

Introduction

On the afternoon of February 3, 1936, two metal boxes containing dismembered body parts were discovered at the East Station in Beijing, former capital of the Qing empire (1644–1911) and successive regimes of the early Republic and now a city that was falling under an ever-expanding Japanese military and political presence in north China. The boxes had been left at the station by a man who purchased a ticket on an evening train of the Beiping–Mukden railway line and fled the scene after leaving his cargo in the temporary care of station attendants. When the boxes were opened by police and station personnel, they were found to contain a dismembered body, divided into head and torso in one box and limbs in the other.¹ The city's Bureau of Public Safety (PSB) was subsequently notified, as was the city procuracy, an office responsible for investigating crime, overseeing prosecutions, and, as in this case, carrying out the forensic examination of bodies that had become the focus of homicide investigations.² Personnel from this office, including a procurator named Ming Yan and a forensic body examiner named Yu Depei, arrived at the scene and proceeded to examine the body parts in the presence of police and other officials. According to Yu, who inspected the body, the male victim had been wounded with a stick, hacked to death with a blade, and then dismembered after death.

An investigation led by city police began with interrogation of witnesses at the station and soon focused on what would turn out to be a mistaken identification of the body.³ Less than two weeks later, the case had stalled and all clues had been exhausted.⁴ It would be a month and a half before

¹ Beiping PSB to Outer Fifth District, February 11, 1936, Beijing Municipal Archives (BMA) J184-2-10790, 23–4; *Shibao* (SB) February 4, 1936, 4; *Shijie ribao* (SJRB) February 4, 1936, 6.

² The Beijing procuracy, or procurator's office, was an independent office known as the Capital Local Procuracy (Jingshi difang jianchating) until 1928, when it was reorganized as an office subordinate to the Beiping Local Court (Beiping difang fayuan).

³ SB February 6, 1936, 4; SB February 7, 1936, 4.

⁴ Beiping PSB to Outer Fifth District, February 18, 1936, BMA J184-2-10790, 30–2; SB February 23, 1936, 4.

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the case was cracked, the murder solved by city detectives working under the supervision of senior detective Ma Yulin, whom the newspaper *Truth Post* characterized as an “Oriental Sherlock Holmes.”⁵ This happened in late March, and all details were subsequently revealed in the newspapers.⁶ The investigation had turned up the case of a person from Henan named Zhang Shulin, whose disappearance had suspiciously not been reported to the authorities. Both Zhang and Wang Huayi, the head of the household in which Zhang had worked, had had sexual relations with a wet-nurse, also living in the household, named Mrs. Liu née Wang.⁷ The resentment that Wang harbored from Zhang’s continued contact with her had instigated the murder. Wang entrusted Li Liangjing, who performed various tasks for Wang, with killing Zhang Shulin with the assistance of another man in Wang’s employ; the investigation also implicated several other members of the household who were eventually exonerated. In the end, judges of the Beiping Local Court found Li guilty of murder, while Wang Huayi, who orchestrated the killing and dismemberment, was never apprehended.⁸

As in the case of other unidentified bodies found in the city, police authorities had provided a coffin and buried the body in one of the city’s public burial grounds soon after it was discovered.⁹ Yet, those who followed the intensive coverage that this case received in the newspapers might have noted, months later, a seeming aberration in the burial of Zhang’s then-unidentified body: the police had never buried the head.¹⁰ In fact, almost immediately after the discovery of Zhang’s body, the city PSB had sent the head to the department of legal medicine of the medical school of Beiping University, where it was preserved and examined on at least two occasions between February and late April 1936, when officials of the procuracy requested an additional examination to confirm whether the head had been hacked off while the victim was alive or after death.¹¹

⁵ SB March 23, 1936, 4. For more on the translation of Sherlock Holmes in early twentieth-century China and other appearances of the appellation “the Oriental Holmes,” see Jeffrey Kinkley, *Chinese Justice, the Fiction: Law and Literature in Modern China* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 2000), 399 n45.

⁶ SB March 23, 1936, 4; SJRB March 23, 1936, 6.

⁷ Official documents and news reports describing the course of legal cases such as this one generally identified women by their father’s surname or, if married, by the surnames of both husband and father, followed by the character *shi*. As in this case, I refer to married women who are identified in this way as Mrs. Liu née Wang (originally “Liu Wang shi”).

⁸ For the outcome of the trial in the Beiping Local Court, see the court’s April 1937 judgment, published in SJRB May 12–17, 1937, 5.

⁹ SJRB February 5, 1936, 6.

¹⁰ This was clear from the victim’s father’s petition to have the body reburied three months later, printed in SJRB May 9, 1936, 6. Also see SB May 9, 1936, 4.

¹¹ “Beiping dongchezhan xiangshi an zhi jiangding” [The appraisal in the Beiping East Station box-corpse case], *Beiping yikan* 4, no. 7 (1936): 59–63; SJRB May 14, 1937, 5.

These examinations were carried out by Lin Ji (G. Lynn, 1897–1951), the director of the department and an expert in legal medicine who over the previous decade had played an important role in introducing this new field of scientific expertise to Chinese courts and establishing institutional foundations for the discipline in China.

In the autopsy room of this facility, Lin Ji inspected the skin, muscles, and blood vessels at the place where Zhang Shulin's head had been severed from the rest of his body. This examination yielded a lack of hemorrhaging or other "vital reaction" (*shenghuo fanying*) that would indicate that Zhang had still been alive when the cuts were made, thus confirming for police and the procuracy that the decapitation had taken place after death. Lin Ji's inspection of the head and neck also suggested that death had been caused by strangulation and not from the wounds inflicted by a blade; ligature marks were discovered at the nape of the neck and around its sides, and these appeared to have been inflicted before death. That these findings were guaranteed by modern Western science (*kexue*), a form of knowledge that had attained tremendous intellectual authority in China over the previous decades, was made explicit in the phrase that Lin Ji used to conclude this and every other examination report that he sent to legal officials: "The above explanation is made according to scientific theory and the facts" (*you shuoming xi ju xueli shishi*).¹² That is, the findings accorded with the formal knowledge of the sciences and the powerful epistemological authority with which they were associated.

The examination report that Lin Ji returned to the procuracy with his findings was a detailed, thorough document, one that made a strong statement about the power of medico-legal experts such as Lin Ji to bring new fields of scientific knowledge to bear on physical evidence. Yet, if it is read against the grain one can detect as well ominous traces of the limitations that had been placed on the explanatory power of this new form of forensic expertise as it was practiced in Beijing during this period. Whether by intention or simply neglect, police and legal officials had declined to send the rest of Zhang's body for examination, a decision that, Lin Ji noted in the report, made it impossible for him to conclusively determine the cause of death – one of the most important questions in a case such as this one.¹³ That this oversight had occurred in the first place

¹² For more on the meaning and significance of *xueli* (theory, scientific principle) as an epistemological concept in contemporary discourses of forensic knowledge, see Daniel Asen, "The only options?: 'Experience' and 'theory' in debates over forensic knowledge and expertise in early twentieth-century China," in *Historical Epistemology and the Making of Modern Chinese Medicine*, ed. Howard Chiang (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2015), 143–5.

¹³ "Beiping dongchezhan xiangshi an zhi jiating," 61.

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was a result of the fact that the process of homicide investigation in Beijing was not primarily organized around the involvement of the medico-legal laboratory, nor did medical experts such as Lin Ji have a strong legal or physical claim over the dead body itself. As in this case, the more consequential forensic examinations usually occurred under the authority of the city procuracy at the start of the police investigation. Moreover, these examinations, performed by inspection clerks (*jianyan li*) of the procuracy such as Yu Depei, were carried out in a way that implicitly challenged the authority of China's nascent legal medicine profession: the body examined in these instances was not a body of muscles and tissues – that is, a conception of the body informed by Western anatomy – but rather one that relied on an alternative system of bodily knowledge, based not on the globally authoritative knowledge of the modern sciences, but on forensic practices that had developed under the legal system of the recently fallen Qing empire.

The discovery of Zhang Shulin's body, much like other cases involving suspicious death or murder, presented problems of knowledge: What was the cause of death? If homicide, who should be held legally responsible? Addressing these questions necessarily meant raising other questions about who was competent to interpret the meaning of physical evidence and the sources of authority on which such decisions about bodies and things, so consequential for the pursuit of justice, should be made. Investigating homicide also raised questions about how to reconcile the imperative, rooted in both law and science, to make the dead body accessible to officials and experts with the other social meanings and ritual imperatives that already shaped the cultural terrain of death in early twentieth-century Beijing. This book is about the ways in which officials, professionals, and city people negotiated these questions against the immediate backdrop of a city undergoing modern transformation and within the larger context of the collapse of the Qing, a sophisticated early modern empire that left complex legacies in its wake.

Homicide Investigation and the Beijing Procuracy

There were many occupations in early twentieth-century Beijing whose members played the role of “death brokers,” in the words of sociologist Stefan Timmermans, as “expert intermediaries who establish the varying meanings of violent or suspicious death.”¹⁴ Police detectives, hygiene officials, ritual specialists, journalists, medical school pathologists, and

¹⁴ Stefan Timmermans, *Postmortem: How Medical Examiners Explain Suspicious Deaths* (Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 2006), 251.

forensic scientists such as Lin Ji all played roles in explaining the causes and implications of death for family, society, and the state. For the particular population of those who died violently or under suspicious circumstances, few of these were as important as the officials of the Beijing procuracy, an office that was established as a cornerstone of the new legal system that was adopted in China during the New Policies reforms (1901–11), a significant period of institutional reform and innovation that had transformed the legal and political structures of the Qing. Much as in imperial Russia's legal reforms of the 1860s or those that followed the Meiji Restoration in Japan (1870s–1890s), reformers of the Qing empire drew heavily on continental European models of judicial procedure when formulating this new legal system.¹⁵ Like other aspects of the judicial reform that was carried out during these years, the conception of the office of the procuracy, its professional authority, and relations with police and other actors in the law were all informed by Japanese models, themselves the product of two decades of experimentation with French and German legal institutions.¹⁶

In early twentieth-century China, as in other modern countries that have adopted the procurator system, this office and its staff played a very direct role in establishing the facts of criminal cases prior to trial, often by interrogating suspects and witnesses and performing other tasks that many legal systems delegate to police detectives.¹⁷ The important role that Chinese procurators played in the investigation of homicide cases was thus an area of their work with obvious global precedents. At the same time, procurators in China were given unique authority over the forensic examination of the dead body, a task referred to as *xiangyan* or *jianyan* in Chinese. While both words have the general meaning of “inspection,” these were words that had a long history in imperial China as technical terms for the forensic inspection of a body.¹⁸ In the case of the

¹⁵ Elisa M. Becker, *Medicine, Law, and the State in Imperial Russia* (Budapest: Central European University Press, 2011); Wilhelm Röhl, *History of Law in Japan since 1868* (Leiden: Brill, 2005).

¹⁶ Röhl, *History of Law in Japan Since 1868*, 789–93; Xie Rucheng, *Qingmo jiancha zhidu ji qi shijian* [The late Qing procuratorial system and its practice] (Shanghai: Shanghai renmin chubanshe, 2008), 23–31, 474–84. For the important role that Japanese experts, institutional models, and knowledge played in these reforms more generally, see Douglas R. Reynolds, *China, 1898–1912: The Xincheng Revolution and Japan* (Cambridge: Council on East Asian Studies, Harvard University. Harvard University Press, 1993).

¹⁷ Becker, *Medicine, Law, and the State in Imperial Russia*, 195–8; David T. Johnson, *The Japanese Way of Justice: Prosecuting Crime in Japan* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2002), 51–4.

¹⁸ The meanings of both terms were analyzed and debated in a number of late imperial works on local administration. Xin-zhe Xie, “Procedural Aspects of Forensics Viewed through Bureaucratic Literature in Late Imperial China” (Paper prepared for “Global Perspectives on the History of Chinese Legal Medicine,” University of Michigan, Ann

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dismembered body discovered at the East Station, as in other cases of suspicious death or homicide, the forensic examination of the body was carried out early in the investigation by this office, often preceding the involvement of detectives in the case. These examinations were not, strictly speaking, supposed to be carried out by physicians: the laws and institutional procedures that defined the relationship between law and medicine as professions gave officials of the judiciary tremendous authority over the forensic examination of bodies. Indeed, it was not unusual for procurators to oversee the initial examination of a body without any assistance from physicians and to decide for themselves if, when, and how to involve medical experts such as Lin Ji in the case.

The technical knowledge that Chinese procurators and their staff used to examine the corpse and find cause of death in such cases had a long history. While there are traces of evidence for sophisticated methods of criminal investigation and forensic examination throughout the early imperial period of Chinese history and even in the legal procedure of the Qin state prior to its unification of the empire in 221 B.C., an important turning point in the development of forensic knowledge in China was the completion of the *Collected Writings on the Washing Away of Wrongs* (Xiyuan jilu), a detailed handbook of forensic examination authored by an experienced local administrator and judicial official of the Southern Song (1127–1279) named Song Ci (1186–1249).¹⁹ This text and its subsequent late imperial editions contained practical instructions which officials could use when investigating cases of suspected homicide and non-fatal injury, including detailed descriptions of the bodily signs that could be expected in fatal beating, strangulation, poisoning, and myriad other scenarios. Under the Qing empire, a highly bureaucratized system of forensic examination was established on the basis of later versions of the *Washing Away of Wrongs* as well as detailed regulations governing all aspects of the administration of forensic examinations.²⁰ This arrangement was not based, foremost, on the

Arbor, October 2011), 15–24. Generally, *xiangyan* was used to refer to the initial examination of a “fresh” corpse – not skeletal remains – while *jiayuan* could refer to both. Both usages were common during the Republican period.

¹⁹ Jia Jingtao, *Zhongguo gudai fayixue shi* [A history of legal medicine in ancient China] (Beijing: Qunzhong chubanshe, 1984); Nathan Sivin, ed., *Science and Civilisation in China. Volume 6: Biology and Biological Technology. Part VI: Medicine*. By Joseph Needham with the collaboration of Lu Gwei-djen (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2000), Part E, “Forensic medicine,” 175–200; Derk Bodde, “Forensic Medicine in Pre-Imperial China,” *Journal of the American Oriental Society* 102, no. 1 (1982): 1–15.

²⁰ Jia, *Zhongguo gudai fayixue shi*, 105–21; Pierre-Étienne Will, “Developing Forensic Knowledge through Cases in the Qing Dynasty,” in *Thinking with Cases: Specialist Knowledge in Chinese Cultural History*, ed. Charlotte Furth, Judith T. Zeitlin, and Ping-chen Hsiung (Honolulu: University of Hawai‘i Press, 2007); Xin-zhe Xie,

institutionally recognized role of outside experts – physicians or otherwise – in the law, a significant contrast with legal procedure in early modern continental Europe, which heavily supported physicians' involvement in legal cases while fostering the development of a significant body of forensic knowledge.²¹

The overarching goal of forensic procedure in late imperial China was, rather, to standardize the techniques that local officials used to collect, document, and analyze the body evidence, a reflection of the Qing judicial system's high degree of procedural routinization in the investigation and adjudication of homicide cases more generally.²² In these ways, the development of forensic knowledge in late imperial China was inseparable from a broader institutional impetus to regulate the actions of the bureaucracy's officials and minor functionaries in this important stage of legal proceedings. For this reason, higher-level officials in the provinces and central government were supposed to possess enough forensic knowledge to evaluate the integrity of the forensic examinations conducted in local cases; likewise, county officials were supposed to possess enough forensic knowledge to supervise the *wuzuo*, a term with unclear meaning and unknown provenance (at times written with the alternate character *wu*) that was used to refer to the local functionaries who actually examined the body in such cases.²³

In English-language scholarship this term is usually rendered as “coroner” or “ostensor,” the latter indicating the role that the *wuzuo* played in pointing out the wounds and other forensic signs for supervising officials.²⁴ The forensic role that *wuzuo* played as subordinate judicial

“The Shaping of Autopsy Evidence in Nineteenth-Century China” (Paper prepared for “The Social Lives of Dead Bodies in Modern China,” Brown University, June 2013); Chen Chong-Fang, “‘Xiyuan lu’ zai Qingdai de liuchuan, yuedu yu yingyong” [The Circulation, Reading, and Using of Xiyuan-lu in Qing Dynasty], *Fazhi shi yanjiu* 25 (2014): 37–94.

²¹ Catherine Crawford, “Legalizing Medicine: Early Modern Legal Systems and the Growth of Medico-legal Knowledge,” in *Legal Medicine in History*, ed. Michael Clark and Catherine Crawford (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1994); Silvia De Renzi, “Witnesses of the Body: Medico-legal Cases in Seventeenth-century Rome,” *Studies in History and Philosophy of Science* 33 (2002): 219–42.

²² Thomas Buoye, “Suddenly Murderous Intent Arose: Bureaucratization and Benevolence in Eighteenth-century Qing Homicide Reports,” *Late Imperial China* 16, no. 2 (1995): 62–97.

²³ For brief discussions of the term itself, see Chang Che-chia, “‘Zhongguo chuantong fayixue’ de zhishi xingge yu caozuo mailuo” [Knowledge and Practice in “Traditional Chinese Forensic Medicine”], *Zhongguo yanjiuyuan jindaishi yanjiusuo jikan* 44 (2004): 11–2; Jia, *Zhongguo gudai fayixue shi*, 59; Yang Fengkun, “‘Wuzuo’ xiaokao” [A brief inquiry into the “wuzuo”], *Faxue* 7 (1984): 40–1. Also see Luo Zhufeng, *Hanyu dacidian* (Shanghai: Shanghai cishu chubanshe, 2008), v. 1, 1195 and v. 7, 432.

²⁴ For the latter, see Sivin, ed., *Science and Civilisation in China*, 191. I have used the word “coroner” in my previous published work: i.e., Asen, “The only options?”

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assistants differed significantly from that of Anglo-American coroners, who were elected or appointed officials who oversaw investigations into violent or otherwise suspicious deaths on their own authority.²⁵ Given that these were, roughly speaking, the very functions performed by the late imperial county magistrates and early twentieth-century procurators under whom the *wuzuo* worked, Brian McKnight's use of "coroner's assistant" as a translation for this position provides perhaps a more accurate description of the role that they actually played.²⁶ We might also compare the function of the *wuzuo* with that of the judicial investigators who assisted late nineteenth-century Russian procurators in their criminal investigations.²⁷ This is a particularly fitting historical comparison given that the position of "inspection clerk" (*jianyan li*), which was created under the New Policies reforms to replace the old position of *wuzuo*, was established from the outset as a subordinate functionary of procuratorial officials.²⁸ Inspection clerks in Beijing worked closely, we will see, with judicial police, who also worked under the direction of the procuracy.

This arrangement of subordinate body examiners and supervising officials, and the particular way of distributing technical knowledge on which it was based, was quite successful. By the end of the dynasty, case files reveal a high level of consistency in forensic examination procedures and in the terminology used to describe bodies and wounds.²⁹ In the case of the dismembered body discovered at the East Station (and many other cases as well), it was this system of institutionalized knowledge that Republican judicial officials relied upon to solve and adjudicate some of the most serious crimes in the law codes. During a period in which the modern social sciences, Western scientific medicine and public health, and other fields of scientific and professional expertise were adopted by the modernizing Chinese state, it is striking that this old field of technical

²⁵ Ian A. Burney, *Bodies of Evidence: Medicine and the Politics of the English Inquest, 1830–1926* (Baltimore: The Johns Hopkins University Press, 2000); Jeffrey M. Jentzen, *Death Investigation in America: Coroners, Medical Examiners, and the Pursuit of Medical Certainty* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 2009), 9–30.

²⁶ Brian E. McKnight, *The Washing Away of Wrongs: Forensic Medicine in Thirteenth-Century China* (Ann Arbor: Center for Chinese Studies, The University of Michigan, 1981), 11.

²⁷ Becker, *Medicine, Law, and the State in Imperial Russia*, 196–8.

²⁸ There was a great deal of slippage between the terms *wuzuo* and "inspection clerk" during the Republican period. The former never disappeared from official or popular lexicons and the latter remained indeterminate given that no uniform standard governing who could serve as an inspection clerk was ever enforced. Likewise, some old *wuzuo* – that is, individuals who had served in this position under the Qing – became inspection clerks.

²⁹ For some of the basic procedures used to examine and document wounds, see Daniel Asen, "Vital Spots, Mortal Wounds, and Forensic Practice: Finding Cause of Death in Nineteenth-Century China," *East Asian Science, Technology and Society: An International Journal* 3, vol. 4 (2009): 453–74.

knowledge continued to receive the endorsement of Chinese officials in local, provincial, and central government offices for decades after the fall of the Qing.³⁰ Despite the regional fragmentation and other challenges of modern state-building and judicial reform during the Republican period, the officials who staffed China's modern courts and local judicial offices used these old techniques to maintain a surprising degree of uniformity across homicide investigation practices in widely divergent geographic locations, ranging from urbanized Shanghai and Beijing to counties that lacked modern courts. Moreover, these techniques were used with widely acknowledged effectiveness to examine the body and find cause of death in all different kinds of cases, whether the routine discovery of dead bodies on the streets, sensational murders such as the case of Zhang Shulin, or cases that had even greater implications, such as the massacre of protestors by Duan Qirui's (1865–1936) government on March 18, 1926, one example of the escalating violence and mass politics that were reshaping the political landscape of Beijing during this period.³¹

Legal Medicine and the Rise of the Modern Professions in China

In his study of changes in the organization of handicraft production and skill among Sichuan papermakers, Jacob Eyferth has argued that

the Chinese revolution – understood as a series of interconnected political, social, and technological transformations – was as much about the redistribution of skill, knowledge, and technical control as it was about the redistribution of land and political power, and that struggles over skill in twentieth-century China resulted in a massive transfer of technical control from the villages to the cities, from primary producers to managerial elites, and from women to men.³²

Eyferth is primarily concerned with the process through which a modern technocratic state and new groups of elites formalized and appropriated handicraft skills under the imperatives of industrial development. Yet, his point very much applies to other twentieth-century shifts in the distribution and use of technical knowledge and the organization of work that

³⁰ Ruth Rogaski, *Hygienic Modernity: Meanings of Health and Disease in Treaty-Port China* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2004); Tong Lam, *A Passion for Facts: Social Surveys and the Construction of the Chinese Nation-state, 1900–1949* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2011).

³¹ For discussion of the massacre within these larger contexts, see David Strand, *Rickshaw Beijing: City People and Politics in the 1920s* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1989), 182–97.

³² Jacob Eyferth, *Eating Rice from Bamboo Roots: The Social History of a Community of Handicraft Papermakers in Rural Sichuan, 1920–2000* (Cambridge: Harvard University Asia Center. Distributed by Harvard University Press, 2009), 1–2.

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occurred under the influence of new professions and changing conceptions of occupational expertise. In law, medicine, and other fields, the rise of the modern professions signaled changing expectations about who in Chinese society was competent to handle particular occupational tasks, what counted as the most authoritative forms of expertise, and how an increasingly complex division of labor should be organized.

The rise of the modern professions in China was foremost a process of social change in which numerous areas of occupational and governmental work, including the investigation of homicide, came under the new influence of individuals who were generally distinguished from the members of other occupations (and within society more generally) by experience with higher education, higher incomes, and corresponding patterns of consumption and leisure, a reflection of the relatively higher socioeconomic status that they enjoyed in the changing urban economy.³³ Unsurprisingly, such individuals tended to have experience with Euro-American or Japanese institutions and knowledge acquired through study abroad, advanced post-graduate training in other countries, or simply from reading foreign literature in their fields of expertise. Most importantly, such individuals tended to utilize the knowledge associated with internationally recognized academic disciplines to claim authority in their occupational work, at times by establishing institutionalized restrictions such as licensing requirements that were meant to limit membership to those who had received specialized training and guarantee professionals' access to particular areas of work.³⁴ An important element of these new kinds of authority-claims was an association between professionals'

³³ Xiaoqun Xu, *Chinese Professionals and the Republican State: The Rise of Professional Associations in Shanghai, 1912–1937* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2001), 23–77. In this book, these individuals are referred to as members of modern “professions” or simply as “professionals,” terms used here primarily as analytical categories, not actors’ categories. While, as Xiaoqun Xu notes, *ziyou zhiye zhe* (free professionals) was an official classification endorsed by the Nationalist state in 1929, the term was not commonly used in materials pertaining to forensics. For general discussion of the sources of modern professionals’ authority, see Eliot Freidson, *Professional Powers: A Study of the Institutionalization of Formal Knowledge* (Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 1986); Andrew Abbott, *The System of Professions: An Essay on the Division of Expert Labor* (Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 1988).

³⁴ Chinese professionals’ attempts to create such restrictions saw uneven successes, a story that can be followed in Xu, *Chinese Professionals and the Republican State*. For example, during this period there were no effective, institutionally enforced barriers to becoming a physician of Western scientific medicine or of Chinese medicine. Lawyers, by contrast, were relatively more effective at controlling access to their profession. Bridie Andrews observes this point as well, following discussion of the limited successes of medical licensing efforts. Bridie Andrews, *The Making of Modern Chinese Medicine, 1850–1960* (Vancouver: UBC Press, 2014), 150–6. For the ways in which struggles over legal credentials played out in Beijing, see Michael Ng’s study of the Beijing Bar Association’s attempts to ban the practice of so-called phony lawyers (*fei lishi*): Michael