary has “Religion” noted at 3 Jan. 1921, and again the next day; but on 6 Jan. he told Malleon he was to lecture on religion “today” (*SLBR* 2: 216).

⁴¹ The published version of this lecture in *SZ* is *B&R* C21.05.

19. 11 Jan.–22 Feb. 1921, Tuesdays, 7:30–9:30 pm Six lectures on “The Analysis of Matter” at Peking University.⁴² Russell’s diary notes this lecture subject as early as 28 Dec. 1920, also at 7:30 pm.

“Wu Zhi (De) Fenxi” [The Analysis of Matter], first published in *CB*, 27 Jan. 1921, p. 7, 28 Jan., p. 7, 29 Jan., p. 7, 30 Jan., p. 7 (1st lecture); 4 Feb., p. 7, 5 Feb., p. 7, 6 Feb., p. 7 (2nd lecture); 11 March, p. 7, 12 March, p. 7, 13 March, p. 7, 14 March, p. 5, 15 March, p. 7 (3rd lecture); 28 March, p. 5, 29 March, p. 7, 30 March, p. 7, 31 March, p. 7, 4 April, p. 5 (4th lecture); 3 June, p. 7, 4 June, p. 7, 5 June, p. 7, 6 June, p. 5, 7 June, p. 7, 8 June, p. 7 (5th lecture); 9 June, p. 7, 10 June, p. 7, 11 June (? *CB* on this day is missing), 12 June, p. 7, 13 June, p. 5, 14 June, p. 7, 15 June, p. 7, 16 June, p. 7 (6th lecture); notes taken by (Zhang) Tingqian. Also in *1921c*, notes taken by Yao Wenlin, reprinted in *1921j*, 2001 and 2007; *1921f*, notes taken by Muyan, reprinted in 2004; *LY*, no. 3 (July 1921): 49–112, *KX*, nos. 2, 4–6 (1921), *1921i* (*B&R* A37), *1922b*, *1926a*, notes by Ren Hongjun.⁴³

20. 16 Jan. 1921 Lecture to a Russian audience. Mentioned in a letter to Russell from I. Yourin, Far Eastern Republic Embassy, 13 Jan. 1921 (Russell Archives). Unpublished as far as we know.

21. 20, 27 Feb.–6, 13⁴⁴ March 1921 Four lectures on “Science of Social Structure” at the Board of Education, Beijing.⁴⁵

⁴² Only three lectures are recorded in “Chronology”. This entry includes information from *1921c*. Neither “Chronology” nor the first appendix to 2004 provides correct information about when these lectures were delivered. The similar records in FENG (1994), 2001 and 2014 are incorrect as well. SIMPSON (p. 20) notes that Russell lectured on relativity at Peking University in 1921. Given that the six lectures on “The Analysis of Matter” are mostly concerned with relativity, they might be the lectures. This result is also supported by information in Russell’s letters to Malleson: on 31 Jan. 1921, he told her he was working “a great deal at relativity” and was lecturing on it; and on 16 Feb. 1921, that he was “absorbed in Einstein and trying to get a simpler statement of his theories....” The article “Luosu De Xiangduixing Yuanliguan” [Russell’s View of the Principle of Relativity], *DZ*, 19, no. 24 (Oct. 1922): 71–9, is a Chinese translation of “The Theory of Relativity”, *The Kaizo* 4 (Oct 1922): 61–73 (*B&R* C22.26) and hence cannot be treated as a RALC (contra DING [2015], p. 188). Readers may want to compare the six lectures with Russell’s 1927 book, *The Analysis of Matter*. It is clear that the six lectures were a preparation for it.

⁴³ According to *B&R*, the notetaker’s given name is Hungjun. A photocopy of *1926a* shows that the notetaker’s name is indeed Hongjun, if spelled in standard Pinyin.

⁴⁴ On 5 March 1921, Russell told Malleson, “I have to lecture every Sunday on social questions”, though he preferred abstract work. From this information and the date when Russell became sick (18 March), I am able to date these lectures.

⁴⁵ In the first appendix to 2004, it is recorded that Russell planned on giving five lectures, but he did not give the fifth lecture because of his illness. In contrast to the

“Shehui-Jiegouxue” [Science of Social Structure], first published in *CB*, 21 Feb. 1921, p. 5, 25 Feb., p. 7 (1st lecture); 28 Feb., p. 5, 3 March, p. 7, 4 March, p. 7 (2nd lecture); 16 March, p. 7, 17 March p. 7, 18 March, p. 7 (3rd lecture); 21 March, p. 5, 22 March, p. 7, 23 March, p. 7, 24 March, p. 7, 25 March, p. 7 (4th lecture); notes taken by (Sun) Fulu. The same version of these four lectures, with a translation of Russell’s manuscript of the fifth lecture by Zhao Yuanren, was published in *1921g* (*B&R* A36.1a) in June, reprinted in *LY*, no. 4 (Oct. 1921): 15–112, *1921i* (*B&R* A37), *1922c*, *1926b* and *2004*. Also in *1921h*, notes taken by Luo Dunwei and Chen Guyuan, reprinted in *1921j*, *2001*, *2007* and *2014*. The Preface to these lectures, using the manuscript (only three paragraphs), is in *Papers* 15: App. IX.

22. Feb. 1921 Lecture on “Socialism”, likely in Beijing.⁴⁶

“Shehui Zhuyi” [Socialism], published in *CD*, 26–8 Feb. and 1–2 March 1921 (all being on p. 7), notes taken by Tieyan.⁴⁷

23. 8 (and ?) March 1921, 7:30–9:30 pm Two Lectures on “Mathematical Logic” at Peking University.⁴⁸

record in *2004*, *Papers* 15 tells us that Russell planned ten lectures, but he only delivered five of these lectures before he fell ill with pneumonia. It seems that whereas *2004* has a correct record of how many of these lectures were actually delivered by Russell, it provides wrong information about the total number of the lectures on “Science of Social Structure” that Russell originally planned. In comparison, while *Papers* 15 has a correct record of the latter, it provides wrong information about the former. For, according to *1921g* (*B&R* A36.1a), whereas Russell planned ten lectures, he only delivered four of them. However, since he had finished a draft of the fifth lecture before the rest of his lectures were cancelled, *1921g* published the four lectures as well as the draft. This explains why five of these lectures were published but Russell, in fact, delivered just four of them. The five were first published in English as *B&R* C21.06, C21.13, C21.15, C21.18 and C21.08 and were reprinted in the English edition of *The Prospects of Industrial Civilization* (1923; *B&R* A36.2a).

⁴⁶ In the publication of this lecture in *CD*, there is no indication of the place at which the lecture was delivered. But since Russell mostly stayed in Beijing during this period of time, it is likely that Russell gave this lecture somewhere there.

⁴⁷ In this lecture, Russell aimed to answer the following two questions: (a) What is socialism? (b) How do we apply socialism in China? To answer (a), Russell distinguishes between industrialism, capitalism, and socialism. This part of the lecture looks similar to part of his lectures on “Science of Social Structure”, where Russell also addressed the above three notions. But his answer to (b) seems to have been mentioned only in the current lecture, where he emphasized that China’s social situation was very different from that in the Western world and thus it was not feasible to directly apply Western socialism in China.

⁴⁸ According to the first appendix to *2004*, whereas Russell was committed to giving four lectures, he had to stop lecturing after the first due to his illness (the cancelling of the remaining lectures is also supported by a letter [discussed by XU YIBAO (2003,

“Shuli (Shuxue) Luoji” [Mathematical Logic], first published in *1921d*, notes taken by Wu Fanhuan. Reprinted in *1921j*, *2001* and *2007*. Also in *1921i* (*B&R* A37), notes taken by Muyan. Reprinted in *2004*.

24. 9 March 1921 “Ethics 4.30 (Mr Fu’s house)” is an appointment in Russell’s diary. Unpublished as far as we know.

25. 14 March 1921 Lecture on “The Problems of Education” at Yude Middle School, Baoding.⁴⁹ Unpublished as far as we know.

26. 6 July 1921 Farewell address on “China’s Road to Freedom” at the Board of Education, Beijing.

“China’s Road to Freedom”, first published in English in *PL*, 7 July 1921, p. 3.⁵⁰ Chinese versions can be found in *MR*, 11 July 1921, translator/notetaker unknown, reprinted in *2004*; *CB*, 14 July 1921, notes taken by Pin Qing, reprinted in *PP*, no. 4 (1921); *ZX*, no. 3 (Sept. 1921): 341–56, translated by Fu Tong;⁵¹ *LY*, no. 4 (Oct. 1921): 4–14, notes taken by Qu Shiyang; *DZ*, no. 13 (July 1921), translator/notetaker unknown, reprinted in *2009*; and *1921j*, notes taken by (Yao) Daohong, reprinted in *2001*, *2007*, and *2014*. *1921e* (*B&R* B10) has a reprint. The English text in *Papers* 15: 50 uses Russell’s manuscript; reprinted in *The Spokesman*, no. 130 (2015): 25–32.

As shown above, there is no publication information for RALCS at Zhejiang No. 1 Normal School (4 above), Hankou (7), the Mutual Aid Society (14), Tsinghua College (16), somewhere to a Russian audience (20), Mr. Fu’s house (24) and the Yude Middle School (25), which are supported by Russell’s diaries, his translator Zhao’s diaries,

p. 185]) in the Russell Archives from two students, Fu Zhongsun and Zhang Bangming). The two published versions of the lecture course show that Russell actually delivered two lectures on “Mathematical Logic”. It remains unclear whether both lectures were delivered on the same day. My English translation of them is in progress. (See n. 52 for a possible earlier course titled “Mathematical Philosophy”.)

⁴⁹ This information is supported by Zhao’s diaries (*cf.* CHAO). Also mentioned in CLARK, FENG (1994), *Papers* 15, *2001*, *2004*, and *2014*.

⁵⁰ The first published version of the address is *B&R* C21.11. Before the first publication of this address, there was already a book, *Dao Ziyou Zhi Lu* [Roads to Freedom], authored by Russell and translated by Li Ji, Huang Lingshuang, and (Shen) Yanbing, published as a contribution to “Xinqingnian Congshu” [New Youth Book Series]; it was a translation of Russell’s *Roads to Freedom: Socialism, Anarchism and Syndicalism* (1918).

⁵¹ The Chinese version in *ZX* (as well as that published in *1921e*) is mentioned in *B&R* C21.11. It also mentions an English version published in *ZX*, no. 3 (Sept. 1921): app., 1–14; it, too, follows Russell’s manuscript.

or correspondence in the Russell Archives. Since I cannot locate these RALCs in the sources that I introduced in section II, I take them to be unpublished as far as we know. Among these ostensibly unpublished lectures, 4 and 25 are mentioned in Feng (1994), *Papers* 15, 2001, 2004, and 2014, among others. However, the other six lectures in question, although recorded in *Papers* 15 from Russell's diaries,⁵² have not been found in any other recent or earlier publication of RALCs that I have seen. Moreover, as I mentioned in my notes, Ding (2015) records that Russell lectured on "About Philosophy" at Nanjing University and on "What Is Matter?" at Beijing Normal University, but publication information for these lectures is not to be found in Ding. Further work needs to be done on whether the preceding RALCs are really unpublished. Lastly, given that few of Russell's addresses and lectures in China were published in English, translations of the Chinese versions into English would be of substantial assistance to scholars in the English-speaking world.

⁵² The following notes in his diaries may also be RALCs or they may be just appointments to meet: 28 Nov. 1920 Discussion 3; 30 Nov. Zucker PUMC [A. E. Zucker, Modern Languages, Tsinghua College and Assistant Professor of English, Union Medical College, Peking] 12:30; 3 Dec. Social Science evening; 18 Jan. 1921 Amer. Students' Mess; 17 Feb. Language School 4:15; 5 March PUMC 8 (Gen'l Soc. Quest. [General Social Questions]).

There are also a few invitations—some to give lectures—mentioned in two letters from Fu to Russell (22, 24 Nov. 1920), though Russell's replies are lacking. Fu first asks on behalf of the Study Circle for Mathematics and Science of the High Normal School (now Beijing Normal University) whether Russell would "be so kind as to give them one or a series of lectures on Mathematical Philosophy". Fu's letter of 24 Nov. states: "I told the Study Circle for Mathematics and Science of the High Normal School what you said in your letter, and I was told to ask you to lecture to them as soon as you can." It seems from this statement that Russell did accept the invitation to lecture on "Mathematical Philosophy", although he might not have confirmed the date. It is very likely that Russell gave this series of lectures. For on 15 Dec. 1920 he told Malleson, "I am doing 3 courses of lectures, as well as odd papers and newspaper articles." As far as we *know*, only "Problems of Philosophy" and "Analysis of Mind" would count as lecture courses at this time, though perhaps he was including "Analysis of Matter" since it was surely in preparation. But it is more likely that he was including as the third course "Mathematical Philosophy", which he seems to have confirmed. In the same letter, several other invitations are issued, including: "The Student Self-governing Society of the Normal School wishes you to give them a lecture. I asked them w[ha]t subject would they like you to speak upon, and they have not answered me."

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