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CULTURAL ENGAGEMENT IN MISSIONARY CHINA: AMERICAN MISSIONARY
NOVELS 1880-1930

BY

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DISSERTATION

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Abstract

From a comparative standpoint, the American Protestant missionary enterprise in China was built on a paradox in cross-cultural encounters. In order to convert the Chinese—whose religion they rejected—American missionaries adopted strategies of assimilation (e.g. learning Chinese and associating with the Chinese) to facilitate their work. My dissertation explores how American Protestant missionaries negotiated the rejection-assimilation paradox involved in their missionary work and forged a cultural identification with China in their English novels set in China between the late Qing and 1930. I argue that the missionaries' novelistic expression of that identification was influenced by many factors: their targeted audience, their motives, their work, and their perceptions of the missionary enterprise, cultural difference, and their own missionary identity. Hence, missionary novels may not necessarily be about conversion, the missionaries' primary objective but one that suggests their resistance to Chinese culture, or at least its religion. Instead, the missionary novels I study culminate in a non-conversion theme that problematizes the possibility of cultural assimilation and identification over ineradicable racial and cultural differences. My dissertation redresses a significant oversight in current scholarship on American missionary novels, which focuses on those of the Nobel Prize winner Pearl S. Buck only.

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Introduction

I. Justification

From a comparative standpoint, the American Protestant missionary enterprise in China was built on a paradox in cross-cultural encounters. In order to convert the Chinese—whose religion they rejected—American missionaries adopted strategies of assimilation (e.g. learning Chinese and associating with the Chinese) to facilitate their work. My dissertation explores how American Protestant missionaries negotiated the rejection-assimilation paradox involved in their missionary work and forged a cultural identification with China in their English novels set in China between the late Qing and 1930. I argue that the missionaries' novelistic expression of that identification was influenced by many factors: their targeted audience, their motives, their work, and their perceptions of the missionary enterprise, cultural difference, and their own missionary identity. Hence, missionary novels may not necessarily be about conversion, the missionaries' primary objective but one that suggests their resistance to Chinese culture, or at least its religion. Instead, the missionary novels I study culminate in a non-conversion theme that problematizes the possibility of cultural assimilation and identification over ineradicable racial and cultural differences.

In the long history of the American Protestant missionary enterprise in China (which began in 1830, when the first American Protestant missionary Elijah Coleman Bridgman 裨治文, 1801-1861, appointed by the American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions in 1829, arrived in Canton, or Guangzhou 廣州, the capital city of the Guangdong 廣東 province, and ended in 1949, when the Communists took over China) the most common strategies of assimilation adopted by American missionaries were taking Chinese names¹ and learning the

¹ A good source to check missionaries' Chinese names is *Directory of Protestant Missions in China* (1915-1950), previously published as a section of *The China Mission Year Book*

Chinese language, including its dialects when necessary. Mission boards would not allow missionaries to preach the gospel in Chinese until they became competent in reading and speaking. They were also encouraged to master Chinese in writing so that they could translate the Bible into different dialects, revise the translated Bible, and/or publish in Chinese in both religious and non-religious fields.² All in all, missionaries' Chinese writings were in three major

(1910-1925). In addition to following the year book in providing information about missionaries' denominations and stations, the directory supplements the year book by adding the years of missionaries' first arrival in China and, although not in every issue and not for every missionary, their Chinese names. For missionary wives (who may be missionaries themselves), the directory does not specify their Chinese names but designates them as wife under their husbands' entries. A useful source to check earlier, nineteenth-century, missionaries' Chinese names is A. Wylie's *Memorials of Protestant Missionaries to the Chinese: Giving a List of Their Publications, and Obituary Notices of the Deceased, with Copious Indexes* (1867). Also useful is to look at the secondary sources of *Wan guo gong bao* 萬國公報 (having two English titles. From 1874 to 1883: The globe magazine; from 1889 to 1907: A review of the times), a Chinese monthly published from 1868 to 1907 by the American Methodist missionary Young John Allen 林樂知 (courtesy name: 榮章) (1836-1907). (The newspaper was named *Jiao hui xin bao* 教會新報, The church news, from 1868 to 1874.) As many contributors to that Chinese monthly were Western missionaries and the monthly had English tables of contents as well, its secondary sources usually provide correspondence of their missionary authors' Chinese to English names. See, for example, Bennette 297, Wang Lin 342-33, and Yang Daichun 60-62.

² For a general discussion about missionaries' language learning, with some references to American missionaries' learning Chinese and their language achievements, see Arthur Judson Brown, *The Foreign Missionary* 90-95, 166-70. As Brown points out, missionaries may rely on the grammars, lexicons, and phrase books compiled by earlier missionaries (90). In addition, some American missionaries' memoirs and biographies provide concrete details about their Chinese learning experience. Although some missionaries did not start to learn Chinese until they reached China, Elijah Bridgman started learning Chinese while he was on board the ship to China. See Bridgman 30 and 33. In her memoir, Henrietta Hall Shuck (1817-1844), the first American female missionary to China, appointed by the American Baptist Board for Foreign Missions, wrote that she and her missionary husband, Jehu Lewis Shuck (1812-1863), were eager to learn Chinese so that they could begin their work there as soon as possible and that one

styles: literary Chinese (called *wen li* 文理 by missionaries), Mandarin, and the other dialects; and they appeared in three major forms: Chinese characters, roman letters, and phonetic

of the Chinese language textbooks she used was *San zi jing* 三字經 (The three character classic or The Tri-metrical classic). See Shuck 70-72, 106. In addition to reading *The Tri-metrical Classic*, Young John Allen also read *Qian zi wen* 千字文 (The thousand character classic). See Bennett 44. Samuel Isaac Joseph Schereschewsky 施約瑟 (1831-1906), an Anglican Bishop of Shanghai noted for his Chinese translation of the Old and New Testament, read the classical Chinese novel *The Romance of the Three Kingdoms* (*San guo yan yi* 三國演義) to sharpen his reading ability (Muller 46). John Leighton Stuart 司徒雷登 (1876-1962), born in China of missionary parents and later himself a missionary to China working as the first President of Yenching (Christian) University and a United States ambassador to China, mentioned in his memoir that his (Southern Presbyterian) mission board required reading the Confucian classics *The Four Books* (*Si shu* 四書) (which include *Lun yu* 論語 The analects, *Mengzi* 孟子 The Mencius, *Da xue* 大學 The great learning, and *Zhong yong* 中庸 The doctrine of the mean) and the classical Chinese novel *The Fortunate Union* (*Hao qiu zhuan* 好逑傳) (83). In her reminiscences about her Southern Presbyterian missionary parents, the American novelist Pearl S. Buck 賽珍珠 (1892-1973), herself a missionary to China with the same mission board, noted that her parents spent more than seven hours a day learning Chinese, including the Hangzhou 杭州 dialect, from an old Chinese man who did not know English. And, her parents used the lesson sheet prepared by some American to learn the dialect and their textbooks also included a copy of the New Testament in Chinese. See Buck, *The Exile* 106-07. According to Divie Bethune McCartee 麥嘉締培端 (1820-1900), a Presbyterian medical missionary to Ningbo 寧波, China, in 1843 and later an American consul persuading Hong Xiuquan 洪秀全, the Heavenly King of the Taipings, not to molest Americans and Christians and all Chinese in their service, before missionaries mastered the Chinese language to preach, they may establish a day or boarding school and hire native Christians to teach (168-80). Robert Samuel Maclay 麥利和 (1824-1907), an American Methodist Episcopal missionary to Fuzhou (formerly known as Foochow) 福州, China, in 1847, and one of the authors of *An Alphabetic Dictionary of the Chinese Language in the Foochow Dialect*, detailed the operation of boarding schools in his *Life among the Chinese*. According to Maclay, the pupils ranged from seven to thirteen in age and the school offered free boarding, clothing, and money to those pupils bound with the school for a long time. The Bible was their main textbook and they were taught both written and colloquial Chinese. See Maclay 231-57.

symbols.³ In addition to these linguistic strategies, some of the earlier American missionaries adopted the costume of the Qing 清 dynasty (1644-1911), with men having queues down their backs, in order to show friendliness to the Chinese and gain acceptance from them.⁴

Missionaries had different perceptions about their strategic assimilation to the Chinese scene. Some open-minded missionaries regarded China as more than a heathen country and treated their assimilation as an opportunity to gain exposure to Chinese culture. They may have ended up identifying with (i.e., become emotionally receptive to) several aspects of China. Some missionaries, however, treated their assimilation merely as a matter of duty and remained resistant to things Chinese. The American social worker Ida Pruitt's 蒲愛德 (1888-1985) Southern Baptist missionary parents presented these two different attitudes toward China.⁵ Ida Pruitt's father Cicero Washington Pruitt 浦其維 (1857-1946), who did missionary work in China from 1882 to 1936, regarded the Chinese as more than an object of conversion. In addition

³ For example, the American Baptist missionary Tarleton Perry Crawford 高第丕 (1821-1902) invented a system of phonetic symbols for the Shanghai dialect. See T. P. Crawford, "A System of Phonetic Symbols for Writing the Dialects of China," *Chinese Recorder and Missionary Journal* 19.3 (1888): 101-110.

⁴ The Qing government asked the Chinese to shave their foreheads and braid the rest hair into a queue at the back as a sign of their submission to the Manchu rule. For American missionaries' adopting Chinese costume, see Hunter 138.

⁵ Ida Pruitt was born in Penglai 蓬萊 (formerly called Dengzhou/Tengchow 登州) in Shandong 山東 province, China. After receiving college education in the U.S., she returned to China, learning Chinese and teaching at a girls' mission school in Yantai 煙台 (formerly known as Chefoo), Shandong, from 1912 to 1918. After that, she started her social worker's career both in the U.S. and China. Among her several positions, she was well known as the head of the social service department at Peking Union Medical College (originally founded by several mission boards and later funded by the Rockefeller Foundation) from 1921 to 1938 and as the secretary and China representative of Indusco (part of the Chinese Industrial Cooperatives, an international effort to create employment and goods in support of the war against Japan) from 1939 to 1951. See King xxiii-xxiv.

to wearing the Manchu costume and shaving his forehead to adopt the queue,⁶ Cicero Pruitt studied Chinese life and culture in order to understand more about China. He avoided making judgments offensive to the Chinese. His liberal attitude toward cultural differences is shown in his developing non-conversion-based friendships with the Chinese and his treating a Chinese rather than Western-style house as his “real home” (qtd. in King 9).⁷ In contrast, Ida Pruitt’s mother Anna Seward Pruitt 浦安娜⁸ (1862–1948), who did missionary work in China from 1887 to 1936, resisted adapting to the Chinese scene, except for her work’s sake. She learned the Chinese language and customs merely to convert the Chinese to Christianity, which for her would save the Chinese from sin and elevate them from heathenism to civilization. In order to prevent her children from being influenced by China’s heathen way of life, she strove to maintain an American lifestyle by serving American food at home. She imported the American food company Libby’s corned beef, alternating that with chicken, lamb, and fish. She would not serve pork, the major source of meat in Chinese diet. Also, she reproduced traditional American Thanksgiving and Christmas dinners. Although she had some Chinese women friends, their relationship was based on the Chinese acceptance of Christianity. For her, the Chinese who failed to convert to Christianity were “seamy [sic]” (qtd. in King 18, 19) and “exceedingly frail and faulty human beings” (qtd. in King 27).⁹ Also resistant to Chinese culture, Devello Zelotos Sheffield 謝衛樓 (1841-1913), appointed by the American Board of Commissioners for Foreign

⁶ See Ida Pruitt 60-61.

⁷ For more information about Cicero Pruitt’s receptive attitude toward China and the Chinese, see King 19, 22, 28.

⁸ Anna Pruitt’s Chinese name was found in the [Chinese translation](#) (entitled *Sheng jing di li* 聖經地理) of her book *Bible Geography*. The Chinese translation was done by Jinag Guanyi 姜貫一 and was published by *Zhong hua jin hui shu ju* 中華浸會書局 in Shanghai in 1932.

⁹ For more information about Anna Pruitt’s resistance to the Chinese scene, see King 8-9, 18-19, 22, 27-31.

Missions to China, however, showed resistance in a way different from Anna Pruitt. As Sheffield founded the North China College (Luhe shu yuan 潞河書院) in 1889, he insisted using Chinese as the major medium of instruction and teaching students Chinese classics. Sheffield in fact did not think highly of Chinese classics. When he worked previously at Tongzhou 通州 (formerly known as Tungchow) Boys' School (*Luhe nan shu* 潞河男塾) in Hebei 河北 province, he spent an hour a day listening to the boys recite Chinese classics, taught by a native Christian teacher, and pointed out at appropriate places the superiority of Christianity to Confucian sages' teachings (Paterno 50). Sheffield's curriculum design was based on his belief that the purpose of mission-supported education was to train students to be native Christian leaders whose knowledge of Chinese and Chinese classics would enable them to gain a hearing in the future. In Sheffield's view, emphasis on English education in some Christian colleges would only encourage students to pursue lucrative secular careers. The fact that Sheffield did not really recognize the value of Chinese classics but asked students to learn them to facilitate evangelism suggests an extension of the assimilation-rejection paradox involved in his missionary work.

While the many biographies of American missionaries regarding their work in China are good sources for exploring their cultural assimilation and identification, I have chosen to focus exclusively on American missionaries' English novels set in China in my discussion of that issue. By "American missionaries' English novels," I mean adult novels written in English by American missionaries who participated in the Protestant missionary enterprise in China. I do not discuss American missionaries' English translation of Chinese novels, for I believe their original works are more representative of their personal assimilation to the Chinese scene and their attitude toward China than their translations.¹⁰ I also omit American missionaries' English

¹⁰ Further research needs to be done in order to present a comprehensive picture about American missionaries' endeavor in translating Chinese novels into English; the following are only two

novels for juvenile readers and their short missionary stories about conversion, as both of these seem to me less sophisticated than long adult novels. Essentially I focus on novels rather than biographies because the complexity of the missionaries' cultural stance comes into play more in the former rather than the latter. In novels, the missionaries' cultural stance is not directly expressed but obscured and complicated through the mediation of narrators and fictitious plots and characters; however, one can easily perceive their stance through comments reported in their biographies.

In addition, from a language standpoint I focus on American missionaries' English rather than their Chinese novels. In contrast to my more restricted approach, other scholars on missionaries' "Chinese novels" have generally been inclined to adopt pioneering scholar Patrick Hanan's inclusive approach, which embraces not only missionaries' original novels in Chinese but also their translations of non-Chinese novels into Chinese¹¹; they also explore juvenile novels and short missionary stories in Chinese. I follow their definition of Chinese novels here, for their broad approach has been instrumental in helping me justify my choice of missionaries' "English" novels as the object of my study from the perspectives of authorship and audience. First, in terms of authorship, the collaborative authorship in American missionaries' Chinese novels in contrast to single authorship in their English novels makes the latter—not the

examples in this regard. First, Pearl Buck translated the classical Chinese novel *Shui hui zhuan* 水滸傳 into English as *All Men Are Brothers* (1993). Second, Ida Pruitt translated the modern Chinese novel *Si shi tong tang* 四世同堂 (by Lao She 老舍, 1899-1966) into English as *The Yellow Storm* (1951).

¹¹ Hanan's article "The Missionary Novels of Nineteenth-Century China" was first published in *Harvard Journal of Asiatic Studies* 60.2 (2000): 413-43. (The article was later shortened and reprinted in Hanan's collection of essays *Chinese Fiction of the Nineteenth and Early Twentieth Centuries*, published by Columbia University Press in 2004.) Since Hanan's initial endeavor, the research on Western missionaries' Chinese novels has been burgeoning. For a list of bibliography in this field, see Lai xv-xvi, n.3.

former—a more suitable choice for exploring the missionaries’ cultural engagement and personal views of China. As pointed out before, American missionaries had to learn Chinese in order to preach and read in Chinese. Although they usually continued to learn the language, they also usually relied on Chinese assistants to help them write in Chinese (perhaps for the sake of accuracy, efficiency, and idiomatic expression.). While it is impossible and problematic to generalize how all missionaries wrote in Chinese, the missionary journalist Young John Allen’s case sheds some light on it. When Allen wanted to write in Chinese, he, knowing enough Chinese, orally transmitted what he wanted to say to his Chinese assistants, who then put it on paper; finally Allen would oversee the Chinese writing. Cai Erkang 蔡爾康 (1851-1921), Allen’s Chinese editor of *Wan guo gong bao* from 1894 to 1901, described how he helped Allen with composition as follows: “Whenever he [Allen] made comments, he was loyal to the Way. He often told them to me orally and I wrote them down. He would scrutinize [my writing] very carefully and would not allow even one imprudent word. After several months, we supplemented and complemented each other. He once said to me, ‘My tongue and your pen, which will be like form and shadow, water and vapor, bring the U. S. and China together. We are not being harmonious in appearance but discordant in spirit’ [其發為議論也。必衷諸道。恒語^爾而筆諸簡[。]端詳審慎。不肯一字苟且。數月而后。相得益彰。嘗謂^爾曰。余之舌。子之筆。將如形之於影。水之於氣。融美華以一冶。非貌合而神離也。].¹² In fact, Cai did not literally write down everything Allen told him but offered suggestions and selected suitable phrases to convey Allen’s meaning, as is shown in the verb pairs Allen and Cai used in the articles they worked together to designate their respective roles. Below are some examples of these verb pairs, with

¹² See Cai Erkang. “Song Lin Rongzhang xian sheng zhan gui Meiguo xu” 送林榮章先生暫歸美國序 (Departure of the editor for U.S.A.). *Wan guo gong bao*, no. 109 (1898), Rpt. vol. 28, 17473-7478. The quoted passage is from 17474-7475.

the former referring to Allen and the latter Cai:¹³ translate and describe/keep record (譯述/筆志);¹⁴ select meanings/offer suggestions (選義/建言);¹⁵ translate/coauthor (傳譯/同作);¹⁶ give a spoken account/take down in writing (口述/筆記);¹⁷ tell events/ compose (比事/屬辭);¹⁸ translate orally/take down in writing (譯語/紀文).¹⁹ The verb pairs also show that Allen followed a similar procedure when he wanted to translate the material of a foreign language into Chinese. In terms of Cai's role in Allen's writing process, he was called Allen's *ji shi* 記室²⁰ (scribe/amanuensis/copyist).²¹ Nevertheless, Allen did not consistently acknowledge the

¹³ The following list is based on Wei 55-56 and Cai appeared with different names: Cai Zhifu 蔡芝絨, Cai Luxian 蔡縷僊, Cai Zifu 蔡紫絨, and Zhutiesheng 鑄鐵生.

¹⁴ See *Wan guo gong bao*, no. 76 (1895), Rpt. vol. 24, 15177.

¹⁵ See *Wan guo gong bao*, no. 78 (1895), Rpt. vol. 24, 15315.

¹⁶ See *Wan guo gong bao*, no. 78 (1895), Rpt. vol. 24, 15316.

¹⁷ See *Wan guo gong bao*, no. 78 (1895), Rpt. vol. 24, 15316.

¹⁸ See *Wan guo gong bao*, no. 79 (1895), Rpt. vol. 24, 15385.

¹⁹ See *Wan guo gong bao*, no. 81 (1895), Rpt. vol. 24, 15522.

²⁰ Cai used the Chinese term to refer to his previous position in *Guang xue hui* 廣學會 (The Society for the Diffusion of Christian and General Knowledge Among the Chinese, or The Christian Literature Society for China), founded in Shanghai in 1887 by a group of Western missionaries with a view to introducing Western knowledge to China through translation. There Cai helped the British missionary Timothy Richard (1845-1919) 李提摩太 (courtesy name: 菩岳) to translate Robert Mackenzie's (1823-1881) *The Nineteenth Century: A History* into Chinese, entitled *Tai xi xin shi lan yao* 泰西新史攬要. Cai also used the Chinese term to refer to Allen's previous Chinese assistant and editor Shen Yugui 沈毓桂 (courtesy name: Shoukang 壽康) (1807-1907). See *Wan guo gong bao*, no. 109 (1898), Rpt. vol. 28, 17474.

²¹ "Scribe" is the general translation of the term but in Warren A. Candler's biography of Allen, he used the term "amanuensis" to refer to the Chinese who helped Allen with Chinese writing. See the following in Candler's book: the picture at the back of p. 168 (showing Allen with his two Chinese amanuenses), p. 215, and p. 217. On p. 215, Van Tze Mei refers to Fan Yi 范禕, 1866-1939, whose courtesy name was Zimei 子美. Fan worked for Allen from 1902 to 1907. On p. 217, Nyung pao Loo refers to Ren Baoluo 任保羅, whose original name before baptism was Ren Tingxu 任廷旭. Ren worked for Allen from 1902 to 1907. Being Allen's amanuenses was

Chinese help he received. For instance, in the seventy-eighth issue of *Wan guo gong bao* in 1895, Allen acknowledged his collaboration with Cai Erkang for four articles but appeared as the single author of a long Chinese article.²² Here, however, single authorship should not mean that Allen composed the entire work by himself but suggests he was occasionally silent about his Chinese assistant(s). There are two reasons for this inference. First, had Allen been able to do the Chinese writing all by himself, he would not have needed Cai Erkang's help for the other four articles. Second, evidence suggests that Allen did not seem to rely less on his Chinese assistants once he gained a better command of the Chinese language. When Allen started to translate Amand Schweiger-Lerchenfeld's (1846-1910) German work *Das Frauenleben der Erde* (Woman in all lands) into Chinese as *Quan di wu da zhou nu su tong kao* 全地五大洲女俗通考 in 1900,²³ he had worked in China for four decades²⁴ and should have mastered the Chinese language. Nonetheless, his Chinese amanuensis Ren Baoluo still did all the writing for the book.²⁵ Several questions regarding how Allen produced his Chinese writings still remain: What

only part of the duty for Allen's Chinese editors. For information about the life and duty of Allen's Chinese editors, see Wei 50-57; Yang 49-53; and Wang 30-39. In James Arthur Muller's biography of the missionary Samuel Isaac Joseph Schereschewsky, Muller mentioned that Schereschewsky had Chinese copyists (p.85) to help him translate the Bible. "Copyists" and "amanuenses" may refer to the same role.

²² See the table of contents in *Wan guo gong bao*, no. 78 (1895), Rpt. vol. 24, 15315-5316 and Allen's single-authored article 15336-5341.

²³ The Chinese translation was published in 1903. Allen pointed out that the translation took three years, see *Wan guo gong bao*, no. 176 (1903), Rpt. vol. 35, 22032.

²⁴ See *Wan guo gong bao*, no. 176 (1903), Rpt. vol. 35, 22030.

²⁵ See *Wan guo gong bao*, no. 176 (1903), Rpt. vol. 35, 22035 and 22037. On the former, Allen described the writing of the book as "all done by Mr. Ren" (皆出任君一人之手). On the latter, Allen's Chinese amanuensis Fan Yi noted the book as authored (撰) by Allen and "all written" (筆述全書) by Mr. Ren Baoluo. Wei Waiyang also points out that Allen appeared as the single author of the works he collaborated with his Chinese amanuensis Shen Yugui (55). Shen worked

were the factors that influenced his decision whether or not to acknowledge? Did Allen always follow the same writing process for his Chinese works? Did Allen possibly write in Chinese by himself first and then ask his Chinese assistants to edit? Was Allen's lack of acknowledgement due to his adopting a different writing process? To address these questions at any length would exceed the scope of this dissertation. I cite Allen's case merely to bring into focus the undeniably collaborative nature in American missionaries' Chinese writings²⁶ and to problematize the single authorship of Chinese novels by American missionaries who appeared to be the only authors. In her book-length study about Chinese novels either originally produced by Western missionaries or translated by them into Chinese, Song Lihua 宋莉華 compiled a long list of these in the appendix. A look at the list shows that some American missionaries specified their Chinese collaborators,²⁷ while some appeared as sole authors.²⁸ As Allen's case suggests, this latter

for Allen from 1880 to 1882 and from 1889 to 1893 (Wei 54). Shen did not know English (Wei 29), but Ren Baoluo knew (*Wan guo gong bao*, no. 176, 1903, Rpt. vol. 35, 22035, 22036). So Allen may have communicated with Ren in English as well.

²⁶ Studies have shown that Allen's composition process was the major way adopted by foreign missionaries. See Yi 7-10, 38-43 and Hanan, "The Missionary Novels of Nineteenth-Century China" 415-16. However, there were indeed some varieties in terms of the writing procedure and Patrick Hanan uses the missionary translations of the Bible as a case study in this regard in his essay "Chinese Christian Literature: The Writing Process."

²⁷ See, for example, Song 268, the entry of the story "Gai liang jia zheng xiao shi" 改良家政小史 (The home makers). The verb *zhu* 著 (author) was attributed to the American Methodist missionary Laura M. White 亮樂月 (1867-?) and the verb *shu* 述 (take down in writing) the Chinese Yuan Yuying 袁玉英. See also Song 264, the entry of the Chinese translation of Henry Van Dyke's *The Story of the Wise Man* (*Di si bo shi zhuan* 第四博士傳). The verb *yi* 譯 (translate) was attributed to the American Presbyterian missionary Mrs. George Field Fitch 費啟鴻 (i.e. Mary McLellan Fitch) and the verb *shu* 述 (take down in writing) the Chinese Wang Hengtong 王亨統.

²⁸ See, for instance, Song 311. The American Baptist missionary Martha Crawford (i.e. Mrs. Tarleton Perry Crawford) appeared as the only author of the story "San ge gui nu" 三個閨女 or

group of missionaries was more likely to be silent about the Chinese help they received than to be really engaged in writing all by themselves. In this way, the Chineseness in missionaries' Chinese novels may owe something to the Chinese who participated in the writing process. Missionaries' English novels, however, present a different story. When writing in English—their mother tongue—missionaries did not have to rely on Chinese assistants to help them produce a correct and idiomatic text. Without Chinese participation, then, missionaries' English novels are more amply representative of their own assimilation to the Chinese scene than their Chinese novels.

Furthermore, a look at the missionaries' audience also leads to the same conclusion. Studies of Western missionaries' Chinese novels have shown that one of their main purposes was to introduce Christian civilization and values to the Chinese as part of a project of “enlightenment.”²⁹ In order to ensure Chinese acceptance, missionaries often sinicized their stories by adopting the narrative forms used in classical Chinese novels, as well as vocabulary or allusions familiar to the Chinese, Chinese values and perspectives in the stories, and/or Chinese ways of living and customs. Nevertheless, these elements of Chineseness were not really the missionaries' main concern. Missionaries' English novels, however, present a different story. Whatever their purpose in writing in English, one of their major tasks was to introduce China to the West. Hence, Chineseness became an indispensable part of these English novels. Given the

“San ge xiao jie” 三個小姐 (Three maidens, or A story of three little girls). The story was first published in 1856 in the phonetic symbols of the Shanghai dialect, invented by Tarleton Perry Crawford. The story was published in Mandarin in 1872. It was an original work not a translation from a foreign language, as Song points out on p.161, n3. See also Song 270. The American missionary Henry Blodget 白漢理 (1825-1903) (of the American Board Commissioners for Foreign Missions) appeared as the only translator of Mary Martha Sherwood's *The History of Little Henry and His Bears* (*Hengli shi lu* 亨利實錄).

²⁹ See Hanan, “The Missionary Novels of Nineteenth-Century China” and Song.

fact that here missionaries have to foreground Chineseness, I find it more appropriate to use their English novels to explore their cultural assimilation and identification.

In contrast to missionaries' Chinese novels, American missionaries' English novels on China, except those by Pearl Buck, have not received scholarly attention. That oversight may be due to two major reasons. First, the irregular, scattered, and vague introduction of these in missionary periodicals could easily have escaped scholarly attention. English missionary periodicals of different denominations usually had a new book column or a book review column, where novels written by missionaries of their own denomination were introduced. However, these appeared occasionally and in different periodicals and may not have allowed readers to ascertain the writers' missionary identity and/or their working experience in China.³⁰ In this way, only long-term periodical readers familiar with the missionary figures would be aware of American missionaries' English novels on China. Second, unlike the classified bibliographies of Chinese missionary literature that usually have a section devoted to fiction,³¹ bibliographies of English missionary literature on China tend to omit any fictional forays.³² Hence, scholars have

³⁰ For an example where the writer's missionary identity and China experience is explicitly stated, see Leiper. For examples without specifying the writers' missionary identity and/or their China experience, see Elliott and the introduction of *Within the Four Seas* in *Chinese Recorder* 62.4 (1931): 258.

³¹ For example, see MacGillivray 65-70; Clayton 154-63; and Guang xue hui section 19 and some entries in sections 20 and 21.

³² For example, see Bliss 575-661; Cordier 695-1364, 3558-778 (Cordier's work is in French but includes English entries); Chu; and Liu 112-29. T'ung-li Yüan's *China in Western Literature* has a category of missionary stories (p.368-69) within the section of missionary writings (p.326-69), but the entries in that category are mainly short stories. Douglas W. Geyer and Lowell K. Handy's *International Christian Literature Documentation Project* has a section of children's stories (p.96), some of which are set in China. Geyer and Handy's work also has sections about Chinese fiction (p.313) but most of their entries are secondary sources; only Ethel A. Tyng's *The Gate of the Moon* is a missionary novel on China.

noticed American missionaries' biographies, memoirs, diaries, and non-fictional works on Chinese social life and customs but not their novels on China. In order to redress this oversight and present a more comprehensive picture, I sifted out the novels by missionary authors from bibliographies of English novels on China published from the nineteenth century to the present—I used Henri Cordier's *Bibliotheca Sinica: Dictionnaire Bibliographique des Ouvrages Relatifs à l'Empire Chinois* (*Bibliotheca sinica: Bibliographical dictionary of the works relating to the Chinese empire*) (pp.1761-780, 3162, 3936-940), T'ung-li Yüan's *China in Western Literature: A Continuation of Cordier's Bibliotheca Sinica* (pp.439-58), and the WorldCat (the world's largest bibliographic database) and checked them against all kinds of biographical reference works. In the following chapters I will discuss the American missionary novels I found chronologically—I will group them either according to their settings or publication dates to fit the time frame of the chapter.

II. Major Issues

1. Cultural Assimilation and Identification

The distance between American missionaries and the Chinese scene they described in their novels reflects their cultural stance in two ways. First, their intellectual distance from the Chinese scene—what they knew about it and how deep their knowledge and understanding was—suggests the extent of their assimilation to China. Second, their emotional distance from the Chinese scene—whether they were receptive to it and whether they shared the feelings and concerns of the Chinese people—hints at the degree of their identification with China. Some criteria come to mind by which we can judge American missionaries' novelistic reflection of the Chinese context in terms of cultural assimilation and identification. First, to explore American missionaries' assimilation to the Chinese scene as expressed in their novels, we should look at

their knowledge of China in its political, diplomatic, religious, social, artistic, and literary aspects.

With regard to politics, do they know the following: the Taiping Rebellion as a reaction to the corrupt Manchu regime in the mid-nineteenth century, the overthrow of the Qing dynasty and the establishment of the Chinese Republic in 1911, Yuan Shikai's 袁世凱 (1859-1916) attempt to restore the emperorship after the 1911 revolution, the generation of warlordism around the mid-1910s, the cause and effect of the Kuomintang-Chinese Communist Party-Russia alliance in the 1920s, and the Northern Expedition in the 1920s that ended warlordism? Also involved is the ideological change undergone by the Chinese. Do American missionary novelists know about Chinese advocacy of reform through the West at the turn of the century? Do they know how the Chinese shifted their hopes to Communism in the 1920s?

With respect to diplomacy, do they know about the opening of China to foreign powers in the late Qing period due to military weakness (which led to the inferior status of the Chinese vis-à-vis foreigners in China generally and in Shanghai particularly up to the 1920s) and the Boxer Rebellion in 1900 and the Nanjing Incident in 1927 as two major markers of China's anti-foreign agitation?

In terms of religion, do they know the religious life of the Chinese (e.g. Buddhism, Confucianism, Taoism, features of animism and polytheism, and popular practices—ancestral worship, the geomancy of *feng shui* 風水 that believes the orientation of a building influences one's luck, divination, and fortune-telling)?

And finally, do they know about the economic life of the Chinese (e.g. agriculture as main occupation, food, clothing, shelter, and means of transportation)? Do they know that the misery of Chinese peasants primarily lay in their not owning land? Do they know about the rise of peasant and labor movements led by the Communists in the 1920s? Do they know about China's

traditional education system (e.g. passing the civil service examinations as the only way to join the state's bureaucracy)? Do they know about the family as the center of Chinese social relations and traditional features of that family-centered society—several generations living together, respecting the elders in the family clan, sons rather than daughters inheriting the family property and the eldest son having the first inheritance priority (and hence the superior status of sons/males to daughters/females), killing baby daughters and selling daughters as slave girls due to poverty, sons/males having more access to education than daughters/females, males as breadwinners and females being confined in domesticity, family members having mutual obligations for each other, filial piety as a cardinal virtue (e.g. children obeying parents and taking care of them in their old age), marriage as more a family than an individual issue, parental arrangement of marriage (and hence sometimes infant betrothal), having a baby son to continue the family line and to perform ancestral worship as a major function of marriage, concubinage as a solution to a barren wife, and daughters as members of their husbands' family after marriage? Do they know about traditional Chinese marriage and funeral customs? Do they know about traditional Chinese recreations and amusements (e.g. flying kites, playing cricket fighting, gambling, playing mahjong, smoking opium, having beverage at the tea shop, and watching theater performed by theatrical troupes)? Do they know the Chinese festivals (e.g. the lunar New Year, the Dragon Boat festival, the Ghost Festival, and Confucius's birthday) and the ways to celebrate them?

As American missionaries sought not only to convert the Chinese to Christianity but also advocated and participated in China's modernization and western-oriented reform socially, whether their novels reflect the changes going on in Chinese society is an index of their assimilation to the Chinese scene. We can ask the following questions: Do their novels describe the introduction of Western technology to improve China's material conditions, including

electricity, transportation, and hygiene? Do their novels mention the scientific education advocated by the missionaries? Do their novels reflect the changes happening to Chinese women that improve their inferior and subjugated status (e.g. more education, more social participation, and the abolition of slave girls, concubinage, and foot-binding)? Do their novels show the Chinese consensus about choosing one's spouse freely?

With respect to the visual arts, do American missionary novelists know Chinese art (e.g. gardens and calligraphy)?

From a literary standpoint, do they express their knowledge of Chinese language and literature in their novels? If so, how deep is their knowledge?

All in all, we can examine whether American missionaries represent Chinese objects and perspectives in their novels in order to determine the extent of their assimilation to China. Clearly, the religious, social, and artistic aspects mentioned above are embodied in material objects of cultural significance or value in the Chinese context. Hence, if American missionary novelists refer to those objects, that will offer evidence of their assimilation to Chinese culture. In the same vein, we can examine whether the novelists demonstrate their understanding of Chinese perspectives in describing how their characters' adopt attitudes characteristic of Chinese culture and ideology.

Second, to explore whether American missionary novelists identify with China, we can also examine how they deal with objects and perspectives, plot, characterization of the principal characters, and China's social change. To begin with, the way American missionaries present objects and perspectives in their novels suggest their own cultural stance. If the novelists attribute Western objects and perspectives to their Chinese characters, it means they do not identify with China but want to assimilate the Chinese to Western culture instead. In addition, if the plot of a missionary novel involves Sino-Western conflicts, the way these get resolved

betrays whether a novelist favors China or the West. Moreover, the development of a major character—what happens to him/her eventually—is also an index of the novelist’s attitude toward identification. Furthermore, if a missionary writer does not attempt to change China in his/her novels (contrary to most missionaries’ aspiration to modernize and Westernize China), that missionary might well serve as an example of identification with China, given his/her willingness to accept China as it is.

2. Missionary Novels and Their Authorial, Compositional, and Circulation Contexts

In the previous section, I suggested we examine whether American missionary novels support or oppose the changes going on in Chinese society as a way to determine the novelists’ degree of assimilation to the Chinese scene and where they stand in terms of identification. That examination requires we look at the historical settings of their novels. In addition, other historical contexts can help us understand missionary novelists’ cultural engagement with China. First, we might explore the authorial context of missionary novels: What were the novelists’ motives for going to China as missionaries? What kind of work did they do in China? How did they learn Chinese? In addition to learning Chinese as required by their mission boards, what books did they read and what activities did they undertake to understand more about China? What did they think about China, the Chinese, their missionary work, and Sino-Western relations? Moreover, we can explore the compositional context of missionary novels: What were the novelists’ aims in writing? What events triggered missionaries’ composition of novels? How might we describe the relationship between the compositional context of these novels and their historical setting? In order to answer such questions, we might look at missionary novelists’ (auto)biographies, memoirs, private letters, interviews, other authorial and editorial discussions, and the elements that frame their novels (e.g. prefaces and notes). Lastly, we should explore the circulation of

missionary novels and ask who the targeted audience of the novels was, what kind of publishers the novelists chose to publish their novels, and finally what kind of books publicized and reviewed missionary novels?

Chapter 1

The Late Qing Period: Religion and the Taiping Rebellion

I. Historical Background

Emperors Kangxi 康熙 (1654-1722), Yongzheng 雍正 (1678-1735), and Qianlong 乾隆 (1711-1799) created the prosperity of the Qing dynasty, but as Qianlong abdicated the throne in 1795, the dynasty was starting to fall into decline due to administrative corruption, financial stringency, and the pressure of a rising population. Those problems made China vulnerable to both internal rebellions and external invasions (Hsü 123-27). Among these, the Opium War (1840-1842), the Arrow War (1856-1860),¹ the Taiping Rebellion (1850-1864), and the Boxer Rebellion (1900-1901) were all consequences of Sino-Western encounters. The American missionary John A. Davis (1839-1897) adopts a critical view of China in his four novels set during the Taiping Rebellion—*The Chinese Slave-Girl: A Story of Woman's Life in China* (1880); *Choh Lin, the Chinese Boy Who Became a Preacher* (1884); *Leng Tso, the Chinese Bible-Woman: A Sequel to The Chinese Slave-Girl* (1886); and *The Young Mandarin: A Story of Chinese Life* (1896). In all these works, Davis serves as a reliable reporter on China, but his depiction of Chinese people's ready conversion to Christianity suggests his identification with Western religion and missionary work.

Before looking at Davis's novels, I want to consider briefly their context as defined by the

¹ Some scholars use “the Opium Wars” to indicate the series of wars that happened between China and the British Empire from 1840 to 1860: The First Opium War, 1840-42; the Second Opium War, 1856-60. Some scholars use “the Opium War” or “the First Anglo-Chinese War” to refer to the Sino-British confrontations between 1840 to 1842 and use “the Arrow War,” “the Arrow War and its aftermath” or “the second and third Anglo-Chinese wars” to describe later hostilities. I use “the Opium War” to indicate the Sino-British war between 1840 and 1842 and use “the Arrow War” to refer to the later confrontations between 1856 and 1860.

four major historical events mentioned above, for these influenced, or were influenced by, missionary work in China.² The Opium War resulted from a trade dispute between China and the British Empire, brought about by the latter's insistence on importing opium into China in order to reverse the flow of silver. Defeated in war, China was forced to sign the Treaty of Nanjing, by which Hong Kong was ceded to the British Empire and China opened five ports—Shanghai 上海, Ningbo 寧波, Fuzhou 福州 (Foochow), Xiamen 廈門 (Amoy), and Guangzhou 廣州 (Canton)—to foreign trade, residence, and consulates. The five ports were all opened on schedule except Guangzhou. Its two anti-foreign governors—Xu Guangjin 徐廣縉 (1797-1869) and Ye Mingchen 葉名琛 (1809-1859)—encouraged the Chinese populace to prevent British entry. The Sino-British relationship was further worsened by the fact that the Chinese government rejected British requests to have resident ministers in Beijing (Peking) (in order to avoid obstinate Guangzhou authorities), to extend trade to other parts of China, to lower customs dues, and to legalize the opium trade. The second war between China and the British Empire finally broke out in 1856 due the Arrow Incident of the same year. The Arrow was a lorcha with a European hull and Chinese sails. Its owner was a Chinese resident of Hong Kong and it was registered with the British authorities of that Crown Colony. On 8 October 1856 four Chinese officers and sixty soldiers boarded the Arrow on the coast of Guangzhou and arrested twelve Chinese crew members for alleged piracy. In the chaos the British flag flying on the boat was hauled down. Harry Parkes (1828-1885), the British consul at Guangzhou, protested strongly against the incident. He requested a written apology from the governor, future respect for the flag, and release of the twelve crew members. For Parkes, any British ship in Chinese

² My following summary of the historical events is mainly based on Immanuel Hsü's *The Rise of Modern China*, ch. 8-10, 16.

waters was British soil and under British protection. Ye, however, did not find it problematic to arrest Chinese nationals by Chinese police on a Chinese-owned vessel in a Chinese harbor. Hence, Ye released the crewmen but declined to offer an apology. On 23 October, British gunboats started bombarding the city of Guangzhou and the French government dispatched a task force as support (due to the murder of the French missionary Abbé Auguste Chapdelaine in February 1856 in the province of Guangxi 廣西, which was not yet opened to the West.) The American and Russian governments did not join the Anglo-French venture, but they sent representatives to participate in peaceful mediations. In June 1858, China signed the Treaty of Tianjin with the British Empire, France, the United States, and Russia. But the Arrow War did not officially end until the Chinese government ratified the treaties in the Convention of Beijing on 24 October 1860 upon a British-French request.

The Treaty of Tianjin and the Convention of Beijing further facilitated foreign missionary work in China for the following reasons. First, the opening of several additional ports—e.g. Niuzhuang 牛庄 (Newchwang) in Manchuria, Yantai 煙台 (Chefoo) in Shandong 山東 (Shantung), Shantou 汕頭 (Swatow) in Guangdong 廣東 (Kwangtung), Qiongzhou 瓊州 (Kiungchow) in Hainan 海南, Nanjing 南京 (Nanking) in Jiangsu 江蘇 (Kiangsu), and Tianjin 天津 (Tientsin) in Hobei河北 (Hopei)—gave missionaries additional centers and made a large part of China accessible for the first time to missionaries. Second, missionaries were now allowed to travel in the interior under the protection of their respective governments. Third, the treaties put Chinese Christians under the protection of foreign powers, which led to an increase in Chinese converts. Fourth, it became possible for missionaries to acquire residences and property in the cities and towns other than the open ports.³

³ The four points are based on Kenneth Scott Latourette's *A History of Christian Missions in*

In fact, before the Opium War and the Arrow War expanded missionary work, there had already been efforts to convert the Chinese. The earliest of these can be traced back to the seventh century, when Nestorian missionaries went to China from the Middle East in A. D. 635. Nestorian Christianity fell into decline due to the anti-Buddhist persecution of 845 in the Tang 唐 dynasty (618-905), revived in the Yuan 元 dynasty (1279-1368) when China was under Mongol rule, but fell into decline again in the native Ming 明 dynasty (1368-1644). Roman Catholic missionaries began their work in China in the Yuan dynasty later than Nestorian missionaries and encountered setbacks because some Ming emperors were anti-foreign. However, they also achieved success in the Ming dynasty. The most well-known was the Jesuit Matteo Ricci 利瑪竇 (1552-1610), who not only converted the Chinese but disseminated Western scientific knowledge to them. After Ricci, Jesuit scientists and philosophers continued to go to China for missionary work. Except for the persecution of missionaries in 1616 and 1622 (which resulted from the suspicion of missionary sedition), missionary work was successful and enjoyed unprecedented prosperity during the early years of the reign of the Qing Emperor Kangxi. What made Emperor Kangxi change his attitude toward missionaries from friendliness to hostility was the “rites controversy,” which referred to the different views among Catholic missionaries themselves about whether Chinese ceremonies held to honor Confucius and ancestors were congruent with Catholic Christianity. The Jesuits thought they were; the Franciscans and Dominicans thought they were not. For the Jesuits, those ceremonies did not run counter to major Catholic beliefs but possessed civil significance and hence were acceptable. Nevertheless, the Franciscans and Dominicans held that those ceremonies were idolatrous and superstitious and hence Chinese Christians should be prohibited from performing them. The dispute later expanded

China, pp. 273-81.

into a conflict of authority between the Chinese emperor and the Pope. In 1721, Emperor Kangxi decided to ban Christian missions in China and in 1724 Emperor Yongzheng issued an imperial edict expelling all Catholic missionaries from China (except for a few Jesuit scientists serving in the court as astronomers). What followed was a century of sporadic state persecution against Catholic Christianity. It was not until the mid-nineteenth century with the Treaty of Nanjing, the Treaty of Tianjin, and the Convention of Beijing that Catholic missionaries revived their activities in China.⁴

Protestant missions reached China much later. Robert Morrison 馬禮遜 (1782-1834) of the London Missionary Society was the first British Protestant missionary to China, arriving at Macao in 1807. Believing that missionaries had to master the Chinese language in order to facilitate their work, Morrison dedicated himself to studying Chinese and translating the Bible into Chinese. American foreign missions were at first meant to be auxiliary to the London Missionary Society. The American Bible Society started helping to distribute the Bible among the Chinese in the early 1820s and hired a Chinese convert (Liang Afah 梁阿發, also called Liang Fa 梁發 1789-1855) as a colporteur in 1833 and 1835. Under the auspices of the American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions (ABCFM) and David W. C. Olyphant (1789-1851) (an American trader with offices in New York and Guangzhou), the first American Protestant missionary, E. C. Bridgman, arrived at Guangzhou in February 1830. Sailing to China with Bridgman was David Abeel 雅裨理 (1804-1846), representing the American Seaman's Friend Society as a chaplain to American sailors in Chinese waters. Although Abeel's term of service in China expired at the end of 1830, his brief stay there made him an advocate of

⁴ For detailed history of Nestorian and Catholic missions in China, see Latourette, *A History of Christian Missions in China* 46-184 and chapter 2 in Jonathan Chao. For details about the rites controversy, see Yang Senfu 126-46 as a supplement to Latourette 131-55.

missions. He then urged his own denomination, the (Dutch) Reformed Church in America, to initiate a mission in and around Xiamen and encouraged women in America and Great Britain to participate in missionary work. Settling down in Guangzhou, Bridgman continued to learn Chinese and began literary work. Among his Chinese publications were religious tracts and treatises and translations of the Bible. His most well-known English publication was the periodical *The Chinese Repository*. It advanced Western understanding of China, not only by missionary news but by information about Chinese laws, customs, history, literature, and current events.⁵ As one of the originators of the Morrison Education Society, Bridgman advocated education to the Chinese in order to improve their Chinese and English literacy and to introduce the West and Christianity to them.⁶ In 1834, Peter Parker 伯駕 (1804-1888) under the ABCFM arrived at Guangzhou as the first medical missionary to China and in 1835 he opened an ophthalmic hospital at Guangzhou. When the Medical Missionary Society in China was formed in Guangzhou in 1838, both Bridgman and Parker were elected vice-presidents. In fact, Bridgman and Parker's work in China was emblematic of the three-fold (evangelical, educational, and medical) approach adopted by Protestant missions, which was part of the reason for their rapid development in China even though they arrived much later than Catholic missions. In addition to the ABCFM, other American missionary agencies (e.g. the General Missionary Convention of the Baptists, the Domestic and Foreign Missionary Society of the Protestant Episcopal Church, and the Board of Foreign Missions of the Presbyterian Church, etc.) also sent missionaries to the Chinese.⁷

⁵ For Bridgman's life and publications, see Wylie 68-72.

⁶ For information about the Morrison Education Society and Bridgman's participation in it, see *The Chinese Repository* 5.8 (1836): 373-81.

⁷ Unless otherwise noted, information in this paragraph is from Latourette, *A History of Christian Missions in China* 209-27.

The fact that Christian missionaries treated their monotheistic religious faith as the source of their psychological and social security was a fundamental cause of their going to the polytheistic Chinese.⁸ Westerners' view of the supernatural is indicative of their secular relationships. Westerners in general and Americans in particular endorse independence and self-reliance. While Americans may participate in a variety of relationships, all of them tend to be transitory and far from intimate. They are ready to abandon one set of relationships when they adopt another. The alienated social relationships cause not only insecurity but great emotionality. Americans' love, hatred, and especially anxiety are all accentuated because they stand or fall on their own. In order to relieve their sense of insecurity and being alone, they find recourse in monotheistic Christianity; its emphasis on a direct link between the one and only God and the individual human soul is compatible with their singular and exclusive approach to secular relationships. In this way, believers do not stand or fall alone; instead, they stand or fall with God. They are saved if they have God; they are lost if they do not. For them, the one and only God is omnipresent, omnipotent, and omniscient. Moreover, He is the Creator of all things and is absolutely good. All kindness, virtue, and purity originate from Him; all evil, oppression, and strife result from man's failure to follow Him. As all men are sinners, the only way for them to be saved is to believe in God. In order to defend its status as the only truth, Christianity (like other monotheistic religions) is armored with an elaborate theology, fierce sermons, and other forms of dialectic exposition. Not only does religion have the Bible as its scripture but there is a huge amount of literature devoted to its interpretation and exemplification.

Christian missionaries' dedication to missionary work is an intensified expression of Christian believers' view that God's success is theirs. In order to protect their psychological and social security, Christian missionaries have to work for God's success. Hence, they are willing to

⁸ Information in this and the following two paragraphs is from Francis L. K. Hsu 238-69.

do their work thousands of miles away from home and live under the most trying conditions for the single purpose of converting non-believers. Their strong identification with their only God also makes them willing to extend their efforts to fields that are not directly religious. In China's case, missionaries also worked to improve education, medical care, and hygiene and to alleviate social evils (e.g. concubinage and foot-binding). As Christian missionaries have strong motivation to defend Christianity as the only truth, an inevitable and unfortunate phenomenon is their condescending attitude toward non-believers and their cultures. "Pagans," "heathens" and other judgmental terms that suggest non-believers' inferiority are common in missionary writings.

Like their Western counterpart, the Chinese view of the supernatural is also an extension of their secular relationships. However, in contrast to the Western ideal of self-reliance, the Chinese emphasize mutual dependence. Their close ties with their primary group, which is usually their family, are not only the basic but the permanent core of other relationships. For the Chinese, human relationships should be multiple and additive. Marriage, for example, does not cut the parent-child bond but supplements it. As with their secular relationships, the Chinese adopt an inclusive approach to the supernatural. Hence, they believe in the coexistence of all supernatural beings and are polytheists. They look for a god to offer them immediate and specific assistance when in trouble; they do not seek a god whose teachings are meant to save all mankind in all ways and for all time. It is therefore common to find a Chinese temple that houses several gods together. This lack of strong belief in a specific god has correlations with several phenomena. First, the polytheistic Chinese do not have the desire to impose their beliefs on others, nor do they react violently to those who would impose their religious beliefs upon them. While there was resistance against Buddhism and Christianity in Chinese history, it was not born purely out of religious reasons. Second, there is no religious scripture that is as widely known to

the Chinese as the Bible is to Westerners. Third, lack of intimacy with the supernatural makes the Chinese rely on fortune tellers of all kinds to foretell their lives. For the Chinese, the world of the supernatural is the same as the human world, having both good and evil. Unlike the perfect Christian God, Chinese gods are not infallible. In order to please the gods, the Chinese make material offerings when seeking supernatural assistance.

The way Christian missionaries distributed Christian literature to spread the gospel led to the Taiping Rebellion (1850-1864), the setting of Davis's four novels. The leader of the rebellion Hong Xiuquan 洪秀全 (1814-1864) was a Chinese Christian who got inspiration from a Christian tract that he received from a missionary. Hong's conversion experience shows that conversion usually consists of four stages: initial contact, self-questioning, acceptance, and voluntary preaching.

Hong's initial contact with Christianity happened in his twenties. Born into a humble Hakka farming family in Canton in 1814, Hong had an extraordinary capacity for study.⁹ He was sent to school when he was seven years old. In the following years, he studied *The Four Books*, *The Five Classics*, Chinese history, and great books of Chinese literature. His talents helped him gain favor with his teachers and with his own family, who believed Hong would pass

⁹ My account of Hong's life, unless specified, is based on Theodore Hamberg's 韓山文 (1819-1854) *The Visions of Hung-Siu-Tshuen, and Origin of the Kwang-Si Insurrection*. Hamberg's book is an important source on the Taiping Rebellion, for it is based on the first-hand report from Hong Ren'gan 洪仁玕 (1822-1864), the Prime Minister of the Taiping Heavenly Kingdom. During the early years of the rebellion, Hong escaped to Hong Kong in 1852, where he met Rev. Hamberg, a Swedish missionary of the Basle Evangelical Society. Hong Ren'gan studied Christian doctrine under Hamberg and told him things about the rebellion. Hamberg made a mistake in identifying Hong's birth year as 1813, as Franz Michael points out. See Michael, *The Taiping Rebellion: History and Documents*, vol. 1, p. 21, note 1. The correct date was worked out by Jian Youwen, see his *Tai ping tian guo quan shi* 太平天國全史 (A complete history of the Taiping Heavenly Kingdom), vol. 1, pp. 1-5.

the civil service examination and become a high officer. When he was about sixteen, the poverty of his family forced him to break off his studies. His relatives and friends regretted that Hong's talents should be wasted on field labor, so they engaged him as teacher in the village. Hong took the civil service examination several times, but never succeeded in attaining the degree of *xiucai*, the first or lowest literary degree. In 1836, when he went to Canton for the examination, he noticed two people in front of the office of the Superintendent of Finances. One of them was a Cantonese who acted as interpreter for the second. This second man did not speak good Chinese; he was dressed strangely in the costume of the Ming dynasty, "in a coat with wide sleeves, and his hair tied in a knot upon his head" (Hamberg 8). This strange-looking man told people about their wishes.¹⁰ He said to Hong, "You will attain the highest rank, but do not be grieved, for grief will made you sick" (Hamberg 8). On the next day, Hong met these two men again and one of them gave him a set of books that included nine small volumes and was entitled *Quan shi liang yan* 勸世良言 (Good words for exhorting the age). Hong brought the set home after the examination. Glancing over the books, he put them in his bookcase, not considering them important. This set was composed and printed by Liang Afah; as mentioned before, he was a Chinese convert and an assistant to Robert Morrison.¹¹ These nine books contained several chapters of the Bible translated by Morrison, essays on important subjects from single texts, and miscellaneous remarks based on the Bible. Together, these books represented Hong's first contact with Christianity.¹²

¹⁰ According to Jonathan D. Spence, this strange-looking man was the American missionary Edwin Stevens (1802-1837). See Spence's *God's Chinese Son: The Taiping Heavenly Kingdom of Hong Xiuquan* 31.

¹¹ For a detailed account of Liang Afah's life, see George Hunter McNeur's *China's First Preacher, Liang A-fa, 1789-1855*.

¹² There are disputes about the year in which Hong was given *Quan shi liang yan* and whether

Although Hong did not pay particular attention to the Christian tracts he received, they somehow influenced him, for Hong later traced his dreams or visions back to this source. In 1837, he took the examination again in Canton but once more failed. Deeply frustrated and grieved, Hong fell sick. During his illness, he had several dreams or visions. In one of these, he was escorted to a beautiful and bright place, in which an old woman took him down to the river and said, “Thou dirty man, why hast thou kept company with yonder people, and defiled thyself? I must now wash thee clean” (Hamberg 10). After being washed, Hong met many virtuous men who brought him to a large building. Opening his body with a knife, they replaced his heart and other parts with new, red ones. In a flash, the wound was closed and Hong could not see any traces of incision. On the walls surrounding this place, Hong saw several tablets with inscriptions exhorting people to virtue. Then he entered another large and beautiful hall. An old man with a golden beard and a black robe sat on the highest place. As he saw Hong, he began to shed tears and said, “All human beings in the whole world are produced and sustained by me; they eat my food and wear my clothing, but not a single one among them has a heart to remember and venerate me; what is however still worse than that, they take of my gifts, and therewith worship demons; they purposely rebel against me, and arouse my anger. Do thou not imitate them” (Hamberg 10). Then he gave Hong a sword, asking him to kill demons but to spare his brothers and sisters. He also gave Hong a seal to conquer evil spirits. Hong’s illness and visions continued for about forty days. In these visions, Hong often met a middle-aged man who helped him exterminate evil spirits; Hong called this person his elder brother. Hong also heard the old man in a black robe reproach Confucius for not having explained clearly the true doctrine in his books,

Hong received the Christian tract from Liang Afah himself. See Franz Michael, *The Taiping Rebellion: History and Documents*, vol. 1, p. 24, note 10; and Peng, *Tai ping tian guo ge ming si chao* 太平天國革命思潮 (The revolutionary thoughts of the Taiping Heavenly Kingdom), p. 6.

and Confucius confessed his guilt. Sometimes in his trance Hong shouted “Slay the demons! Slay the demons!” and claimed to be the emperor of China; he was therefore treated as a madman in the whole district.

After Hong regained his health, he changed both in character and appearance. He became careful, friendly, and taller; his pace became firm and his views liberal. He was still engaged as a teacher. In 1843, when Hong was teaching in a village called “Waterlily,” his cousin Li Jingfang paid him a visit. Li noticed the books *Good Words for Exhorting the Age* in Hong’s bookcase and borrowed them from Hong. After reading the books, Li returned them to Hong and suggested Hong read them, for their contents were unusual and differed vastly from Chinese books. Hong then started reading the books carefully. He found these books corresponded to the visions he had during his sickness six years before. He now realized that the old man who sat on the highest place was God, the man who helped him exterminate the demons was Jesus, the demons were the idols, and his brothers and sisters were the men in the world. Hong felt he knew the way to heaven and was waking from a long dream. Following the books, Hong and his cousin Li prayed to God and baptized themselves. This was how Hong converted. Speaking from a psychiatrist’s perspective, Dr. Y. M. Yap suggests that the interval of six years between Hong’s first contact with Christianity and his conversion involved a period of doubt and uncertainty, which usually precedes the stability that comes after a religious conversion. He points out:

Most cases [of religious conversion] are characterised initially by suffering and sorrow, the result of social pressure acting on unusually sensitive minds. It is hardly ever merely a matter of intellectual conflict, but usually involves an acute emotional disturbance which often presents pathological features, the more so if it occurs in adult persons. The initial depression can be seen in the cases of John Bunyan, George Fox, and St. Augustine The occurrence of visions during mystical,

revelatory experiences is common; witness the well-known cases of St. Paul, George Fox, and Emanuel Swedenborg, the last of whom, like Hung [Hong Xiuquan], gave accounts of his sojourn in Heaven. Acceptance of, or conversion to a new religion is always preceded by a period of incubation. Apollonius of Tyana meditated for five years before he proclaimed acceptance of the Pythagorean philosophy. Saul had no doubt undergone sub-conscious preparation for his final momentous conversion for a long time before he underwent that acute disturbance when he was blind for three days and had hallucinations. On the other hand, Hung [Hong] passed through the acute phase of his conversion at the beginning, and the process was not completed until five years later, the intervening period being apparently quiescent, in contrast with the stormy onset. (302)

After conversion, Hong regarded Christianity as the only true religion and devoted himself to propagating the gospel. He first converted his friend Feng Yunshan 馮雲山 (1815-1852) and his cousin Hong Ren'gan and studied *Good Words for Exhorting the Age* with them. Hong revered the books highly and emphasized his visions and the books as mutually supportive when he preached the new doctrine to others. Since the books included many passages translated directly from the Holy Scriptures without introduction or commentary, Hong interpreted the foreign idiom by himself and made many mistakes. For instance, he applied the pronouns “you” and “he” to himself and considered the books as especially written for and vouchsafed to him by heaven. Despite his problematic interpretation of the Holy Scriptures, Hong's parents and brothers with their wives and children soon converted and received baptism. Because Hong and his followers renounced idolatry and removed the tablet of Confucius from schoolrooms, they became unemployed. Influenced by the Biblical saying that “[a] prophet is not without honour, save in his own country, and in his own house” (Hamberg 26), Hong and Feng went to Miao

tribes and the province of Guangxi to preach Christianity. Their efforts achieved success, as they converted more than one hundred people. Feng later stayed in Guangxi and preached the new doctrine with great zeal in the neighborhood of Thistle Mount. After several years' work, many people were baptized. They gathered together for religious worship and were known as "The Congregation of the Worshippers of God."¹³ As for Hong, he went back to Guangdong. In 1845 and 1846, he remained in his native village, did some teaching, and preached the new doctrine. He wrote several religious essays and odes, which later became the foundational texts of Hong's kingdom.

In late 1847, Hong and his cousin Hong Ren'gan went to Canton to study the doctrine with Issachar J. Roberts 羅孝全 (1802-1871), an American Southern Baptist missionary. Later Hong went to Guangxi again in order to join Feng. At that time, Feng's religious congregation had already won more than two thousand converts. After the death of the Emperor Douguang 道光 in 1850, a pestilential disease in Guangxi Province made more people join Feng and Hong's congregation, which was supposedly immune to contagion. Furthermore, a deep-seated animosity between Hakkas and the original Guangxi inhabitants made many Hakkas seek shelter and supplies from the Feng/Hong group. Due to its constant enlargement and its mixed composition, including refugees and outlaws, conflict with Mandarin soldiers in search of robbers became inevitable. Also, clashes between Christian worshippers and nonbelievers became more and more frequent. In this way, Feng and Hong came under criticism. Their destruction of idols and temples was seen as interference with people's religious beliefs and their

¹³ In Hamberg's book, the Chinese title of the congregation is 拜上帝會 (*Bai shang di hui*, The Society of God Worshippers), but Xia Chuntao points out that it's a mistake. According to his research, the name of Fung's congregation is 上帝會 (*Shang di hui*, The Society of God or The God Society). See Xia, *Tian guo de yun luo: Tai ping tian guo zong jiao zai yan jiu* (The Fall of the Heavenly Kingdom: A Re-exploration of the Taiping Religion), pp. 30-35.

sheltering outlaws as fostering rebellion against the Chinese government. After Feng and Hong escaped capture in one investigation, Hong asked all the congregations in different districts to assemble together in common defense against their enemies. In 1850, he chose the village of Jintian, Guangxi, as his headquarters and sent for his family.¹⁴ All the worshippers of God in different districts were asked to sell their property and bring the proceeds to a public treasury at Jintian 金田. In November 1850, when Mandarin soldiers attempted illegal exactions from some Christian worshippers, conflict arose. On Hong's birthday on January 11, 1851, they celebrated at Jintian and declared their uprising formally. Hong was proclaimed the "Heavenly King" (*Tian wang* 天王) of a new "Heavenly Kingdom of Great Peace" (*Tai ping tian guo* 太平天王). The term *Tai ping* (Great peace) was taken from Chinese classics and *Tian guo* 天國 (Heavenly kingdom) from the Bible. The combination of these two terms *Tai ping tian guo* meant a heavenly kingdom of great peace on earth.

Hong made further use of secret societies to advance his cause. Although Hong criticized their idol-worship, their anti-Manchu stance was consonant with his aim of overthrowing the Qing dynasty. He therefore allowed the members of secret societies to join the Taipings as long as they gave up idol-worship, took up God-worship, and obeyed the Taiping disciplines. Instead of shaving the front of the head and combing the remaining hair into a queue (Manchu style), the Taipings wore long hair. In this way, they became known as the "Long-haired bandits" or "Long Hair." As religious zealots, the Taiping soldiers fought with vigor and defeated the imperial army and local military forces. On September 25, 1851, they took the city of Yong'an 永安 as their

¹⁴ The following summary about the Taipings is based on Immanuel Hsü's book *The Rise of Modern China*, ch. 10. Hamberg's book, published in 1854, does not provide accounts about the Taipings after the November of 1853. Besides, Hamberg made a mistake in indicating Hong was proclaimed King after he took Yong'an in 1851. See Jian Youwen, *Tai ping tian guo quan shi*, vol. 1, p. 229.

new base. Hong now conferred specific titles on his kings: Yang Xiuqing 楊秀清 (1823-1856) was the East King, Feng Yunshan the South King, Xiao Chaogui 蕭朝貴 (1820-1852) the West King, Wei Changhui 韋昌輝 (1823-1856) the North King, and Shi Dakai 石達開 (1831-1863) the Assistant King. Diverse offices, modeled on the institutions of the Zhou dynasty three thousand years earlier, were set up. The Taipings adopted a new calendar and issued a formal announcement in which they condemned the alien and corrupt Manchu rule and its oppression of the Chinese and called for the overthrow of the Qing dynasty.

In the April of 1852, the Taipings broke the siege of Yong'an by the imperial army and moved north. They were unable to take the capital of Changsha, but overran Wuhan and Nanjing in 1853. In March, Hong entered the city of Nanjing victoriously, which was renamed the Heavenly Capital (*Tian jing* 天京). He further sent an army to Northern China and another westward. The northern expedition got near Tianjin, but finally failed due to lack of support. The western expedition encountered strong resistance from the Hunan army led by the scholar-general Li Hongzhang 李鴻章 (1823-1901). Furthermore, internal dissension within the Taiping Kingdom weakened the spirit and energy of the Taiping forces so deeply that they never recovered. After several battles, Li Hongzhang and Zuo Zongtang 左宗棠 (1812-1885) of the imperial army took Jiangsu and Zhejiang and cut the supply sources to Nanjing, the Heavenly Capital, which was now under siege by Zeng Guoquan 曾國荃 (1824-1890). Li Xiucheng 李秀成 (1823-1864), the Loyal King of the Taipings, suggested Hong look for a new base in Jiangxi and Hubei, but Hong did not want to leave, regarding himself as dispatched by God to be king on earth. By early 1864, the food in Nanjing had run out and Hong asked people to subsist on grass. Realizing that the Heavenly Kingdom was coming to an end, Hong committed suicide on June 1, 1864. His son Hong Tianguifu 洪天貴福, sixteen years old, was placed on the throne as the Young Heavenly King (*You tian wang* 幼天王), with Shi Dakai, the Shield King as regent. On

July 19, Zeng Guoquan's army entered Nanjing by force and perpetrated a brutal massacre. The Loyal King helped the Young Heavenly King flee from Nanjing, but the young master's horse stumbled because of panic and threw its rider to the ground. The Loyal King offered him his own horse and let himself be captured on July 22, 1864. The Young Heavenly King fled to Jiangxi but was discovered and executed. In this fashion, the Taiping Rebellion came to an end in 1864. Lasting from 1850 to 1864, it had ranged over sixteen provinces and destroyed more than six hundred cities. It was the largest internal convulsion in mid-19th century China and almost overthrew the Qing dynasty.

Because of the Taiping advocacy of Christianity, foreigners at first showed sympathy and believed support of the Taipings could facilitate not merely the spread of Christianity but foreign trade in China as well. But when it became clear that the Taiping institutions fell short of their expectations, and that the Taipings treated them as people from lesser countries, they shifted their support to the Qing government. As Vincent Y. C. Shih points out, the Taipings' modification and distortion of Christianity to some extent made their teaching appear un-Christian. For instance, the Taiping idea of the Trinity differs from the biblical doctrine of the Trinity: the Taipings took Yang Xiuqing, the East King, to be the Holy Ghost. Besides, in the Taiping teaching, God had a wife, whom the Taipings called the "original wife" (suggesting that God might take a second wife should the original one die). Shih comments that the idea of God having a wife "seems to be the result of the Taipings' taking the fatherhood of God literally. They thought that Jesus, Hung [Hong Xiuquan], and Yang [Yang Xiuqing] were born in the usual way a mortal was born, that is, through the womb of a woman; hence the necessity of a heavenly mother" (161). The deviation of Taiping from Christian doctrine was part of the reason foreigners changed their attitude toward the Taipings from support to opposition. Letters by the American missionary I. J. Roberts from 1852 to 1862 show this shift. On 6 October 1852, Roberts wrote:

Instead of rebelling against the government, with a design of upsetting the dynasty, they seem rather struggling for religious liberty, and *are really upsetting idolatry!* I now begin to sympathise with them in their struggle, and to look for important results. . . . wonderful will be the results should the present be the means of casting down their idolatry, and opening the way for the universal spread of the gospel among them! (Clarke and Gregory 20).

Roberts's view of the Taipings altered as he came to know more about them. By invitation, Roberts joined Hong at Nanjing in 1860 in order to propagate the gospel and administer the ordinance of baptism. After staying with the Taipings for more than a year, Roberts disappointedly observed on 30 January 1862:

From having been the religious teacher of Hung Sow-chuen [Hong Xiuquan] in 1847, and hoping that good—religious, commercial, and political—would result to the nation from his elevation, I have hitherto been a friend to his revolutionary movement, sustaining it by word and deed, as far as a missionary consistently could, without vitiating his higher character as an ambassador of Christ. But after living among them fifteen months, and closely observing their proceedings—political, commercial, and religious—I have turned over entirely a new leaf, and am now as much opposed to them, for good reasons I think, as I ever was in favour of them. Not that I have aught personally against Hung Sow-chuen; he has been exceedingly kind to me. But I believe him to be a crazy man, entirely unfit to rule without any organized government; nor is he, with his coolie Kings, capable of organizing a government, of equal benefit to the people, of even the old Imperial government. He is violent in his temper, and lets his wrath fall heavily upon his people, making a man or woman 'an offender for a word', and ordering such instantly to be murdered

without ‘judge or jury’. He is opposed to commerce, having had more than a dozen of his own people murdered since I have been here, for no other crime than trading in the city, and has promptly repelled every foreign effort to establish lawful commerce here among them, whether inside of the city or out. His religious toleration and multiplicity of chapels turn out to be a farce—of no avail in the spread of Christianity—worse than useless. It only amounts to a machinery for the promotion and spread of his own political religion, making himself equal with Jesus Christ, who, with God the Father, himself, and his own son, constitute one Lord over all! (Clarke and Gregory 314)

E. C. Bridgman, America’s first Protestant missionary to China, also points out problematic aspects in the Taiping form of Christianity:

Their ideas of the Deity are exceedingly imperfect. Though they declare plainly that there is ‘Only One True God,’ yet the inspiration of the Holy Scriptures; the equality of the Son with the Father; and many other doctrines, generally received by Protestant Christians as being clearly revealed in the Bible, are by them wholly ignored. True, they have formulas in which some of these doctrines are taught; but, then, these are borrowed formulas, and they have used them without comprehending their true import (Clarke and Gregory 149-50).

Furthermore, the Taipings’ self-contradictory diplomacy disappointed foreigners. Although the Taipings claimed to treat foreigners as equals and called them brethren, they expected foreigners to submit to their Heavenly King. As Robert M. McLane, US Minister to China, indicates in his report to the US Senate,

. . . however friendly they [the Taipings] might be induced to be, our people [US citizens] would be obliged to hold intercourse with them as brethren coming from

afar to accept their faith and their sovereign, a man sent by the Almighty to reign over all on earth; so that, whatever might be the actual political power of the revolutionary government, or my conclusions concerning the morality or spiritual character of its organization, I should be quite unable to deal with it in any mode by which intercourse is conducted between foreign nations. (Clarke and Gregory 134)

II. John A. Davis's Novels

As Davis's four novels that feature conversion are set in the Taiping Rebellion, we can use that historical event to check his engagement with Chinese culture in two ways. First, we can compare Davis's characters' conversion with the historical figure Hong Xiuquan's in order to explore Davis's attitude toward Chinese and Christian religion. Second, we can check Davis's presentation of the Taipign Rebellion and see how deep his understanding of the rebellion is.

To begin with, while Davis's characters' conversion (like Hong Xiuquang's) includes the stages of initial contact, acceptance, and voluntary preaching, they differ from Hong in not encountering the stage of self-questioning (which as pointed out before is common in the conversion process) suggesting Davis's strong belief in Christianity.

When the characters in these novels initially make contact with Christianity, they are ready to accept it because their belief in Chinese gods fails to satisfy them. For instance, Leng Tso, the protagonist in *The Chinese Slave-Girl: A Story of Woman's Life in China* learns Christianity because she is desperate. Born into a poor family in Southern China, Leng Tso is sold by her father to a cruel master, Hou, in Thau Pau. Leng Tso's father doesn't break any laws: it is a Chinese custom for poverty-stricken families to kill their baby girls or to sell their girl children as slaves. Khiau, Leng Tso's neighbor and playmate in Thau Pau, goes to a foreign country in order to earn sufficient money to set Leng Tso free and make her his wife. Before Khiau comes

back, Hou, in a fit of anger, sells Leng Tso off as the second wife of an opium-smoker, Sek. As a second wife, Leng Tso is little better than a servant. She has to tolerate the first wife's beatings and abuse; she has no power to resist even when the first wife takes away her baby son and makes it her own. Sek kills himself after losing all his property in gambling. Leng Tso is again sold away, this time as the full wife of Ban, a merchant, with whom she has four children. One girl falls sick and dies while the other baby girl is given away by its father and grandmother. One son is stolen and the youngest son, together with his grandmother and father, is lost or taken prisoner by the Taiping rebels when they capture the Foo city. Leng Tso's home is burned and her husband's property confiscated when government soldiers capture the city from the rebels. Leng Tso, who once had a family and was rich, becomes homeless and penniless. Her misfortune makes her lose faith in Chinese gods. One day she happens to go to a mission chapel. Living a life full of sorrow, Leng Tso becomes interested in what the foreign missionary says about the city of heaven, where no one suffers, none are hungry, none are sick, and none die. Learning more about Christian doctrines, Leng Tso is touched by the Christian belief that God loves the world so much that He gave His only Son to save it. Similarly, in *Choh Lin, the Chinese Boy Who Became a Preacher*, Mrs. Lee, Choh Lin's mother and the first person in the family who converts to Christianity, comes into contact with Christianity when consecutive misfortunes—poverty, famine, the death of her husband, and deprivation of her property by relatives—make her feel the Chinese gods she worships don't answer her prayers. Showing his characters' unhappiness under Chinese gods, Davis stresses the insufficiency of Chinese religion and the necessity of a new one such as Christianity that is able to offer the Chinese much more spiritual consolation.

As a missionary, Davis leaves out any description of doubt, self-questioning, and uncertainty that a person usually feels toward a new religion. His principal characters don't

hesitate to accept Christianity. Instead, they display great interest in Christianity as soon as they learn about it. Although Leng Tso asks the foreign missionary in the chapel several questions (ch XXIII), her purpose isn't to judge whether Christianity is really better than her original religious belief, but simply to know more about the new religion. Similarly, Thean, the protagonist in *The Young Mandarin* doesn't undergo any uncertainty before he accepts Christianity. When Thean hears about God, he buys a Bible. The more he reads it, the more interest he has in Christianity. He even pays a visit to a missionary in order to discuss the Bible with him. Mrs. Lee in *Choh Lin* identifies Jesus as the life-giving God she has been searching for the moment she enters a chapel. Although several of Davis's minor characters, such as Mrs. Lee's mother-in-law and Choh Lin's old uncle, initially show doubt about Christianity, their resistance doesn't last long and eventually they convert. His characters' lack of doubt about Christianity indicates the extent to which Davis identifies with Western religion and his eagerness to convert the Chinese. Also, the publishers of Davis's novels (Student Missionary Campaign Library, Presbyterian Board of Publication, and Congregational Sunday-school and Publishing Society) suggest they are meant to be used to train missionaries or to encourage participation in missionary work.

Clearly, the development by which Davis has his characters convert to or accept Christianity suggests his desire to promote Western religion. Most of his characters convert to Christianity in the end; although those non-Christian Chinese who persecute Chinese Christians do not, their admiration for those who do suggests their eventual acceptance of them. That Davis favors Christianity can be detected from the way he dramatizes two contrasting personality types. Whereas non-Christian Chinese are irrational and mean in persecuting Chinese Christians, Chinese Christians are steadfast in their faith despite persecution. In *The Chinese Slave-Girl*, the reason non-Christian Chinese use to drive out Chinese Christians sounds superstitious: they believe forsaking worship of the gods and the spirits of the dead will bring pestilence and death

(346). Furthermore, non-Christian Chinese are portrayed as so malevolent that they even seize Chinese Christians' property when driving them out. Non-Christian Chinese say to Chinese Christians: “. . . leave the village! . . . go out quickly. Never return! . . . No, no! . . . not a buffalo, not a hoe, not a single tool, shall go with you from the village. Go, but go alone! Your wives, your children, and clothing for them, you may take, but nothing more” (348). On the other hand, Chinese Christians are described as firm in their belief. Liong's reflections and remarks suffice: “. . . he [Liong] began to understand what it cost to be a Christian—what it meant to leave houses and lands for Christ's sake” (347); he says, “True . . . you [non-Christian Chinese] may starve the life out of our bodies, but you cannot starve the doctrine out of our souls. We will not give up the true God” (348). In *Leng Tso, the Chinese Bible-Woman*, Chinese Christians similarly remain faithful even though persecution makes them exiles and outcasts. In his portrayal of the conflict between non-Christian Chinese and Christian Chinese, Davis employs non-Christian Chinese irrationality and meanness to suggest Christians have a better personality. In *Leng Tso, the Chinese Bible-Woman*, bitter words by the non-Christian Chinese toward Chinese Christians become less hateful because the “kind and meek of spirit” (170) among Chinese Christians move them; when Soe refuses to give up his belief in Christianity in spite of non-Christian threats, the narrator says, “In their [non-Christian Chinese] hearts they really liked him [Soe], for he was a noble, kind-hearted man” (197). His description of how non-Christian Chinese gradually come to appreciate Chinese Christians suggests Davis believes Christianity makes people better.

In contrast to what he says about his Chinese characters' Christian mindset, Davis depicts their perspective before conversion very inadequately and this inadequacy shows his negligence of Chinese ideology. The Chinese Christian perspective comes out in three ways. First, converts regard themselves as sinners loved by God. In *The Young Mandarin*, after Thean's grandmother

converts, she sees herself as a sinner and believes God's love will bring her joy and peace. So she no longer fears death, convinced God will lead her to heaven after she dies. As she says in her illness, "Lift me up! Lift my hand! He is coming! I want to take his hand! Jesus! Do you see him? How beautiful! How glorious! . . . He will take my hand and lead me through the dark valley. I shall fear no evil. He has my hand and is leading now. The darkness is going; it is light; so light" (331). Secondly, Davis's Chinese characters adopt a Christian viewpoint in attributing everything to the will of God after they convert. In *Choh Lin*, Choh Lin ascribes his recovery from illness to God's mercy; Chi Lap explains that he escaped from the soldiers because God heard his prayer. In *Leng Tso, the Chinese Bible-Woman*, Khiau So and Iau consider their illness and approaching death to be at God's discretion. As Khiau So says, "the Lord knows best, and it may be that I needed to become ill for some wise purpose" (304). Similarly, Chinese Christians try to explain why they and foreign missionaries endeavor to abolish foot-binding. It was an old Chinese custom to bind girls' feet in order to prevent them from fully developing, for small feet were regarded as "the sign of gentility and good breeding" (48); large-footed women belong to the lower classes and are only able to marry poor workingmen (44). By contrast, foreign missionaries regard foot-binding as a sin against God who created man, and Chinese Christians adopt the same perspective. Thus the young preacher Lee Choh Lin points out:

This custom [foot-binding] is not only injurious to humanity, but is plainly sinning against God. . . . We must remember that God is all-wise and made our bodies and all our members, each member being perfect. Man must be very brave to dare to use this cruel method and violently change what God has made. Can such a person be without sin? I think not. . . . Thus it is plain that the feet should not be bound.

(280)¹⁵

Thirdly, the recurrent references to the Bible reveal a preoccupation with Christianity. In *The Young Mandarin*, Thean assiduously studies the Bible and sees it as a book of truths that offers him spiritual recourse and life guidance. When expressing his unwillingness to lie about his visit to the missionary, he refers to the Bible and says, “. . . it is wrong to lie. It is contrary to the teaching of the Holy Book of foreigners” (377). Although Davis knows the Chinese worship

¹⁵ Foot-binding was a custom practiced by the Han Chinese. The Manchus, who conquered the Ming dynasty in the seventeenth century and founded the Qing dynasty, did not observe this custom. According to *The Encyclopaedia Sinica*, several Qing emperors issued edicts against foot-binding. Emperor Kangxi, for instance, in 1665 issued an order that all parents binding their children’s feet after the first year of his reign should be sternly punished. Kangxi’s effort was a complete failure and the edict was withdrawn after four years. One of the difficulties to abolish the custom lay in people’s belief that no husbands could be found for girls with unbound feet (29-30). Foreign missionaries contributed a lot to promoting anti-footbinding sentiments. As early as 1853, Eliza Jane Gillett Bridgman, an American missionary and the wife of Elijah Coleman Bridgman (the first American missionary to China) already noticed the problem of foot-binding in her biographical work *Daughters of China: Or, Sketches of Domestic Life in the Celestial Empire*. She notes, “By long-established custom, woman in China is confined to the inner apartments, her feet are cramped, and she never goes out except on some particular idolatrous days She must have no will of her own, but be entirely subordinate to her mother-in-law. Not treated as a companion by her husband, untaught in books, what are her resources?” (80). In 1867, a mission school in Hangzhou requested that its girl students unbind their feet (Little 145). The Methodist girls’ school (opened in Peking in 1872) made unbinding feet a condition for entrance (Tuttle 67-68). The first anti-footbinding society was founded in Amoy in 1874, mainly through the efforts of the Rev. John Macgowan (of the London Missionary Society) (Dennis 352). Non-missionaries also strived to suppress the custom of foot-binding. In 1895, ten ladies of different nationalities formed Natural Foot Society (*Tian zu hui*), with Mrs. Archibald Little, the wife of a British merchant, as president; the society held public meetings in many cities in order to raise people’s awareness about the evils of foot-binding. Kang Youwei, a Chinese scholar and prominent political thinker, also established societies to advocate anti-footbinding in the late nineteenth century. See the articles “Anti-footbinding” and “Footbinding” in *The Encyclopaedia Sinica*.

gods by burning incense sticks and paper money, his references to those objects are meant to show Chinese heathenness and to criticize Chinese worship as complicated and material-oriented. For Davis, the Christian way of worship is simpler and better since the Bible is the only object required.

In Davis, Chinese perspectives tend not to be well developed and are too sketchy compared to Christian perspectives. For example, in *Choh Lin*, the Chinese perspective on mutuality in the family system is presented only one-sidedly. Choh Lin's mother Mrs. Lee is a dutiful mother. She takes care of her children after her husband dies, and arranges their education and marriages. However, Davis doesn't show how Choh Lin and his brother reciprocate by taking care of their mother after they both have successful careers. Since his obsession is religion, Davis doesn't portray Choh Lin as a dutiful Chinese son but characterizes him as a pious believer in Christianity.

Many of Davis's characters do not stop at conversion but go further, dedicating themselves to spreading the gospel. Their dedication serves three purposes: first, it proves the greatness of the Christian religion, which makes people willing to promote it; second, it allows Davis to affirm his own career choice as a missionary; third, it suggests his desire to encourage missionary work and to change China into a Christian nation. In *The Chinese Slave-Girl*, that the protagonist Leng Tso voluntarily preaches Christianity after she finds spiritual recourse in it indicates the greatness of Christianity. Leng Tso becomes interested in Christianity after a life of slavery and dispossession. In order to read the Bible and understand more about God, she attends the school established by foreign missionaries at the age of forty. She finally accepts the Christian tenets and regards herself as a sinner who worships idols and feels hatred towards her mother-in-law. After conversion, she feels relieved of all emotional burdens. She is poor yet happy. Wanting to share her experience with others, Leng Tso devotes herself to voluntary

preaching. She spreads the gospel from door to door and inspires in many Chinese women an interest in Western religion. Davis highlights the change in Leng Tso: “. . . the large-footed woman was truly a lady as if she had been brought up in the most cultured family of China. Leng Tso had seen much more of the world than most Chinese women, and her life of sorrow, added to her most loving nature, now sanctified by a Christian spirit, made her appear to her acquaintances as a refined lady” (379). Leng Tso’s misfortune and her drastic change after conversion point to the power of Christianity and the inability of Chinese religion to provide spiritual consolation for the Chinese. As Davis sees it, the Chinese Leng Tso ironically cannot find comfort from Chinese religion when she is desperate and that is why she turns her attention to Western religion.

In addition to Leng Tso, Choh Lin in *Choh Lin* and Thean in *The Young Mandarin* also do voluntary preaching and serve as mouthpieces for Davis regarding his career choice as a missionary. In addition to the outer conflict between non-Christian Chinese and Chinese Christians, the novel *Choh Lin* presents another kind of conflict—Choh Lin’s inner conflict between being a merchant and being a preacher. As a merchant, Choh Lin would have a comfortable life, enjoy all luxuries, and be respected by his people. As a preacher, Choh Lin would have a meager income, have to live among strangers, and be despised by his people who seek to overcome Christianity. Choh Lin finally resists the temptation of money and chooses to be a preacher. As he says, “Dollars cannot buy me. I belong not to this world, but to eternity, and for that I will live. Yes, I will be a preacher” (231). Earlier in the novel, Davis indicates that the Bible does not allow people to serve both God and Mammon. As a devout Christian, Choh Lin chooses to serve God. Making use of Choh Lin’s case, Davis affirms his own choice as a missionary, who will be rewarded only spiritually and will not enjoy material gain.

As a spokesman for Davis, Thean in *The Young Mandarin* expresses a further willingness

to sacrifice everything and even to die for his religion. Thean, who successfully passes the government examination, receives the honor of *xiucai*, a literary degree, and is appointed a mandarin in Foochow. Although many Chinese dislike or hate foreigners, Thean appreciates their contribution to breaking the power of the Taiping rebellion and the unselfishness of missionaries who give famine sufferers all the money they raise. In contrast to foreign missionaries, Chinese officials and their servants rob sufferers of more than half the money sent by the imperial government. When Thean hears about God, he buys a Bible. The more he reads it, the more interest he has in Christianity. Thean's friendliness toward foreigners and his eagerness to reform corrupt Chinese officialdom make him an object of persecution. He is accused of taking bribes, becoming intimate with missionaries, and acting as a foreign spy. Refusing to renounce his belief in Christianity (which for Chinese mandarins means the choice of all that is associated with foreigners), Thean is finally degraded from his office without hope of restoration. Thean's subsequent statements show his religious fervor: "I will not! I will die for, but never deny him! He is my Saviour, my all!" (392). When Thean is sent back home, he admits to his father that he believes in Christianity and that, despite his degradation, it is not disgrace; he has peace instead. As a Christian, Thean believes he is doing his duty and "his services would be rewarded by a mightier Monarch than ruled the Middle Kingdom" (373). Even though Thean loses his post, his belief in God brings him joy of heart. As a believer, spiritual elevation matters much more than secular fame and wealth. He says, "I would rather have what fills my heart to-day than the highest office in the empire with my hungry heart. That is satisfied" (378). As a mouthpiece for Davis, Thean declares he can die for God as well. Davis understands that his missionary work in China will encounter obstacles and resistance, but he will remain as steadfast as Thean, who would rather become a commoner than give up his belief.

On a deeper level, Davis's reflections on the career of a missionary through the cases of

Choh Lin and Thean are not only for himself but also for the purpose of promoting missionary work. In his preface to *The Young Mandarin*, Davis points out that the gospel is a panacea for China. As he notes, “[t]here is only one reasonable, honorable, safe way of treating the Chinese. Give them the gospel in practice as well as in theory and there will be no Chinese problem for solution” (6). The Chinese problems presented in the novel include the following: Chinese mandarins are corrupt and selfish, the social order is bad because of rampant piracy, and Chinese people are superstitious and cruel. His belief that Christianity is the cure-all makes Davis work as a missionary in China. One man’s effort is inadequate. Davis seeks to encourage more people to devote themselves to missionary work. As Choh Lin’s case demonstrates, devout Christians should choose a religious career that rewards them spiritually. Portraying Thean as a role model for Christian martyrdom in *The Young Mandarin*, Davis seeks to inspire more people to work as missionaries in China. Thean’s story tells people it is difficult to do missionary work in China, but that the work is worth doing, for they who sacrifice as martyrs for the religious cause will get spiritual rewards, which is an elevation and honor. Earlier in *Leng Tso, the Chinese Bible-Woman*, Davis had already expressed a wish to change China into a Christian nation (109). His condescending view that the missionary effort to spread the gospel by the establishment of a girls’ school will “elevate and save” the Chinese (167) demonstrates his rejection of China as it is.

With four novels set in the Taiping Rebellion, Davis was able to work out a stance toward the Taipings that was at once both criticism and defense—a reflection of his own two-fold viewpoint. In *The Chinese Slave-Girl*, Davis demonstrates how destructive the Taipings are when they are conquering the Foo city:

. . . the rebels acted like demons. Not only were the idols of the temples destroyed and the temples themselves left in ruins, but the grounds around the beautiful

buildings were desolated. Not a temple was left standing in the whole city. Not content with destroying these, the rebels pulled down the houses of the people and left whole streets in ruins. The bare walls of the houses or the piles of rubbish told where thousands of homes had been. Nor did they stop with this work of destruction. Every officer of the government, every Mantchu [Manchu] and every relative of the officers whom they could find were butchered. Friends of the Tartars and those known to be enemies of the Tai Pings were murdered by hundreds. Parents and children were left dead together in their own ruined homes or in the streets before their doors.

Every one who could escape from the city did so; many were caught and killed as enemies upon no other proof than the fact that they were leaving the place. Some hid themselves in old walls or among the ruins of the city, but these were at length forced by hunger to come from their hiding-places, many to suffer a more speedy death. Near the wall was an old covered ditch hidden from view. Into this damp and filthy place many crept, some to die, and others to be killed when they came from their hiding-place. A few remained until a favorable opportunity came, and then escaped. . . .

When the rebels had finished their work of destruction, a large part of the city was in ruins and some of the streets were almost paved with dead bodies. These were left unburied, to rot in the sun and to fill the air with a horrid stench that made the Foo city a charnel-house of corruption, whose pestilential breath soon added to the already fearful list of the dead. (276-77)

In addition to the devastating destruction and death toll, the Taiping rebellion encourages a degenerate social order. Davis points out in the same novel: “Many [insurgents], pretending to be

rebels, were merely robbers, watching for a chance to plunder. It was one of these bands of robbers which had stolen Ban's money and son" (266). Even "soldiers joined in their work or sanctioned it for a share of the spoils"; robbers also "pretended to be soldiers in search of Tai Pings, so forced entrance into many a house that would otherwise have resisted them to the last" (*The Young Mandarin* 67).

As a foreigner, Davis is proud of the effectiveness of foreign powers in helping the imperial government put down the rebellion. In *The Young Mandarin*, Thean expresses his admiration of foreigners' contribution to restoring peace. He says, "Foreigners have brought much good to the Middle Kingdom Who was it that broke the power of the Tai Ping rebellion? Foreigners. Had it not been for their discipline and weapons the present government would have given way to that of rebels" (284). He further shows belief in the West's supremacy and supports the foreign presence in China. For him, foreign trade does China more good than harm, because Chinese people are learning how to do business from foreigners and eventually shall control it; the money foreigners earn is "the price of . . . schooling" (283). Moreover, he suggests Chinese people "use their [foreigners'] weapons and discipline" and "imitate their methods of government and progress" (289). Through this "education," China someday shall regain its lost power and position. Employing the character Thean as his spokesman, Davis seeks to justify the foreign presence in China, whether for putting down China's inner strivings, conducting business, or preaching like himself.

At the same time, Davis defends the Taipings, showing more sympathy for them than for the imperial army. He points out in *Choh Lin*: "Now began a massacre. The capturing [imperial] forces attacked the few rebels they found and cruelly butchered them. . . . The greater the number of slain the more would seem the courage of the conquerors. The rebels were cruel, but the mandarin soldiers were far more so" (153-54). Similar comments can also be found in *The Young*

Mandarin: “Rebels were savagely cruel; imperial troops and officials were demons when in power. . . . Tai Pings failed to equal in barbarity the men [mandarin soldiers] who at last conquered them. If the devil ever becomes superannuated or unable to do his work, he may find an able representative in some mandarin of China, unless that nation changes” (68-69). Davis’s sympathy for the Taipings can best be detected from his juxtaposition of the two sieges of Amoy (first by the Taipings and then by the imperial soldiers). In describing how the Taipings take Amoy, he de-emphasizes the negative effects for the civilians. He notes, “Though they had captured, the rebels knew that they could not hold Amoy long without a battle. Until forced to fight, they meant to enjoy peace, so treated the citizens kindly, and in turn were respected and obeyed as rulers” (53-54). By contrast, mandarin soldiers “rob and murder peaceful citizens” when they seek to capture Amoy: “For slight reasons men were arrested, on a little additional provocation killed. He who was suspected of friendship for the rebellion had small chance for life if discovered on the street; if he had money, he was unsafe at home. Money seemed a crime, the possession of valuables dangerous. The jingle of silver in the pocket was worse than a rebel cry” (66-67). The Taiping advocacy of Christianity makes Davis defend them. His religious concern is revealed through the Chinese Christian attitude toward the Taipings in *Choh Lin*. He points out it is difficult for Chinese Christians to pray against the Taipings for their support of Christianity (151). When the imperial soldiers plan to capture Amoy, Chinese Christians can only pray, but they do not know how to pray right:

The sympathy of the people was largely with the rebels, while the rebels were warm friends of foreigners and of the missionaries, and seemed to be very favorable to Christianity. To pray against such an army was a difficult thing for the Chinese Christians. The mandarins were opposed to foreigners, to missionaries and their religion, so that to pray for the national government was a severe tax for the faith of

the converts. (151)

As indicated before, the American missionary I. J. Roberts initially supported the Taipings out of religious consideration (he expected the Taipings to help spread the gospel in China). Here Davis, also a missionary, shows a similar mentality.

Although Davis seeks to both criticize and defend the Taipings, he does not distort history to achieve this purpose; his description of the rebellion conforms overall to history. Negative depictions of the Taipings (analogous to Davis's descriptions) can be found in history books or eyewitness accounts. In "Kou ting ji lue" (A Sketch of the Bandits' Taking of Tingzhou), Cao Daguan notes the corruption of social order and the destruction brought by the rebellion when the Taipings were seeking to capture the city in 1857:

At that time, countless soldiers in every militia [who supported the imperial army] pretended to be robbers more than 20,000 bandits [the Taipings] conducted a siege of the imperial camp from two routes. . . . In a flurry, more than two hundred people in the Hang army and more than one hundred in the Hetian army were killed [by the Taipings]. . . . countless numbers of them were injured. More than half of the houses were burned and hundreds of pigs and cows were looted. . . . a party of 5,000 bandits took Luofang. They committed extreme atrocities: rape, pillage, loot, and killing. (816-17)¹⁶

In "Jinling gui jia ji shi lue" (A Sketchy Note of Jinling, 1853-1854), Xie Jiehe (who was taken prisoner by the Taipings) indicates that the killing was indiscriminate after the bandits took

¹⁶是時各團練勇化爲劫盜者，不可枚舉.....賊分兩路包營，不下二萬人.....。慌亂中杭勇被殺二百餘，河田勇被殺一百餘.....受傷者不可數計，房屋被焚過半，搶劫豬牛數百。.....[賊]分黨五千佔據羅坊，淫掠劫殺，酷毒備至。

Nanjing: “. . . they killed whomever they saw on the road . . .” (651).¹⁷ In “Wan qiao ji shi” (A Factual Account by a Woodcutter in Anhui), Chu Zhifu (who joined the fight against the Taipings) describes the Taiping attempt to annihilate Chinese worship after invading Anhui in 1853, “the bandits commanded people to burn the idols; those who hid the idols were deemed guilty. . . . the bandits closed every nunnery and temple, dismantling bricks to make gunpowder” (94).¹⁸ In “Jian wen za ji” (A Miscellaneous Note of What I Saw and Heard), Mao Longbao (who lived near Nanchang) mentions that when the Taipings entered the city of Nanchang in 1853, “the inhabitants went into hiding and became homeless” (64).¹⁹ On the other hand, positive descriptions of the Taipings (similar to Davis’s depictions) can also be found in eyewitness accounts. In “Fen shi za ji” (A Miscellaneous Chronicle Kept When I Was on Duty), Zhou Zhenjun (who joined the imperial army to fight against the Taipings) notes, “When the bandits occupied Anhui in 1854, they supervised people to repair the river embankment in order to protect civilian farms. Therefore, civilians did not want for food” (20).²⁰ Zhou’s account further suggests the imperial soldiers were more corrupt and brutal than the Taipings. He says, “When the imperial soldiers arrived, they looted and raped much more than the bandits” (22).²¹ In describing his visit to the Taipings in the fall of 1859, Yung Wing (the first Chinese graduate from a U. S. university and a lifelong supporter of reform in China) indicates something positive about them: “The rebels whom we met on the public road were generally very civil and tried in every way to protect the people in order to gain their confidence. Incendiarism, pillage, robbery and ill-treatment of the people by the rebels, were punished by death” (100). Discordant

¹⁷路遇人必殺.。

¹⁸賊勒焚神像，藏匿者有罪.賊封各處庵廟，拆磚熬硝。

¹⁹居民逃匿無所.。

²⁰ 賊踞徽境，督修河堤，以衛民田，故民不乏食。

²¹ 及官兵至，擄貨奸淫更甚於賊

historical evidence about the Taiping attitude toward civilians (both brutal and kind) suggests the complexity of the rebellion, which defies a unified, consistent, and homogeneous presentation. It is this complexity that forces Davis to develop a two-fold attitude toward the Taipings.

However, the fact that Davis remains silent about the deviation of Taiping tenets from Christianity suggests his sympathy for the Taipings is greater than his criticism of them. As mentioned before, other missionaries changed their attitude toward the Taipings from sympathy to rejection once they realized how Taiping tenets deviated from Christianity. As a missionary, Davis must have known that as well, yet says nothing about it. Davis's silence is related to his writing purpose. In order to encourage people's participation in missionary work, Davis has to present the Taiping Rebellion as evidence of the growing influence of Christianity in China.

The Taiping Rebellion offered Davis an opportunity to think about how conversion takes place, how the Chinese could be made to convert, and how conversion brings people from darkness to light. Nevertheless, like the rebellion which finally failed, the conversion narratives described by Davis have many problematic aspects that not only undermine their credibility but also show his resistance to China as it is. To begin with, the plot in Davis's four novels is based on a facile binary division between things Chinese and things Western, with the latter superior to the former. This sweeping criticism of China and eulogy of the West points to a refusal to indentify with China. For instance, Davis juxtaposes Chinese and Christian ways of worship with a view to deprecating the former and appreciating the latter, but his negligence of their similarity makes his criticism or eulogy questionable. In *The Chinese Slave-Girl*, Davis refers to the objects needed for Chinese worship such as incense, food, and paper money, and describes the prayers the Chinese say as a transaction (since the purpose of making offerings and saying "flattering words" is to please the gods so they will answer these prayers). Leng Tso's questions about worship when she is a slave-girl and Khiiau's grandmother So Chim's answers are a good

example:

“ Do the gods take care of us and love us?”

“Yes, if we worship and make offerings in their temple.”

“Will they not love or take care of us unless we pay them for it?”

“You must not say ‘pay them,’ but ‘make offerings to them. . . you must tell the gods that they are great and very powerful and able to do anything asked of them. You must make them believe that you think they are the best and greatest gods in the whole world.” (88)

Making use of a child’s questions, Davis indirectly satirizes the material and transactional nature of Chinese worship. In fact, the difference between Chinese and Western worship is not as clear-cut as Davis suggests. Although no offerings are needed in Christian worship, the hymns and psalms used in praise or worship of God actually perform a similar function to “the flattering words” employed in Chinese worship. Davis’s silence about this similarity suggests he criticizes Chinese religion based on his belief in Christian supremacy.

In *Leng Tso*, Davis uses the same (problematic) binary rhetoric to criticize Chinese burial customs and glorify Christian ones, but the ritual differences between these fail to present a valid criterion for denying or affirming the value of either. Davis observes that a Chinese non-Christian family buries the body of their child as if it had been a brute—without the use of a coffin and without any ceremonies—believing that to give the body a decent burial would prove concern for the child, which would gratify the enemy whose spirit enters the child’s body and kills it. In contrast, a Chinese Christian family gives its child a decent burial: it holds a funeral, reads Scriptures, sings hymns, and offers prayers. Davis’s comments show his identification with things Christian: “It was a Christian burial, and the sting of death was not felt; for to the mourners the little one was not dead, but asleep in Jesus. In the other burial there was nothing of

Christ and nothing of heaven, nothing of immortality and nothing of a resurrection. . . . [it] is the superstition of heathenism” (329-30). Conspicuously, Davis denies the value of Chinese folk customs, even though the Chinese non-Christian family may feel no less grief than the Chinese Christian family. Solely focusing on differences in external rituals, Davis is reluctant to acknowledge they actually function in emotionally similar ways.

In addition, the deliberate and naïve contrast Davis sets up between his characters’ misfortunes before they convert to Christianity and their fairytale-like happiness after conversion only weakens the credibility of his conversion narratives. In *The Chinese Slave-Girl*, before Leng Tso converts, she worships Chinese idols while suffering one misfortune after another. After Leng Tso converts, she feels unbounded joy and experiences one miracle after another. She reunites with her mother and brother, finds her long-lost son, and meets her old love. While Davis makes use of Leng Tso’s happiness after conversion to emphasize the power of Christian belief, this strategy completely denies the comforting power any religion should have. Davis’s Christian-centrism shows his blindness to the psychological value of belief.

Another weakness of Davis’s conversion narratives lies in the way they eulogize without qualification. In *The Young Mandarin*, Thean praises the Bible: “I . . . bought a book telling about Jesus. Reading that, my mind was led to contrast his teachings with those of our sages, and they are alike, only Jesus is even more exalted, his teachings more noble” (386). Similarly, in *Choh Lin*, Choh Lin’s uncle admits the Bible does the Chinese the most good after Choh Lin reads some Biblical passages and compares them to the writings of Confucius. In both cases, the encomiums are vague and abstract—they don’t specify how/why the Bible is more exalted and noble, what “exalted” and “noble” mean exactly, and which passages from the Bible impress them specifically. Given the similarity between the Bible and the writings of Chinese sages, for Davis to insist that the former is better hints at his inability to appreciate cultural differences. His

belief that Christianity is better and his eagerness to convert the Chinese appear to make him avoid describing his characters' doubt and uncertainty about Christianity before they accept it. However, this period of doubt and uncertainty occurs almost invariably in most cases of religious conversion. Without it, Davis's conversion narratives seem implausible.

That Davis resorts to external forces to resolve the conflict between foreigners and the Chinese shows a lack of interest in cross-cultural understanding. In *The Young Mandarin*, Thean uses a trick to capture the pirates who rob both Chinese and foreigners but specifically wound and kill foreigners. These pirates are decapitated and their bodies left uncared for in order to give the public an object lesson. The severe punishment inflicted on Chinese pirates who hate or are hostile toward foreigners shows Davis is willing to resort to violence to resolve cross-cultural conflicts. Another example from the same novel: the conflict between Chinese people and foreign missionaries finally gets resolved by the acknowledgment of foreigners' treaty right to do religious work in China. As Thean puts it, "You need not worship foreign gods, nor have anything to do with them, and no one will compel you to go to any place of worship, whether it be in our own temples or foreign chapels. But, according to the treaty, we must allow our people to worship as they will, unmolested" (355). Thean then persuades the Chinese to rebuild the ruined structures in order to allow missionaries to do their work unmolested. His resort to legitimacy suggests Davis is unable to find any other reason to justify foreign missionaries' presence in China.

To conclude, Davis is overall a reliable reporter on China. As discussed before, he does not distort history when describing the Taiping rebellion. In fact, the Chinese customs he mentions in *The Young Mandarin*, *Choh Lin*, and *The Chinese Slave-Girl* (e.g., the first-month feast for babies; the games of playing shuttlecock, top spinning, cricket fighting, and kite flying on September 9th; the burial of a dead body; the burning of paper money and other paper articles for

the dead; and tablet worshipping) all conform to reality.²² However, the inescapable cultural differences between China and the West and his identity as a missionary prevent Davis from identifying with Chinese culture. He imposes external values in describing China as a backward and superstitious country in contrast to the modern and enlightened West. In *Choh Lin*, he criticizes the Chinese as gamblers and Chinese people's hands as not always clean; he comments that the Chinese, who worship ancestral tablets, are "foolish" (59) and the Chinese gods "dumb and helpless" (45). By contrast, foreign doctors are able to cure diseases Chinese doctors cannot and foreigners know an eclipse is simply caused by the earth's shadow—not by a monster trying to swallow the moon, as the Chinese believe. As a missionary, Davis believes the spread of Christianity is "the only remedy" (*The Chinese Slave-Girl* 380) that can save the Chinese people from "idolatry and superstition" (*The Chinese Slave-Girl* 380) and that to change China into a Christian nation is "to elevate and save" the Chinese (*Leng Tso* 167). Since his four novels criticize China and aim at changing it, Davis remains resistant to Chinese culture even after his stay there.

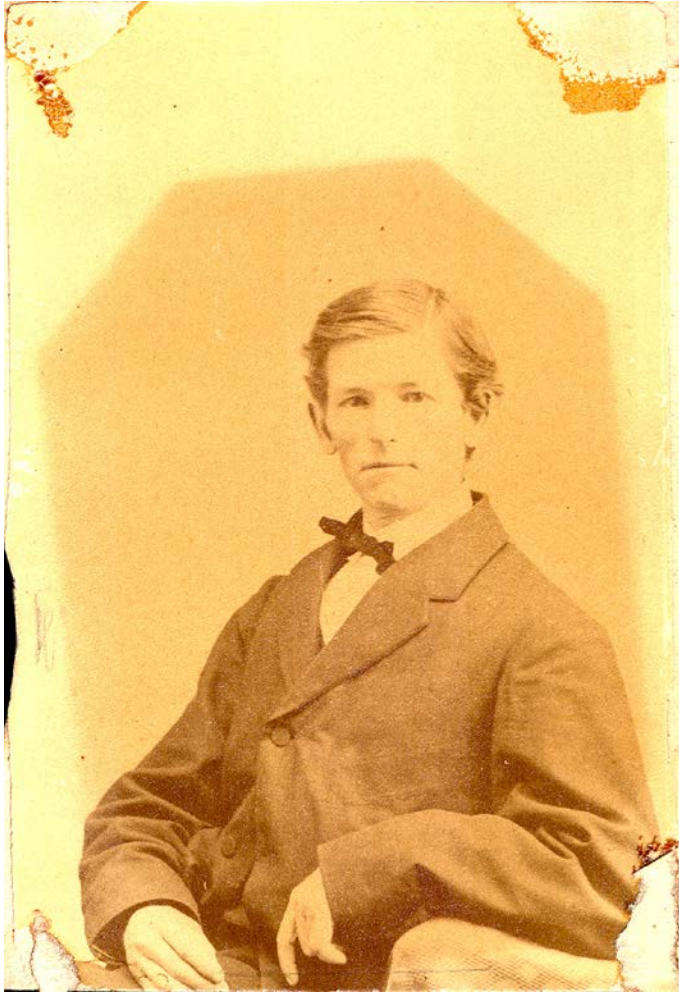
If the Taiping Rebellion sapped the Qing dynasty, the Boxer Rebellion further accelerated its demise. With China's opening to the world, more and more foreigners came to China, but the cultural difference between China and the West made confrontations unavoidable. For example, while foreign missionaries regarded their missions as enlightenment, some Chinese considered them detrimental to the Chinese tradition of worshipping idols and ancestors. Moreover,

²² See Qi Tao, ed., *Zhongguo min su tong zhi* (A Comprehensive Survey of China's Folk Customs), vol. 9. *Sheng yang zhi* (Birth and Raising Children), pp. 213-16 (about the first-month feast for babies), 334 (about top spinning); vol. 8. *Jie ri zhi* (Festival), pp. 330-31 (about kite flying on September 9th and cricket fighting); vol. 11. *Sang zang zhi* (Funeral), pp. 17, 295 (about the burial of a dead body in earth and the burning of paper money and other paper articles for the dead); vol. 15. *Xin yang zhi* (Belief), p. 292 (about tablet worshipping). See also Ki-tong Tcheng's *The Chinese Painted by Themselves*, pp. 18-19 (about tablet worshipping).

foreigners' constant desire to gain more privileges and more land from China stirred up Chinese hostility. This xenophobia culminated in the Boxer Rebellion in 1900, a frantic anti-foreign and anti-Christian movement led by the Boxers, who claimed supernatural immunity to bullets after months of training. In the rebellion, hundreds of foreign missionaries and tens of thousands of Chinese Christians were killed.²³ The Boxer Rebellion was finally put down by international allied forces, but the Qing government was forced to sign the Boxer Protocol and make huge reparations. Subsequent reforms after the Boxer Rebellion led to the end of the Qing dynasty and the establishment of the Chinese Republic.

²³ Eva Jane Price, an American missionary and the wife of Charles Price (also a missionary), wrote down her own experience of the rebellion in *China Journal 1889-1900: An American Missionary Family during the Boxer Rebellion*.

Photograph 1. John A. Davis in about 1865 (Reproduced with permission, New Brunswick Theological Seminary Archives, New Brunswick, New Jersey)



Chapter 2

The 1910s: Reform and Revolution through the West

I. Historical Background

Since the mid-nineteenth century, Chinese history has been characterized by continuous concessions to Western powers. From the Treaty of Nanjing in 1842 to the Boxer Protocol in 1901, China lost its sovereignty and national dignity. Several reforms, which all included measures to emulate the West, were carried out in order to enhance China's national power: the Self-strengthening Movement of 1861-95, the Reform Movement of 1898, the Qing Reform of 1901-05, and the Constitutional Movement of 1905-11. When these reforms turned out to be ineffective, Western-educated Dr. Sun Yat-sen called for revolution. He and his colleagues successfully overthrew the Qing government on 10 October 1911 and established the Republic of China, a democratic government modeled on the West. The 1910s in Chinese history therefore marked the climax of China's change through the West. The novels by the American missionaries Abram Edward Cory (aka Abe Cory) and Paul Richard Abbott reflect this consciousness.

For a long period of time in history, China regarded itself as the center of the world and the paragon of civilization. It called foreigners *yi* 夷, which has been conventionally and notoriously translated as "barbarians."¹ This condescending attitude can best be detected from Emperor Qianlong's statements when he refused the British attempt to further trade relations with China. In 1793, Lord Macartney led the first embassy team from the king of England to the emperor of

¹ *Yi* actually can be translated neutrally as "foreigners," but the translation of the word as "barbarians," a term with negative connotations, has dominated academic writing for more than a century. Lidya Liu reconsiders the translation of *yi* as barbarians and argues that this translation is a historical problem in the nineteenth century, when the declining Manchu Empire struggled with the rising British Empire to gain control over the meaning of the Chinese word, and hence the future of China. See chapter 2 and 3 of her book *The Clash of Empires*.

China with a view to improving commercial relations between the two countries, but Emperor Qianlong claimed there was no need. In his edict to King George III on 3 October 1793, Emperor Qianlong noted:

. . . the virtue and power of the celestial Dynasty has penetrated afar to the myriad kingdoms, which have come to render homage, and so all kinds of precious things from ‘over mountain and sea’ have been collected here, things which your chief envoy and others have seen for themselves. Nevertheless we have never valued ingenious articles, nor do we have the slightest need of your country’s manufactures. . . . You, O King, should simply act in conformity with our wishes by strengthening your loyalty and swearing perpetual obedience so as to ensure that your country may share the blessings of peace. (Cranmer-Byng 340)

[. . . 天朝德威遠被，萬國來王，種種貴重之物，梯航畢集，無所不有，爾之正使等所親見；然從不貴奇巧，並無更需爾國製辦物件。 . . . 爾國王惟當善體朕意，益勵欵誠，永矢恭順，以保乂爾有邦，共享太平之福。(Zhang gu cong bian 58, punctuation mine)]

For Emperor Qianlong, the only thing a foreign country should do to China was to show respect and pay tribute and then it could benefit from China’s superior civilization. Nevertheless, China’s defeat by England in the Opium War in 1842 started to arouse Chinese intellectuals’ sense of crisis about China’s arrogance. They suggested a need to know about and even to learn from the “barbarian” countries of the West in order to strengthen China.

A pioneering scholarly effort in this regard is the book *Hai guo tu zhi* 海國圖志 (An Illustrated Gazetteer of the Maritime Countries), compiled by the scholar Wei Yuan 魏源 (1794-1856), who was versed in military history, economic geography, and the classics. As an associate of Commissioner Lin Zexu 林則徐, Wei’s book was based on the materials compiled by

Lin, including his *Si zhou zhi* 四洲志 (A Gazetteer of the Four Continents), which was probably a compilation of translations from Hugh Murray's *The Encyclopedia of Geography* and was published by Lin in 1841. Wei's book, with its first edition in fifty chapters (*juan*) published in 1844 and a revised edition in a hundred chapters published in 1952, has four parts. Part one introduces the history, geography and political conditions of Western countries; part two discusses ways to deal with the West, as suggested by Wei and his contemporaries; part three presents methods of manufacturing and use of Western ships and guns; and part four describes miscellaneous practical arts of the West (the telescope, astronomy, the calendar). Wei explicitly explained his purpose in compiling the book: "It is for the purpose of using barbarians to attack barbarians, using barbarians to negotiate with barbarians, and learning superior techniques from the barbarians to control barbarians" [爲以夷攻夷而作，爲以夷款夷而作，爲師夷長技以制夷而作] (1).²

China's defeat by Japan in the first Sino-Japanese War in 1895 further proved the necessity of emulating the West, because Japan (which had been China's tributary state from 1368 to 1643) became a powerful nation after its Westernization during the Meiji Restoration. The Chinese scholar Yan Fu 嚴復 (1854-1921), who studied at the Navy Academy in Greenwich, England, and was the first president of Peking University, pinpointed the cause of Japan's transformation: "Japan detests the West, but they pursue Western learning hardily, as if they slept on firewood and tasted gall bladder in order to remind themselves of the bitterness and humiliation of their weak national power. They know that they have no other alternative if they want to conquer other nations and to keep their own alive" ["彼日本非不深惡西洋也，而于西學，則痛心疾首、臥薪嘗膽求之。知非此不獨無以制人，且將無以存國也"] ("Jiu wang jue lun" 50). He called on China to follow Japan's suit and learn from the West. He especially emphasized that the Western

² This paragraph is based on Hsü 275-76, and Teng and Fairbank 29.

values of liberty, democracy, and competition were the keys to power. As he noted,

. . . their liberty is foundation and their democracy application. Their nationals disperse in several countries on one continent, competing for advancement and learning from one another. In the beginning they are jealous of one another, but in the end they complement one another, making the most of one's intelligence and mind, the diversity of which often brings improvement. Therefore, they excel us in their use of law without being restricted by its defects. That is why they put us in awe of them [……彼以自由為體，以民主為用。一洲之民，散為七八，爭雄並長，以相磨淬，始於相忌，終於相成，各殫智慮，此日異而彼月新，故能以法勝矣，而不至受法之弊，此其所以為可畏也] (“Yuan qiang” 11-12).³

Later Yan spent more than a decade translating important Western works, such as Thomas Henry Huxley's *Evolution and Ethics*, John Stuart Mill's *On Liberty and Logic*, Herbert Spencer's *A Study of Sociology*, Montesquieu's *De l'esprit des lois*, and Edward Jenk's *A History of Politics*. Yan in this way introduced the Chinese to Western ideas about evolution, sociology, and politics.

As a matter of fact, during the late Qing period, not only the Chinese themselves but many Westerners also urged emulation of the West. Their ultimate concerns were to facilitate trade relations with China and/or to evangelize the Chinese.⁴ U. S. President Ulysses S. Grant (1822-1885) made the first objective clear in his joint letter to both the Chinese and Japanese governments (the recipients were Prince Kung 恭親王 and Iwakura Tomomi 岩倉具視) on 13

³ Yan Fu eventually abandoned his admiration of the West and appreciated classical Chinese learning. World War I changed his perception of the West. See Teng and Fairbank 151.

⁴ This is based on Wang Shuhuai's argument in his *Wai ren yu Wu xu bian fa* 90-99. Wang also argues that missionaries relied on businessmen's financial support and this was part of the reason for missionaries' advocacy of China's reform. For detailed discussion of the relationship between missionaries and businessmen, see Wang Lixin, *Meiguo chuan jiao shi yu wan qing Zhongguo xian dai hua* 97-114.

August 1879 during his mediation of Japan's annexation of the Loo Choo (Ryukyu) Islands. After completing his second term in the White House, Grant sailed from Philadelphia on 17 May 1877 for a voyage around the world, which lasted more than two and a half years. With China and Japan as his last two stops, Grant was asked by the Chinese Prince Kung to help settle the dispute about Japan's claim to the Loo Choo Islands. Grant conferred with several members of the Japanese Cabinet about the issue when he visited Japan. Though unable to settle the dispute completely, Grant's mediation was said to have prevented a serious disagreement and even war. In addition to showing his expectation that friendly relations between China and Japan could be established in his joint letter to both governments, Grant urged the modernization of both countries through adoption of Western technology (which he called "modern civilization") so that they could enter into world commerce:

The people of both are brave, intelligent, frugal and industrious.—With a little more advancement in modern civilization, mechanics, engineering, &c., they could throw off the offensive treaties which now cripple and humiliate them, and could enter into competition for the world's commerce.—Much more employment for the people would result from the change and vastly more effective would it be.—They would become much larger consumers as well as producers, and then the civilized world would be vastly benefited by the change, but none so much as China and Japan.

(214)⁵

⁵ In the same letter (p. 214) Grant showed how sincere he was about strengthening China; he voiced his disapproval of some Western powers' wanton exploitation of China. For more details about the context of this letter, see John Y. Simon's note 215-26. For details about Grant's visit to China and Japan, see John Russell Young, *Around the World with General Grant*, Vol. 2, 311-613 (or 315-423 in the abridged edition). Young accompanied Grant on his world tour. Young was a correspondent for the *New York Herald* from 1871 to 1877 and was the American minister to

Another case in point was Robert Hart 赫德 (1835-1911), the British Inspector-General of the Imperial Chinese Customs Service from 1865-1908. Hart formally proposed a reform plan for China in 1865, in which he suggested that China learn Western strengths such as transportation and communication technology. He also contributed to the establishment of *Tong wen guan* 同文館 (The College of Foreign Languages), which was intended as a school for the joint instruction of Western and Chinese languages. The College played an important part in disseminating foreign knowledge because many of its professors and students engaged in translation. According to Weng Tonghe 翁同龢, the imperial tutor who advocated the Reform Movement of 1898, Hart made it clear: “In fact, Britain expected China to be strong for the sake of commercial interests” [英國實欲中國興旺，商務有益] (2144).⁶

The other major group of foreigners to advocate China’s learning of Western knowledge were missionaries. Many of their suggestions were published in *Wan guo gong bao* 萬國公報, a Chinese monthly published between 1874 and 1907 (except 1883-1889) in Shanghai by the American missionary Lin Lezhi 林樂知 (Young John Allen, 1836-1907).⁷ For example, the

China from 1882 to 1885.

⁶ Hart’s reform plan was entitled “Ju wai pang guan lun” 局外旁觀論 (Bystander’s View) and it can be found in chapter (*juan*) 40 of *Chou ban yi wu shi mo (Tongzhi chao)* 籌辦夷務始末 (同治朝) (China’s Management of Barbarians, the Period of Tongzhi), edited by Baoyun 寶璽. See also Smith, Fairbank, and Bruner 282-93 for the context of Hart’s proposal and the Chinese response to it. About Hart’s career in China, see Spence 93-128, Bredon, and Wright.

⁷ The English title of the magazine was initially *The Globe Magazine*, which was then changed to *A Review of the Times* after it resumed publication in 1889. The predecessor of *Wan guo gong bao* was *Jiao hui xin bao* 教會新報 (*The Church News*), founded by Young John Allen in 1868 primarily to spread the gospel and build connections for Christian believers. When the magazine was renamed as *Wan guo gong bao* in 1874, its secular concern became obvious and the magazine published widely about Western learning and China’s reform. See Leung 68-88.

Here is a brief biographical account of Young John Allen based on *Biographical Dictionary of Christian Missions* (written by Ralph R. Covell): Allen was a graduate of Emory

American missionary Li Jiabai 李佳白 (Gilbert Reid, 1857-1927)⁸ published an article “Zhongguo neng hua jiu wei xin nai neng yi xin cun jiu lun” 中國能化舊為新乃能以新存舊論 (How to Renovate the Country, etc.) in the magazine in 1897 in response to Japan’s victory over China in the first Sino-Japanese War. In his article, Reid attributed Japan’s rise to power to its Westernization and criticized China’s adherence to outdated systems. He noted:

Japan and China are both located in Asia. In the past, all Western countries treated them as inferior. Japan felt ashamed and changed its old systems determinedly. In recent years, it has had the ability to distinguish itself. When it concludes treaties with Western countries, it seems to be on an equal footing with them, neither superior nor inferior. Can there be any other reason than this? It resorts to new

University and arrived in China in 1860 as a missionary of the Methodist Episcopal Church, South. In addition to preaching, he taught English and science in a school in Shanghai, because of the financial straits of his mission during the American Civil War. This experience made him realize that preaching alone would not meet China’s needs. In 1868, he became editor of the Chinese periodical *Shanghai xin bao* (Shanghai Daily News). Later he founded *Jiao hui xin bao* and *Wan guo gong bao*. He also served as director of the Anglo-Chinese School, a system of schools in Shanghai. Throughout his years in China, he combined both religious and secular approaches to spread the gospel. For a book-length biography of Allen, Warren A. Candler’s *Young J. Allen: “The Man Who Seeded China”* is useful.

⁸ Reid was a graduate of Hamilton College and Union Theological Seminary. He went to China in 1882 as a Presbyterian missionary. He realized that the major opposition to Christianity in China came from the higher classes—officials and elite, so he proposed to found the Mission among the Higher Classes in China (MHCC). Instead of trying to evangelize officials, Reid sought to make friends with them and make them see how Christianity would bring moral and spiritual rejuvenation to China. Reid’s radical proposal of MHCC was rejected by the Presbyterian board in the beginning, but it was officially sanctioned by the government in 1897, with the name changed as the International Institute of China. This institute, which promoted Western civilization and understanding between Westerners and the Chinese, significantly influenced the Chinese reformers of 1898. See “Reid, Gilbert” (written by Ralph R. Covell) in *Biographical Dictionary of Christian Missions*.

systems, knowing them well and dealing with them appropriately. In fact, Japan opened up to the West after China did. But the inferior horse made great efforts and caught up with the steed. All countries were surprised. By contrast, China was not inspired at all. How can it remain unperturbed as before? . . . China closes itself and remains resistant to things Western, which it regards as unfit. . . . It obstinately sticks to its old systems and sees them as inherited treasures without questioning their suitability. [日本與中國同處亞洲。往時，泰西各邦均不以平等之禮相待，日本深以為恥，痛改舊俗。近年頗能自拔，與歐美立約，斟酌畫一，無畸重畸輕之嫌。豈有他哉？講求新法，知之明而處之當也。攷日本與泰西相通，實在中國之後。而駑駘勉策，竟駸駸度越驂騑。各國皆深詫異。對鏡相照，中國毫無激發，何以安之若素也？……中國深閉固拒，以為非宜。……今不問器之適用與否，而但執其舊所傳習者而寶之。] (16641-6642, punctuation mine)

Reid suggested China adopt Western systems earnestly and seriously. As a matter of fact, *Wan guo gong bao* also works as a medium to introduce Western knowledge. It published articles about Western science and educational, economic, and political systems. Many Chinese intellectuals and governmental officials were inspired by articles of this kind and became active advocates of and participants in China's reform.⁹

The fundamental purpose behind Western missionaries' urging China to embrace Westernized reform was evangelization. For them, Western knowledge, Western politics, and Western religion were inseparable and religion was the base; emulation of the West without its

⁹ See Huang Z. 123-70 and Wang S. 99-118. For detailed discussions about the background of *Wan guo gong bao* and its influence on China's modernization and Westernized reform, the following books are useful: Adrian Arthur Benette, *Missionary Journalist in China*; Li Zhan and Shi Lidong, *Lin Lezhi yu Wan guo gong bao*; Liang Yuansheng, *Lin Lezhi zai Hua shi ye yu Wan guo gong bao*; and Wang Lin, *Xi xue yu bian fa*.

religion would not lead to a powerful nation. As Lin Lezhi 林樂知 (Young John Allen) pointed out in his 1896 article “Lun zhen shi wei xing guo zhi ben” 論真實為興國之本 (The Relation of Truth to National Reform): “If China only wants to learn Western knowledge without its religion, it can benefit merely from the material wealth and power of the West. If China does not use the autonomous truth from the Gospel to rule its country and people, it can never perceive the core reality of the wealth and power of the West” [中國苟但欲得受西國外著之教化，充其效驗，不過能得西國外著之富強耳。中國苟不以福音釋放自主之真道治其國人，終不能得西國真實在內之富強也] (16239).

Continuous defeats by foreign powers forced the Chinese government to implement a sequence of Westernized reforms to strengthen the nation: the Self-Strengthening Movement of 1861-95, the Reform Movement of 1898, the Qing Reform of 1901-05, and the Constitutional Movement of 1905-11. However, the effects of these reforms were very limited. There was always resistance from the conservative party. For example, the Emperess Dowager Cixi’s real motive in carrying out the Westernized Qing Reform of 1901-05 was not so much to renovate existing institutions as to disguise her shame over her role in the Boxer Rebellion and to regain foreign respect. She publicly asked for suggestions about the reform, but privately hinted at her dislike of things foreign. Eventually, only three measures were taken: abolishing civil service examinations, establishing modern schools, and sending students abroad. In addition, the Emperess Dowager’s support of the Constitutional Movement was due to her animosity against revolution. “The Outline of Constitution,” which gave the throne even greater power than the Japanese model, was in fact an imperial attempt to prolong Manchu rule.¹⁰

When the Qing endeavors for reform proved insincere and inclined to favor the Manchus

¹⁰ See Hsü, *The Rise of Modern China* 408-17.

over the Chinese,¹¹ Western-educated Dr. Sun Yat-sen 孫逸仙 (1866-1925) campaigned for revolution. In his 1904 essay “The True Solution of the Chinese Question,” he pointed out the corruption of the Qing government and encouraged a national revolution to restore the Ming Chinese and to overthrow the Manchus:

. . . we have tried every possible means to become reconciled with them [the Manchus], but to no purpose. In view of this fact, we, the Chinese people, in order to redress our wrongs, and to establish peace in the Far East and in the world generally, have therefore determined to adopt adequate measures for the attainment of those objects, ‘peaceably if we may, forcibly if we must.’ .

The whole nation is ripe for revolution. . . . (117)

At the end of his essay, Sun asked for the support of the United States:

To work out the salvation of China is exclusively a duty of our own, but as the problem has recently involved a worldwide interest, we, in order to make sure of our success, to facilitate our movement, to avoid unnecessary sacrifice and to prevent misunderstanding and intervention of foreign powers, must appeal to the people of the civilized world in general and the people of the United States in particular for your sympathy and support, either moral or material, because you are the pioneers of western civilization in Japan; because you are a Christian nation; because we intend to model our new government after yours; and above all because you are the champion of liberty and democracy. We hope we may find many Lafayettes among you. (121)

¹¹ The Manchus were not Han Chinese. They were a Tungusic people who originated in Northeastern China. In the seventeenth century, they rose to power. With the help of Ming rebels, they overthrew the Ming Dynasty and founded the Qing Dynasty.

Several aspects of Sun's remarks need further elaboration. In the first place, the fact that Sun was educated in mission schools and later became a Christian helped his revolutionary enterprise win support from Christians and missionaries. Born in the Xiangshan village of Canton, Sun received only some education in the Chinese classics at a village school early in his childhood. In 1879 (when Sun was thirteen) he was sent to join his elder brother, who had emigrated to Hawaii and gone into business there because of the poor financial situation in his hometown (Sun's father was an agricultural laborer, a petty trader, and a tailor in Macao). In Hawaii, Sun first enrolled at Iolani School, a boys' boarding school in Honolulu operated under the auspices of the Church of England, and learned the English language and doctrines of Christianity. Later, Sun entered Oahu College (Punahou School), an American Congregationalist school accepting the children of missionaries associated with the Hawaiian Evangelical Association. At Oahu Sun's interest in Christianity became even stronger. In 1883, Sun's desire for conversion infuriated his brother, who was loyal to traditional Chinese religion, and Sun was sent back to Canton. At the village, Sun's Westernized education proved incompatible with peasant mores and beliefs. He deliberately desecrated the wooden image of the local deity and was seen as an iconoclast. Finally, he was expelled from the village. Sun then went to Hong Kong and entered another Church of England school, the Diocesan Home. In 1884, Sun transferred to the Government Central School in Hong Kong and was baptized by Dr. Charles Hager, an American Congregationalist missionary. Sun's fervor for Christianity got him called back to Hawaii by his elder brother. There Sun sought help from his Christian and missionary friends, who raised money for him to return to China in 1886. Sun then decided to choose the medical profession and enrolled in the Canton Hospital Medical School, an Anglo-American missionary institution.¹² The effect of Sun's religious background may be detected from an

¹² This paragraph is based on Schiffrin 10-22. According Sun's "My Reminiscences," by 1885

estimate which indicated that 30% of the participants in the Waichow campaign in 1900 were Christians.¹³ Sun also gained support from American missionaries. Those who had long dedicated themselves to evangelism and education in China welcomed Sun's revolutionary enterprise. They considered it as an opportunity to awaken China and believed a new government would promote freedom, justice, and modern education.¹⁴

In the second place, Sun's political philosophy *San min zhu yi* 三民主義 (The Three Principles of the People)—*min zu* 民族 (the Principle of Nationalism), *min quan* 民權 (the Principle of Democracy), and *min sheng* 民生 (the Principle of the People's Livelihood) was inspired by U. S. President Abraham Lincoln's idea about a government of the people, by the people, and for the people, which Lincoln put forward in his Gettysburg Address in 1863.¹⁵

In the third place, Sun finally found an American Lafayette, Homer Lea (1876-1912), to help him. Lea was an undersized hunchback with an immense interest in military affairs. His book *The Valor of Ignorance* (1909), which predicted a Japanese attack on the United States, brought him fame. In 1908, Lea came into contact with Sun whom he helped to raise funds, win

his father had converted to Christianity and was employed by the London Missionary Society, so he had opportunities for contact with English and American missionaries in Canton (301). Sun's second wife, Song Qingling, was also a Christian. She received her undergraduate education at Wesleyan College for Women, a Methodist institution in Macon, Georgia. Song's parents were also Christians supporting Sun's revolution. See Sharman 178; and the articles on "Soong Ch'ing-ling" (Song Qingling) and her father "Soong Charles Jones" in *Biographical Dictionary of Republican China*.

¹³ See Schiffrin 229.

¹⁴ See Chong 153. Many American missionaries, however, withdrew their support of Sun after Sun abdicated his post as Provisional President of the Chinese Republic to Yuan Shikai in 1912. They turned to support Yuan, believing him stronger and more liberal. See Bose 64-66. For a general discussion about missionary promotion of Western learning and missionary impact on China's reform and revolution up to 1900, see also Cohen 578-90.

¹⁵ See Sun, "San min zhu yi zhi ju ti ban fa" 405-06; and Holcombe 134-35.

diplomatic recognition, and formulate military plans. After Sun's revolutionary enterprise successfully overthrew the imperial Qing dynasty on 10 October 1911, Lea accompanied Sun as his personal military adviser when Sun was inaugurated in Nanking as Provisional President of the Republic on 1 January 1912. In a 1911 interview he gave in Hong Kong, Lea made it clear that his aim was "to bring to China the same spirit that Lafayette brought to us in America. . . . I want America to take the lead in recognizing China, in assisting the movement, and to take the lead in bringing to this country the liberty that they in America enjoy" (qtd. in Ansel 166).¹⁶

The founding of the Republic did not bring peace and harmony. Instead, moral degradation, monarchist movements, warlordism, and intensified foreign imperialism marked the early years of the Republic. The new intellectuals, Western-trained or Western-influenced, urged a deep-level change in philosophical thought to regenerate the nation. Endorsing positive elements of the West such as science and democracy, they attempted to inspire "New Thought" among the Chinese youth so that they would be able to critically re-evaluate China's national heritage (Confucianism, ethics, politics, art, religion, and literature) from a modern Western perspective.

¹⁶ Before joining Sun's party Lea worked for Sun's rivals, the constitutional monarchists, led by Kang Youwei. Lea decided to become Sun's ally because Lea believed Sun did not have any personal ambition to be ruler of China and that Sun had dedicated his life to liberation of the Chinese people (Chong 126). Although Lea made efforts to gain the U. S. government's official support of the revolution, they were of no avail: the U. S. government did not want to commit Americans to military action in a foreign country for a cause not directly related to defense of the U. S. (Chong 160). Like many American missionaries, the U. S. government chose to support Yuan Shikai after the establishment of the Chinese Republic, despite Yuan's monarchal ambition. For the U. S., Yuan's monarchy would maintain law and order and foster foreign interests in China. See Chong 177-82. For more information about Lea's involvement in the Chinese reform and revolution, the following books are useful: Eugene Ansel, *Homer Lea, Sun Yat-sen, and the Chinese Revolution*; and Key Ray Chong, *Americans and Chinese Reform and Revolution, 1898-1922*. Carl Glick's *Double Ten* is a popular account but is helpful for understanding Lea's military assistance.

These intellectual endeavors, which took place between 1917 and 1923, were called the New Cultural Movement. The climax of this movement was the massive student demonstration in Beijing on 4 May 1919, and hence this period is widely known as that of the May Fourth Movement.

One of the most prominent figures in this movement was Hu Shi 胡適 (1891-1962), who received a classical education in his youth in China but studied abroad in the United States, earning a Ph. D. in philosophy from Columbia University. He explicitly elucidated the meaning of the “New Thought”:

. . . its basic significance lies merely in a new attitude. We may call this ‘a critical attitude.’ . . . These words, ‘re-evaluation of all values,’ are the best explanation of the critical attitude. . . . When expressed in practice, this critical attitude tends to adopt two methods. One is the discussion of various problems, social, political, religious, and literary. The other is the introduction of new thought, new leaning, new literature, and new beliefs from the West. The former is “study of the problems”; the latter is ‘introduction of academic theories.’ These two things comprise the methods of the New Thought. (Teng and Fairbank 252)

[……新思潮的根本意義只是一種新態度。這種新態度可叫做「評判的態度」。……「重新估定一切價值」八個字便是評判的態度的最好解釋。……這種評判的態度，在實際上表現時，有兩種趨勢。一方面是討論社會上，政治上，宗教上，文學上種種問題。一方面是介紹西洋的新思想，新學術，新文學，新信仰。前者是「研究問題」，後者是「輸入學理」。這兩項是新思潮的手段。(Hu, “Xin si chao ” 728-29)]

Influenced by Thomas Henry Huxley and John Dewey, Hu was a proponent of scientific thinking and pragmatism. As a pragmatist, Hu believed that truth is contextual and its value consists in its

utility. The ruler-subject entry in the *san gang* 三綱 (Three Cardinal Guides) and *wu lun* 五倫 (Five Cardinal Relationships) in Confucianism, which was unalterably true for the patriarchal clan system in ancient China, is no longer valid in modern Republican China (Hu, “Shi yan zhu yi” 309-10). Besides, the classical language (*wen yan* 文言), used in civil service examinations, is impractical from a pragmatic standpoint when education becomes popular (Hu, “Xin si chao” 731). Therefore, Hu carried out a literary revolution by advocating use of the vernacular (*bai hua* 白話) in writing. In Hu’s view, only with the emergence of a vernacular literature can the vernacular become the national language of China. He used Italy as an example:

Five hundred years ago, European countries had only dialects and did not have national languages. Italian was the earliest national language in Europe. At that time, Europeans used mainly Latin for writing and correspondence. It was not until the early years of the fourteenth century that the great Italian writer Dante made efforts to advocate the use of Italian in place of Latin. He said that Latin was a dead language, not as graceful as his own dialect. So he used the dialect of Tuscany in his masterpiece . . . *The Divine Comedy*. The language used in *The Divine Comedy* later became the standard and national language of Italy. Later literary figures such as Boccaccio and Lorenzo de’Medici also used that dialect when writing. In this way, in less than a hundred years, the national language of Italy was established.

[五百年前，歐洲各國但有方言，沒有「國語」。歐洲最早的國語是意大利文。那時歐洲各國的人多用拉丁文著書通信。到了十四世紀的初年意大利的大文學家但丁……極力主張用意大利話來代拉丁文。他說拉丁文是已死了的文字，不如他本國俗語的優美。所以他自己的傑作……全用托斯堪尼……的俗話……人都稱他做「神聖喜劇」。那「神聖喜劇」的白話後來便成了意大利的標準國語。後來的文學家包卡嘉……和洛倫查……諸人都都用白話作文學。所以不到一百

年，義大利的國語便完全成立了。(Hu, “Jian she de wen xue” 61)]

Hu held that only vernacular literature is live literature and that only literary works written in the vernacular can become masterpieces and appeal to the general public perennially. As a matter of fact, Hu not only advocated use of the vernacular in Chinese writings but also urged the translation of Western masterpieces into Chinese. For him, the diversity of literary forms in Western literature can serve as a model for Chinese literature (Hu, “Jian she de wen xue” 70-73).

As Immanuel Hsü pointed out, by 1920 Chinese history was marked by three stages of Westernization. The Self-strengthening Movement of 1861-95 was the first, characterized by superficial attempts at diplomatic and military modernization. The reform and revolution from 1898 to 1912 was the second: it saw the adoption of Western political systems. The third, the New Cultural Movement from 1917 to 1923, witnessed further Westernization at the ideological level. “By 1920 China was very much a part of the modern world” (Hsü 510). Novels by the American missionaries Abram Edward Cory (aka Abe Cory) and Paul Richard Abbott provide literary representations of China’s reform and revolution through the West.¹⁷

¹⁷ Generally speaking, the 1910s offered Christian missions a great opportunity for development in China, except that the outbreak of WWI curtailed their activity. The younger Chinese had a passion for change and were accepting rather uncritically everything from the West. Missionaries, who were usually regarded as representatives of the West and who declared themselves able to regenerate individuals and nations, were accepted more than before. The revolutionaries of 1911 were especially friendly to the missionaries and their converts, who supported change and showed sympathy for the new regime. Some of the chief radicals of the revolution made favorable comments on Christianity. The renowned Republican general Huang Xing, for instance, supposedly attributed the revolution to Christianity. For him, along with the ideal of religious freedom, Christianity “brings a knowledge of western political freedom” and “a doctrine of universal love and peace,” which “appeal to the Chinese” (Bashford 95). An interesting piece of evidence for official favor of Christianity was the Cabinet’s designation of 27 April 1913 as a day of prayer when Christians were asked to meet and offer petitions for the new government. Li Yuanhong, commander-in-chief of the Republican Army during the revolution and second

II. Abram Edward Cory's Novel

Cory柯銳¹⁸ was born on 13 August 1873 in Osceola, Iowa. He studied at Eureka College (B. A., 1894; LL. D., 1914/1915) and Drake University (M. A., 1898; D. D., 1914/1915).¹⁹ He also attended Columbia University and Union Theological Seminary (1905-06). Cory and his wife (also an Iowan and graduate of Drake University) did missionary work in China from 1897/1899/1901 to 1911/1912.²⁰ Their first station was Luchowfu (also spelled as Lu Cheo fu), where they began study of the Chinese language.²¹ They were then located in Nanking and Wuhu. In all these places, Cory made trips to outlying districts in order to preach and distribute

president of the Republic, expressed a wish that more missionaries would come to China: “. . . the more missionaries we get to come to China the greater will the Republican Government be pleased. China would not be aroused to-day as it is were it not for the missionaries, who have penetrated even the most out-of-the-way parts of the Empire and opened up the country” (Brown 476). The Republic could be said to have made great efforts to protect missionaries and their converts. Yuan Shikai, first president of the Republic, assured Christians of full religious liberty and the Constitutional Compact of 1914 wrote this promise into law. See Latourette ch. XXIII, XXIV, XXV, and XXVII; specifically, pp. 534, 544, 607, 609, 610-612, 687.

¹⁸ Cory's Chinese name was found in his diary.

¹⁹ Cory's biographical file in Disciples of Christ Historical Society shows that he earned LL. D. in 1914 and D. D. in 1915, but *Who Was Who in American* points out that he earned LL. D. in 1915 and D. D. in 1914.

²⁰ There are discrepancies about the date of Cory's stay in China. According to *The Encyclopedia of the Stone-Campbell Movement*, David Bundy claims that Cory was a missionary to China from 1897 to 1912. However, according to Cory's biographical file in Disciples of Christ Historical Society, his service in China was from 1901 to 1911; the book *They Went to China* (by the United Christian Missionary Society) also suggests the same dates. The directory of missionaries in *The China Mission Year Book 1913* (edited by D. MacGillivray) similarly gives 1901 as Cory's date of arrival in China (xlix), but, in *Pension Fund Bulletin*, F. E. Smith notes that Cory went to China as a missionary in 1899.

²¹ See The United Christian Missionary Society's *They Went to China* 25 and Foreign Christian Missionary Society's "Twenty-Seventh Annual Report" 327. In his diary entry on February 17, 1902, Cory writes: "During the day I put in 5 hours in study of Chinese" (28).

Christian literature while his wife served among the women. In Nanking, Cory superintended the Union Bible Institute in order to promote Bible study, which he considered one of the most important aspects of his work. After their career in China, the Corys returned to the U. S. and Cory served in the following movements and organizations: the Men and Millions Movement, the Foreign Christian Missionary Society, the United Christian Missionary Society, YMCA, the Inter-Church World Movement, the Gordon Street Christian Church in Kinston, and the Disciples of Christ. After his retirement in 1940, he taught at Butler University as professor of missions. He died in Indianapolis on 20 March 1952.²²

Cory's novel *The Trail to the Hearts of Men: A Story of East and West* was published in 1916 by Fleming H. Revell Company, a significant publisher of Christian books in North America. In the novel, Cory describes China as a nation that needs Western knowledge in order to reform its political, social, and religious ways and suggests missionary work is able to bring that knowledge. Cory's belief becomes manifest through the protagonist Paul Redmond, a young American who elects to be a missionary in China. Politically, Paul supports the overthrow of the Manchu government because of his desire to spread Christianity. As he says about the event of 1900 (Boxer Rebellion), "[t]he more Christianity increases, the more the Manchu dynasty must decrease" (134). When the revolution appears likely to succeed, he remarks that "[t]he government will change and men who are Christians and those who have been trained in Christian schools will be placed in authority" (216). Paul's ideal is a new China led by

²² This paragraph is based on Cory's biographical file in Disciples of Christ Historical Society, the book *They Went to China* 24-25, and the entry of Abram Edward Cory in *The Encyclopedia of the Stone-Campbell Movement* (by David Bundy) and in *Who Was Who in America* (vol. 5, 1969-1973). For more information about Cory's work in China, see Foreign Christian Missionary Society's "Twenty-Seventh Annual Report" 327, "Twenty-Eighth Annual Report" 356, "Thirty-Second Annual Report" 483-84, and "Thirty-Fourth Annual Report" 513-14, 516.

Christians.

Socially, Paul believes the importation of Western knowledge through his efforts will help combat the ignorance of the Chinese. On his arrival in the city of Fou Cheo, he is struck by the lack of sanitary knowledge. People eat food touched by flies and vermin and run the risk of cholera. In addition, the Chinese resort to unscientific and ineffective ways to combat disease—praying to gods, chanting by priests, and folk medicine in the form of crushed beetles and powdered snake-skins. Furthermore, superstitious Chinese object to draining the lake that causes flooding, for they believe gods reside in the water and that disturbing it would bring destruction.

Religiously, Paul supports Christianity and considers it “great enough and broad enough in its principles to embrace the truths of all other religions” (132). Although Paul does not deny the value of Chinese religions and believes they contain a great deal of truth, he regards the Chinese way of worship as idolatrous. When he goes to the annual ceremony of Confucius and sees the carcasses of oxen and sheep (used as sacrifices) and the burning of incense before the tablets of Confucius, he comments: “Confucianism must be purged of many practices” (101).

The fact that the conflict between Paul and the Chinese gets resolved with the latter’s acceptance of the former and with the former’s success shows Cory’s identification with Paul’s missionary work in China. At first, Paul’s missionary identity and his desire to reform China incur hatred and animosity from the Chinese. He is called the foreign devil, stoned, and has his food poisoned. However, his achievement of draining the lake, constructing a dike, and building a hospital finally make him accepted and admired by the Chinese. When the dike is near completion, the Chinese place a tablet bearing Paul’s name on the dike in order to honor him. In addition, when Paul was ill with typhoid, the Chinese resort to their folk custom and belief to save Paul. Fifty of them go to the temples and ask the priests to say to their gods that each was

willing to give a year of life to be added to the life of Paul (170). Finally, a Chinese official helps Paul build a great tabernacle for the public preaching of Christianity, which attracts many Chinese people.

The Chinese acceptance of Paul is also represented by their conversion to Christianity. For example, the hilltop Buddhist priest at first seeks to blacken Paul's name and to take his life. However, he decides to convert to Christianity, for when the flood comes the gods to whom he prays fail to help his family, whom Paul finally saves. The priest's conversion suggests Cory's identification with Christianity.

Although Chu, the Confucian scholar and Paul's Chinese teacher, does not have any conflict with Paul and appears as his friend from the very beginning of the novel, Chu later converts. The reason for Chu's conversion is that he expects Christianity will help bring changes to China. He says:

I believe Confucianism and other religions where they are true, but they do not vitalize life. Confucianism is five hundred years older than Christianity. Buddhism came at the very time Christ was doing his work in the little country that you call the Holy Land. Yet these religions have not cleaned the streets, they have not stamped out the opium curse, they have not done the things that China needs to have done for its life. (134)

Here, Cory's use of a Confucian scholar's belief in the usefulness of Christianity reinforces its necessity to China.

Several other Western characters' conflict with Paul and their transformation similarly hint at Cory's approval of Paul's work. For instance, Madeline, Paul's American fiancée, is at first against Paul's career choice and resists going to China, which for her is a strange Oriental country with terrible dragons, frightening flags, terrifying temples, and awful language (51).

After much struggle, Madeline decides in the end to go to China to keep Paul company. The fact that Paul's insistence on his missionary work in China finally prevails conveys Cory's support of Paul's career choice.

Cory's Christian perspective is also demonstrated in his use of a Biblical passage to applaud Paul's occupational decision and Chu's conversion. Paul's father is a rich and successful businessman in New York. He disinherits Paul because of Paul's dedication to missionary work. Similarly, Chu's father disinherited Chu when Chu converts to Christianity. Cory comments: "There was deep sorrow in Paul's heart for his friend [Chu]. They were drawn even closer together. Chu stood side by side with Paul as a Christian, for both had learned the meaning of Christ's saying: 'If ye forsake not father and mother ye are not worthy of me'" (136). Writing as a returned missionary, Cory relies on Biblical doctrine to encourage people's dedication to Christianity even at the price of disinheritance.

Cory's knowledge of the following Chinese ways demonstrates a basic understanding of China: the Chinese language, the custom of giving one's life to a sick person, awareness of the Manchu dynasty as a foreign power, the government shifts from Nanking to Peking after the 1911 revolution, and the objects needed for a Chinese funeral (paper houses), for a Confucian ceremony (sacrifices and incense), and for folk treatment (crushed beetles). Nevertheless, his sense of some values shared between Christianity and Chinese thought as somehow unique to Christianity is problematic. To begin with, Chu's use of the Biblical teaching of loyalty to justify his decision to devote himself to the 1911 revolution after his conversion is unconvincing. A former Confucian scholar, Chu should have known that the concept of loyalty to one's country is espoused by Confucianism. In *The Analects* 論語, Confucius 孔子 asserts that "ministers in serving their ruler should be guided solely by devotion to his cause" (Waley 99) ["臣事君以忠" (qtd. in Cheng 171)]. In the original Chinese text, 臣 (*chen*) carries the connotation of subjects,

君 (*jun*) entails the nation, and 忠 (*zhong*) can be translated as loyalty. In addition, Cory's emphasis on Paul's unselfishness as if it were a virtue unique to Christianity is arguable. In the novel, Paul is unselfishness itself, which impresses the leaders of the new Chinese government, and he urges those leaders to practice unselfishness. Nonetheless, in Chinese thought the virtue of unselfishness had been advocated by Mozi 墨子 in as early as 400 B.C. As Mencius 孟子 comments on Mozi: "If, by rubbing bare all his body from the crown to the heel, he could have benefited all under heaven, he would have done it" (Legge 356) ["墨子兼愛，摩頂放踵，利天下，爲之" (qtd. in Shi 365-66)]. Zhuangzi 莊子 also says, "Mo Tzu [Mozi] was one who had a true love for the world. He failed to achieve all he aimed for, yet, wasted and worn with exhaustion, he never ceased trying" (Watson 367) ["墨子真天下之好也。將求之不得也，雖枯槁不捨也" (qtd. in Huang J. 372)]. Cory's negligence of Chinese thought points to two possibilities. First, his understanding of China isn't deep enough to reach the ideological level. Second, his negligence comes from a desire to emphasize the greatness of Christianity and China's need for it. Either way, Cory doesn't come across as a good example of cultural identification with China.

The narrative aspect of Cory's novel further makes clear his outsider perspective. The omniscient narrator in the novel sides with Paul. For instance, the narrator makes negative judgments on things Chinese as if he/she were one of the Westerners in Paul's party who arrive in China for the first time. The narrator comments on China's hygiene: "Everywhere were the stands of vendors of sliced watermelons, pumpkins, and all sorts of edibles, which, as they lay out uncovered in the summer heat, were food for flies and gnats" (13). In addition, the fact that the narrator refers to the Chinese against Paul as "enemies" (44) and presents Paul's career in China as one that starts with difficulties but ends with success similarly hints at the narrator's identification with Paul's missionary work. Moreover, the narrator seldom devotes space to

characters' interiority except for Paul's struggle over his occupational choice; this also suggests the narrator's identification with Paul. Since the narrator's standpoint toward China, the Chinese, and Paul is consistent throughout the novel and the narrative is a straightforward chronological unfolding of Paul's work in China, we may conclude that the narrator's approval of Paul is to some extent Cory's.

As discussed in the previous chapter, Davis's novels encourage conversion of the Chinese and attempt to change China into a Christian nation. Like Davis, Cory also does not identify with Chinese culture. Similarly he seeks to convert the Chinese and to change China into a Christian nation. However, change in Cory's novel carries a different meaning than it does for Davis. For Davis, change is limited to religious conversion. Although he pinpoints social aspects that need improvement such as backwardness and bad hygiene, he does not seem to think Christianity will bring the Western knowledge needed for these. By contrast, Cory asserts that Chinese acceptance of Christianity will also change China politically and socially.

Cory's consciousness of change corresponds to a China in transition from the imperial system to the republic. His novel is a fictional presentation of his belief in the changes that missionary work could bring to China. In his pamphlet *The New China and the Disciples of Christ*, Cory shows a similar attitude toward the usefulness of missionary work. He points out China's break with the past and the imminent changes necessary, suggesting all of these could be brought about through missionary work. In his view, "the Bible and Christian education" are two great forces in the new China (5) and it is the duty of the missionaries "to go forward now for God and make that China which was old in its bondage of opium, the dragon, idolatry, and sin, new in Christ Jesus" (6).²³ As Cory sees it, acceptance of Christianity is a requisite for all the

²³ In the novel, Cory criticizes the Chinese way of worship as idolatrous. In his diary, he also criticizes Chinese funerals. As his diary entry on June 26, 1902 goes: "Went to see Li Hung

changes, because sin will not be expiated by mere adoption of Western civilization without its religion. As he claims in Foreign Christian Missionary Society's "Thirty-Second Annual Report" on his work in Wuhu, he is impressed that "[t]he Chinese have turned from an indifference or hatred of things foreign to desire foreign education and outward foreign civilization" (483); nevertheless, Wuhu is still a "wicked city," for it "tr[ies] to put on an outward foreign dress, but reject[s] Christ" (484).

Cory's novel was well reviewed in *The Christian-Evangelist*, a religious periodical of the Disciples of the Christ. Ernest Eugene Elliott suggested, "The book ought to be read by every friend of missions, and placed in the hands of those whose education would be advanced by reading it" (1085). Likewise Alexander Campbell Smither: "It will set many a heart aflame with a passion to share in the redemption of China from sin" (1545). Cory's attempt to promote missionary enterprise caused his work to be admired by those with religious fervor. Nonetheless, his eagerness to change China through Christianity and his rhetoric of Western superiority show that he does not identify with Chinese culture.

III. Paul Richard Abbott's Novel

In addition to Cory, another American missionary, Paul Richard Abbott 阿保羅, also wrote a novel, *Within the Four Seas: A Shantung Idyll* 瀛海奇緣, which primarily concerns events in the 1910s and reflects the consciousness of change in this period. Hence I discuss Abbott's novel in this section despite its being published in 1930. Abbott's novel was issued by the Commercial Press, a non-Christian firm in Shanghai that because its founders and many of its investors were Chinese Christians published Christian literature.²⁴

Chang's burial procession. . . . Was impressed . . . with the awfulness of idolatry" (101).

²⁴ See Chang, Yang 6-14, and Ritson 31-33. See also the Commercial Press's internal documents

Abbott was born in 1882 in Portland, Maine. He received his education from Hamilton College (B. A., 1904; D. D., 1932) and Auburn Theological Seminary (M. A., 1907). After working as pastor of the John Hall Memorial Church in New York, he and Mrs. Abbott (née Bessie Stone) went to Chefoo, Shantung²⁵ under the Presbyterian Board of Foreign Missions in 1910. He served as chairman and secretary of the Shantung Mission, president of the local YMCA and member of the Field Board of Managers of Shantung Christian University. In 1937, he and his wife were transferred from the Shantung Mission to the Hunan Mission. They returned in 1945 to the U. S., where Abbott continued his evangelist work. He had a knowledge of Chinese, German, and French. He retired in 1953 and died on 29 April 1968.²⁶

In the novel, Abbott uses the Chinese custom of arranged marriage to show China needs to imitate Western practices in order to modernize. Parental arrangement of marriage is a long-standing custom in China. As Mencius said during the Period of Warring States (ca. 475-221 BC), “. . . if the children, without waiting for the orders of their parents and the agreement of the marriage brokers, bore holes through the wall to catch a glimpse of each other, or even climb over the wall to be with each other, their parents and all good citizens will regard them with contempt” (Dobson 103) [“不待父母之命，媒妁之言，鑽穴隙相窺，踰牆相從，則父母國人皆賤之” (qtd. in Shi 146)]. It was not until the late imperial period that Chinese intellectuals started to advocate freedom of marriage, due to Western influence. Their claim of the individual’s right to choose his/her spouse intensified after the establishment of the Chinese Republic²⁷; many of them put their ideal into practice. For instance, Guo Moruo 郭沫若, a

by Cao, Yu, and Zheng.

²⁵ Chefoo is now called Yantai. Shantung, spelled as Shandong in Pinyin romanization, is a coastal province in eastern China.

²⁶ This paragraph is based on Abbott’s biographical file in the Presbyterian Historical Society.

²⁷ For more information about the Chinese marriage system in the ancient times, in the late

Chinese writer, poet, historian, archaeologist, and government official, chose to rebel against the system of arranged marriage. Guo accepted his parents' arrangement and got married in 1912 when he was twenty because the marriage broker boasted about the goodness of his future wife and because of his opportunistic mentality. However, Guo was disappointed by his wife's appearance on the wedding day, when he saw her for the first time. Without consummating his marriage, Guo abandoned his wife and left his hometown five days after the ceremony. At the end of 1913, he went to study abroad in Japan, where he fell in love with a Japanese woman and cohabited with her for about twenty years. This Japanese woman bore Guo five children. As for Guo's Chinese wife, she stayed at Guo's hometown and dutifully served his parents throughout the rest of her life without remarrying. Guo's brother had suggested Guo untangle the relationship between himself, his Chinese wife, and his Japanese lover, but Guo could not figure out a good solution. He thought he was not so old-fashioned as to live with two women and not so ahead of his time as to divorce his Chinese wife. Guo therefore describes his arranged marriage as "a social tragedy" ["一場社會悲劇"] ("Hei mao" 279).²⁸ In his biographical fiction "Shi zi jia" 十字架 (The Cross), Guo says he and his Chinese wife are both "victims of the old system" ["舊禮制的犧牲者"] (57) and laments the drawbacks of arranged marriage: "Ah, what effects and consequences the old marriage system has! How many parents and children are suffering from the incurable pains brought by this tribulation!" ["啊，舊式的婚姻制度的功果啣！世間上有多少父母，多少兒女，同困在這種磔刑之下，正膺受著多少難療的苦痛啣！"] (61). Being an opponent of arranged marriage and a supporter of feminism, Guo especially felt that Chinese women, who are traditionally expected to be obedient to their fathers, husbands, and

imperial period, and in the Republic, see Zhu 1-196, Xiao 31-141, and Xia 296-310.

²⁸ Guo's work "Hei mao" (The Black Cat) describes his arranged marriage. For more information about Guo's marriage, see also Li 44-50, 61-66, 93-101; and Lu's book.

sons, should be liberated from their subservience to men and should assert themselves as men's equals, like Western women.²⁹

Abbott's novel reflects the Chinese desire for marriage freedom during the early years of the Republic. In order to escape from the marriage his parents arranged for him, Yao Yung-fu leaves his hometown in Shantung and goes with the Chinese Labor Corps to France,³⁰ where his boxing teacher tells him men are able to choose their wives. In France, Yung-fu works first as a coolie; later he learns English and French and becomes an interpreter for the Chinese Labor Corps. He also falls in love with a French girl, Jeanne. When Yung-fu decides to go back to China, Jeanne follows him and becomes his wife. Back in Shantung, Jeanne becomes the focus of villagers' attention and experiences cultural differences. Through many efforts, she is finally accepted by Yung-fu's parents and other villagers, a fact reflected in their relief at Jeanne's safe return from her Chinese kidnappers.

The meaning of the acceptance of Jeanne is multi-layered. First, it shows that Yung-fu's parents recognize his own choice of wife and that Yung-fu's resistance to his arranged marriage is successful. The narrator points out the disadvantages of the Chinese system:

Marriage was all so businesslike, so proper, so well managed by others, so cold and formal. It was an alliance, not an *affaire de cœur*.

²⁹ Guo's historical plays "Zuo Wenjun," "Wang Zhaojun," and "Nie Ying," which are called collectively "San ge pan ni de nu xing" (Three Rebellious Women), demonstrate his advocacy of Chinese women's liberation, as he makes clear in his afterword to the plays. See Guo, "Xie zai 'San ge pan ni de nu xing' hou mian."

³⁰ During World War I, the Chinese government sent laborers to France in order to fill the Allies' need for non-military manpower. Most of the laborers were recruited from the province of Shantung. Their labor in France included (un)loading cargoes, repairing roads, laying railway lines, and building huts and airdromes, etc. See Fawcett; Xu 114-54; Summerskill 114-74, 221-27; and Starling and Lee 297-311.

When a man and a woman have never laid eyes on each other till she steps from the sedan chair in which she has followed him from her home to his, there may be the tremendous excitement which the gambler feels who has wagered his patrimony on a single turn of the wheel of fortune, but there can hardly be any romantic attachment. Besides, the new bride is only partly his. She belongs rather to the clan. She is the daughter-in-law rather than the wife. She and he are only cogs in the machine called the family. (103-04)

Being aware of the drawbacks of the old Chinese marriage system, Yung-fu decides to go back to China in order to bring to the Chinese the message of liberty and love that he learned in France. His model would serve as an encouragement for Chinese youths to resist the old system of arranged marriage and to pursue freedom of love and marriage.

Second, the acceptance of a Westerner as Yung-fu's wife suggests interracial marriage is now admitted. In the novel, Yung-fu and Jeanne's interracial marriage was not initially blessed by Pastor Lanier and Yung-fu's family. However, the success of their marriage proves that love transcends race and conquers all. The power of their interracial love undoubtedly lays bare the problematic aspects of the old Chinese marriage system, which denies the value of romantic love.

Third, on the deepest level, Jeanne can be seen as a symbol of the West and her acceptance means the acceptance of Western civilization. The changes that Jeanne brings to Yung-fu's family and his village result from her Western knowledge and education. When the village is plagued by influenza, the Chinese doctors' prescription causes death, but Jeanne's Western medicine proves effective. And although Yung-fu's mother is not a bad housekeeper, Jeanne's Western knowledge of how to put a screen door on the food cupboard and mosquito netting over the windows decreases the swarms of flies and greatly improves the sanitary condition in Yung-fu's household.

Furthermore, Jeanne seeks to transplant the experience of Western women's liberation through education to Chinese women. She establishes a girls' school to make Chinese women realize they have rights as men do, that women should have the courage to assert themselves, and that they can support themselves by learning a skill such as making lace. The fact that Jeanne improves Chinese life is testimony to Abbott's belief that China needs Western civilization in order to modernize.

An examination of character development and the way conflicts between Jeanne and the Chinese get resolved further confirms Abbott's identification with the West. The character that undergoes the greatest change is Yung-fu's uncle, the schoolmaster Yao Hung-tai, whose attitude toward Jeanne changes from hostility to acceptance and respect. Initially, Yao Hung-tai believes in the superiority of Chinese culture: he writes Yung-fu in France to remind him to be proud of his own country and not accept Western culture. He says, "I should like to recall to your remembrance that you belong to the oldest race on earth, that your nation has an honorable history which extends back into the dim past for five thousand years You do not need to be ashamed of your civilization: your ancestors dressed in silks when theirs were mere savages. . . . Take their money but not their manners" (52-53). When Yung-fu writes home about his choice of Jeanne as his wife, Yao Hung-tai strongly disapproves. He remarks: "He [Yung-fu] might better stay there than to bring such disgrace upon our proud name. We have never had such a renegade in the family before. Christian! A foreign daughter-in-law! Bah, it makes me sick" (153). After Yung-fu takes Jeanne back to China, she devotes herself to taking care of flu patients, including Yao Hung-tai. But Yao rejects Jeanne's medicine as "devil's medicine" (224). However, her dedication and kindness at last move him and he accepts Jeanne and praises her as a good girl having good religion before he dies. Abbott's description of Yao Hung-tai's facial expression shows his great change: ". . . his eyes had a look in them Jeanne had not seen before. There was

respect in that look and gratitude and affection. Slowly he raised his thin clasped hands together before his face in the salute of deep reverence to her and closed his eyes” (228).

Like Yao Hung-tai, Yung-fu’s mother at first regards Yung-fu’s marrying Jeanne as a “shame” (154). Nonetheless, when Jeanne makes her house immaculate, she is pleased and inwardly congratulates herself on having so industrious a daughter-in-law. She therefore burns several extra sticks of incense to Kuan-yin, the Chinese Goddess of Mercy, as a thanks offering (183). Toward the end of the story, Yung-fu’s mother is glad to see Jeanne’s safe release from her Chinese kidnappers. She says to Jeanne, “I prayed to your God to keep you safe, and He has heard me” (279).

In contrast to the great change Yao Hung-tai and Yung-fu’s mother undergo in their attitude toward Jeanne and Western culture, the protagonist Yung-fu does not experience so much development. In the beginning of the story, he appears as a Chinese with an independent perspective. He rejects the Chinese custom of arranged marriage and displays interest in Christianity and Western culture. He therefore leaves China for France. Yung-fu’s only significant change after his years in France is his conversion to Christianity. In his letter home, he points out his change and attributes it to Jeanne, who dispels his doubts about Western religion:

. . . my wife is a Christian. Her grandfather, a man of profound learning, was a pastor. I once held the Christians in contempt but have learned to feel otherwise. Now I know that the most unselfish, loyal, honest, truthful, and happy folks are those who follow this Way. . . .

I now believe in the Christians’ God and have become one of their number. I know I shall never have cause to regret this step . . . (152)

The fact that Yao Hung-tai’s praise of Jeanne, Yung-fu’s mother’s prayer for Jeanne, and

Yung-fu's conversion because of Jeanne all involve their recognition of Jeanne's religious belief shows they accept not only the Westerner Jeanne but also the Western religion exemplified by her. Their changes symbolically express Abbott's identification with Christianity.

The fact that the conflicts between Jeanne and the Chinese get resolved when the latter accept the former also hints at Abbott's identification with the West. In order to bridge the cultural gap and assimilate with the Chinese people, Jeanne learns to use chopsticks and the Chinese stove and wears Chinese clothes. Her assimilation, however, is superficial, for she changes the Chinese life much more deeply than vice versa. In addition to material improvements (e.g., in sanitary conditions), the changes Jeanne brings to the Chinese reach an ideological level. As discussed before, the conflict in religious belief between Jeanne and the Chinese gets resolved with the latter's recognition of Christianity. Moreover, the conflicting views between Jeanne and the Chinese about the status of women in society end with Jeanne's establishment of a girls' school in order to teach Chinese women to be liberated from the age-old role of being subservient to and dependent on men. Lastly, the fact that the foreigners recruited by the Canadian missionary Mr. MacGregor beat the Chinese bandits who kidnap Jeanne in order to extract ransom shows Abbott's identification with the West, which is more powerful than China.

Although Abbott identifies with the West, we can't conclude that he doesn't understand China. His references to objects such as chopsticks, the vehicle palanquin (*shen-tzu*), and the paper creations of life-sized horses and houses used for funerals demonstrate his knowledge of Chinese culture. In addition to these material aspects, Abbott knows the folktale about the "King of the Range" and he knows Chinese thought. For instance, his comment that Yung-fu's French leave for France without parental blessing is bad (151) is likely to be based on Confucius's saying that "[w]hile father and mother are alive, a good son does not wander far afield; or if he does so, goes only where he has said he was going" (Waley 105-06) ["父母在不遠遊。遊必有

方” (qtd. in Cheng 238)].

Despite Abbott's understanding of Chinese culture, his lack of sympathy with it precludes any deep presentation of his Chinese characters' Chinese perspectives. For example, the parent-child mutual obligation in the Confucian family system is not developed well. Although Yung-fu's parents consider it their obligation to arrange a marriage for Yung-fu, Yung-fu is not shown as feeling obligation to his parents. The reason Yung-fu goes back from France to China is that he wants to let Chinese people know what he learns about liberty and love in France, rather than any desire to perform his filial duty to his parents.

Generally speaking, Abbott adopts a Western and Christian standpoint on Yung-fu's perspective. Although Yung-fu's experience in France makes him realize that this Western land (which also has problems of savagery, drunkenness, lust, and brutality) is not as perfect as he imagines, its liberty and free expression of love still make Yung-fu regard it as better than China. He therefore adopts a Western viewpoint toward China. As he says to Jeanne, China is a land of darkness, it is filthy, its family customs are hard and tyrannous, and its people are ignorant and suspicious (106). In addition, Yung-fu demonstrates a Christian perspective in interpreting things. He expresses his hope of spreading Christianity in China. For him, Christianity can be used as “a popular ethical and spiritual movement among the common people” (134). Also, he believes Christians are the ones who put into practice the virtues advocated by Chinese sages (152), that his conversion will benefit his family and China (152), and that the tenets of Christianity forbid him to have two wives (200). As a Christian, he persuades his aunt that the Chinese funeral custom of burning incense and ghost paper is idolatrous, senseless, and wasteful (231-33), so his aunt finally omits the incense and ghost paper and buries his uncle Yao Hung-tai like a Christian. Abbott's Christian standpoint helped his novel get well reviewed in *The Chinese Recorder*, a religious periodical of the Presbyterian denomination. The reviewer points out that the

conversion of Yao Yung-fu to Christianity is a “successful issue” to Abbott’s presentation of the difficulties of interracial marriage (258).

The narratological perspective also hints at Abbott’s outsider (Western and Christian) standpoint. The novel begins with a prologue in which the omniscient narrator introduces an evangelist who urges the Chinese to change their old systems and adopt Western civilization to rejuvenate their country (Yung-fu is among the audience listening attentively to the evangelist). Main chapters of the novel all revolve around and reinforce the message conveyed in the prologue. As discussed before, the development of characters (Yao Hung-tai, Yung-fu’s mother, and Yung-fu), the Chinese acceptance of Jeanne, and the reforms Yung-fu and Jeanne bring to the village all suggest things Western prevail. Because the narrator consistently depreciates China and appreciates the West and the novel is a straightforward chronological rendering of Yung-fu’s life, we may conclude the narrator’s stance corresponds to Abbott’s.

Although Abbott employs the Confucian saying that “within the four seas all are brothers” in his novel’s title, Westerners and the Chinese are not on equal footing. For Abbott, the West is superior. His description of Yung-fu’s brother’s change after he goes to the school (of which the missionary MacGregor is the principal) sheds light in this regard: “[Yung-fu’s brother] had already lost the remarks of the country boy, and both in his dress and conversation showed that he had absorbed some of the superior culture of the port city” (238).

Cory’s and Abbott’s novels share similar themes. They both suggest that a superior Western civilization is able to bring about the changes China needs for modernization. Nevertheless, the two authors have different emphases. Cory’s main focus is religion. Using a missionary as his principal character, Cory suggests that support of missionary work will bring the Western knowledge needed in matters other than religion—such as political and social reform. As for Abbott, his major focus is on Western culture in general. Utilizing a non-missionary

Chinese character's experiences in a foreign country, Abbott emphasizes the better qualities of Western culture and suggests that its acceptance will bring China the necessary reforms. He implicitly rather than explicitly claims that Christianity, an inherent element in Western culture, is the main force behind reform. In the novel, Jeanne, who helps bring about several major changes, is a Christian who has close contact with missionaries. Besides, when she plans to establish a girls' school, she says she would seek help from the missionary Mr. Herbeth to recruit a teacher. Furthermore, the school that Yung-fu and his brother attend has a missionary principal. In other words, Abbott indirectly suggests missionary work will play an important role in China's reform. Another difference between Cory's and Abbott's works has to do with the meaning of change. Both Cory and Abbott discuss social changes in medicine and hygiene for China. However, Abbott makes no reference to political change, unlike Cory. In this sense, Cory's novel follows more closely the transition from the late Qing to the Chinese Republic. Also, the scope of cultural change is broader in Abbott. In contrast to Cory's sole focus on Christianity, Abbott encourages not only religious reform but also changes in funeral customs, the marriage system, the status and education of women, and ability and courage to assert oneself.

Chapter 3

The 1920s: Politics—Alliance and Conflict between Nationalists and Communists

I. Historical Background

China continued to be torn by internal warlordism and foreign imperialism in the 1920s. During this period, 1927 was a pivotal year. Before 1927, China's socio-political scene was complicated by Sun Yat-sen's decision to ally the Nationalist party (or the Kuomintang 國民黨, the KMT), the party that helped Sun establish the Chinese Republic, with Soviet Russia and the Chinese Communist Party (CCP). Despite doubt and concern from many quarters, Sun saw the alliance as a way to rejuvenate the revolutionary movement and the only way for China to go. This alliance, however, broke up in 1927, when KMT general Chiang Kai-shek 蔣介石 (1887-1975) purged the Communists from the KMT. The KMT-CCP split made Chinese people take sides in deciding where China should go. Since the American missionaries Sherman A(lbertus) Nagel 那基理¹ (1887-1968) and Vincent H(erbert) Gowen 高厚思/高恩厚² (1893-1984) wrote novels set in 1920s China, these two writers will form the focus of this chapter. Before we examine their works, let us look at some major historical events in this period, which are related not only to the novels of Nagel and Gowen but also those of Pearl S(ydenstricker) Buck 賽珍珠 (1892-1973) and Naomi Lane Babson 卜信 (1895-1985) to be

¹ The romanization of Nagel's Chinese name was "Na Ki Li" (Nagel, *At Home with the Hakkas in South China* 20).

² According to *Directory of Protestant Missions in China*, Gowen's Chinese name was 高厚思. However, Gowen wrote down his Chinese name as 高恩厚 in his 17 July 1916 letter to his father Herbert H(enry) Gowen. See Herbert H. Gowen Papers. (Herbert Gowen, 1864-1906, was an Episcopal clergyman and an emeritus professor of Oriental Studies at the University of Washington, Seattle. While being an Anglican missionary in Hawaii, Herbert Gowen founded the Chinese Mission in Honolulu and Dr. Sun Yat-sen was his pupil at the mission school there. See "Gowen, Herbert Henry.")

discussed in the epilogue.

Although the Chinese were inclined to imitate the West in order to strengthen China's national power since the late Qing period, Western support of Japan's unjustifiable occupation of Shandong at the Versailles Peace Conference in Paris in 1919 disappointed many Chinese. To protest against it, students organized a mass demonstration in Beijing, which became the monumental event of the May Fourth Movement.³ In contrast to Western oppression, Russia showed respect for China's sovereignty and so many Chinese turned to Soviet Russia as a teacher. In the wake of the successful Bolshevik Revolution, Russia's assistant commissar for foreign affairs Leo Karakhan (1889-1937) issued two manifestoes to China in order to win Chinese support for Vladimir Lenin's (1870-1924) idea of a world revolution against imperialism and capitalism. In the first Karakhan manifesto, issued on 25 July 1919, Russia offered to abolish unequal treaties, abandon territorial concessions, return the Chinese Eastern Railway (CER) without compensation, renounce the Boxer rebellion indemnity, and abrogate extraterritoriality.⁴

³ For details about how the Versailles Peace Conference led to the student demonstration, see Chow 84-116.

⁴ The Beijing government did not receive a copy of the manifesto until 26 March 1920. This copy, translated into French and forwarded by wire from Irkutsk, was different from the one published in the Russian newspapers *Izvestiia* (News) and *Pravda* (Truth) on 26 August 1919; their difference lay in a sentence about the CER. The Irkutsk telegraph's version included the sentence that the Soviet government offered to return the CER to China unconditionally, but the Russian newspapers' version did not. Although the manifesto printed in the 1919 Soviet pamphlet *Kitai i Sovetskaia Rossiia* (China and Soviet Russia, pp. 14-16) by Vladimir Vilenskii (1888-1932), a Sovnarkom expert on the Far East, and in the 24 April 1921 (fifth) issue of *Biulleteni Dal'ne-Vostochnogo Sekretariata Komintern* (Bulletin of the Far Eastern Secretariat of the Comintern, pp. 3-4) also included the sentence, Bolshevik leaders, such as Karakhan and Adolf Joffe (1883-1927), insisted that no such offer about the CER had ever been included in the manifesto. That sentence about the CER caused great controversy in Sino-Soviet negotiations. Allen S. Whiting suggests that the changing situation in the battle led to the version difference

The Chinese rejoiced at Russia's generosity and friendship. *Quan guo bao jie lian he hui* 全國報界聯合會 (The association of Chinese newspapers), for instance, commended the declaration as "just" [公正], showed "sincere gratitude" [誠懇的謝意], and anticipated a collaboration between China and Russia to "eradicate international oppression and national, racial, and class differences" [芟除國際的壓迫，及國家的，種族的，階級的差別] ("Dui yu Eluosi lao nong

between the initial drafting of the manifesto in July 1919 and its newspaper publications in late August in the same year. In Whiting's opinion, when the Red Army defeated most of the Whites, Soviet officials realized that regaining a footing in the Far East was becoming possible and they, therefore, treated the railroad with more caution rather than in a sweeping renunciation (33). Whiting argues that the version difference shows "the shift in Soviet policy from a new, revolutionary diplomacy of self-denial to a traditional, nationalist diplomacy of self-interest" (32). Sow-theng Leong argues that the Soviet policy to China was self-interested from the beginning and that the version difference in the Karakhan manifesto resulted from the two camps of the Soviet foreign policy makers. The "idealists" decided to return to China the CER, a symbol of Tsarist aggression, but the "realists" decided not to (131-35). Bruce A. Elleman also emphasizes Russia's self-interested maneuver and argues that the Soviet government made two versions of the manifesto to suit different purposes—the more liberal version for propaganda and the less generous one for diplomacy (27). Elleman points out that after the former aroused the Chinese interest in Marxism and Leninism, lured the Beijing government into diplomatic negotiations with Russia, and contributed to the alliance between Russia and Sun Yat-sen's Nationalist Party in 1923, the latter was used by Russia to regain control over the important CER (27). The second Karakhan manifesto to China, dated 27 September 1920, was very similar in content to the first manifesto but promised nothing concrete about the CER. For the Russian text of the second manifesto, see V. P. Savvin, *Vzaimootnosheniia tsarskoi Rossii i SSSR s Kitaem* (Relations of Tsarist Russia and the USSR with China, 1930), 128-29. Part of the original French telegram of the first Karakhan manifesto, including the sentence about the CER, is printed in Elleman 25. The full French telegram, according to Elleman (50 n. 6), is located in the *Wai jiao dang an* 外交檔案 (Diplomatic archives) at the Institute of Modern History, Academia Sinica, Taipei, Taiwan, collection 03-32, Vol. 463 (1). For the Chinese translation of the two manifestos, see *Zhong E guan xi shi liao*, 2nd part "E dui Hua wai jiao shi tan" 俄對華外交試探 (Russia's diplomatic exploration of China) 4-6, 111-113. For their English translation, see *The China Year Book* 1924, 868-72 or Whiting 269-75. For a convenient source that includes both the Chinese and English versions of the two manifestos, see *Ge ming wen xian*, vol. 9, 1207-223.

zheng fu tong gao de yu lun” 3). Another example: In a 1923 opinion poll conducted by Beijing University, nearly 60 % of the valid answers (497 out of 842) identified Russia rather than the U.S. as China’s friend because of the former’s non-aggressive attitude toward China (Zhu 5).

Russia’s successful revolution and generosity to China directed many Chinese intellectuals’ attention to socialism. They studied the socialism of Claude Henri de Saint-Simon (1760-1825), Peter Kropotkin (1842-1921), Mikhail Bakunin (1814-1876), Lenin, and Karl Marx (1818-1883) in order to find a better social system to empower China and perhaps to ideologically surpass Western capitalist countries, where socialism had not yet been realized. The journalist Pan Gongzhan’s 潘公展 (1895-1975) words below show how the study of socialism was becoming a fad in the early 1920s: “Within this past year [1920], the thought of socialism was surging in China. Articles in newspapers and magazines were either about the study of Marxism or about the discussion of Bolshevism, either about the elucidation of socialism or about the history of labor movement. The topic was burgeoning as if one article were followed by hundreds of responses” [一年以來，社會主義的思潮在中國可以算得起風起雲湧了。報章雜誌的上面，東也是研究馬克思主義，西也是討論布爾希維主義；這裏是闡明社會主義的理論，那裏是敘述勞動運動的歷史；蓬蓬勃勃，一唱百和……。] (41). Li Dazhao 李大釗 (1889-1927) (chief librarian and professor of history, economics, and political science at Beijing University) and Chen Duxiu 陳獨秀 (1879-1942) (dean of the College of Letters in the same university) were the most fervent supporters of radical socialism at that time. They published articles and formed research societies to promote the study of Marxism, which inspired future CCP leaders such as Qu Qiubai 瞿秋白 (1899-1935), Zhang Guotao 張國濤 (1897-1979), and Mao Zedong 毛澤東 (1893-1976). When the CCP was established in 1921, Li

and Chen were regarded as its co-founders.⁵ (Ruth Altman Greene, 1896-1986, wife of Phillips Foster Greene, 1892-1967, a physician and missionary at the Yale-in-China Medical School in Changsha from 1921 to 1943, reported that the Chinese Communists' slogans are: "Down with Imperialism," "No More Hunger, No More Poor," "Bless Russia, the Saviour of Mankind.")⁶

In the 1920s, Sun Yat-sen's (1866-1925) policy for China also took on a Russian and Communist hue. Although Sun succeeded in overthrowing the imperial Qing government in 1911, the newly-found republic was unstable from the start. The provisional president Yuan Shikai 袁世凱 (1859-1916) flouted the institutions of the republic to pursue dictatorial powers. In order to strengthen his own position, he illegally negotiated a so-called "reorganization loan" (*Shan hou da jie kuan* 善後大借款) of £25 million from the Five-Power⁷ Banking Consortium without cabinet consent. Sun's efforts to suppress Yuan through launching what is known as "the Second Revolution" in 1913 failed. Yuan then forced his election as president and further reinstated monarchy. Although Yuan's brief monarchy (from 1 January to 22 March 1916) ended in fiasco and he soon died on 6 June 1916, subsequently different military cliques competed for power and divided China.⁸ In order to rival the legitimate Beijing government controlled by the warlords, Sun established a military government in Guangzhou 廣州 (Canton) in 1917. Sun's Guangzhou military government represented the KMT. (The earliest forerunner of the KMT was *Xing zhong*

⁵ Although Marxism was introduced to China in the late nineteenth century, it was the success of Bolshevik Revolution in 1917 that greatly contributed to its popularity in China. See "Makesi zhu yi si chao de chuan bo." When Chinese intellectuals earnestly discussed socialism and Marxism in the 1920s, their understanding may still be incomplete. For example, Li Dazhao's comparison of the Chinese (living chiefly on farming and handicraft) as "the proletariats" [無產階級] oppressed by Western industrialized countries (181) is a Marxist "metaphor" deviating from Marx's original ideas. See Grieder 318.

⁶ Greene 51.

⁷ Great Britain, France, Germany, Russia, and Japan.

⁸ For details about Yuan's betrayal of the Republic, see I. Hsü 475-82.

hui 興中會, the Society for the Revival of China, founded by Sun in Honolulu, Hawaii, in 1894.) Western countries, however, recognized and financed not the Guangzhou but the Beijing government. The United States, for example, regarded Sun's Guangzhou government as a threat to China's unity and refused to support it.⁹ In search of an ally, Sun turned his attention to friendly Russia, which also thought of working with Sun after its diplomatic negotiations with the Beijing government and warlords failed (I. Hsü 519). At this time, Hendricus Sneevliet (alias Maring) (1883-1942), a Dutch delegate of the Communist International (Comintern, Third International), proposed to Sun a KMT-CCP coalition through the KMT's admission of CCP members as individuals, a tactic known as "a bloc within."¹⁰ In Maring's opinion, the KMT was not a purely bourgeois party, but a party uniting various classes (Eudin and North 346 n.24). Hence, it would pose no problem for CCP members, who represented the proletariat, to join it. Instead, CCP members must join the KMT in order to further push forward the Chinese revolution, for the nascent CCP could thereby seize hold of the working mass which had been led by the KMT and gain legal access to the mass movement (Wilbur and How 52-53). Receiving the Comintern's endorsement, Maring's proposal reflected what came to be perceived as the prevailing Communist view of the Chinese revolution: China's semi-colonial and semi-feudal nature required a two-stage revolution. In the first, the bourgeois-democratic stage, the CCP as the vanguard of the proletariat had to ally itself temporarily with the bourgeoisie (a major component of the KMT) in order to use its strengthened revolutionary force to overthrow foreign imperialist powers and eradicate domestic feudal remnants such as landlordism and warlordism.

⁹ Sun also sought diplomatic recognition and/or financial support from Germany, the Great Britain, and France, but none of them granted it. See Wilbur, *Sun Yat-sen* 100-11. See also Hsü 518-19.

¹⁰ In 1921, Maring visited Sun in China and had several talks with him about the interparty cooperation. See Wilbur and How 34.

After the success of the first stage, the proletariat—taking the leadership of the revolution—would have to combat the bourgeoisie, which would challenge the proletariat. The revolution then would transform to the second, socialist stage.¹¹

A Russian emissary, Adolf Joffe, was sent by the Comintern to China in August 1922 in order to work out a foundation for Russia-KMT-CCP cooperation. On 26 January 1923, Sun and Joffe issued a joint manifesto. It emphasized Sun and Joffe's consensus that "because of the non-existence of conditions favourable to their successful application in China, it is not possible to carry out either Communism or even the Soviet system in China" (Brandt, Schwartz, and Fairbank 70) [共產主義甚至蘇維埃制度均不能實施於中國，因中國並無可使共產主義或蘇維埃制度實施成功之情形存在之故。(qtd. in Shuoyi 10)].¹² In addition, seeing unification and independence as China's most pressing problems, Joffe expressed the Russian people's sympathy for China and their willingness to offer support. Joffe also assured China of Russia's readiness to abandon old Tsarist special rights and privileges in China, to solve the CER question without jeopardizing either party's rights and interests, and to respect China's territorial sovereignty over Outer Mongolia. The Sun-Joffe manifesto formally opened the Russia-KMT alliance and ratified the admittance of CCP members as individuals to the KMT at the first national congress of the

¹¹ Mao Zedong offered a concise illustration about the nature of Chinese society and Chinese revolution when interviewed by the American journalist Helen Foster Snow (1907-97) (pseudonym: Nym Wales), who visited the Soviet territory in Yan'an in 1937. See her book *Inside Red China* 221-26. Tso-liang Hsiao's *Chinese Communism in 1927: City vs Countryside* (pp. 1-37) provides a useful historical analysis about how the CCP and the Comintern reached consensus about the nature of Chinese revolution despite his special focus on the year of 1927. For scholarly debates about the nature of Chinese society, see Han 79-87.

¹² The full Chinese text of the Sun-Joffe manifesto is available in Shuoyi 10-11. Also available in *Ge ming wen xian*, vol. 9, 1242-243. For its English translation, see Brandt, Schwartz, and Fairbank 70-71.

KMT in January 1924.¹³ As a representative of the CCP, Li Dazhao stated at the first national congress of the KMT that CCP members joined the KMT as individuals because they wanted to “make a contribution to our party [the KMT] and the enterprise of the nationalist revolution rather than to be opportunistic in using the name of the KMT to advance the Communist movement” [是為有所貢獻於本黨，以貢獻於國民革命的事業而來的，斷乎不是為取巧討便宜，借國民黨的名義作共產黨的運動而來的。] (704).

Sun decided on Russia-KMT-CCP cooperation for several reasons. First, cheered by Russia’s friendliness to China and impressed by the well-disciplined Russian Communist Party that brought about Russia’s successful revolution, Sun expected Russia to help him re-organize the poorly-disciplined KMT, the cause both of his defeat by warlords and of rebellion by the military leader Chen Jiongming 陳炯明 (1878-1933). Second, Sun believed Russia and the CCP shared his goals of anti-imperialism and anti-warlordism. In Sun’s view, the CCP’s connection with workers and peasants was also instrumental in rejuvenating the KMT. Furthermore, Sun was worried that if he did not ally his party with Russia and the growing CCP, they were likely to cooperate with rival warlords (I. Hsü 520). In effect, the fact that Sun absorbed CCP members into the KMT rather than formed a united front with the CCP on an equal basis suggests his intention to safeguard the KMT and its political philosophy *San min zhu*

¹³ There were different versions about how the CCP reacted to Maring’s suggestion that CCP members join the KMT as individuals. A widely circulated version: several CCP leaders at first objected to Maring’s proposal for they worried that the CCP would lose its independence, but they finally had to comply because Maring resorted to the Comintern’s authority and discipline (Wilbur and How 52; Schwartz 39-45; Eudin and North 346 n.24; Li Y. 107-08). However, Maring himself denied that he had invoked the Comintern’s discipline to have his proposal adopted by the CCP. See Harold R. Isaacs (1910-86), *The Tragedy of the Chinese Revolution* 59. Isaacs went to China in 1930 as a journalist. His book has become a classic about the KMT-CCP alliance and split in the 1920s.

yi三民主義 (The three principles of the people) as the center of the Chinese revolution and to maintain easy control of the Communists as party members (Wilbur and How 49, 52; Brandt, Schwartz, and Fairbank 68; Li Y. 107) in order to prevent the class struggle they might stir up (Chiang 25). (Sun held that as China's industry was not yet well-developed, its major problem was prevalent poverty rather than economic inequality and hence that Marxist ideas of class struggle and dictatorship of the proletariat were not applicable to China.)¹⁴

Sun's receptive attitude toward Russia and the CCP aroused different reactions. There were divergent opinions within the KMT itself before Sun decided on a Russia-KMT-CCP coalition. As Sun's staunchest supporter, Liao Zhongkai 廖仲愷 (1877/78-1925) urged a Russia-KMT alliance. He maintained, "The nations in the world do not interact with China. We are in need of international friends. Now that Russia is sincerely interacting with us, we should not reject its disciples" [世界各國和中國都不能聯絡，我們在國際上正缺少朋友，現在俄國既誠心和我們聯絡，我們便不應該拒絕它的黨徒。] (qtd. in Hu 1307). In contrast to Liao's optimism, many other KMT members showed skepticism. Chiang Kai-shek 蔣介石 (1887-1975), who was sent by Sun Yat-sen to Russia to study the Soviet system and the Red Army training methods for three months in 1923, was aware that Russia in fact had not yet given up its ambition of invading China. Chiang pessimistically pointed out, "Russia is not sincere at all. Their only policy toward China is to make the Chinese Communist Party the only authority. I by no means believe that our party can work with it toward mutual success" [俄黨殊無誠意可言。……俄黨對中國之唯一方針，乃在造成中國共產黨為其正統，決不信吾黨可與之始終合作，以互策成功者也。] (24).¹⁵

¹⁴ See Sun Yat-sen's second lecture on *Min sheng zhu yi* 民生主義 (The principle of livelihood), delivered on 10 August 1924, in his "San min zhu yi" 190.

¹⁵ Chiang's report to Sun about his visit to Russia was never published, but Chiang also expressed his opinion about Russia to the KMT leader Liao Zhongkai in his 14 March 1924 letter to Liao. The passage I quoted is from that letter, printed in part in Chiang's *Su'e zai Zhongguo* 蘇

Wang Jingwei 汪精衛 (1883-1944) held that CCP members joining the KMT would cause harm to the KMT. Making an allusion to the classical Chinese novel *Xi you ji* 西遊記 (Journey to the west), Wang observed that “Pigsy would not be able to tolerate if Pilgrim Sun jumped into his belly somersaulting and playing the golden-hooped rod” [孫行者跳入豬精的腹內打跟斗，使金箍棒，豬精如何受得了！] (qtd. in Hu 1307). (In the novel, Pigsy, a pig, and Pilgrim Sun, a monkey, are protectors of the Buddhist monk Xuanzang 玄奘 on his journey to India to obtain sacred sutras. The golden-hooped rod is Pilgrim Sun’s magic weapon that can change in size and form.) Xie Chi 謝持 (1876-1939) and Dai Jitao 戴季陶 (1890/91-1949) were concerned the KMT would lose its integrity if admitting CCP members. Xie insisted in KMT meetings in 1923, “It is not permissible to have another party within the [KMT] party” [黨中不可有黨] (qtd. in Li 227). Dai made it clear to Liao Zhongkai in November 1923, “If the Communists are to be admitted [to the KMT], only one membership is to be permitted. Dual membership is to be prohibited, which would cause further complications” [共產黨人加入，必須造成單純之黨籍，而不能存留兩黨籍，以啟他日之紛糾。] (981).¹⁶ After Sun held his ground and decided on a Russia-KMT-CCP alliance, rumors were rife that the KMT was “red-ized” (赤色化) and splitting

俄在中國 (Soviet Russia in China), p. 24. The book bears Chiang’s Chinese name Jiang Zhongzheng 蔣中正 as the author. The complete text of Chiang’s letter to Liao is available in *Ge ming wen xian*, vol. 9, 1273-277 and in Mao Sicheng’s 毛思誠 *Minguo shi wu nian yi qian zhi Jiang Jieshi xian sheng* 民國十五年以前之蔣介石先生 (Mr. Chiang Kai-shek before 1926), 239-45. Mao was Chiang’s teacher and secretary and Mao’s book contains Chiang’s diaries until December 1926 and has summaries of Chiang’s conversations, speeches, letters, reports, and telegrams.

¹⁶ In November 1923, Dai was chosen by Sun as a member of the KMT’s central committee to be in charge of the affairs about the party’s re-organization. Believing that admitting CCP members to the KMT would only cause problems and confusions, Dai resigned his post. Sun then sent Liao to persuade Dai (Chen T. 195). In his 13 December 1925 letter to Chiang Kai-shek, Dai wrote about that event.

up and that Sun was advocating Communism.¹⁷ For many Chinese, Communism stood for a radicalism promoting the system of “*Gong chan gong qi*” 共產公妻 (communize property and wife).¹⁸

Westerners in China were also apprehensive about the growing popularity of Communism in China. Jay C. Huston (1888-1932), an American consul in China, regarded the penetration of Bolshevism and Marxism into China as fermenting the labor movement and instigating the working proletariat to overthrow the capitalist order, which “augurs no good for the future of trade and industry in which the Americans, along with other foreigners, has a very vital interest” (qtd. in Wilson 56).¹⁹ Jacob Gould Schurman (1854-1942), an American envoy to China, criticized “[Bolshevik] communism, class rule, and despotism as opposites to the American [democratic] system” and suggests the latter was more helpful to China, for “Communism always begins with equality of property and ends with equality of poverty.”²⁰ Christian missionaries found the spread of Russian Sovietism and Communism in China detrimental to their missionary work there, for those two doctrines were anti-religious in treating religion “as being shackles on the minds of the masses and as the enemy of true and full liberty” (“The Anti-Christian Movement” 73).

In response to the rumor, doubt, and concern from diverse parties, the KMT made the

¹⁷ See “Guo min dang dui yu yao chuan zhi sheng ming.”

¹⁸ See “Tianjin dian—Nei bu mi dian Sheng shu”

¹⁹ According to Wilson, the quoted passage was from Huston’s 26 June 1922 letter to the Secretary of State, located at the Hoover Institution at Stanford University. However, I was unable to locate the original letter based on Wilson’s citation.

²⁰ Jacob Gould Schurman’s 24 February 1925 letter to the President John Calvin Coolidge, Jr., the National Archives and Records Administration, Post Files (RG 84) series, China Diplomatic Posts, 1843-1945, UD Entry 10, in volume 1227, 2 Pages, with the first enclosure: a 24 February 1925 newspaper clipping titled “Dr. Schurman delivers address at American Association dinner” from *The Peking Leader*.

following clarifications. First, Sun Yat-sen was not a Communist²¹ and Sun's political philosophy *San min zhu yi* 三民主義 (The three principles of the people) was still the party principle of the KMT.²² Second, Russia-KMT-CCP cooperation did not mean the KMT's espousal of Communism, for Russia had adopted *Xin jing ji zheng ce* 新經濟政策 (The new economy policy) rather than Communism to solve economic problems and CCP members had to follow the KMT's party principles and discipline when they joined the KMT as individuals.²³ Third, the fact that *Min sheng zhu yi* 民生主義 (The principle of livelihood) and Communism both aimed at solving livelihood problems and that "Communism was nothing but a subset theory in the Principle of Livelihood" [共產主義……不過為民生學說之一種耳] justified the admittance of CCP members as individuals to the KMT.²⁴ Fourth, Sun Yat-sen did not plan to establish a Red Army or a Soviet government in China.²⁵ Despite clarifications from the KMT side, there is no denying that its leader Sun was showing friendliness toward the Communists. In contrast to Sun's friendly attitude, the Beijing government sought to curb the spread of Communism in China by banning students from propagating Communism²⁶ and by convicting Communists of sedition when seized.²⁷

On the one hand, Russia-KMT-CCP cooperation helped push forward the Chinese revolution. Some examples of Russian assistance to the KMT and Sun's Guangzhou government:

²¹ See "Guo min dang zhi zhong yao sheng ming."

²² See "Guo min dang dui yu yao chuan zhi sheng ming."

²³ See "Guo min dang zhi zhong yao sheng ming."

²⁴ See "Guo min dang dui yu yao chuan zhi sheng ming."

²⁵ See "Sun Yixian shi yi jian de biao shi."

²⁶ See "Tianjin dian—Nei bu mi dian Sheng shu"

²⁷ See "Tianjin dian—Sheng shu zuo jie Nei bu" See also "Zong li zui jin zhi hai nei wai tong zhi xun ci" (by Sun Wen/Sun Yat-sen) and "Zhong yang zhi xing wei yuan hui xuan chuan bu pi yao."

First, Russian adviser Michael Borodin (1884-1951) helped re-model the KMT after the Russian Communist Party and transformed the KMT into a well-structured organization consisting of five levels—national, provincial, county, district, and sub-district. Lower levels of the party were to take orders from above. The party was to meet regularly and all party members were to be under strict party discipline (Wilbur, *The Nationalist Revolution* 8). Second, Russia provided funds and arms for Sun's Guangzhou government (Wilbur, *The Nationalist Revolution* 14, 40-41). Third, with Russian funds and Russian military advisers, the Whampoa Military Academy was established in May 1924 in order to train junior officers loyal to the KMT (Wilbur, *The Nationalist Revolution* 14). The graduates, cadets, and enlisted trainees of the academy were a component of the KMT's party army, which later became the nucleus of the National Revolutionary Army in the military and political leader Chiang Kai-shek's Northern Expedition from 1926 to 1928 (Jordan 6, 16). This expedition succeeded in defeating the warlords and unifying China under the KMT.

In addition, CCP members advanced the nationalist revolution promoted by the KMT by mobilizing peasants and workers (the two most oppressed groups in Chinese society) and hence furnished a decisive impetus toward combating their oppressors: landlords, warlords, and imperialist powers. The CCP members' efforts to protect and improve the welfare of peasants and workers were a realization of *Min sheng zhu yi* 民生主義 (The principle of livelihood) and *Min zu zhu yi* 民族主義 (The principle of nationalism), the two constituents of the KMT's party program, the Three Principles of the People.²⁸

²⁸ The KMT's manifesto at its first national congress highlighted the important role of peasants and workers in the nationalist revolution, see *Zhongguo guo min dang li ci dai biao da hui ji zhong yang quan hui zi liao* 18.

According to a 1927 report by the KMT's land committee,²⁹ the peasantry constituted approximately 80% of China's total population, but most lived in poverty because of the small amount of arable land in China and its concentration in the hands of a few. In spite of China's vast land, only 15% was arable. As Table 1 (p. 189) reveals, about half (44%) of the landed peasantry (about 150,000,000 people, i.e., about 45% of the total peasantry) were poor peasants, holding less than 10 *mu* 畝 (1.65 acres) of land or, in terms of percentage, only 6% of the total arable land. Despite the fact that only 5% of the landed peasantry were big landlords, owning more than 100 *mu* of land, they held about half (43%) of the total arable land.³⁰ Chinese

²⁹ This report, with the author "*Tu di wei yuan hui*" 土地委員會 (Land committee) and with the title "*Zhongguo tu di fen pei de diao cha*" 中國土地分配的調查 (A survey of Chinese landholding), was published in the official organ of the KMT's peasant department (農民部) entitled *Zhongguo nong min* 中國農民 (The Chinese peasantry) 2.1 (1927): 1-3.

³⁰ With regard to the number of Chinese peasants, there are no precise statistics but only estimates available. The KMT report I cited comes from the estimation of six people in each of the 56,000,000 farm households nationwide. The Ministry of Agriculture and Commerce (農商部) of the Beijing government also had estimates of the peasant population. Its 1917 to 1918 survey shows there were approximately 319,418,248 peasants nationwide (Lamb 9). Besides, there are different categorizations of peasants and different criteria about the size of land held by a poor peasant. Jefferson D. H. Lamb, for example, divided the Chinese peasantry into the following four groups: "small land holders who cultivate their own lands; part-tenant farmers who, in addition to their own lands, cultivate other people's lands for which they pay an annual rent; tenant-farmers who rent other's lands for cultivation; agricultural labourers who work for other farmers for a small wage a year" (6). In terms of defining a poor peasant through the size of land held, Tarkhanov, a Russian agrarian expert entrusted by Borodin to conduct research about Chinese farmers' landholding, suggested that 10 *mu* was the amount of land needed to maintain an average standard of living (Hofheinz 37). Another scholar, however, suggested that peasants in the district of Baoding 保定 in the province of Hebei 河北 were considered poor if they held less than 7 *mu* of land (Chen, *The Present Agrarian Problem in China* 3). The difference may be due to the difference in land quality. Despite the diverse statistics and studies of the Chinese peasantry, since I am discussing the KMT's engagement with peasants in the 1920s, citing a 1927 KMT report about them may be a justifiable choice. Also useful in this regard is R.

peasants in general were exploited by diverse taxes, levies, and fees,³¹ but landless peasants (about 186,000,000 people, i.e., about 55% of the peasantry) and peasants with little land were those most seriously exploited. Not having any or enough land to farm on, they had to rent land as tenant peasants and hence were liable to landlord charges of exorbitant rent, which usually came to more than half the harvest (Chen B. 30) plus corvée labor (Chen B. 23).³² From the 1920s onward, incessant military activity made the lives of tenant peasants much more difficult, for military requisitions (which were taxes temporarily assessed in the name of military service, mainly taken in the form of money, labor, and kind and which used to take place only in some provinces) now were found in every province and the amount and articles requisitioned increased greatly.³³ For example, in northern Shanxi 山西, military requisitions in 1922 amounted to several thousand dollars, but they reached \$152,804 for December of 1930 alone (Wong, Hsieh,

H. Tawney's discussion about the cause of the prevalent small land holding and its effect on Chinese agriculture. See his *Land and Labor in China* 38-50.

³¹ See [Chen] Hansheng, "Zhongguo nong min dan fu de fu shui" 9-27. (An English version of Chen's article entitled "The Burdens of the Chinese Peasantry" appears in *Pacific Affairs* 2.10 (1929): 644-58, where the author's name is spelled as Chen Han-sheng.) See also "Quan guo nong min yun dong gai guan" 10-12.

³² Chen Boda's book *Jin dai Zhongguo di zu gai shuo* cited here has an English version entitled *A Study of Land Rent in Pre-liberation China*, where the author's name is spelled as Chen Po-ta. The two places cited from the Chinese version are on p. 35 and p. 27 of the English translation. Landlord exploitation of peasants was common in China. Even Jiangsu 江蘇 and Zhejiang 浙江, the two most fertile provinces, were no exceptions. See Mao Zedong, "Jiang Zhe nong min de tong ku ji qi fan kang yun dong." (In the original article, Mao used his courtesy name Runzhi 潤之 as the author.)

³³ Food, clothing, housing, transportation, and war weapon were all possible items for military requisitions. See Wong, Hsieh, and Shi 101-03; and [Chen] Hansheng, "Zhongguo nong min dan fu de fu shui" 27-28 (English translation of Chen's article "The Burdens of the Chinese Peasantry" 658).

and Shi 103-04).³⁴ Small and middle landlords often shifted their burden of military requisitions to their tenants in the form of increased rent and hence exacerbated their hardships. In order to pay the increased rent, tenants had to do extra work as hired workers or part-time peddlers or resort to loans (Wong, Hsieh, and Shi 108-09). Since the largest landlords were themselves militarists (Wong, Hsieh, and Shi 107),³⁵ the KMT identified warlords and their supporters, the imperialist powers, as the greatest oppressors of the peasants. The fact that some missionaries took farmhouses and used them as churches³⁶ and some missionaries loaned money at high interest rates³⁷ also aroused Chinese peasants' resentment against imperialist powers.

CCP member Peng Pai 彭湃 (1896-1929) helped the KMT initiate peasants into combating landlord exploitation, meanwhile urging their support of the nationalist revolution. As a native of Haifeng 海豐 County in Guangdong (Kwangtung) 廣東 Province, Peng was inspired by socialism and Marxism while studying abroad at Japan's Waseda University.³⁸ After returning to China, he analyzed the income and expenditure of tenant peasants in Haifeng (as shown in Table 2 on p.190) and became aware of how they were unable to make ends meet even without any expenditure for clothing or housing.³⁹ For the peasants who did not pay their rents on time or

³⁴ In this dissertation, the currency sign \$ refers to the Chinese dollar *yuan* 元.

³⁵ Chinese landlords may assume multiple roles at the same time. In addition to being rent collectors, they may also be militarists, merchants, usurers, bureaucrats, and/or gentry. See Chen, *The Present Agrarian Problem in China* 18; Wong, Hsieh, and Shi 106-07.

³⁶ See Yang 292-93, "Guangdong sheng di yi ci nong min dai biao da hui de zhong yao jue yi an" 191, and "Hubei de nong min yun dong" 392.

³⁷ See Hinton 62 and Yang 292.

³⁸ Peng joined *Zhongguo she hui zhu yi qing nian tuan* 中國社會主義青年團 (The socialist youth league of China) in 1921 (which was the predecessor of the CCP) and joined the CCP in April 1924. See Peng, *Peng Pai wen ji* 340, 346.

³⁹ This paragraph about Peng's initiating the peasant movements in Haifeng is based on his work "Haifeng nong min yun dong." Peng's work was translated into English by Donald Holoch with

completely, landlords could do anything to them, ranging from taking away their cattle or furniture to confining and/or whipping them as slaves (Peng, “Haifeng nong min yun dong” 184). Sympathizing with peasant’s hardships, Peng established Haifeng County General Peasant Association (*Haifeng xian zong nong hui* 海豐縣總農會) in 1923 to protect peasants against landlord exploitation and mistreatment despite the fact that his own family was a big landlord family. (With no more than 30 people, Peng’s family took in about 1,000 piculs of crops as rent every year and was in charge of no less than 1,500 peasants.)⁴⁰ The association negotiated with landlords on the peasants’ behalf to request rent reduction and solve rent disputes. In radical cases, the association made peasants strike or destroy landlords’ property as a protest against unreasonable rents. One of the slogans popularized by the association among peasants:

“Landlords have no rent; we have it. If landlords dare to make trouble, we will eradicate field boundaries” [地主無租，租在我們，地主如敢作怪，則剷去田基] (Peng 134, translation mine).

His success at Haifeng helped Peng establish peasant associations in more than ten other counties in Guangdong, such as Lufeng 陸豐 County, Huiyang 惠陽 County; among these Lufeng County Peasant Association was a particularly well-organized one.⁴¹ Peng’s experience with peasants made him an instrumental figure in pushing forward the peasant movements advocated by the KMT. In order to protect peasants’ welfare and engage them in the nationalist revolution, the KMT after its re-organization established a Peasant Department (*Nong min bu* 農民部) and a Peasant Movement Training Institute (*Nong min yun dong jiang xi suo* 農民運動講習所) in

the title *Seeds of Peasant Revolution: Report on the Haifeng Peasant Movement* (Ithaca: Cornell U, 1973).

⁴⁰ See Peng, “Haifeng nong min yun dong” 111-12. One picul is approximately equal to 60 kilograms.

⁴¹ For details about the organization of peasant unions and their operation, see Peng, “Haifeng nong min yun dong” 120-86.

Guangzhou. Peng served as secretary of the former and an instructor to the latter.⁴² There he taught about his experience of organizing peasants and establishing peasant associations and emphasized the importance for peasants of uniting together in order to fight against exploitation by diverse parties. When the Guangdong Province Peasant Association (*Guangdong sheng nong min xie hui* 廣東省農民協會) was established under KMT auspices in May 1925, Peng served on its executive committee (Wang, Zeng, and Huang 107). He further engaged peasants in the nationalist revolution by asking them to cooperate with KMT soldiers in Chiang Kai-shek's Eastern Expedition against the warlord Chen Jiongming. As a result, peasants armed themselves and organized regiments to offer message, transportation, and stretcher services (Zhong 31-32).

In addition to peasants, workers were another major group the KMT sought to engage in the nationalist revolution. Chinese workers in the Japanese-owned cotton mills in Shanghai lived amid hardships. In terms of wages, they were paid about \$0.3 for twelve-hour work daily,⁴³ but

⁴² See Wang, Zeng, and Huang 83-90 and “Di liu jie nong min yun dong jiang xi suo ban li jing guo” 23 n. 1.

⁴³ The workers' testimonies and Tang Hai's 唐海 survey of cotton mill wages in different locations in China in 1925 suggest that the wage was about \$0.3. See “Qian Ri shang Nei wai mian sha chang gong ren de kong su” 219 and Tang 150-54. In her book *Sisters and Strangers: Women in the Shanghai Cotton Mills, 1919-1949* (p. 179), Emily Honig supplements Tang's comparison by identifying the Shanghai cotton mill owners' nationality. Table 3 on p. 191 (based on Tang's book pp. 150-52 and Honig's book p. 179) shows that the Shanghai cotton mill workers' daily wages did not differ much between Japanese-owned and Chinese-owned mills. Therefore, it is problematic to attribute the Shanghai cotton mill workers' economic difficulty to Japanese oppression simply based on the wage amounts. The Japanese employers' strict disciplinary measures were in fact a major cause of the Chinese workers' feeling of being oppressed. According to Jean Chesneaux, among the workers in the cotton mills who were paid time rates, most of them were paid daily; only the mechanics and foremen were paid monthly. Some workers were paid by piece rates and they seemed to be the least skilled and lowest paid workers. Daily wages were paid in copper; monthly wages, silver (88). As for working hours, two twelve-hour shifts were the common practice in big cotton mills in Shanghai (Chesneaux 71).

price increases and the depreciation of copper coinage (the major currency of the working class) made their lives much more difficult. One picul of rice cost \$7.48 in Shanghai in 1919, but it cost \$13 in 1925.⁴⁴ While the exchange rate for copper cents per *yuan* was 136 in Shanghai in 1919, it was 217 in March 1925.⁴⁵ Moreover, the workers, most of whom came from the countryside, were often disciplined (including beatings and fines) when they failed to adjust to a modern mode of production that featured punctuality, timekeeping, mechanical proficiency, efficiency, and order (Rigby 11-12). What was worse, the Japanese employers suspected their Chinese workers of stealing and inflicted body searches on them before they left the mills, which for the Chinese was a humiliating racist treatment (Rigby 15).⁴⁶ That racism together with China's nationwide resentment against Japanese aggression made the Chinese workers regard their economic hardships and the strict disciplinary measures they experienced as the product of Japanese oppression. The relationship between labor and capital in the cotton mills consequently worsened and conflicts between the two were common.

In fact, the Chinese cotton mill workers' low status vis-à-vis their Japanese employers was emblematic of Chinese inferiority to foreigners in China in general and in Shanghai 上海 in particular. Through unequal treaties, imperialist powers gained control of China's customs and enjoyed special privileges, such as extraterritoriality, concessions, and foreign police. The foreign control of China's customs made Chinese goods subject to higher customs tax and more *li jin* 釐金 (tax levied on goods in transit) than foreign (imported) ones. Chinese goods hence lost

The first shift was from 6 a.m. to 6 p.m.; the second, from 6 p.m. to 6 a.m. ("Qian Ri shang Nei wai mian sha chang gong ren de kong su" 223).

⁴⁴ See Chesneaux 216 Table 28. Rice of inferior quality cost about \$10 per picul ("Qian Ri shang Nei wai mian sha chang gong ren de kong su" 219).

⁴⁵ See Chesneaux 217 Table 29.

⁴⁶ Japanese cotton mill employers did not inflict body searches on their employers in Japan. See "Riben guo nei sha chang yu zai Hua Ri sha chang lao dong tiao jian bi jiao" 255.

popularity because of their higher price. On the other hand, taking advantage of China's cheap labor and the low taxes they enjoyed, foreign-owned factories flourished in China. As a result, China's indigenous industry atrophied and Chinese workers who sought employment in foreign-owned factories were subject to foreign capitalists' exploitation and oppression. (Thus Sun Yat-sen suggested that the fundamental way to liberate Chinese workers from oppression was to abrogate unequal treaties.⁴⁷) Nowhere else was China's subjection to imperialist powers more apparent than in Shanghai, the biggest treaty port opened to foreign trade by unequal treaties.⁴⁸ The Shanghai International Settlement was governed in the interest of foreigners. As the administrative authority in the Settlement, the Shanghai Municipal Council, dominated by foreigners (mainly the British), prohibited Chinese (and dogs) from entering the Shanghai Public Garden, despite the fact that 70% ratepayers in the Settlement were Chinese. Moreover, the Shanghai Mixed Court, the judicial authority in the Settlement, was controlled by foreigners. Although Chinese magistrates were also present in cases involving both Chinese and foreigners, it was the foreign consuls who made judgments. Hence, for the Chinese, the Court was nothing but an expression of foreign dominance in the Settlement. The foreigners' attempts to enhance their privileges in the Settlement in the following ways further aroused Chinese hatred against them: enlarging the Settlement, building roads beyond the Settlement limits, enforcing strict print

⁴⁷ See Sun Yat-sen's elaborations on this issue in his May Day lecture in 1924 entitled "Zhongguo gong ren suo shou bu ping deng tiao yue zhi hai" 中國工人所受不平等條約之害 (Chinese workers' suffering from unequal treaties); his second lecture on *Min zu zhu yi* 民族主義 (The principle of nationalism), delivered on 3 February 1924, in his "San min zhu yi" 三民主義 (The three principles of the people) 17-19; and his fourth lecture on *Min sheng zhu yi* 民生主義 (The principle of livelihood), delivered on 24 August 1924, in his "San min zhu yi" 216-21.

⁴⁸ For a history of Shanghai with a special focus on the development of its International Settlement up until the 1920s, see F. L. Hawks Pott's 卜舫濟 (1864-1974) *A Short History of Shanghai*. Pott was an American missionary to China, serving Shanghai's St. John's University.

matter bylaws to compel all printers to register with the effect of restricting Chinese freedom of speech, increasing wharfage dues that would burden Chinese merchants, and requesting the license of stock and product exchanges to reinforce control despite the fact that they had been already licensed by the Chinese government.⁴⁹

Since February 1925, Chinese workers at the Japanese-owned Naigai Wata 内外綿 (cotton) mill in Shanghai had protested against low wages and mistreatment, mainly through strikes. One handbill that circulated among the workers read, “The Japanese mistreat us, beat us, and rail against us. They dismiss our workers for no good reason, reduce our wages without notice, and always delay in paying wages. These are all persecutions beyond our tolerance, so how we can make a living without striking?” [日本人は我々を虐待し毆打し罵倒する又日本人は無暗に我等職工を解雇する日本人は無断に吾々の工銀を控除し又何時も工銀支給の支拂いを延ばす、是等の事情は總て吾々を迫害するのであつて忍び得ない所である、であるから吾々は罷工をやらすには居られないではないか。] (qtd. in Udaka 639, translation mine). In a radical case on 15 May 1925, Japanese employers opened fire and killed one and

⁴⁹ For Chinese people’s low status in relation to the foreigners in Shanghai, see Li Jianmin 13-21, Rigby 19-22, and Hu 3-5. See also “Opposition of Shanghai Chinese Commercial Bodies” and “Zhongguo guo min dang fan dui Shanghai zu jie gong bu ju qin hai Zhongguo zhu quan ti an zhi xuan yan.” As a matter of fact, there were several regulations about the admittance to the Shanghai Public Garden. One regulation prohibited dogs from being brought to the garden. Another read: “No Chinese, except working coolies, are admitted” [中國人，除前來工作的苦力外，不許入內]. Chinese people tended to see the regulations as racist in classifying dogs and Chinese in the same category (Li Jianmin 17). Westerners, however, have different interpretations about the regulations. For instance, H. G. W. Woodhead, the editor of *The China Year Book*, argues that the regulations were not a manifestation of foreign imperialism but a measure for foreigners to protect themselves from the Chinese, many of whom were inflicted with contagious diseases (238-239). Ernest O. Hauser argues that the regulations were not as simplified as an outcome of racial prejudice but an expression of foreign autonomy in the Shanghai Settlement (132-33).

wounded several Chinese workers. (The one killed was a Communist named Gu Zhenghong 顧正紅, age twenty.) Many college students and Chinese workers held a memorial service for the slain and made anti-Japan and anti-imperialistic speeches. Nonetheless, they were arrested by the police of the Shanghai Municipal Council. This arrest provoked a large-scale student demonstration on 30 May, with the participation of workers and peasants.⁵⁰ What originated as a labor movement aimed at easing Chinese workers' economic hardships turned into a patriotic movement against imperialist powers' encroachment on Chinese sovereignty. On that day, the demonstrators lectured and distributed circulars that read "Down with imperialism" (打倒帝國主義), "Oppose road building beyond Settlement limits" (反對越界築路), "Sever economic relations" (實行經濟絕交), "Oppose print matter bylaws" (反對印刷附律), "Oppose wharfage dues" (反對碼頭捐), "Boycott Japanese goods" (抵制日貨), "Support arrested students" (援助被捕學生), and so forth. They even shouted "Kill the foreigners!" (殺外國人) when they ran into conflict with the foreign police employed by the International Settlement.⁵¹ As the demonstrators resisted the order to disperse, British inspector E. W. Everson and his men opened fire and the demonstration ended in bloodshed and violence: about ten Chinese were shot and several dozen wounded and arrested in this "May Thirtieth Incident."⁵² What followed was the "May Thirtieth Movement": nationwide anti-imperialist protests, strikes, and boycotts, with Japan and Great Britain as the two main targets.

⁵⁰ See "Guangdong de nong min yun dong" 37 and "Guangdong sheng di er ci nong min dai biao da hui xuan yan" 200.

⁵¹ See "Zuo ri xue sheng yan jiang zhi da feng chao."

⁵² Different sources have different statistics about the number of people killed, wounded, and arrested in the incident. One source said ten were killed (Tao 28-30); another said eleven students were killed and twenty others injured (Spence, *The Search for Modern China* 340); another said thirteen were killed, several dozen seriously injured, and fifty arrested (Ren and Zhang 78), still another said nine were killed, several dozen seriously injured, and hundreds arrested (Ma 122).

Lack of sympathy for the Chinese in coverage of the “May Thirtieth Incident” and its aftermath by the major foreign-owned newspapers in China foregrounds the importance of that incident in arousing the Chinese nationalism. *The Manchuria Daily News*, a Japanese-owned newspaper published in Dalian 大連 (Dairen), criticized Chinese students for “raising noises and fuss for their dream-like ideas,” such as “recognition as equals.”⁵³ *The China Weekly Review*, an American-owned newspaper published in Shanghai, described the Chinese in the incident as “rioters”⁵⁴ and reported that Chinese handbills about imperialism and the privileges the foreigners enjoyed and sought to enhance in Shanghai “distorted” facts and tended to “inflame Chinese public opinion.”⁵⁵ Condescendingly taking Chinese submission to the foreigners for granted, *The North-China Herald*, a British-owned newspaper published in Shanghai, called the incident the Chinese people’s “rebellion” and “revolt” and argued that use of force against the Chinese was not only justifiable but also necessary to maintain order and safety, for the police fired in order to prevent the Chinese “mob” from overcoming the police and breaking out, “looting and burning.”⁵⁶ Responding to the incident differently from their fellow countrymen, however, Western missionaries in China felt sympathy for Chinese students’ “unselfish patriotism” (不自私的愛國主義), designated the Western invasion of China as “sowing a bad seed” (種……惡因) and urged the Municipal Council to conduct an impartial investigation.⁵⁷

⁵³ “Shanghai Disturbances” 1.

⁵⁴ “The Shanghai Strike and Its Significance” 37.

⁵⁵ “The Complete Story of the Strike” 126.

⁵⁶ “To the Peaceable Chinese of Shanghai, Will You Side with Rebellion?”

⁵⁷ See “Guo nei xi jiao shi xuan yan” 國內西教士宣言 (A manifesto by Western missionaries in China) in “Zhong yao han dian hui lu” 21. For more missionary responses and discussions, see Borg 25-26 and *Supplement to "The Green Year" concerning the Events on and since May 30 in Shanghai* 12-21. (*The Green Year* was a magazine of the National Young Women’s Christian Association of China published in Shanghai.) As a matter of fact, there were still a minority of

The incident also prompted Western missionaries to urge revision of unequal treaties and surrender of treaty rights in China, as they became more conscious of their position: the privileges they enjoyed in China were granted by unequal treaties, which were in fact at odds with Christian values such as justice and brotherhood that they endorsed..⁵⁸

It goes without saying that almost all Chinese groups (be they educational, political, or commercial) patriotically criticized the imperialist atrocities and showed sympathy for the unarmed Chinese killed.⁵⁹ The KMT, for example, saw the incident as “inhumane” (無人道), “unjust” (無公理), “defaming China’s national prestige” (污辱中國國威), and “trampling Chinese people’s human rights” (蹂躪中國人權)⁶⁰ and called for a triple strike of merchants,

missionaries who felt less sympathy for the Chinese in the “May Thirtieth Incident/Movement.” Christian colleges, composed of Chinese students and Western administrators, provide a good case of study that demonstrates missionaries’ diverse reaction. While Beijing’s Yenching University supported students’ participation in the May Thirtieth Movement, that was not the case with St. John’s University, where conflicts arose between Chinese students and Western administrators who deterred student participation. Guangzhou’s Lingnan University had administrators both supported and opposed student participation. See Lutz, *China and the Christian Colleges* 246-54 and Barwick.

⁵⁸ See Lutz, *China and the Christian Colleges* 230. See also Fessenden 28-42 for a historical survey that traces missionaries’ advocacy of surrendering treaty rights from the turn of the century up until the May Thirtieth Incident, which functioned as the most significant catalyst. (The United States did not renounce its unequal treaties with China until 1943.) Chapter 12 of Paul A. Varg’s book *Missionaries, Chinese, and Diplomats* is also useful in presenting the missionary urge to revise unequal treaties as a response to Chinese nationalism in the 1920s, although Varg does not particularly focus on the May Thirtieth Incident. See also Borg 82-94 for her discussion of the diverse missionary reactions to the issue of treaty revision.

⁵⁹ See “Zhong yao han dian hui lu” for a compilation of the responses from different Chinese groups. See also *Supplement to “The Green Year” concerning the Events on and since May 30 in Shanghai* 8-10, 14. Also useful is *Peking Leader* 15-75, which are a compilation of foreign and Chinese responses to the May Thirtieth Incident, including those made by missionary groups.

⁶⁰ See “Zhongguo guo min dang Shanghai zhi xing bu xuan yan (一)” 中國國民黨上海執行部

workers, and students in support of Chinese workers' resistance against their Japanese employers and as a protest and retaliation against foreigners in Shanghai (Rigby 36-37). In order to improve the workers' lives and welfare, the KMT at its second national congress in January 1926 decided on a labor policy that proposed an eight-hour work day, stipulated minimum wages, suggested improved factory sanitation and instituted labor insurance, and recognized the workers' freedom for meeting, association, speech, and their right to strike.⁶¹ Similarly emphasizing imperialism as the most significant cause of the savage "May Thirtieth Incident"⁶² and showing concern for workers, the CCP also called for a strike on three fronts (Rigby 37) and participated in the KMT's second national congress in deciding its labor policy mentioned above.⁶³ The CCP efforts in those two respects were undoubtedly a boost to the KMT's policies. (The American novelist Naomi Babson, working as a missionary at Canton Christian College in the 1920s, depicts the May Thirtieth Incident and the May Thirtieth Movement in her 1939 novel on China, *All the Tomorrows*.)

Although Russia and the CCP contributed to the KMT in several different ways through Sun Yat-sen's policy of Russia-KMT-CCP alliance, the fact that they also exploited the opportunity furnished by this alliance for self-development and ultimately for subverting the KMT in order to establish Communist regimes in China eventually led to Chiang Kai-shek's

宣言 (一) (The first manifesto of the KMT's Shanghai executive department) in "Zhong yao han dian hui lu" 5.

⁶¹ See Ma 71-72 and *Zhongguo guo min dang li ci dai biao da hui ji zhong yang quan hui zi liao* 128-29.

⁶² See "Zhongguo gong chan dang wei fan kang di guo zhu yi ye man can bao de da tu sha gao quan guo min zhong."

⁶³ About 100 out of the 256 participants of the KMT's second national congress were Chinese Communists, see *Zhongguo guo min dang li ci dai biao da hui ji zhong yang quan hui zi liao* 94.

decision to purge the party.⁶⁴ As early as 25 August 1923, the CCP's resolutions showed the Communists' twofold purpose in joining the KMT: "We join the KMT but still maintain our own organization. We need to absorb class-conscious revolutionists from the labor groups and from the KMT left, augment our organization, and stiffen the discipline, so that we can create a strong Communist base" [我們加入國民黨，但仍舊保存我們的組織，並須努力從各工人團體中，從國民黨左派中吸收真有階級覺悟的革命分子，漸漸擴大我們的組織，嚴謹我們的紀律，以立強大的群眾共產黨之基礎。] (qtd. in *Ge ming wen xian*, vol. 9, 1280).⁶⁵ After Sun's death on 12 March 1925, several events further widened the rift between the KMT right wing (anti-Communists) and the Communists. To begin with, in order to seize the military and political power of the KMT and to weaken the position of Chiang Kai-shek, who after Sun's death became a powerful KMT leader in control of the military, Russia and the CCP did several things. First, they orchestrated a failed plot on 20 March 1926 to abduct Chiang to Russia.⁶⁶

⁶⁴ The split between Chiang Kai-shek and the Communists was a complicated story. The discussion here only presents a small part of it. For a full-fledged discussion, see Li Y. 250-812.

⁶⁵ The CCP resolutions were published in a pamphlet by *Zhongguo she hui zhu yi qing nian tuan* 中國社會主義青年團 (The Chinese Socialist Youth League), a sub-organization of the CCP. The fact that the Communist Li Dazhao vowed to be loyal to the KMT at the KMT's first national congress in January 1924, which was after the CCP resolutions were published, made KMT members sense the Communists' duplicity but Sun Yat-sen's authority made the KMT respect his decision on the cooperation with the CCP. See *Ge ming wen xian*, vol. 9, 1282-283.

⁶⁶ The incident is known as "The Zhongshan Gunboat Incident (中山艦事件)" or "March Twentieth Incident." See Wilbur, *The Nationalist Revolution in China* 47-49; Wu T., "Chiang Kai-shek's March Twentieth Coup d'Etat of 1926"; Li Y. 483-503; and Chen Jieru 陳潔如 (Ch'en Chieh-ju) (1906-71), *Chen Jieru hui yi lu: Jiang Jieshi Chen Jieru de hun yin gu shi* 陳潔如回憶錄：蔣介石陳潔如的婚姻故事 (Chen Jieru's memoir: Chiang Kai-shek and Chen Jieru's marriage story), Taipei: Zhuan ji wen xue chu ban she, 1992, vol. 2, 253-65. (English version: *Chiang Kai-shek's Secret Past: The Memoir of His Second Wife, Ch'en Chieh-ju*, Ed. Lloyd E. Eastman, Boulder: Westview, 1993, 176-85.) Chen's memoir, based on her diary from 1920 to 1927, was ghostwritten in English by James Lee (Li Shimin 李時敏), who was said to

(The Communists maintained that the incident was a coup d'état launched by Chiang himself for the purpose of using that incident as an excuse to expel the Communists from important positions in the KMT.)⁶⁷ Second, Russia and the CCP set up a Wuhan 武漢 government in the winter of 1927. This Wuhan government, supported by the Russian adviser Borodin and chaired by the KMT leftist Wang Jingwei, excluded Chiang from the power circle and refused to provide him with ammunitions and funds, which impeded the progress of the Northern Expedition. (For the Communists, they launched the campaign against Chiang because he became a counter-revolutionist, “a new warlord” 新軍閥, “a military autocrat” 軍事專制者, and “a dictator” 獨裁者, who colluded with the militarists, compromised with the imperialists, suppressed the labor movement, and eliminated all against him by force, including butchering.)⁶⁸ Third, in order to provoke trouble with foreign powers and discredit Chiang Kai-shek, the Communists launched the Nanjing 南京 (Nanking) Incident on 24 March 1927, in which foreigners were looted and killed by soldiers wearing the Nationalist uniform in their Northern Expedition.⁶⁹ (Pro-Communist sources believed the Communist-dominated army accused of

be Chen and Chiang's English teacher. Chen's memoir was first published in Chinese and then in English.

⁶⁷ See Earl Browder's (1891–1973) *Civil War in Nationalist China* 24. Browder was a U.S. Communist Party leader and his account was based on his visit to China from February to June in 1927 as a member of the International Workers' Delegation representing the Trade Union Educational League of America.

⁶⁸ See Chen J., Chinese version, vol. 2, 317-34, 339-41; English version 220-30. See also Browder 20-30. For secondary sources on Borodin and the Wuhan government versus Chiang kai-shek and the KMT right wing, see Jiang Y.; Spence, *To Change China* 184-204; and Wilbur, *The Nationalist Revolution in China* 77-88.

⁶⁹ There were different theories about who was responsible for launching the anti-foreign Nanjing incident of 1927. Foreigners generally accepted that the incident was a Communist scheme against Chiang. Other theories: Chiang himself launched the incident in order to provoke against the Communists; the demoralized, retreating Fengtian 奉天 (Fengtien) soldiers were the

actual perpetrators (Isaacs 144-45). In the incident about six foreigners were killed, more than ten foreigners injured, and many foreign buildings plundered. In response to the attacks from the Chinese side, American and British destroyers laid a barrage of gunfire around the Standard Oil compound to assist the escape of some fifty foreigners, mainly American and British, who took refuge there. More than thirty Chinese were killed and tens or hundreds of Chinese injured as a result of the bombardment (*Ge ming wen xian*, vol. 14, 2381-83, 2390). The Nanjing incident seriously impacted the missionary enterprise in China. J(ohn) E(lias) Williams 文懷恩 (1871-1927), the Vice-President of the University of Nanjing (a Christian university), was killed when he requested to keep a gold watch he was given. And, it was reported that by July 1927 about five thousand of the approximately eight thousand Protestant missionaries had left China, mostly for Great Britain and America and some for Japan and the Philippines. Of the remaining three thousand, about half of them were refugees protected by the foreign troops in the foreign concessions in Shanghai, about one thousand were in other port cities under the protection of their home governments, and only about five hundred still remained in the interior (“Looking toward the Chinese Church” 359). Later, missionaries began returning to China but were never to reach the numbers of the period before the incident (Tuchman 104). Despite their victimization, missionaries still believed that the Chinese were generally friendly as Chinese servants, students, and local officials had risked their lives to protect them and had even hidden some of them (Varg 190; Wood 23-24; *The China Year Book 1928*, 726). For eyewitness accounts, reports, and documents about the incident, see the American writer Alice Tisdale Hobart’s (1882-1967), *Within the Walls of Nanking* (Alice Hobart was the wife of Earle Tisdale Hobart, an executive of the Standard Oil Company in China.); *The China Year Book 1928*, 723-36 (725-29 are missionaries’ public statements); *Ge ming wen xian*, vol. 14, 2378-2401; “Wai jian pao hong Nanjing shi jian zhi zhong yao wen jian”; “Some Aspects of the End of One Era of Christian Effort in China”; Roots 109-15; Thurston and Chester 59-63 (about the impact on Ginling College, a Christian female college in Nanjing); Stross 155 (where Stross cites the words of Rupert Howard Porter 伯德, 1892-1987, an American agricultural missionary and a member of the plant pathology department at the University of Nanjing); and Buck 206-24 (When the incident happened, Buck was teaching English literature at the University of Nanking. Owing to Chinese people’s help, Buck and her family escaped the anti-foreign attacks.) For American missionaries’ discussions of the incident, see Eugene E. Barnett 鮑乃德 (1888-1970) 174-76 (Barnett was a YMCA secretary in China from 1910 to 1936, residing in Hangzhou 杭州 and Shanghai.); Gowen, *Sunrise to Sunrise* 117-22 (Gowen did missionary work for the Protestant Episcopal Church in Anqing/An-ching/Anking 安慶 and Wuhu 蕪湖, Anhui 安徽, from 1913 to 1927.); Ruth V. Hemenway (1894-1974) 94-95 (Hemenway was a medical missionary in

launching the incident was the most tightly disciplined one in the county and had never engaged in looting or attacking foreigners.)⁷⁰

The fact that Chinese Communists sought to seize control of peasants and workers and to mobilize them in the revolution in a radical way that conflicted with KMT policy and antagonized the bourgeoisie that supported the KMT also played a part in the KMT-CCP split. As pointed out before, after its re-organization the KMT advocated the peasant movement for peasants to fight against unreasonable rents. However, it did not mean to stir up class struggle between peasants and their landlords. Instead, the KMT expected landlords themselves to reduce rents so that they liberated not only peasants but also themselves from being oppressors.⁷¹ The KMT also expected trust and cooperation from both peasants and landlords in the Three Principles of the People in order to realize the ultimate goal of “land to the tiller” and thereby to exempt peasants from rents.⁷² The Chinese Communists, nevertheless, led the peasant

Mintsing/Minqing 閩清, Fujian 福建, from 1924 to 1941.); and Grace Service (1879-1954) 305-06 (Grace Service and her husband Robert Roy Service 謝安道, 1879 – 1935, were YMCA missionaries in China for about three decades since 1906.) According to John Benjamin Powell (1888-1947), most American missionary groups in China were against the “gunboat policy” of the Chamber of Commerce and several missionary groups victimized in the incident declined the indemnities for the loss of life or property (*My Twenty-five Years in China* 168). (Powell was an American journalist working in China for about twenty-five years. He was well known as the editor of the Shanghai-based *China Weekly Review*.) For scholarly discussions of the incident, see Wilbur, *The Nationalist Revolution* 91-94; Borg 290-317; and Iriye 125-45.

⁷⁰ See, for example, the American journalist and pro-Communist Agnes Smedley’s (1892-1950) *The Great Road: The Life and Times of Chu Teh* 189. Smedley’s book, a biography of the Communist general Zhu De 朱德 (1886-1976), was based on her interviews of Zhu when she visited Yen’an, the Chinese Communist headquarters, in 1937.

⁷¹ See “Lin shi Zhejiang sheng zhi xing wei yuan hui quan ti hui yi xun ling quan wen” 8-9.

⁷² See *Ping jun di quan qian shuo* 23-27. The methods suggested by Sun Yat-sen to carry out the goal of “land to the tiller” are as follows: the government is to charge tax and purchase land according to the land price asserted by the landlords, the incremented land value is to be

movement as a revolution that stirred up class struggle and terror and subverted the feudal-patriarchal structure of the traditional Chinese society. In the KMT-CCP alliance, most eminent leaders of the peasant movement were Chinese Communists. In addition to Peng Pai in Guangdong, Mao Zedong was successful in mobilizing the peasants in Hunan to combat landlord exploitation. Like Peng and several other Chinese Communists at that time, Mao was born into a rich peasant family. Although he did not himself experience landlord exploitation, he became aware of the peasants' revolutionary power in the May Thirtieth Incident and in the May Thirtieth Movement.⁷³ From then on, he devoted himself to the study and promotion of the peasant movement and, as he expected, peasants eventually played a decisive role in the Communist takeover of China. According to Mao's report about the peasant movement he led in Hunan, he treated the peasant movement as a revolution and found radical means necessary in

appropriated by the government, the government is to restrict the size of land ownership, and the government is to establish land trust organization in helping peasants to purchase the land. These methods are not to be adopted abruptly, but require considerable preparation, including propaganda and survey of population and land ownership. In Sun's view, abrupt distribution of land may satisfy landless peasants but will cause resistance and revolution from the landlords deprived of the land. See *Ping jun di quan qian shuo* 17-24. See also Sun Yat-sen, second lecture on *Min sheng zhu yi* 民生主義 (The principle of livelihood), delivered on 10 August 1924, in his "San min zhu yi" 186-89; "Geng zhe yao you qi tian"; and "Ping jun di quan nai yi tu di zhi li huan zhi da zhong."

⁷³ See the American journalist Edgar Snow's (1905-72) *Red Star over China* 69, 72, 143, 267. Snow's book, first published in 1937, is based on his interview with Mao and his colleagues in the Communist-controlled area in Northwest China from June to October in 1936. As a first-hand account, Snow's book advanced Western understanding of China in the 1930s and has been seen as a classic autobiography of Mao. The highly disciplined and ordered Chinese Communists in contrast to the corrupt KMT depicted in Snow's book have won Western sympathy for them, but recent scholars have pointed out that Snow edited his manuscript in compliance with the CCP officials' request and hence his book may have a propagandist touch. See Brady 46-47; and Chang and Halliday 192.

order to overthrow the feudal landlord class, which had secured a powerful position for thousands of years. In Mao's words, "a revolution is not a dinner party, or writing an essay, or painting a picture, or doing embroidery; it cannot be so refined, so leisurely and gentle, so temperate, kind, courteous, restrained and magnanimous. A revolution is an insurrection, an act of violence by which one class overthrows another" ("Report on an Investigation of the Peasant Movement in Hunan" 28) [革命不是請客吃飯，不是做文章，不是繪畫繡花，不能那樣雅致，那樣從容不迫，文質彬彬，那樣溫良恭儉讓。革命是暴動，是一個階級推翻一個階級的暴烈行動。] ("Hunan nong min yun dong kao cha bao gao" 18)]. The movement succeeded in reversing the class structure: those peasants that used to rank lowest now issued orders in the peasant association and hence ranked above everybody else. They denounced evil gentry and landlords with harsh words and tethered them with ropes, crowned them with tall paper-hats, and paraded them through the villages. In some instances, the peasant association came to possess so much power that it even executed local tyrants, evil gentry and landlords without resorting to legitimate legal process. Due to fear of the peasant movement, some landlords gave up their land and ran away.⁷⁴ In addition to overthrowing the landlords' political authority, the peasant association also advocated overthrowing the authority of clannish elders, the authority of religion, and the masculine authority of husbands, the main shackles of Chinese people's lives in the feudal-patriarchal Chinese society, in order to live a life free from oppression.⁷⁵ For many people, the Communist-led peasant movement that turned things upside down was "going too

⁷⁴ Pro-Communists argued that the peasants killed by local tyrants and evil gentry and landlords far outnumbered the vice versa. And, local tyrants and evil gentry and landlords often allied with the militia (*Min tuan* 民團) and bandits to attack the peasant associations. See Isaacs 225-26.

⁷⁵ See Mao, "Hunan nong min yun dong kao cha bao gao" 19-20, 25-28, 32-35; English translation: 29-30, 35-39, 44-47.

far” (過分) and “exceeding the proper limits in righting a wrong” (矯枉過正).⁷⁶ Besides, the Communist-led labor movement was becoming excessive as well. Not only did the increasing number of strikes lead to suspension of industries (Tso 318-19) but the red unionists also sought to control labor unions devoted to the KMT’s The Three Principles of the People, such as the Guangdong General Labor Union and All China Machine Association in Guangzhou (Ma 140-41). In Guangdong, businessmen harbored resentment against the Communists’ employment of such radical means as store closure and harassment to demand unreasonably high payment for a regular eight-hour work day (Wang Qisheng 462-63).

The widening rift between the KMT right wing and the Communists made Chiang move to suppress the Communist-led labor movement. Suppression reached a climax in Shanghai on 12 April 1927 in the name of martial law. On that day, pro-Chiang forces disarmed about 350 picket workers, arrested about 300 Communists, destroyed more than 70 of their organizations, and seized more than two 2,000 rifles (Wu T., “Chiang kai-shek’s April 12th Coup of 1927” 156). In radical cases, those who resisted were shot down where they stood (Isaacs 175-76).⁷⁷ The suppression was mainly done by the Green Gang (青幫), the most powerful underworld group in Shanghai. Its influential leader Du Yuesheng (Tu Yüeh-sheng) 杜月笙 (1888-1951) gained support from the foreign powers in Shanghai (who wanted to defend the foreign settlement there against the Communists), transportation assistance from Stirling Fessenden (1875–1943), the American chairman of the Shanghai International Settlement, and a supply of rifles and ammunition from authorities at the French concession (Powell 158-59). In addition, the financial support of Shanghai bankers and military support from KMT general Bai Chongxi (Pai

⁷⁶ Mao, “Hunan nong min yun dong kao cha bao gao” 18; English translation 28. See also “Nine Months of Communist Misrule in Hunan.”

⁷⁷ See also “Song Hu gong ren jiu cha dui zuo jun bei jiao xie”, Shanghai zong gong hui, and “Organized Attack on C.P.”

Ch'ung-hsi) 白崇禧 (1893-1966) and the erstwhile warlord Zhou Fengqi (Chou Fung-ch'i) 周鳳岐 (1879-1938) also contributed to the suppression (Wu T., "Chiang kai-shek's April 12th Coup of 1927" 151-52). In order to confront the Wuhan government controlled by the Communists and the KMT left, Chiang established a government at Nanjing on 18 April 1927. In the following two months, the pro-Chiang forces almost completely destroyed all the Communist organs and cells in Shanghai: more than 5,000 leftists were estimated as killed (Wu T., "Chiang kai-shek's April 12th Coup of 1927" 157; Powell 154). Later this purge of Communists spread to other areas. When the Wuhan government also expelled the Communists and moved to Nanjing in August 1927, the split between the KMT and the CCP became complete. The Communists then turned underground to combat the KMT, which marked the beginning of China's ten-year civil war until 1937, when Chiang formed another united front with the Communists to battle the invading Japanese.⁷⁸

For the Communists and some leftists, Chiang's compromise with the comprador bourgeoisie, the militarists, and foreign imperialists in Shanghai was an "anti-revolutionary triad of reactionaries, conservatives, and counterrevolutionaries" (Wu T., "Chiang kai-shek's April 12th Coup of 1927" 158).⁷⁹ He was called "the reactionary representative of the feudal bourgeois class [and] the tool of imperialism" [封建資產階級的反動的代表，帝國主義的工具] ("Zhongguo gong chan dang wei Jiang Jieshi tu sha ge ming min zhong xuan yan" 2107).

Showing sympathy for the Communists, French writer André Malraux (1901-76) in his Concourt Prize-winning novel *Man's Fate* portrayed the Communists suppressed in Shanghai as sacrificing for a great cause: a revolution aimed at salvaging the proletariat. He writes, "[the Communists to

⁷⁸ For a detailed history about the KMT-CCP split, see Wilbur, *The Nationalist Revolution in China* 94-194. Russian advisors such as Borodin were sent back to Russia.

⁷⁹ See also "Di san guo ji dai biao tuan wei di guo zhu yi wei he Wuhan ji Jiang Jieshi bei pan xuan yan."

be persecuted had] a doomed life fallen . . . in the darkness full of menaces and wounds, among all those brothers in the mendicant order of the Revolution: each of these men had wildly seized as it stalked past him the only greatness that could be his” (319).

The KMT-CCP split made people think about which direction China should take. The writer Guo Moruo (Kuo Mo-jo) 郭沫若 (1892-1978), who had been dissatisfied with Chiang’s suppression of the workers and denounced him for “betraying the revolution [and] massacring the public” [背叛革命、屠殺民眾],⁸⁰ chose to join the CCP in the wake of the split.⁸¹ Christian general Feng Yuxiang (Feng Yu-hsiang) 馮玉祥 (1882-1948), who criticized the Communists as “publicly using the name of nationalist revolution to privately sow the prison of terror nationwide” [陽冒國民革命之名，陰怖全國恐怖之毒], chose to support Chiang’s suppression of them (qtd. in Li Y. 719). Some Chinese students who at first had high expectations of Communism also changed their minds and turned to support Chiang against the Communists. A public censure of the Communists made by Cai Yuanpei (Ts’ai Yüen-p’ei) 蔡元培 (1868-1940), the principle of Beijing University, partly contributed to that conversion.⁸² As a matter of fact, pro-party purges does not necessarily mean pro-Chiang. Although the merchants in Shanghai generally hailed Chiang’s suppression of the Communists,⁸³ some felt bad about him from fear of being arrested by him for not paying contributions (Wu T., “Chiang kai-shek’s April 12th

⁸⁰ Guo, “Qing kan jin ri zhi Jiang Jieshi” 143. Guo’s article, about Chiang’s massacre of the Communists in Anqing was written in March 1927.

⁸¹ Guo joined the CCP in August 1928 (Gong and Fang, Vol. 1, 176).

⁸² Cai’s censure was a telegraph issued in conjunction with several members on the KMT’s Central Investigation Committee. That telegraph entitled “Hu dang jiu guo” 護黨救國 (Protecting the party and saving the country) is available in *Cai Yuanpei xian sheng quan ji xu bian* 1096-100. See also Li Y. 676, “Students’ change of heart,” and Y. T. Wu 225-26 (Wu was a student secretary for the National Committee of YMCA in China).

⁸³ See Shanghai zong gong hui 528-29 and “Chinese Merchants’ Manifesto.”

Coup of 1927” 159). Even within the KMT itself, there was protest against Chiang’s dictatorship (Yang K. 171-79). Also, some Chinese suggested other directions to pursue rather than a simple choice between the CCP and the KMT. In opposition to Chiang’s autocracy in the KMT and the CCP’s armed uprising in the countryside, *Di san dang* 第三黨 (The Third Party) was formed with a view to establishing a commoner’s government with peasants and workers as its center (Yang K. 167-71). In addition, the scholar Hu Shi (Hu Shih) 胡適 (1891-196) argued in his essay “Which road shall we travel?” (“Wo men zou na tiao lu?” 我們走哪條路?) that China’s enemies were not capitalism and imperialism—as suggested by the KMT and the CCP—but poverty, disease, ignorance, corruption, and turmoil, for a country without these five problems would not be invaded by capitalism and imperialism. Hence he suggested the use of scientific knowledge to combat these five problems as a new road for China to pursue (Yang K. 198).⁸⁴

Many Westerners in China supported Chiang’s suppression of the Communists. John B. Powell, editor of the American-owned and Shanghai-based *China Weekly Review*, justified Chiang’s action as a response to the Communists’ use of force to accomplish their political designs (160). He suggested Chiang obtain support from the peasants and workers as a way to redress the weakness of the Nanjing government.⁸⁵ The British-owned and Shanghai-based *North-China Herald* similarly supported Chiang’s suppression of the Communists but showed some skepticism of him and the Nationalists. It commented that Chiang’s purging the party redressed Sun Yat-sen’s “initial mistake” of the KMT-CCP alliance⁸⁶ but that his motive may

⁸⁴ The Chinese response as to where China should go is actually complicated. It not only continues up to the 1930s but is influenced by the debate in Chinese sociology about the nature of Chinese society. See Yang K. 167-212 and Kiang 95-102.

⁸⁵ See P[owell], “Are Nanking and Hankow Preparing for a Showdown?”

⁸⁶ See Sokolsky, “Kuomintang Fortunes Split on the Rock of Communism.”

have simply been to ensure his own “supremacy”⁸⁷ and there was “cold, calculating hypocrisy [behind the Nationalists’ motives], utterly reckless of the miseries imposed upon the Chinese people.”⁸⁸ American consuls in China felt relieved that Chiang purged the party, but were not confident about Chiang’s administrative ability.⁸⁹ Foreign missionaries in China also had mixed feelings about Chiang. Most of them endorsed his suppression of the Communists, for the anti-imperialistic and atheistic nature of Communism affected their work negatively. Some examples of the impact of Communism on the missionary enterprise: First, the Communists were part of a large-scale anti-Christian movement from 1922 to 1927, in which the missionary enterprise was attacked as an agent of imperialism and capitalism.⁹⁰ Second, the Communist-led

⁸⁷ See “The Soviet in China.”

⁸⁸ See “The Revolt against Communism.”

⁸⁹ See Wilson 275-79.

⁹⁰ The May Fourth Movement in 1919 was anti-religious, for it endorsed science and saw religion as superstitious. That endorsement of science and China’s surging nationalism contributed to the anti-Christian movement in the 1920s. In 1920, the Young China Association (*Shao nian Zhongguo xue hui* 少年中國學會) launched an unsuccessful anti-religious movement. From 1922 to 1927, a large-scaled anti-Christian movement was launched by several groups, including the Young China Association, the anarchists, the Communists, and the left wing of the KMT. Intersecting with this movement was the Recovery of Educational Rights Movement (收回教育權運動), which impacted the missionary enterprise in advocating the Chinese government’s management of church-supported schools and the forbiddance of religion as a required course. For compilations of essays that demonstrate different stances about the anti-Christian movement, see “Zhongguo qing nian she fei Jidu jiao tong meng” and Zhang Yijing, *Zui jin fan Jidu jiao yun dong de ji ping*. For criticisms about the anti-Christian movement, see Zhang Yijing, *Pi ping fei Jidu jiao yan lun hui kan*; and Zhang Wenkai. For brief scholarly discussions about the impact of anti-Christian movement on YMCA, see Garrett 173-74 and Xing 66-67. For elaborated studies on anti-Christian movement, see Yamamoto T. and Yamamoto S.; Yang T.; Yip; and Lutz, *Chinese politics and Christian Missions*. In response to the anti-Christian movement, church leaders decided in 1929 to launch a “Five-Year Movement” with a view to revitalizing the evangelical work in China. See Liu 64-68 and C. Y.

peasant movement, which encouraged the overthrow of religious authority, was hostile to missionaries. They were forbidden membership in the peasant association⁹¹ and there were cases in which the mission premises were taken over by the peasant union as offices.⁹² Third, the fact that the Communists applauded the use of strikes to settle labor disputes also impacted church-run businesses, such as hospitals and schools.⁹³ The Methodist bishop Laurens J. Birney's 貝恩溢 (1871-1937) comment on the Communists below vividly expresses missionary resentment against them. Birney, who was engaged in missionary work in Shanghai at the time of Chiang's purging the party and who strongly supported it, observed that Borodin was "the Satanic Majesty of this whole wretched Bolshevist [Hankou] regime" and that he would "enjoy pulling the string which would release a good-sized bomb from an aeroplane over [Borodin's] head" (qtd. in Thornberry 148). Birney saw the whole Hankou crowd as "a set of jailbirds" and expected they would "get their full deserts in the not distant future" (qtd. in Thornberry 148). Similarly, Ruth Greene took Chiang's suppression of the Communists as "good news," which "gave promise of order and stability" for missionaries to continue their work in China (58).⁹⁴

Cheng, "An Interpretation of the Five-Year Movement in China."

⁹¹ See "Guangdong sheng nong min xie hui xiu zheng zhang cheng" 245.

⁹² See, for example, "Orgy of Mission Looting."

⁹³ See Greene 51-52 and "The Present Situation" 295-96.

⁹⁴ Missionaries' resentment against the Communists may also be detected from the book *A Bolshevized China, the World's Greatest Peril*, edited by Edgar E. Strother 施嘉達, General Secretary of the China Christian Endeavour Union. Strother's book is a compilation of newspaper coverage about what he believed to be the Bolshevist sabotage of China in general and of the missionary enterprise in particular. The problem of Strother's book is that he indiscriminately ascribed the sabotage to Bolshevism, despite the fact that the nationalist and anti-foreign sentiments may also be the contributing factors. Strother's emotional treatment, however, was a typical tendency at that time. See Varg 183. Not all missionaries were against the Communists. The National Christian Council in China, for instance, was criticized as being supportive of Bolshevism. See "The Red in China and the N.C.C."

However, Vincent Gowen did not regard Chiang as a “hero” for his suppression of the Communists but as a “menace” due to the Russian backing Chiang used to have (*Sunrise to Sunrise* 118). Soldiers in Chiang’s Northern Expedition quartered in the mission school where Gowen taught and their propagandist officers preached Marxist doctrine. Also, Communist instigators among the school pupils attempted to mobilize the student body for inflammatory agitation. These unpleasant experiences with the Nationalists and the Communists made Gowen mistrust Chiang (*Sunrise to Sunrise* 119).⁹⁵

As a matter of fact, when people chose to side with the CCP or the KMT after the breakup of their alliance, the choice was one between the proletariat and the middle-class bourgeoisie and the values they embodied. While both parties aspired to push China toward further modernization and progression, they differed in spirit. The CCP, representing the proletariat and attempting to create a completely new order, trashed China’s tradition and the landlord-gentry-intellectual class, which for the CCP was imbued with feudal-bourgeois remnants impeding revolution. By contrast, the KMT, representing the middle-class bourgeoisie, conservatively advocated ameliorative reform through reclaiming China’s tradition. The KMT advocated some things the CCP was radically against: using classical Chinese, reading classical literature, and following Confucianism.⁹⁶ The debate over Confucianism requires explanation. The CCP was against obligations in human relations as suggested by Confucianism, such as sons respecting and obeying their fathers and the mutual reverence between husbands and wives.⁹⁷

⁹⁵ For descriptions about the Nationalist soldiers’ occupation of mission schools, see *China Christian News Letter* (30 August 1927): 3.

⁹⁶ See “Zhongguo gong chan dang gao quan guo min zhong shu” 3; “Gong gong mao ce” 96; and Yang K. 210-12.

⁹⁷ See “Gong gong mao ce” 96; Mao, “Hunan nong min yun dong kao cha bao gao” 32-35 (English translation, “Report on an investigation of the peasant movement in Hunan” 44-47); and

As a philosophy that “teaches the preservation of things as they are,” Confucianism “upholds the status quo of the society and its institutions” and treats revolt as a way to restore rather than upset the order (F. Hsu 378). As is shown in the Confucian idea of “five cardinal relationships” (*Wu lun* 五倫) (between emperor and subject, between father and son, between husband and wife, between brothers, and between friends), each individual is expected to occupy his/her proper places and fulfill duties and obligations, which will lead to a good society. For the CCP, Confucianism, resisting changes in society, was a stumbling block to revolution. *The North-China Herald* in May 1927 described how China’s cultural heritage, including Confucianism, was despised by the Communists after their forces grew in Hunan:

In rejecting antiquated customs the Revolutionaries [Communists] have rejected the great moral teaching of their philosophers and embraced doctrines that have no reliable historical basis. The classics may no longer be studied in the schools that remain [Many schools were compelled to close due to internal dissension or terrorism stirred up by Communist propaganda.]; the works of Dr. Sun are considered all sufficient. All unwelcome social restraints [are] attributed to Confucianism which is now suppressed by law. The latest report states that the beautiful Confucian temple in Changsha has been destroyed by farmers.⁹⁸

Wu Jiandong’s 吳澗東 (1892-1955) comments on the Communist-controlled peasant movement in Hunan similarly demonstrate the CCP’s radical ideology. (Wu made the comments after he was invited to make an on-site investigation of the KMT administration; his report was first published in 1927.) In addition to criticizing the peasant movement as killing indiscriminately,

Wu J. 3.

⁹⁸ See “Nine Months of Communist Misrule in Hunan.” The article is in two parts. The quoted passage is from the second part, dated 14 May 1927. The first part, dated 7 May 1927, mentioned how the schools were closed due to the Communist influence.

Wu pinpointed the Communist intention to completely overturn the social order in “denying father-and-son bond, ignoring husband-and-wife affection, [and] overthrowing the intellectual class” [父子之親不認，夫婦之情不顧；打倒智識階級] (3).⁹⁹

II. Sherman A. Nagel’s Novel

Set in China in the 1910s and 1920s, Nagel’s novel *Ah Sin: A Factual Novel of the Hakka Chinese* was published in 1940 by the William B. Eerdmans Publishing Company, a religious publisher in Grand Rapids, Michigan. Nagel’s choice of a religious publisher suggests he hoped to reach readers imbued with religious fervor in order to gain their support for the overseas missionary enterprise. Nagel was a devoted Christian worker all his life. Born in Forman, North Dakota, on 8 July 1887, Nagel studied at Walla Walla College, Union College, and Loma Linda University, all three affiliated with the Seventh-Day Adventist Church with Loma Linda being well-known for its training of medical missionaries. In 1909, Nagel and his wife Mary Hansen (1886-1979), also a missionary, went to do medical missionary work in Huizhou (Waichow, Hui-chou) 惠州, Guangdong, under the auspices of the Seventh-Day Adventist Mission Board. One of Nagel’s duties was to visit chapels and churches and encourage and advise their Bible teachers. He also performed baptisms, marriages, and funerals. Nagel and his wife spent twenty years in the Hakka and Shantou (Swatow/Shan-tou) 汕頭 areas. In 1929, they returned to the United States, where they spent the following two decades serving the Central Church in San

⁹⁹ In fact, there had been attacks of Confucianism before the CCP in the 1920s and one of the prominent efforts in this regard was the magazine *Xin qing nian* 新青年 (New youth/La jeunesse). Its anti-traditional standpoint continued to be endorsed by the intellectuals in the May Fourth Movement. Some of the magazine’s oppositions: old thought and customs, traditional Confucian ethics (such as loyalty to officials and filial duty to parents), monarchy, and old superstitions and religions. Some of the magazine’s advocacies: free choice in love and marriage, liberalism, individualism, democracy, and science. See Chow 58-60, 300-13.

Francisco, the White Memorial Hospital in Los Angeles, and the Loma Linda Sanitarium at Loma Linda. Nagel passed away at Angwin, California, on 7 July 1968.¹⁰⁰

Nagel's novel shows a basic understanding of China's political and social issues in the 1910s and 1920s, but his understanding is not deep enough. His missionary concern to change China through Christianity impedes his thorough absorption into all the relevant issues and prompts his resistance to accepting China as it is. In terms of his engagement with politics, Nagel knows that in the wake of establishing the Chinese Republic Dr. Sun Yat-sen thought of launching a second revolution to suppress Yuan Shikai, who wanted to recover the emperorship (88-89) and that Russia was the only country to offer friendship and a helping hand when Sun sought foreign support (163-64). Sharing many Chinese people's concern, Nagel also suggests that the penetration of Communism into China due to the Russia-KMT alliance would possibly make wives into common property (166), cause children to disrespect their parents (167), "wreck the old social order, [and] destroy [the] ancient civilization" (167). Nagel, however, mistakes Sun's cooperation with Russia for an abandonment of democracy in favor of Communism (167). As mentioned before, the Sun-Joffe manifesto clearly declares the impossibility of carrying out Communism or the Soviet system in China. Moreover, although Nagel knows the Russia-KMT

¹⁰⁰ For the biographical information of Nagel and his wife, see "Obituary: Mary Christine Hanson"; "Obituary: Sherman Albertus Nagel"; "Historical Sketch of Loma Linda"; Nagel, "My Call to Service"; and Nagel, *At Home with the Hakkas in South China* 7-20. Also useful in understanding Nagel's life and work in China is the first half of Florence Ione Howlett (1910-2008) and Sandy Zaugg's *Lotus Blossom Returns*. Howlett was Nagel's daughter and that book is her biography. She was born in Macao and grew up in China. After college education in the U.S., she worked as a medical missionary in Thailand and Vietnam and helped to found the Saigon Adventist Hospital. (Nagel's son, Sherman A. Nagel, Jr., 1915-, was also a medical missionary, who worked in Nigeria for more than two decades and the Sherman Nagel African Health Foundation is named after him. He is an emeritus professor of biology at Pacific Union College as well.)

alliance leads to Russian help in training Chinese soldiers who advance the nationalist revolution (164-65), he does not discuss the participation of the CCP and the its engagement with peasants in that revolution. He also falls silent about the growing peasant movement fostered in his mission station, Huizhou, by the Communist Peng Pai.¹⁰¹ Moreover, except for noting Communist slogans like “Down with imperialism!” and “Down with foreigners!” (201), Nagel does not devote space to China’s surging nationalism in the 1920s, which was spurred by events such as the May Thirtieth labor movement. In fact, the call to improve the poor living conditions of peasants and workers was so prominent an issue in the 1920s that even missionary groups got engaged, as is shown by the National Christian Council of China’s forming the Committee on Christianizing Economic Relations with a view to applying Christianity (specifically the spirit of mutual service and universal brotherhood) to China’s economic problems. In the Committee’s national conference, held in Shanghai on 18-28 August 1927, surveys, investigations, and findings about rural and industrial conditions and problems were presented. In response to rural findings, the conference recommended limiting large landholdings through governmental legislation, reducing rent in years of crop failure, using written contracts between landlords and tenants, and improving the landlord-tenant relationship through mutual trust. In response to industrial problems, the conference recommended a minimum wage based on cost of living, an eight-hour working day, and better understanding between employer and employee through shop committees and arbitration boards. The conference urged Christian institutions and churches to implement its recommendations by getting agricultural and industrial workers to cooperate constructively with farmers’ unions and the labor movement and by offering courses and literature on rural and industrial problems.¹⁰² Nagel’s silence about the peasant and worker

¹⁰¹ See Peng, “Haifeng nong min yun dong” 123 (English: *Seeds of Peasant Revolution* 50).

¹⁰² See National Christian Council of China 113-25.

movements suggests he is careless about the Chinese people's economic suffering, which many missionaries had become aware of.¹⁰³ The fact that Nagel's discussion of the nationalist revolution shows mistakes and neglects some major issues hints at his distance from the Chinese scene to some extent.

Closer scrutiny of Nagel's treatment of the Russia-KMT alliance suggests his alienation from the Chinese scene is largely due to his preoccupation with pushing forward the missionary enterprise in China. When it comes to the negative effects of Communism, Nagel always emphasizes those that have an impact on the missionary enterprise. As he notes, "Communists seem to be very angry with the Western religion. On some of their ugly pictures they have written, 'Christianity is the poison of the world; destroy it'" (165-66). In particular, Communist posters denounce the church and its mission in China, attacking girls at the mission school as "[f]oreign and Chinese prostitutes" (167-68). Nagel's preoccupation with the missionary enterprise prevents him from criticizing Chiang Kai-shek despite his connection with the Communists, for Chiang is friendly to the missionary. In the novel, when the American missionary Ray Holden goes to see Chiang in order to report the guns left in the mission compound by soldiers escaping from Chiang's Northern Expedition army, he is well received by Chiang. Chiang not only consents to collect the guns but promises not to search the mission property in order to prevent any disturbances. Chiang further permits Ray to be photographed with him. Later that picture with Chiang helps Ray out of many difficulties in places where his

¹⁰³ The American novelist Pearl Buck's first husband John Lossing Buck 卜凱, 1890 – 1975, was an agricultural economist first going to China as an agricultural missionary in 1915. Later, John Buck started to conduct sociological and statistical research about the Chinese farm economy and he served on the committee of the conference on Christianizing Economic Relations. Pearl Buck wrote her novel *The Good Earth* based on her observation about Chinese farmers' lives while she and John Buck lived in Nanhsuchou, Anhui.

American passport is dismissed by the Communists (192).¹⁰⁴ When Chiang decides to purge the Communists from the KMT, Nagel feels relieved that Chiang “has at last gotten his eyes wide open” and praises him as “intelligent” because the Communists have “no respect for worship of any kind” but “without reverence for some sort of higher ideals beyond mere material gains man would revert to barbarism” (229). Needless to say, the worship Nagel defends is Christianity. Like many other dogmatic missionaries who believe Christianity is a universal panacea to all contexts and all problems, Nagel sees the missionary enterprise as essential to China in its political crisis in 1927—hence his support for Chiang’s suppression of the Communists, who are hostile to Christianity. Nagel’s support for Chiang also suggests he sides with the KMT as the way for China to go in the wake of the 1927 upheaval.

Nagel’s concern for his missionary work in China also comes out in the following episode from the novel: the conflict between Ray and the Chinese bandits is resolved when the Chinese bandits return to Ray the articles they robbed from him and the bandit chief Mr. Chung’s daughter enters the girls’ mission school (90-94). The fact that the conflict ends in a way favorable to the missionary enterprise hints at Nagel’s missionary stance.

Perhaps the fact that Nagel’s novel assumes the form of a conversion narrative offers the most eloquent evidence of the primacy of his missionary concern. As discussed before, in a conversion narrative the author typically identifies with the narrator who presents the conversion process. In Nagel’s case, he uses the narrator to present the protagonist Ah Sin’s conversion to Christianity as a way to combat patriarchy and the feudal remnant of “concubinage” in Chinese society.

¹⁰⁴ This episode is modeled on Nagel’s experience. He mentions that he has a picture with Chiang in his foreword to *Ah Sin* and Nagel’s daughter notes that event in her biography as well. See Howlett and Zaugg 62-64.

Scholars sometimes use “polygamy” and “polygyny” loosely to designate “concubinage” in China, but there is in fact a distinct difference between these three terms: “polygamy” is used most broadly to refer to someone of either sex having more than one spouse at the same time. “Polygyny” (slightly more restrictive) refers to a situation where a man has more than one wife simultaneously, while “concubinage” describes the situation where a man has concubines in addition to his one wife. Although “polygyny” and “concubinage” are forms of “polygamy,” “polygyny” suggests multiple wives have equal status while “concubinage” distinguishes a wife from a concubine by the latter’s inferior status. Both “polygyny” and “concubinage” were practiced in Chinese society, but Nagel’s novel is mainly directed against concubinage for the following two reasons. First, before his conversion, the protagonist Ah Sin plans to marry multiple wives, among whom the first wife has the highest status (86). Second, paralleled with Ah Sin’s plan is the Chinese character Wong Lee’s taking a concubine (45), which suggests Nagel’s wish to foreground concubinage as a common problem in China.

The practice of concubinage can be traced back to antiquity during the reign of the Five Emperors (ca. 2500-2000 B.C.)¹⁰⁵. For Chinese men, there were several motives: to satisfy their desire for beautiful women, to seek compensation for an arranged marriage that generated no love, to have a male heir who will perform ancestral worship and continue the family line as a way to fulfill the Confucian ideal of filial piety, to have an unpaid worker help with the farming, and/or to satisfy a sense of vanity by imitating well-to-do people’s taking concubines. Concubines usually are secured from poor families or from the lower strata of society, such as slave girls, sing-song entertainers, and prostitutes. Family discord and jealousy are the major problems that accompany concubinage.¹⁰⁶

¹⁰⁵ See Cheng Y. 4.

¹⁰⁶ For the introduction about concubinage, see Lang 50-52; Lamson 513-18; Latourette, *The*

While the Confucian philosopher Mengzi's (Meng Tzu) 孟子 (Mencius) (ca. 372-289 B.C.) saying that "[t]here are three things which are unfilial, and to have no posterity is the greatest of them" [不孝有三、無後為大] (Legge 725) has been widely cited by scholars as a justification for men's taking concubines,¹⁰⁷ he may also have attacked "misuse" of the practice in these statements: "Those who give counsel to the great should despise them, and not look at their pomp and display. . . . Food spread before me over ten cubits square, and attendant girls [concubines] to the amount of hundreds; —these, though my wishes were realized, I would not have. . . . What they esteem are what I have nothing to do with; what I esteem are the rules of the

Chinese 570-71; Guo Z. 147-48; Justus Doolittle 盧公明 (1824-1880), *Social Life of the Chinese*, Vol. 1, 108, 232 (Doolittle was an American missionary to China from 1849 to 1864.); S[amuel] Wells Williams 衛三畏 (1812-1884), *The Middle Kingdom*, Vol. 1, 791-92 (Williams was an American missionary to China from 1833 to 1877 and the first professor of the Chinese language and literature in the United States, at Yale College.); James W. Bashford (1849-1919), *China: An Interpretation* 25-27 (Bashford was the fourth President of Ohio Wesleyan University and a bishop of the Methodist Episcopal Church in China.); Arthur H(enderson) Smith 明恩溥 (1845-1932), *Village Life in China* 297, 300-02 (Smith, an American missionary to China from 1872 to 1926, has been well-known for his books on China.); Sidney D. Gamble (1890-1968), *Peking: A Social Survey* 244, 259-60 (Gamble's survey was conducted under the auspices of the Princeton University Center in China and the Peking Young Men's Christian Association); and Daniel Harrison Kulp 葛學溥 (1888-1980), *Country Life in South China* 151-52, 184, 330-31 (Kulp was a professor of sociology at Shanghai Baptist College and a professor of education at Columbia University. Kulp's Chinese name was found in the directory of missionaries in China, at the back of *The China Mission Year Book 1916*).

¹⁰⁷ The following passage from the eighteenth chapter of Wei Shou's 魏收 (506–572) *Wei shu* 魏書 (The book of Wei), a historical text of the *Bei wei* 北魏 (North wei) period from about the fourth to the sixth century, similarly suggests concubinage as a way to fulfill filial piety. In defending that a high-ranking noble (*wang gong* 王公) should take concubines, Yuan Xiaoyou 元孝友, a son of Yuan Chang 元昌, the King of Linhuai (*Linhuai Wang* 臨淮王), observed, ". . . if his wife bears no son and he does not take a concubine, he seeks his own destruction. His forefathers cannot enjoy the worship of his descendants and he commits the crime of being unfilial" [……其妻無子而不娶妾斯則自絕無以血食祖父請科不孝之罪] (ch. 18, p. 4).

ancients.—Why should I stand in awe of them?” [說大人則藐之、勿視其巍巍然。……食前方丈、侍妾數百人、我得志、弗為也……在彼者、皆我所不為也、在我者、皆古之制也、吾何畏彼哉。] (Legge 1004-005). Although the Scottish sinologist/missionary James Legge 理雅各 (1815-1897) translated the word “妾” as “girls,” it could possibly mean “concubines” as the scholar Chen Dongyuan suggested.¹⁰⁸

Apart from Mencius’s instrumental perspective on concubinage, some well-known Chinese criticisms of the institution from a feminist standpoint have appeared since the Qing dynasty (1644-1911). A case in point is the satirical novel *Jing hua yuan* (*Ching hua yüan*) 鏡花緣 (Flowers in the mirror, 1827) by Li Ruzhen (Li Ju-chen) 李汝珍 (1763 – 1830). In this novel, a female character denounces men who take concubines as going against “the principle of loyalty and consideration” [忠恕之道] (369). She asks her husband, who is thinking of taking a concubine, to stand in her shoes. She says, “If I take a male concubine and treat you indifferently every day, will you feel happy?” [假如我要討個男妾，日日把你冷淡，你可歡喜?] (369). Li’s contemporary Yu Zhengxie (Yü Cheng-hsieh) 俞正燮 (1775-1840) argued against concubinage by emphasizing that “the principle between husband and wife lies in their dedication to each other” [夫婦之道，言致一也] (634) and by justifying a wife’s jealousy toward her husband’s concubines. He argued that jealousy is not “a bad virtue” [惡德] for women, for “if a husband purchases concubines and his wife does not show jealousy, it means the wife is unconcerned, which will jeopardize the principle of the family” [夫買妾而妻不妒，則是愒也，愒則家道壞矣] (634). After China’s defeat in the first Sino-Japanese War in 1895, part of the reform effort designed to strengthen China was devoted to changing women’s subservient status, including the abolition of concubinage.¹⁰⁹ Jin Tianhe (Chin T’ien-ho) 金天翮 (1873-1947) figures

¹⁰⁸ See Chen D. 36.

¹⁰⁹ Several factors further contributed to the feminist movement in China: the education of

prominently in this regard. In his famous work *Nü jie zhong* (*Nü chieh chung*) 女界鐘 (Alarm clock for women, 1903), he noted, “Freedom and equality are the twins. . . . Freedom entails equality and equality entails monogamy. . . . Since marriage is established on a contract between two parties, it by no means allows the interfering presence of a third party” [自由與平權為孿生之兒……自由起而後平權立，平權立而後一夫一妻之制行。……夫婚姻交合，既由兩人之契約而成，則契約之中，決不容許有第三者插足之地。] (102).

Chinese criticism of concubinage continued into the period of the Republic. Even a conservative scholar like Du Yaquan (Tu Ya-ch’uan) 杜亞泉 (1873-1933) attacked concubinage by pointing out its disadvantages. In his “Lun xu qie” (Lun hsü ch’ieh) 論蓄妾 (On taking concubines, 1919), Du observed, “Taking concubines has jeopardized countless families’ peace and then caused their loss of reputation, property, and life. . . . The practice of taking concubines is indeed a poison to family members. Without extinguishing it, family members will not be sound and the whole society will also suffer from the malady” [一家族之中，以蓄妾之故，害其平和，因而損失名譽，損失財產，損失生命者，不知凡幾。……蓄妾之制，實為家族之分子間所含有之毒素，此毒素不撲滅，則分子不全健，社會之全體，亦遂受其病……。] (701). Similarly, Chen Bainian (Ch’en Pai-nien) 陳百年 (1886-1983), a Peking University professor, was a fervent opponent of concubinage in the 1920s. He argued, “. . . if we want sexual desire to be moderate, we had better adopt monogamy, . . . which is the best way to prevent people from immorality. And, love has its exclusive nature. . . . I am afraid that no one in this world would be so generous as to share love with others. . . . Jealousy and fights are likely to occur when one’s love is going to be seized by others. . . . which may further lead to things of misery and cruelty

women, the Hundred Days’ Reform in 1898, Chinese students’ studying abroad, Chinese women’s participation in the revolution and politics, and the May Fourth Movement. For details, see Chen D. 314-429.

such as murder and suicide” [……想要保持適度的性慾，最好還是一夫一妻，……最容易使人不走入不道德的路上去，又愛情之為用，是帶有專有慾的。……有寬宏大度願與他人分愛的，世上恐未必真有其人……有他人起來攘奪的危險的時候，便不免起嫉妒的念頭，生爭鬪的行為……因以演出悲慘殘酷的事情——如謀殺，自戕……] (qtd. in Zhang X. 38-39).¹¹⁰

The first concrete Chinese effort to combat concubinage has been attributed to the Chinese Women's Patriot Association of Tientsin (Tianjin/T'ien-chin 天津) in its 1919 announcement forbidding concubines to become members. The association argued, “Unless concubinage is abolished, our family system and finally the nation will be destroyed” (qtd. in Tong, “Chinese Women Declare War on the Concubines” 532). Around this time, different provinces inserted provisions to improve Chinese women's status in their constitution drafts. The province of Hunan, for instance, included an injunction to practice monogamy in its constitution draft in 1921.¹¹¹ Although not taking concubines was becoming more widespread among Chinese in the 1920s,¹¹² it was impossible to exterminate the practice immediately,¹¹³ especially for the

¹¹⁰ Chen's argument was directed at that of Zhang Xichen (Chang Hsi-ch'en) 章錫琛 (1889-1969) (Zhang was the editor of *Fu nü za zhi* 婦女雜誌, The Ladies' Journal.) and Zhou Jianren (Chou Chien-jen) 周建人 (1888-1984). Zhang and Zhou argued that polygamy and polyandry are acceptable as long as both husband and wife agree on it. For Zhang's and Zhou's essays and Chen's responses to them, see Zhang X. In the 1920s, Chinese scholars' discussions about concubinage/polygamy became more diverse than before. In addition to the debates between Chen, Zhang, and Zhou, Pan Guangdan (P'an Kuang-tan) 潘光旦 (1899-1967) advocated monogamy but suggested to be tolerant of polygamy, for he argued that the advocacy of strict monogamy denies humanity (223). Yi Jieyue (I Chia-yüeh) 易家鉞 (1899-1972), Luo Dunwei (Luo Tun-wei) 羅敦偉 (1897-1964), and Xu Dishan (Hsü Ti-shan) 許地山 (1894-1941) showed their radical stance in problematizing both monogamy and polygamy. See Yi and Luo, and Xu.

¹¹¹ See Taiwan sheng dang bu fu nü gong zuo zu 9.

¹¹² According to a survey conducted by the scholar Chen Heqin (Ch'en Ho-ch'in) 陳鶴琴 (1892-1982), about 82% (121 out of 148) male students (from both colleges and high schools)

well-to-do. The warlord Zhang Zongchang (Chang Tsung-ch'ang) 張宗昌 (1881-1932) was a notorious case. He was called a general of “three unknowns”: he did not know how many concubines, how much money, and how many soldiers he had.¹¹⁴ (One source says that at the height of his power in 1927 Zhang had more than 60 women.¹¹⁵)

American missionaries to China wrote voluminously about concubinage. Their commentary on it can be roughly divided into two groups. The first focuses on its general disadvantages. For example, Arthur Smith in his famous work *Chinese Characteristics* (1894) commented, “The lot of Chinese concubines is one of exceeding bitterness. The homes in which they are to be found—happily relatively few in number—are the scenes of incessant bickerings and open warfare” (202). Similarly, E(dward) T(homas) Williams (1854-1944), a missionary to China from 1887 to 1896 and later a professor in the Department of Oriental Languages and Literature at the University of California, noted in his *China: Yesterday and To-day* (1923), “Concubinage . . . makes for disorder in the household. It is degrading to the unfortunate women whom it condemns to lives of drudgery, and it is a fruitful source of jealousy and strife” (73). The second specifically adopts a religious perspective to elucidate the problems of concubinage and suggests Christianity is the remedy. R(osswell) H(obart) Graves 紀好弼 (1833-1912), for instance, in his *Forty Years in China, or China in Transition* (1895) observed, “In all heathen lands and wherever polygamy prevails, woman is looked upon as the mere slave or plaything of the man. The Chinese, who are in this ditch, look upon everything from their own low and

declared that they would not take concubines (98). According to Pan Guangdan’s survey, about 80% (253 out of 317) men and women advocated monogamy (77-80).

¹¹³ For statistics about the number of concubines in 1920s China, see Jones 342; Li Jinghan 87; Sata 178; Yenching University 46; Zhongguo she hui xue she 301.

¹¹⁴ See Wang, Liang, and Yuan 174-85.

¹¹⁵ See Vaughn.

muddy standpoint” (308). In Graves’s view, unless the Chinese are elevated by Christianity, they cannot understand how women can mingle with men as equals in Western culture (308).¹¹⁶

Likewise, the clergyman and missionary Arthur Judson Brown (1856–1963), who made a world trip to missions in Asia, including China, in 1901 and 1902, in his *New Forces in Old China* (1904) attributed to Confucianism many problems in China, including concubinage. Brown saw Christianity as the only power capable of transforming China (355-56). He noted,

. . . Confucianism has been and is the most formidable obstacle to the regeneration of China. While it teaches some great truths, it ignores others that are vital. It has lifted the Chinese above the level of barbarism only to fix them almost immovably upon a plane considerably lower than Christianity. It has developed such a smug satisfaction with existing conditions that millions are well-nigh impervious to the influences of the modern world. . . . It has fostered . . . concubinage in the anxiety to have sons who will care for parents in age and minister to them after death. (72)

Also, Gordon Poterat (1891-1986) in his *Home Letters from China* (1924) regarded concubinage as evidence of the Chinese having “no sense of shame” (129). He hence designated “sin” as the greatest trouble with China and suggested Christianity as a way to arouse the Chinese’s consciences “used to evil” (129).

Missionaries made great efforts to combat concubinage in China not only because of the disadvantages mentioned above but because it contradicted the Christian institution of monogamy.¹¹⁷ While there were no unified measures against the practice, those most widely adopted from the nineteenth century to the 1920s were the following: excommunicating

¹¹⁶ For an elucidation about the inferior position of women in the Confucian tradition v.s. the equality of men and women in the Christian tradition, see Yeh 82-83, 96-97.

¹¹⁷ There have been controversies about the practice of polygamy by the Mormons, who identify themselves as Christians.

Christians taking concubines¹¹⁸ and denying church membership and baptism to men having concubines.¹¹⁹ Occasionally a mission station forced a wife to divorce her husband for taking a concubine¹²⁰ and the church refused to baptize a wife who suggested her husband take concubines as well as any woman who chose to be a concubine herself.¹²¹ In a similar vein, the Young Women's Christian Association of China refused to admit concubines to the association¹²² and further appointed a commission to study concubinage and methods to combat it.¹²³ Mission

¹¹⁸ For a concrete example in the mid-nineteenth century about a Chinese church leader being dismissed from his position and subject to the mission board's decision of excommunication because of taking a concubine, see Lutz, *Mission Dilemmas* 5-8. See also C(hing) Y(i) Cheng, "Report of the Special Committee on the Chinese Church" 363 (Cheng was the Chinese Secretary of the China Continuation Committee, Shanghai.).

¹¹⁹ Although Christianity in general upholds monogamy, disputes have arisen when attempts were made to cite the Bible for the textual evidence of the institution and for the theoretical foundation of denying polygamists admittance to the church. Some people argued that the New Testament is against polygamy and hence no Chinese polygamists should be admitted to the church. However, some people argued that the Old Testament permits polygamy and there is no textual evidence in the New Testament regarding denying polygamists admittance to the church. For a series of articles engaging the disputes, see Nelson, "Christianity versus Polygamy," Dodd, Talmage, and Lobscheid. For a detailed explanation about the variation in the Chinese church's implementing the measure of denying church membership and baptism to the men having concubines, see C. Y. Cheng, "The Chinese Church in 1916" 295-96. See also "News and Notes of Missions" for specifically the Presbyterian Church's decision about granting polygamists admittance to and office in the church.

¹²⁰ See King 129-30.

¹²¹ See "Review of Reports of Sub-Committees Submitted to the Sixth Annual Meeting of the China Continuation Committee" 366.

¹²² The decision was made in the YWCA of China's triennial conference in 1919. See "Triennial Conference of Y. W. C. A. Workers."

¹²³ The decision was made in the YWCA of China's first national convention in 1923. See Hand 70.

schools also advocated monogamy to their students.¹²⁴ Moreover, the Purity Campaign launched by the Canton Christian Council in the beginning of the 1920s was an effort against concubinage. The campaign sought not only to prohibit polygamy legally but also to eliminate sources that contributed to concubinage: impure books, slave girls, and prostitutes. The campaign resorted to education and propaganda to instruct people about the drawbacks of living an impure life and how to deal with temptation and encouraged people to carry out a life of purity.¹²⁵ Protestant missionary publications in China also played an important part in the education and propaganda against concubinage. For instance, *Nü duo* 女鐸 (The woman's messenger, 1912-51), a periodical directed at female readership, published articles against that practice.¹²⁶

In Nagel's novel, concubinage is presented as a common Chinese practice and the protagonist Ah Sin, who used to dream of having a house full of pretty girls all purchased to give him pleasure (234), eventually chooses to be a Christian and follows its doctrine of monogamy. The event that triggers Ah Sin's change is his love affair. Originally a bandit and later a general, Ah Sin falls in love with Nyet Sim (also known as Fa Len), the nurse who dresses his wound and takes care of his illness. Receiving education at an American mission school, Nyet Sim becomes a Christian and tells Ah Sin she will marry him only if he does the same (112). Nyet Sim offers several reasons why she cannot marry the non-Christian Ah Sin: First, she cannot worship his paternal gods or take part in temple rites (112). Second, Ah Sin's wish to have many women is not Christian conduct (162). Nyet Sim gives Ah Sin a New Testament and they have several religious discussions. Ah Sin encounters some inner conflicts, but he realizes the only way to make Nyet Sim happy is to conform to her religious stance (225). And Ah Sin's illness and the

¹²⁴ See Dunch 339.

¹²⁵ See Jones. See also Wiley 114-21, 140

¹²⁶ See, for example, Bian Yuying, Liang Leyue (which is the Chinese name of Laura M. White, the editor of *The Woman's Messenger*), Yin Qindao, and Wang Dingming.

loss of his city make him admit his own weakness and recognize there is a Power stronger than himself which he is unable to conquer (225). At last, Ah Sin decides to become a Christian and a businessman running an exchange bank (231). His reflections on being a Christian show that women play the biggest role in his conversion: "I must give up all women but one, now that I am to become a Christian . . . that may be hard to do for I have been a passionate creature. Yet, why should I ever desire more than Nyet Sim? She is the answer to my dreams; when she gets old I, too, will be old and passion will be dead" (234). He and Nyet Sim finally have a Christian-style wedding ceremony performed by Ray (265). At the wedding, guests make remarks attributing China's modernization to the U.S. in general and its missionary enterprise in particular. For example, the magistrate Chu comments, "Most of our men now in official positions are graduates from American universities. Missionaries have given us a real uplift. Our cities are fast becoming modernized like the cities of the west" (267). And, the American mission doctor Johns says, "The influence of doctors and nurses has done much to break down prejudice and give the people confidence in the doctrines taught by those who have come from the west. . . . The Chinese people now know much about the laws of sanitation, the value of quarantine, and how to care for the babies" (268). Through a juxtaposition of Ah Sin's rejection of concubinage against the guests' remarks that endorse China's Westernized modernization, Nagel suggests concubinage is a sign of China's past that needs to be modernized to the Western system of monogamy. Nagel's aspiration finds expression in what Ray says to his missionary wife: "If I had but one wish, it would be that the American mission could do for all the people of this great republic what it has done for Ah Sin and Fa Len" (272).

Needless to say, as Nagel seeks to change China by using Christianity to combat concubinage, he does not identify with Chinese culture. However, it does not follow that he lacks any understanding of it. His references to objects that have special meaning in Chinese culture

exhibit at least a basic understanding of it: Those related to eating: rice (11), tea (13), birds' nest soup (61), shark fins (61), lotus seeds (61), and chopsticks (90). Those related to clothing and fashion: hair queues (11) and palm leaf fans (14). Those related to housing: bamboo pillows (14), porcelain pillows (14), stone lions (211), and red paper characters pasted on new scrolls on the wall for the New Year (260). Those related to transportation: sedan chairs (181). Those related to entertainment: opium (16) and Mah Jongg (36). Those related to worship: incense and paper money (110).

Again, it is Nagel's determination to approach Chinese problems from his missionary standpoint that prevents him from engaging deeply with the fundamental issue of concubinage. Although he knows gender inequality may cause concubinage, he does not elaborate on the gender issue. Instead, he presents the issue in an episode not directly related to concubinage and hence makes it difficult for his readers to perceive the relationship between the two. The primary focus of this episode is Chinese women's inferior status: As Ah Sin decides to be a Christian and marry Nyet Sim, he wants to treat her as his equal and does not want her to walk paces behind him as other Chinese women do to show their husbands' superior authority (235). Moreover, Nagel falls silent about two crucial aspects of concubinage that are indispensable for the English-speaking world to understand its nature. First, he does not pinpoint the cultural specificity of concubinage as a way to produce a male heir and fulfill filial piety in traditional Chinese culture. Second, he does not engage with the basic problem of concubinage: family discord caused by jealousy among women. Furthermore, Nagel's nonchalance about Chinese farmers' living conditions skews his treatment of the concubinage issue. As pointed out before, the Chinese may take a concubine in order to have an unpaid worker help with the farming. Unable to see the economic necessities of concubinage in China's traditional agricultural culture, Nagel's rejection of concubinage simply on religious grounds takes the problem out of its

Chinese context.

To put it in another way, Nagel's argument that Christianity combats concubinage suggests his belief that Christianity promotes monogamy but his inappropriate use of Chiang Kai-shek in this context once again reveals his lack of assimilation into the Chinese scene. At the end of Nagel's novel, Fa Len (i.e. Nyet Sim) in her wedding ceremony cites Chiang Kai-shek's conversion to Christianity because of his wife as evidence of the growing success of Christianity in China (270-71). Indeed, Chiang Kai-shek converted due to his wife Song Meiling (Soong May-ling, Soong Mei-ling) 宋美齡 (1898-2003), a Wellesley College graduate who grew up in a Christian family. (Her father was a Methodist missionary before engaging in business.)¹²⁷ It was only after Chiang started to believe in Christianity that Song's mother granted consent to Chiang's proposal to Song on about 3 October 1927.¹²⁸ They got married with a Christian ceremony in Shanghai on 1 December 1927.¹²⁹ The significance of their marriage partly lay in the fact that Song Meiling's siblings and in-laws were prominent figures in political circles. Her eldest sister Song Ailing (Soong Ai-ling) 宋藹齡 (1889-1973) was the wife of Kong Xiangxi (K'ung Hsiang-hsi) 孔祥熙 (1881-1967), the Minister of Industry for Wang Jingwei's Wuhan government. Her elder sister Song Qingling (Soong Ch'ing-ling) 宋慶齡 (1893-1981) was Madame Sun Yat-sen. Her elder brother Song Ziwen (Soong Tzu-wen) 宋子文 (1894-1971) was the Minister of Finance for the Wuhan government. After his marriage with Song, Chiang was baptized on 23 October 1930.¹³⁰

Although Chiang's marriage with a Christian and his conversion were exciting news to the

¹²⁷ See "Soong Mei-ling."

¹²⁸ See "Jiang Song liang yuan."

¹²⁹ See "Jiang Jieshi Song Meiling zuo ri jie hun sheng kuang," "Kai Shanghai wei you zhi xin hun li," and "Zheng jiao he yi zhi Jiang Song hun yin."

¹³⁰ See "Chiang Kai-shek."

missionary groups, when the news came out that Chiang was to marry Song Meiling, the general public focused not on Chiang's or his prospective wife's religious beliefs but on his matrimonial status. According to biographical works on Chiang published in early 1927, his wife was Chen Jieru and he had set his concubine free.¹³¹ Chen left Shanghai for the United States in August 1927 and both Chinese and American newspapers covered her trip.¹³² Shortly after Chen's arrivals in Honolulu on 2 September and in San Francisco on 8 September, mid-September newspapers began to cover Chiang and Song's prospective marriage, claiming Chiang had known Song for five years.¹³³ Questions then arose about Chen's identity and Chiang offered several explanations. In one version, Chiang said the woman who had arrived in San Francisco in early September was "not his wife" and he did "not know" that Madame Chiang Kai-shek. He pointed out she was the work of his political enemies, seeking to embarrass him.¹³⁴ In another version, Chiang similarly denounced his political enemies for circulating false reports about his wife in America to discredit him, but he designated that woman in America as one of his two "concubines" whom he had set free after his divorce with his first wife in 1921.¹³⁵ In still another version, Chiang mentioned again his divorce with his first wife surnamed Mao in 1921 and declared he was "not married to the other two women" (其他二氏本無婚約) and had

¹³¹ See Dongyawuwozi 2 and Qin 4, 6, 31.

¹³² For Chen's departure from Shanghai, see Tang S. (photo), Lu, and "Mme. Chiang Kai-shek Sets Sail for America." For Chen's arrival in Honolulu and San Francisco, see "General's Wife Here," "Chiang's Wife Hesitates to Talk Politics," "Mme. Chiang Kai-shek Now in San Francisco," and "Nationalist General's Wife Hopeful for China Unity."

¹³³ See Misselwitz, "Chiang Will Wed Mme. Sun's Sister"; and "[Miss Soong] Says She Will Wed Chiang."

¹³⁴ See "Chiang Silent on Wedding."

¹³⁵ See "Their Wedded Status Clouded"; and Misselwitz, "Chiang Blames Foes for Talk of 'Wife.'"

“broken relations with them” (現已……脫離關係).¹³⁶ All in all, Chiang wanted to emphasize that he was free to marry Song in accordance with monogamous practice.¹³⁷ Nonetheless, the public was inclined to disbelieve Chiang. They criticized his obscure and inconsistent responses, which generated rather than clarified ambiguities about his relations with the other two women in addition to his first wife. For them, Chiang’s clumsy attempt to prove he was not a polygamist simply concealed his fault of “casting off the old love for the new” (拋舊圖新) and glossed over his “trampling on women” (蹂躪女性).¹³⁸ In other words, it was suspected that Chiang was a polygamist: when he announced his prospective marriage with Song or even when he married Song, he may still have had marital relations with Chen. Chiang’s study of Christianity hence did not really make him a monogamist. Had Nagel been immersed in the controversies about Chiang and Song’s marriage, he would not have referred to it in his novel, for it only undermines his argument that Christianity promotes monogamy.

In 1992, Chen Jieru published a memoir, said to have been suppressed by Chiang during his lifetime, to demystify her relationship with Chiang. Chen pointed out that she married Chiang in 1921 at the age of fifteen. Their wedding ceremony followed lawful procedures and before their marriage, Chiang had divorced his first wife surnamed Mao and set free his concubine surnamed Yao.¹³⁹ When Chiang was excluded from the power circle of the Wuhan government and denied ammunitions and funds needed for the Northern Expedition, Chiang thought of

¹³⁶ See “Jiang Zhongzheng qi shi.” For Chiang’s letter to divorce his first wife Mao Fumei (Mao Fu-mei) 毛福梅 (1882-1939), addressed to Mao’s brother, see “Jiang Jieshi ban li li hun shi zhi yi han.” Mao was chosen by Chiang’s mother as his wife and the couple married in 1901.

¹³⁷ See Sokolsky, “Chiang Kai-shek’s Visit to Shanghai.”

¹³⁸ See “Li hun yu zai jia.” See also Ruoshui, Lisi, and Yiyi.

¹³⁹ See Chen J., Chinese version 7-68, 275-76 (English translation 1-42, 191-92). For detailed introduction of Chiang’s first wife and his concubine Yao Yecheng (Yao Yeh-ch’eng) 姚冶誠 (1889-1972), see Wang, Liang, and Yuan 31-38, 42-47.

undermining the Wuhan government by winning over its finance minister, Song Ziwen. He therefore consulted the minister's sister, Song Ailing. She offered to help Chiang by persuading his brother Song Ziwen to leave the Wuhan government and by rallying Shanghai bankers to support Chiang with the funds needed for the expedition. Song Ailing's conditions were that Chiang had to marry her sister Song Meiling and name her husband Kong Xiangxi prime minister and her brother Song Ziwen finance minister once Chiang's Nanjing government was established.

Chiang then asked his wife Chen Jieru to step aside for five years so that he could marry Song Meiling for political reasons. Chiang wanted Chen to go abroad to the U. S. and study such subjects as political science that would be useful to his Nanjing government. Chiang declared to Chen that she was his only love and his marriage with Song would be a matter of business with no love involved. He also swore to Chen that he would resume his marital relationship with her after five years. Although Chen found Chiang untrustworthy, she finally agreed to step aside only for the sake of the unification of China. On 19 August 1927, Chen sailed from Shanghai to the U.S. After she arrived in the U.S. and read the news about Chiang's denial of her as his wife, she knew she was no longer Madame Chiang Kai-shek but a discarded wife. As for Chiang's promise to resume his marital relationship with Chen, it was never fulfilled.¹⁴⁰ In fact, Chiang's marriage with Song may have come about not only because Chiang wanted to confront the Wuhan government and advance the Northern Expedition. According to Chen, Chiang had wanted to get closer to the Song family so he could gain prestige through the family's ties with Sun Yat-sen. On the other hand, Song Ailing and Song Meiling had started to show interest in Chiang as China's budding leader and had planned to snatch Chiang from Chen before Chiang called for

¹⁴⁰ For details about Chiang and Song Ailing's agreement and Chen's exile, see Chen J., Chinese version 339-54, 365-86 (English translation 236-43, 251-64). Chen returned from the U.S. to Shanghai in 1933. She then moved to Hong Kong in the 1960s and remained there until her death in 1971.

Song Ailing's help.¹⁴¹ Nevertheless, both Chiang and Song Meiling claimed that their marriage was not one of political expediency but one of love after several years' courtship.¹⁴²

In addition to trying to combat concubinage through Christianity, there are other signs in Nagel's novel that suggest his resistance to things Chinese. Three examples suffice. The first is his comparison between Confucianism and Christianity that concludes with an illogical depreciation of the former and commendation of the latter. When Ah Sin asks Nyet Sim about whether he can reform by living up to the moral teachings of Confucius without converting to Christianity, Nyet Sim answers,

No man yet ever lived up to the code of morals given by Confucius . . . for no one in his own strength can do it. . . . Man belongs to the animal kingdom; of himself unaided he can never enter the higher, spiritual kingdom. A ray from above must come down into the man to transform him into a beautiful character and lift him into the spiritual realm. The ray is the principle of truth given to us by God himself in this Book which we are reading. (221-22)

Nagel's presentation of Nyet Sim's answer is self-contradictory in that he employs a double standard to judge Confucianism and Christianity: moral unattainability devalues Confucianism, but the superiority of God elevates Christianity.¹⁴³ The second is Nagel's binary language that

¹⁴¹ See Chen J., Chinese version 267-81 (English translation 186-96).

¹⁴² See Sokolsky, "Chiang Kai-shek's Visit to Shanghai"; "Liang yuan jia hua"; and "Wo men de jin ri." See also "Jiang Zhongzheng qing shu zhi yi." In the authorized biography of Chiang Kai-shek, Song Meiling is referred to as Chiang's wife and Chen Jieru is never mentioned. See Tong 186-88.

¹⁴³ Nagel must have read some Confucian texts because he alludes to them in the novel. However, his understanding of them is not deep enough, as is shown by his misattribution of the Confucian philosopher Xunzi's (Hsün Tzu) 荀子 (ca. 312–230 BC) sayings to Confucius. In the novel, when Ah Sin comments on the magistrateship, he attributes the following lines to

criticizes things Chinese but praises things Western. His description of China: it is “a notoriously bad country” (91), with “dumb deities,” “heathen rites,” and “indefinite idol worship” (110) that brings “neither protection, wealth, nor happiness” (266).¹⁴⁴ His descriptions of Westerners: they are “clever” (84), “honorable” (92), “illustrious” (99), and “worthy” (105), with “hopeful Christianity” (110) that forgives sins and enemies, heals the sick, and brings “eternal joy” (111) and with the education and knowledge that have helped to modernize China (267-68). The third is Nagel’s attribution of meaner human qualities to his Chinese characters. In the novel, juxtaposed against Ah Sin’s conversion are subplots about Chinese dishonesty, revenge, and betrayal. Brief synopses of the plots in these three aspects respectively: First, the American Corinne is deceived by her Chinese husband Wong Lee into believing he is single prior to their marriage in America, but later she goes to China with Wong Lee and finds he had a Chinese wife there (11-29). Second, the Yang clan, headed by Ah Sin, and the Wong clan take revenge on each other (Ah Sin takes revenge on the Wong clan for his father’s death and for their preventing him from marrying Nyet Sim, to whom he is betrothed in childhood.) (30-48, 96-106, 126-37). Third, one of Ah Sin’s high officers betrays him and joins his rival’s camp (157). Nagel’s negative portrayal of the Chinese suggests his critique of them.

III. Vincent H. Gowen’s Novels

In addition to Nagel, Vincent Gowen is another American missionary whose fiction

Confucius: “The prince is a dish and the people are the water; if the dish is round, the water will be round; if the dish is square, the water will be square likewise” (269). Nonetheless, those lines in fact are said by Xunzi. Their original Chinese texts: 君者，槃也；民者，水也；槃圓而水圓。君者，盂也；盂方而水方。(qtd. in Zhang J. 148).

¹⁴⁴ For more about Nagel’s criticism of China’s religious beliefs, see his *At Home with the Hakkas in South China* 39-44.

reflects a consciousness of 1920s China. Gowen has two novels set in China: *Sun and Moon* (1927) and *Village by the Yangtze: Imperial and Communist China and a Village Mission School Caught in the Web of Change and Espionage* (1975).¹⁴⁵ While the latter engages with events in the 1920s (e.g. the KMT-CCP alliance and the burgeoning labor movement), the former does not. However, given the fact that *Sun and Moon* may be set in the 1920s¹⁴⁶ and that it explores the issue of cultural identification and assimilation, it seems appropriate to include it in our discussion of Gowen.

No doubt Gowen's background shaped his novels and perhaps caused his approach to cultural identification and assimilation to differ from other missionary novelists we have discussed so far. To begin with, his interest in literature and writing contributed to better literary qualities and more in-depth depictions. Born in New Westminster, Canada, of British parents in 1893, Gowen and his family moved to Seattle in 1897. He attended De Koven Hall (a military school situated in the prairies south of Tacoma) in 1904. Thanks to a teacher there, he developed a passion for poetry and reading voraciously in the poetry of John Keats (1795-1821) and Percy Bysshe Shelley (1792-1822), Walter Scott's (1771-1832) *The Lady of the Lake* (1810), Alfred Tennyson's (1809-1892) *Idylls of the King* (1856-85), Edmund Spenser's (1552-99) *The Faerie Queene* (1590-96), Robert Browning's (1812-89) *The Ring and the Book* (1868-9), and William Shakespeare's (1564-1616) Elizabethan drama. Gowen's reading at De Kovan Hall convinced him poetry must be his vehicle if he was to become somebody (and this may be the reason poetry

¹⁴⁵ The Yangtze refers to the Yangtze River. Called Chang Jiang (Ch'ang-chiang) 長江 in Chinese, literally meaning "the long river," it is the longest river in Asia and the third longest river in the world.

¹⁴⁶ It can be inferred that *Sun and Moon* is set sometime between 1911 and 1927 because its characters mention that the emperorship has been replaced by the Chinese Republic (21) and the novel was published in 1927.

plays an important part in his characters' experience in his two novels on China.) Not only did he practice writing poetry of all kinds to vie with Spencer and Shakespeare but he also started writing prose through diary keeping, a habit he acquired at fourteen or fifteen due to the school culture of De Kovan Hall and one he never stopped. After De Kovan Hall, Gowen proceeded to attend the University of Washington in 1908, where he received further training in writing. At UW, Gowen was impressed by the works of Cotton Mather (1663-78), Jonathan Edwards (1703-58), Plato (c.427-c.347 B.C.), Aristophanes (c.446-c.386 B.C.), Homer (c. 8th century B.C.), and other Greek poets (Gowen, *Sunrise to Sunrise* viii-8). After earning a B.A. in English in 1912, he went to China as a missionary in 1913 ("Gowen, Vincent Herbert"; McKillop and Allen 8). He started to learn Chinese as other missionaries did to facilitate their work in China,¹⁴⁷ but his continued interest in literature made him read Chinese literary works, which many missionaries may not have read. According to his memoir, he read *Jin gu chi guan* (*Chin ku ch'i kuan*) 今古奇觀 (Marvelous tales, old and new), a collection of short vernacular stories published in the 17th century, and a number of vernacular novels: *San guo yan yi* (*San kuo yen i*) 三國演義 (The romance of the Three Kingdoms, 14th century), *Hong lou meng* (*Hung lou meng*) 紅樓夢 (The dream of the Red Chamber, 18th century), and *Jin ping mei* (*Chin p'ing mei*) 金瓶梅 (The plum in the golden vase, 16th century) (Gowen, *Sunrise to Sunrise* 373-78). Of these, Gowen explicitly referred to *The Romance of the Three Kingdoms* and/or *The Dream of the Red Chamber* in his two novels on China.¹⁴⁸ In addition, Gowen also read the British sinologist

¹⁴⁷ Gowen studied Chinese at the Language School at the University of Nanjing (*Sunrise to Sunrise* 27).

¹⁴⁸ For example, see *Sun and Moon* 11-12, where Gowen translated *Hong lou meng* as *The Dream of the Red Balcony*. See also *Sun and Moon* 190-92, where Kuei-lien, the protagonist Timothy's fourth concubine, sings the story about the Peach Garden oath in *The Romance of the Three Kingdoms*.

Herbert Allen Giles's (1845-1935) *A History of Chinese Literature* (1910).¹⁴⁹ It advanced Gowen's understanding of the Chinese classics, such as the Four Books 四書 (*The Analects* 論語, *Mencius* 孟子, *The Great Learning* 大學, and *The Doctrine of the Mean* 中庸), the Five Classics 五經 (*The Book of Odes* 詩經, *The Book of History* 尚書, *The Book of Rites* 禮記, *The Book of Changes* 周易, and *The Spring and Autumn Annals* 春秋), *The Tri-metrical Classic* 三字經, and the Tang poetry, which Gowen mentioned in his *Sun and Moon* (11). Needless to say, Gowen's exposure to Chinese literature results in a deeper engagement with Chinese culture and thought in his writings.

In addition, Gowen's background also leads to his differing thematically from many other missionary novelists. While he engages the issue of cross-cultural conflict in his novels as many other missionary novelists do, he differs from them in not prioritizing foreign evangelism, or its success, in China. His *Sun and Moon*, which centers on the conflict between Western and Chinese marriage customs, makes no mention of evangelism. And his *Villages by the Yangtze*, which tackles the problems generated by the KMT-CCP alliance in the 1920s, ends with how it checked the progress of the foreign missionary enterprise in China.

Gowen's thematic uniqueness is related to his motive for going to China, his view of racial difference and missionary work, and his target audience. To begin with, Gowen at first accepted

¹⁴⁹ In his memoir, Gowen mentioned that he read "Giles's Chinese Literature" without specifying the full title of the book (*Sunrise to Sunrise* 373). But because Gowen said Giles's remark that *Chin p'ing mei* would require "the nerve of a Burton" to translate aroused his interest in that novel (*Sunrise to Sunrise* 373) and that remark can be found in Giles's *A History of Chinese Literature* (309), it should be the book Gowen referred to. Giles is also well known for his works on Confucianism and Taoism, for his English translation of Chinese literary works (both verse and prose), and for being one of the inventors of the Wade-Giles romanization system, used in his widely circulated Chinese-English dictionary. As that dictionary is mentioned in Gowen's *Sun and Moon* (7), it is likely that Gowen used it when he was learning the Chinese language.

his appointment in China without any intention of converting the Chinese. In 1913, Gowen left Seattle for China because he was tired of his hometown. At that time, the Episcopal Church in China needed teachers for its mission schools and Gowen's application for the teaching position was accepted. Before he sailed, he actually regretted his decision and planned to stay overseas for only two years. Unexpectedly, after beginning as a teacher at St Paul's mission middle school in Anqing, he ended up as a missionary priest spending thirty-three years overseas (Gowen, *Sunrise to Sunrise* 27).¹⁵⁰ At first, Gowen did not understand or believe in the missionary enterprise (*Sunrise to Sunrise* 27). He disliked the "racial arrogance" involved in its belief in the inferiority of other cultures and pointed out that some missionaries were fanatics, bigots, spiritual busybodies, and freaks (*Sunrise to Sunrise* 35). However, he eventually came to conclude that "the missionary community deserved better than the ridicule which outsiders accorded it" (*Sunrise to Sunrise* 35). He especially admired some mission doctors, who treated their own lives as of small account but dedicated themselves to ministering to the sick and the abused (*Sunrise to Sunrise* 35). During his furlough in the U.S. from 1919 to 1920, he attended a special program at the General Theological Seminary in New York and was ordained to an Episcopal deaconship in 1920. He was then ordained to the Episcopal priesthood in China in 1921 ("Gowen, Vincent Herbert"). His teaching and religious work in China ended in 1927,¹⁵¹ when the anti-foreign Nanjing incident forced his evacuation. (He turned to work among the Igorot people in Besao, a

¹⁵⁰ Gowen spent his first year in China in learning Chinese in Nanjing (*Sunrise to Sunrise* 39). He then worked at St. Paul's School from 1914 to 1919 (In the last two years, he was the headmaster of the school.) ("Gowen, Vincent Herbert"). There he taught English as well as the subjects he was not familiar with, such as Botany (*Sunrise to Sunrise* 48-53).

¹⁵¹ After his furlough, Gowen was in charge of St. Matthew's School in Nanchang from 1920 to 1922. And then in Wuhu, from 1922 to 1927, he was the priest and chaplain at St. Lioba's School, which was conducted by an American order, the Sisters of the Transfiguration. See "Gowen, Vincent Herbert."

mountain village in the Philippines. His work there ended in 1942 because of the Japanese invasion. For the next three years, he and his family were prisoners-of-war in the Japanese Camp Holmes and Bilibid Prison. After being freed from the prison camp in 1945, Gowen and his family returned to U.S., moving to the old family home on Bainbridge Island, WA. He taught at Lakeside School in Seattle for several years and then served as the full-time rector of St. Barnabas Episcopal Church on Bainbridge until his retirement in 1961. For the next two decades, he continued to assist at St. Barnabas on occasion and performed weddings, baptisms, and funerals. He also celebrated the Sunday evening Eucharist, taught Bible study, and tutored classes in Shakespearean and Greek drama and English literature. He passed away in 1984.)¹⁵²

The fact that Gowen did not preach religion when beginning his work in China allows him more space to observe the Chinese scene from a non-religious perspective, as demonstrated in his *Sun and Moon*.

Secondly, despite the fact that Gowen's choice of a missionary career still suggests his belief in Christianity over other religions (in his words, Christianity brings about "a decent and rewarding life"¹⁵³), his more liberal attitude toward race and the missionary enterprise makes his novels on China less condescending than those of many other missionaries'. In his essays, Gowen pointed out that "[t]here is not a superior race" (*Follow Me* 37), that "the races have much to learn from each other" (*Follow Me* 37), and that "[w]e send missionaries to other peoples not to condescend to them from the lofty peak of our superiority but to ask them to join

¹⁵² See McKillop and Allen 5-7; and Gowen, *Sunrise to Sunrise* 372. Due to his father, Herbert H. Gowen, who, as pointed out before, was an Episcopal clergyman, Gowen grew up with the familiarity with Christian services. Singing in the choir also made him love the Church's worship. Nevertheless, those Christian activities in his early days did not dispose him to follow his father in being an Anglican priest. His vague career plan at that time was to teach college English (Gowen, *Sunrise to Sunrise* 8).

¹⁵³ Gowen, *Follow Me* 62.

with us in the common enterprise of Christian civilization” (*Follow Me* 158). An example of Gowen’s liberal posture: while many missionaries went to China with the assumption that everything about their religious observances was bad and were opposed fanatically to ancestor worship, Gowen (who may have disliked its ritual) recognized its value—showing reverence to great figures of the past. For him, those missionaries who attacked ancestral worship “loosened the bonds of Chinese family and social life and helped open the way for Communist disruption of all ancient values, especially among Chinese students” (*Follow Me* 158). Gowen’s receptive stance frees his novels from the frequent missionary obsession with evangelism and its success in China and hence makes him different in his very paucity of pejorative description of China.

Thirdly, the nature of publishers also leads to the thematic distinction in Gowen. As discussed before, many missionaries published their novels with religious publishers in order to rally their readers’ support of the missionary enterprise. In that situation, evangelism and its success are essential components. They are, however, not indispensable for commercial publishers. As is shown in Gowen’s case, his *Sun and Moon* (published by Little, Brown, and Company in Boston in 1927) says nothing about evangelism and his *Village by the Yangtze* (published by Douglas-West Publishers in Los Angeles in 1975) ends with its setback. In fact, Gowen’s approach suggests that he has wider and more realistic engagement with the Chinese scene.

In addition, while many American missionaries’ novels feature the agreement between the authors’ and their Western characters’ nationality, Gowen’s novels are marked by incongruity between the two, a trait perhaps due to his special identity. Although Canadian-born and the son of English-born parents, the fact that his father later became a naturalized American entitled him to the same citizenship. However, for a long period of time, he saw himself as a British subject because he believed he had forfeited his American citizenship in leaving the U.S. and

taking up residence in China before his twenty-first birthday. He felt humiliated when admitted as an alien in his travels to the U.S., where he had grown up and had many relatives and was embittered by a bureaucratic inconsistency that required different documents for him to enter the U.S. It was not until 1939 that he was informed his residence abroad did not make him lose his American citizenship: he received his Certificate of Derivative Citizenship that year. (His receiving salary from an American organization was the equivalent of American residence.) As his novels were either published or set in the 1920s, when he considered himself British, they feature British characters, demonstrating his British ties.¹⁵⁴

Besides his nationality confusion, working in China forced Gowen to face another identity issue, that of adjusting himself to the Chinese scene. And that, in turn, led him to explore the problem of cultural assimilation in his *Sun and Moon*. This novel is about the British character Timothy Herrick's attempts to live like a Chinese in China and the problems generated thereby. Timothy, fifty years old, has been living in China for thirty years. He has a successful career, rising quickly from post to post in the Imperial Customs. However, the death of his cholera-infected British wife (the daughter of a consul) twelve years ago deeply saddens him. Since then, he decides to "go Chinese" in order to forget his grief. He discards his British nationality and replaces his Western ways with Chinese ones: he wears Chinese clothes, smokes opium, reads Buddhist scriptures, composes classical poems, takes a Chinese wife and concubines, and lives in a Chinese house like a mandarin (8). He also makes his two children from his dead British wife (Nancy now fourteen or fifteen and Edward thirteen) conform to Chinese ways by giving them a Chinese-style education and making them acquire the Chinese language and customs. Most of the time Nancy and Edward stay in their Chinese compound. Rarely do they have an opportunity to meet people of their own race. The major plot of the novel

¹⁵⁴ For Gowen's problem with his identity, see his *Sunrise to Sunrise* 36-39.

revolves around Timothy's and Nancy's intention of following the Chinese custom of arranged marriage, which ends in tragedy—both Timothy and Nancy die.

Gowen's description of the Chinese scene and of the Herricks' life in China is convincing, displaying a deep knowledge of China in several aspects. To begin with, Gowen refers knowledgeably to a number of objects with some cultural significance or value in Chinese customs, manners, and moeurs. Those related to eating: chopsticks (77), moon cakes for the Mid-autumn Festival (118), and sharks' fins (160). Those related to female clothing: cotton jackets, trousers, singlets, drawers, and diamond-shaped bellybands (82). The one related to housing: moon gates (4) and *k'ang* (*kang*, brick ovens) used as divan or bed (142). Those related to reading and calligraphy writing: *Travels in the West* (12) (referring to the Chinese classic *Xi you ji*, usually translated as *Journey to the West*), scrolls (12), ink-stones, brushes, and bamboo papers (91). Those related to religion: pagodas (4), temples (9), Maitreya (59), the Eighteen *luo han* (Arhats) (215), *kuan yin* (*guan yin*, Avalokiteśvara) (215), incenses (215), and incense burners (59, 215).

Moreover, while the novelists discussed so far (Davis, Cory, Abbot, and Nagel) also mention objects used in Chinese living in their novels, Gowen has a deeper engagement with Chinese culture than they do, as shown by his having his characters practice traditional Chinese customs. Three examples dealing with marriage, funeral, and religion suffice. First, because Timothy thinks his English born but Chinese trained daughter Nancy is, and ought to remain, Chinese, he decides to follow the Chinese custom of arranging marriage for her and finding her a Chinese husband. He then asks his Chinese wife Hai t'ai-t'ai¹⁵⁵ to act as matchmaker (122). As he considers Hai t'ai-t'ai's nephew Ming-te as a candidate for marrying Nancy, he compares

¹⁵⁵ Hai is the Chinese last name (most likely referring to 海) of the Herricks. T'ai-t'ai is the romanization of the Chinese term for wife (太太).

Ming-te's "eight characters" to Nancy's in order to make sure the year, month, day, and hour of their births match (128).¹⁵⁶ (The Chinese believe that eight matched characters would ensure a happy marriage.) And he calls a fortune-teller to choose a lucky day for the engagement (130), at which Ming-te and Nancy exchange betrothal gifts (134, 137). The Herrick house is draped with red, the Chinese color for wedding celebrations. The walls are hung with scarlet banners, on which the Chinese character "joy" is written in gilt and written double¹⁵⁷ to amplify the luck of the occasion (247-48). For her wedding, Nancy wears a scarlet wedding dress, composed of a scarlet tunic and a scarlet skirt, with a veil of red silk (250). As Nancy is about to say farewell to her family, she bows to the "ancestral tablet"¹⁵⁸ in an altar set with burning red candles and

¹⁵⁶ Traditionally, a Chinese's birth year, birth month, birth day, and birth hour are each represented by two characters from the time systems—the Heavenly Stems and the Earthly Branches and, hence, a person's birth is represented by "eight characters" in total. Nowadays, this way of designating a person's birth is still popular in fortune telling practices. In the novel, Hai t'ai-t'ai tampers with Nancy's eight Chinese characters in order to make them match Ming-te's (128-29).

¹⁵⁷ 囍.

¹⁵⁸ It is a traditional Chinese belief that a person possesses three souls. After death, one soul goes to the nether world to receive punishment or reward for the deeds done in this world. Another goes to the grave to receive outdoor worship. The other goes to the "ancestral tablet" to receive indoor worship. The tablet is generally made of wood, with an oblong piece of wood stuck into a small transverse block of wood. The name of the deceased is written on the surface of the oblong-shaped wood. The tablet is placed in a special niche in the son's home. Important family events would be announced to the tablet and prayers would be said to it to seek help and protection. For the Chinese, their social ties with their ancestors are not severed because of the latter's death; their deceased ancestors would continue to assist them in this world. As the Chinese believe that the dead would need the necessities of life as the living, in the ritual of ancestor worship, in addition to burning incense, they would offer food as sacrifice and burn the paper objects in lieu of the veritable ones as a way to forward them to the dead. Common articles include paper money, paper house, and paper clothing. This explains why a Chinese dies without male heirs is an object of public pity. For detailed explanations about ancestor worship, the tablet

incense and to her stepmother Hai t'ai-t'ai (250). Accompanied by the noise of fire crackers, Nancy rides in the bridal chair (258).¹⁵⁹ Upon arriving at his place, Ming-te lifts Nancy's veil and they plight their troth by drinking cups of wine (261). For Timothy's funeral, Nancy wears her headdress of white sackcloth and Edward dons his coat of coarse bleached calico to show their mourning (281). In addition to offering food and burning incense for the dead, the priests chant prayers and the burial procession is accompanied by music from a bell, drum, and flute (281-82). Finally Nancy and Edward observe "the Ghost Festival"¹⁶⁰ and pay homage to their deceased mother by offering sacrifice and prayers to her tablet (239-40). And Nancy is aware that once married she can no longer worship her mother and her own forefathers (240). All in all, as shown by these instances, Gowen knows not only the objects that figure in Chinese customs but also their use and significance.

Furthermore, Gowen's characters are more Chinese than many other missionary writers' characters because they demonstrate Chinese perspectives, attitudes, and sentiments. Significant instances concern the characters' reactions to Nancy's marriage. In the novel, as Timothy asks

and the burnt offerings, see Latourette, *The Chinese* 536-40; F. Hsu 248-49; Ball 29-32; and Bryant 82-84.

¹⁵⁹ The bridal chair is a chair-like sedan used to take the bride to the groom's house. See Ball 420-21, 423.

¹⁶⁰ It is a traditional Chinese belief that the seventh month of the lunar calendar is the ghost month, during which the gates of Hades are opened and ghosts and ancestral spirits are free to visit the human world. Some of them are mischievous and would cause accidents to happen. In many places, the climax of the month falls on the fifteenth day as *Zhong yuan jie* (*Chung yüan chieh*) 中元節 (common translation: the ghost festival, the ghosts' festival; Gowen's translation: the Feast of Souls, the festival of All Souls). On that day, people would offer food and drink and burn incense and paper money as a way to appease ghosts and show respect for their ancestors. Priests at some large temples would offer prayers for the deceased and conduct special religious rituals. For a detailed explanation about the ghost month and the ghost festival, see Bryant 81-86. See also Wei 45-48.

Hai t'ai-t'ai to be the matchmaker for Nancy's marriage, he enumerates the qualifications of Nancy's prospective husband: "I want the best. If I can't get the best there will be no engagement. . . . the man must be of good family; he must be well educated, a man of scholarly tastes—and he must know no English, no English at all" (122). In Timothy's opinion, "[a] father is more competent to choose a husband for his daughter than the girl herself; he knows the world, she does n't" (112). Timothy's expectations of Nancy's prospective husband and his justification for intervening in her marriage manifest the essence of Chinese practice that transforms a personal issue to one within a larger context where parental requirements need to be met. As discussed before, traditionally Chinese parents arrange marriage for their children. Unlike the Christian tradition that views marriage as a form of self-fulfillment between husband and wife (Yeh 99-100), the Chinese tradition does not treat love as an individual matter but as one subject to parental wish and discretion (F. Hsu 54). To the Chinese, individual feelings are subordinated to the requirements of the group (F. Hsu 50), especially those of parents, in that parent-children relationships are permanent and the center of all individual relationships (F. Hsu 145). The Chinese child, who learns to see the world in terms of a network of relations rather than individually, does not feel defensive about elders, for they are deemed to know better (F. Hsu 88). A match made under the guidance of experienced elders may not be disastrous (Yeh 100), which is the underlying belief of Chinese arranged marriage.

In response to Timothy's intervention in her marriage, Nancy acts in the fashion of a Chinese. First of all, her remarks suggest she wants to act out filial piety in the Confucian sense by being obedient to her father: "I cannot go against my father's wishes" (52); "I have to marry the man my father chooses" (87). Filial piety possesses a central role in Confucianism. As Youzi (Yu-tzu) 有子 (518 B.C.-?), one of Confucius's disciples, points out in *The Analects*, "[f]ilial piety and fraternal submission!—are they not the root of all benevolent actions?" [孝弟也者、其

為仁之本與。] (Legge 3). Mencius similarly comments, “If each man would love his parents and show the due respect to his elders, the whole empire would enjoy tranquility” [人人親其親、長其長、而天下平。] (Legge 709).¹⁶¹ One of the ways to show filial piety in Confucianism is to obey parents. Through the example of Emperor Shun 舜 (c. 22nd-23rd century B.C.), Mencius comments that he who “could not get to an entire accord with his parents . . . could not be considered a son” [不順乎親、不可以為子] (Legge 728).¹⁶²

¹⁶¹ Gowen must have read *Mencius* because in *Sun and Moon* when Kuei-lien talks to Nancy about her marriage and the Chinese expectations of a wife, Kuei-lien quotes the mother’s admonishments to her daughter from Mencius’s remarks: “You must be respectful; you must be careful; do not disobey your husband” (Gowen, *Sun and Moon* 243). Kuei-lien’s words are the English translation of the following lines from *Mencius*: “必敬必戒、無違夫子” (qtd. in Legge 650). Gowen, however, misinterprets the context of these lines as showing that the Chinese have more social expectations of women than men. As is shown in Kuei-lien’s commentary, she thinks that Mencius does not specify the father’s admonishments to his son: “And what did the father say to his son? He ‘admonished’ him. That was all. The Sage did n’t explain that part of it. The Sage was a man. I don’t believe in sages” (243). But Mencius in fact does. Right after his remarks about the expectation of wives to be compliant, Mencius specifies the father’s admonishments to his son about how to be a great man: “To dwell in the wide house of the world, to stand in the correct seat of the world, and to walk in the great path of the world; when he obtains his desire *for office*, to practice his principles for the good of the people; and when that desire is disappointed, to practice them alone; to be above the power of riches and honors to make dissipated, of poverty and mean condition to make swerve from principle, and of power and force to make bend—these characteristics constitute the great man” [居天下之廣居、立天下之正位、行天下之大道、得志、與民由之、不得志、獨行其道、富貴不能淫、貧賤不能移、威武不能屈、此之謂大丈夫。] (Legge 650-51). As one can tell, Mencius’s words are not so much about Chinese women’s subservience to men as about the different social expectations of men and women in Chinese society.

¹⁶² But one can gently remonstrate with their parents when they are in the wrong. As Confucius says, “In serving his parents, *a son* may remonstrate with them, but gently; when he sees that they do not incline to follow *his advice*, he shows an increased degree of reverence, but does not abandon *his purpose*; and should they punish him he does not allow himself to murmur” [事父母幾諫、見志不從、又敬不違、勞而不怨。] (Legge 45).

In addition, Nancy models herself on characters in classical Chinese literature in order to express her emotion and attitude. Two episodes offer apt examples. In the first, she quotes the verses sung by Lin Daiyu (Lin Tai-yü) 林黛玉, the female protagonist and a flower worshipper in the Chinese novel *The Dream of the Red Chamber*, to express her sentimental view of life. Although Nancy decides to be an obedient daughter and marry Ming-te, she still feels she has lost her personality in surrendering her right to decide her destiny. When her betrothal and engagement are settled, she weeps and tears sweep like rain across her face. Feeling that men deal with her the way they do flowers—pluck and then toss aside, Nancy quotes Daiyu's lines:

Being scoffed at as a fool, I bury the flowers,
Yet know not who in other times will bury me;
In a morning the spring is finished, the crimson colors are old;
Flowers fall, men perish; both are known no more. (179)¹⁶³

In the second, Nancy exemplifies the spirit of *yi* 義, as shown in the Chinese novel *The Romance of the Three Kingdoms*, to save her amah (Chinese nurse) from being fired. Lacking in a satisfactory English translation, *yi* is generally translated as righteousness, justice, or appropriateness. Put in a broader context, it may be rendered in English as responsibility, obligation, duty, the Code, commitment, service, cause, self-sacrifice, or honor (Roberts vii). The

¹⁶³ Daiyu believes that burying can keep fallen flowers clean and hence is the best way to deal with them. Daiyu's verses are in chapter 27 of the Chinese novel and their Chinese texts are as follows: “儂今葬花人笑痴，他年葬儂知是誰？ / 試看春殘花漸落，便是紅顏老死時。 / 一朝春盡紅顏老，花落人亡兩不知！” In addition to the sentimental similarity, the most significant parallel between Nancy and Daiyu lies in the fact that they are both troubled by arranged marriage. Part of the reason that makes Daiyu sing the verses is her concern that her love for Jia Baoyu (Chia Pao-yü) 賈寶玉 cannot be fulfilled. As both her parents are dead, she worries that maybe no one would arrange marriage for her. In the episodes that follow her verses, she is devastated when Baoyu is arranged to get married but not to her.

episode in *Three Kingdoms* similar to Nancy's conduct of *yi* is in chapter 50. After the Battle of the Red Cliff, the character Guan Yunchang (Kuan Yun-chang) 關雲長 releases his rival Cao Cao (Ts'ao Ts'ao) 曹操 and his defeated army at Huarong (Hua-jung) 華容 pass. As the chapter title “關雲長‘義釋’曹操” (Guan Yunchang “honorably releases” Cao Cao, emphasis mine) suggests,¹⁶⁴ Guan's deed reflects not so much betrayal as appreciation to Cao for his earlier recognition and respect. (In chapter 27, Guan's sworn brother Liu Bei/Liu Pei 劉備 is defeated by Cao. Admiring Guan's knightly qualities, Cao persuades Guan to join his camp, which Guan conditionally accepts. During his stay at Cao's camp, Guan is respected and treated well by Cao.) In chapter 19 of *Sun and Moon*, Nancy demonstrates Guan's spirit of *yi*. Hai t'ai-t'ai actually is jealous of Nancy and Edward, for they are the children of Timothy's first wife and hence have a status superior to that of her daughter Li-an. Taking advantage of her role in arranging Nancy's marriage, Hai t'ai-t'ai seeks to control Nancy by dismissing her teacher and asking her to sew the bridal garments. Loyal to Nancy's mother, Nancy's amah looks with contempt on Timothy's other wives. She has been with Nancy and Edward all their lives and defended them from household intrigues meant to reduce their status.¹⁶⁵ Hai t'ai-t'ai's grudge against the amah gets heavier because of the latter's opposition to Nancy's betrothal. When Nancy makes mistakes on the bridal garments and the amah has a quarrel with Hai t'ai-t'ai, Hai t'ai-t'ai sees it as a good opportunity to get rid of the amah. Hai t'ai-t'ai tells Timothy the children have grown up and no longer need the amah. Nancy wants her amah to stay, so she exchanges conditions with Hai t'ai-t'ai: Nancy tells her father she is ready to get married now and there is no need to wait four more years as he originally planned; Hai t'ai-t'ai then suggests to Timothy he let the amah stay. Nancy's chivalric act to save her amah as a repayment for her

¹⁶⁴ I follow Mair (623) in translating 義釋 as “honorably releases.”

¹⁶⁵ For the amah's fidelity, see Gowen, *Sun and Moon* 10-11.

kindness is spiritually similar to Guan's release of Cao.

Besides, Ming-te's grandmother (i.e. Hai t'ai-t'ai's mother, who is called the lao t'ai-t'ai¹⁶⁶ or the old t'ai-t'ai in the text) adopts a Chinese perspective on Nancy's unhappy marriage with Ming-te. After Nancy's marriage, the old t'ai-t'ai is the only person in Ming-te's household friendly to Nancy. The other persons treat Nancy as a stranger and an alien. Given no choice, Ming-te hates his marriage with Nancy (290-91). At heart, he is afraid of her because he feels she despises him as a shallow, conceited, and petulant weakling (291-92). Hai t'ai-t'ai and Nancy's in-laws care merely about the money Timothy promises they will get through Nancy's marriage. They support Ming-te's taking a Chinese concubine because they want a Chinese woman rather than the foreigner Nancy to beget sons for Ming-te. For them, half-caste children from Nancy "could only be the living occasions for explanation and apology" (303). And, Hai t'ai-t'ai wants to inflict on Nancy the jealousy she suffered from Timothy's taking concubines (301). It is in fact the old t'ai-t'ai who suggests purchasing a Chinese concubine for Ming-te, but her motive is not to embarrass Nancy but to shield her from the hostility in Ming-te's household and the unhappiness her marriage brings. Conscious of Nancy's foreign identity, Ming-te's grandmother constantly reminds Nancy of her not belonging to Ming-te's family. Nancy confides to the old t'ai-t'ai that Timothy first chose an Englishman for her husband. (That person is Ronald Nasmith, who saves Nancy from an accident and whom Nancy secretly loves. Timothy's marriage arrangement between Nancy and Ronald breaks down because Timothy cannot accept Ronald's conditions that lead Nancy to a Western lifestyle and undo Timothy's training of Nancy as a Chinese: Ronald wants Nancy to live with his English sister, go to school with his English nieces, and break the marriage engagement if her tastes grow farther and farther apart from his.)¹⁶⁷ Nancy then shows the old t'ai-t'ai the poem Timothy writes Ronald:

¹⁶⁶ "Lao" means old in Chinese.

The sun moving to the west kindles a splendid beacon for the moon;

The moon following from the east tenderly displays the reflection of the sun.

After reading it, the old t'ai-t'ai comments, "We were wrong, wrong, to disobey these words.

They are the mandate of heaven itself" (308). The old t'ai-t'ai means Timothy's first choice,

Ronald, a man of Nancy's own race, as her husband is "the will of heaven" and her "fate" (321).

In order to redress the mistake of Nancy's interracial marriage, which goes against the will of heaven and hence has proved a failure, the old t'ai-t'ai suggests Nancy go back to Ronald. The

old t'ai-t'ai's concept of "the mandate of heaven" or "the will of heaven" likely refers to the

Chinese term "*tian ming*" (天命) in Confucianism, meaning the natural law of the universe

decreed by heaven (how things take place, how things act as they do, and how things are

conditioned). The term is mentioned several times in *The Analects*. For example, Confucius says

that he knows "*tian ming*" at fifty and that "*tian ming*" is one of the three things of which a man

stands in awe.¹⁶⁸ Following "*tian ming*" is taken for granted, as is shown in the lines from *Zhong*

¹⁶⁷ In response to Ronald's suggestion of breakup as a way to solve the problem of incompatibility in marriage, Timothy says, "After marriage you have made your bargain. You have no choice but to make your tastes congenial" (113). Ronald's and Timothy's different attitudes about breakup are rooted in the different perceptions of marriage in relation to family relations between Western and Chinese cultures. In the Western culture of individualism, parental and marital bonds are mainly a matter of individualized adjustment and choice and hence separation and divorce are easy solutions to marriage problems. In traditional Chinese culture, however, the permanence of family ties is taken for granted and therefore separation and divorce rarely come to one's mind. For more information about the different perspectives of marriage between Western, especially American, and Chinese cultures, see F. Hsu 154-55.

¹⁶⁸ The Chinese texts of the references and their English translations, with "*tian ming*" translated in other ways: "五十而知天命" [At fifty, I knew the decrees of Heaven] (Legge 14); "君子有三畏、畏天命、畏大人、畏聖人之言" [There are three things of which the superior man stands in awe. He stands in awe of the ordinances of Heaven. He stands in awe of great men. He stands in awe of the words of sages.] (Legge 247).

*yong*中庸 (The Doctrine of the Mean) 中庸: “What Heaven has conferred is called THE NATURE; an accordance with this nature is called THE PATH *of duty*; the regulation of this path is called Instruction” [天命之謂性、率性之謂道、修道之謂教。] (Legge 349-50).¹⁶⁹

What makes the old t’ai-t’ai conclude that Ronald as Nancy’s husband is the will of heaven is her adoption of a Chinese cosmological perspective to interpret the poem Timothy writes Ronald. For the Chinese, the universe is composed of contrastive but complementary dualities called *yin* 陰 and *yang* 陽, literally meaning shade and light respectively. The dualities share an interdependent, harmonious, and relational coexistence. While *yin* is usually associated with things hidden, latent, and feminine (such as darkness, cool, moon, night, waning season, and female), *yang* is generally correlated with things manifest, active, and masculine (such as light, heat, sun, day, waxing season, and male).¹⁷⁰ From the perspective of *yin-yang* correlations, the old t’ai-t’ai sees the complementarity between the moon and the sun expressed in Timothy’s poem as indicative of the wife-husband relationship in marriage and further concludes that the marriage of Ronald and Nancy is something natural or predestined, hence that Nancy should go back to Ronald.¹⁷¹

¹⁶⁹ See Cheng, “Mencius” 441. In the political sense, “*tian ming*” (the mandate of heaven) is what justifies a ruler. A virtuous person would receive it to rule a dynasty. Once the virtue of a dynasty runs out, heaven would then give the mandate to another new model of virtue, who, through the restoration of social order, peace, and prosperity, would become the new ruler. See F. Hsu 230, Nivison 541-42, and Loewe.

¹⁷⁰ For detailed explanations about the *yin-yang* correlations, see Henderson 190-92, Ames, and Sommer.

¹⁷¹ *Sun and Moon* was republished under the title *Fifth Wife* in 1963 by Pyramid in New York, but the new title misses the point, for it shifts the focus to Kuei-lien, Herrick’s fourth concubine and hence fifth wife in a loose sense, who actually only plays a subsidiary role in the novel. The title change may be due to the fact that *Fifth Wife* sounds more sensational to the English speaking world that practices monogamy. The original title is apter because it involves the

While Gowen's wide knowledge of Chinese attitudes, sentiments, and perspectives suggests he is quite assimilated to Chinese culture, his *Sun and Moon* in fact questions the possibility of complete cultural assimilation through a demonstration of blood as an unbridgeable cultural gap. In the novel, the Herricks' blood interferes with Timothy's project of going Chinese in two ways. In the first, associated with Timothy, Nancy, and Edward's English blood are some English cultural remnants they cannot easily dispense with. For example, Timothy reluctantly complies with Nancy's request to teach Nancy and Edward English because Timothy thinks that should Nancy and Edward fail to assimilate into Chinese life, he would have to send them to England and then they would need English as a tool of communication (12). Although the first thoughts of Nancy and Edward are always Chinese and they only use English, "a foreign tongue" (13), to mystify other children in their compound, the English lessons undoubtedly undermine Timothy's plan to rear Nancy and Edward as Chinese. Similarly, Timothy's teaching Nancy and Edward to play cricket due to his indulgent memories of his youth (39) is another instance that impedes Nancy and Edward's sinicization.

In the second, the Herricks' identity their blood defines conflicts with the one they seek to construct and the fact that their identity conflicts get resolved only with their death suggests one can never eradicate racial differences. Timothy's and Nancy's experiences are significant instances in this regard. Only Nancy and Edward acknowledge Timothy's endeavor to live like a Chinese; most people judging others by their skin color resist accepting Timothy as a Chinese, as is shown in Nancy's and Edward's talks with other people. In response to Kuei-lien's words that Nancy will marry an Englishman, Nancy says, "But I have never seen an Englishman" (20). Kuei-lien then replies, "Your father is an Englishman" (20). A similar situation happens to

Chinese cultural codes about the yin-yang correlations that allude to Nancy's marriage, the central issue of the novel.

Edward. As Nancy and Edward visit a temple, the monk says to them, “You are foreigners?” (60). Edward retorts, “No . . . we are Chinese. . . . We are not foreigners . . . my father is a Chinese official” (60). It is not until Edward is too subdued by the questions about his father’s identity that he accepts Ronald’s nephew’s comment that “Your father is English” (86). Actually, Timothy is aware that he himself and his English-blooded children can never become Chinese and his awareness is revealed in his responses to Nancy’s marriage problems. Timothy’s first choice of an Englishman rather than a Chinese man as Nancy’s husband suggests his belief that Nancy is more English than Chinese. Secondly, the fact that after arranging the marriage between Nancy and Ming-te, Timothy feels irritated rather than happy and finally dies in agony hints at his resistance to the Chinese custom of arranged marriage. Although he is satisfied with Ming-te, “the businesslike dryness of arranging betrothal for a girl so instinct with delicate imaginings disheartened the father, made him sore in spirit” (129). As he says to Hai t’ai-t’ai, “I wish Nancy could see the boy for herself I know my own judgment is better than hers and that I ought to do this without a qualm—yet my heart does not feel quite right about it” (129). Timothy’s resistance grows stronger with the approach of Nancy’s bridal day. Worrying that he is dooming Nancy, he regrets the marriage arrangement and loses his peace of mind. He then succumbs to alcohol, opium, and sex with Kuei-lien and gives up his hope of living longer.¹⁷² He becomes ill and feeble and finally dies: “The man trembled with a great moan of despair, scarlet and gold blinded his eyes; suddenly, with a cry that rasped in his throat, Herrick threw himself forward, buried his head in his arms, and so lay still amid the vain litter of his desk” (251). Gowen’s argument that blood is an unchangeable identity marker is further advanced by the episode about the treatment of Timothy’s property after his death. As Hai t’ai-t’ai and Nancy’s in-laws are eager to get the money Timothy promises for Nancy’s marriage, Edward, on Hai t’ai-t’ai’s behalf, asks

¹⁷² See Gowen, *Sun and Moon* 138-39, 151, 166, 177-78.

Ronald, the executor of Timothy's will, about this. Ronald tells Edward that "your father was an Englishman, not a Chinese, and subject to English law. Even though he lived in Chinese style and kept Chinese customs, that makes no difference" (272). Hence, Timothy's death must be reported to the British minister. Only after Timothy's will is read and proved can Ronald be entitled as Timothy's trustee to deal with his money. Ronald's words make it clear that no matter how hard Timothy has tried to live like a Chinese, he can never be Chinese. In terms of his identity, Timothy's blood has the final say over his construction or masquerading.

Like Timothy, Nancy does not encounter identity conflicts until her marriage problems emerge. Before that, she finds nothing wrong in saying "our Chinese ways" (34). Ronald and his nieces, who see Nancy as English because of her blood, make every effort to dissuade Nancy from following her father's arranged marriage. For them, Nancy should follow the Western way and choose her own husband. If Nancy marries the man her father chooses for her, it will be something "shameful" (87), "ghastly and wrong" (210). Although Nancy loves Ronald, she chooses to honor her father in the Chinese way by being an obedient daughter: she refuses Timothy's one-time inquiry to cancel the engagement with Ming-te (234-37). However, as Ronald predicts, Nancy can never stop feeling bad about the arranged marriage (209). For Nancy, Ming-te is a "cold stranger" and the betrothal gifts from him are just "inanimate rubbish" (135). Her resistance reaches a climax on her bridal day. When she rides on the bridal chair, "[h]er body was cold with fear and her heart already sick from loneliness, weary of the ride yet dreading its finish, dreading her delivery like a well-selected piece of merchandise into the hands of strangers" (260). Being teased by the wedding guests, Nancy comes to realize "what she had protested against all her life, that she was in truth a foreigner. The pleasant manners of her father's household had deceived her too long. . . . now she understood what a lie she had been living all these wasted years" (265). Nancy's bitterness is further exacerbated when she learns

that Hai t'ai-t'ai conceals Timothy's death from her to continue the wedding for the sake of money. Nancy feels that Timothy dies because of her obedience. As she says to Ming-te, "I did n't [wish to be married]. I married to please my father. . . . I did n't please him. I killed him" (267). Although the old t'ai-t'ai has persuaded Hai t'ai-t'ai to let Nancy go, the old lady's death of illness worsens the relationship between Nancy and Hai t'ai-t'ai, who illogically blames Nancy for causing her mother to die. Nancy then is subject to Hai t'ai-t'ai's aggression. Hai t'ai-t'ai's scolding of Nancy below shows that the former's resistance to the latter is largely grounded on difference in blood: "You are not one of us, you don't belong to this family, and you shall not weep with us Out you go, I say! Go and play the whore with your foreign friend! You are a stench in our nostrils" (337). As Nancy is trying to get close to the old t'ai-t'ai's body, Hai t'ai-t'ai and Ming-te's mother beat Nancy down, pommel and bruise her, tear her clothes into long rags, and strike her across the head till she is almost senseless. "Then they opened the great gate, swinging it wide on its creaking axles, and flung the girl, like a heap of discarded rubbish, into the street" (339). So Nancy dies—"She could sleep and be comforted" (340). Nancy's death again suggests that racial differences are irreconcilable factors interfering with cultural assimilation.

Actually, as a story about failed cross-cultural assimilation, *Sun and Moon* also hints at Gowen's attitude toward Chinese culture. Although Gowen demonstrates his extensive knowledge of the customs of arranged marriage and concubinage, he disapproves of them. Timothy's and Nancy's appalling experiences with arranged marriage suggest Gowen's critique of it. The narrator's comment of arranged marriage and its procedures as "[t]he old impersonal traditions of the past" (176) somewhat reveals Gowen's opinion about the custom. Subordinate to Gowen's critique of arranged marriage is his critique of concubinage, as hinted in his description of its problem of jealousy that Hai t'ai-t'ai feels about Nancy. In other words, Gowen still

imposes his Western viewpoints on arranged marriage and concubinage and shows disapproval of them. In this aspect, Gowen's suggestion of a need to replace arranged marriage and concubinage with Western marriage systems—free choice of one's spouse and monogamy—is similar to Nagel's and many other missionary novelists' yearning to modernize China toward the Western model. As Gowen's characters' experience of cultural assimilation is hindered by their blood, so is Gowen's.

In fact, Gowen's detachment from political issues (such as Chinese farmers' and workers' participation in the nationalist revolution in the 1920s) is another sign of his incomplete assimilation into the Chinese scene. While his detachment may be due to lack of interest in Chinese politics, that detachment actually distorts his treatment of the arranged marriage and concubinage. As discussed before, Nagel neglects the necessity for concubinage in China's traditional agricultural economy. Gowen repeats that blindness as well. Never does Gowen relate concubinage to China's agricultural scene. Like concubinage, arranged marriage in China's agricultural society sometimes occurs out of economic necessity. Traditional Chinese society prefers sons to daughters, for the former carry on the family line and perform ancestral worship while the latter become members of their husbands' family after marriage.¹⁷³ In this way, in China's predominantly agricultural context, sons are the ones to take over farm management and their parents may want to procure farm helpers through arranged marriage. As Guo Zhenyi points out, in the villages in Guangxi, parents started to arrange marriage for their sons even before they reached their early teens with a view to procuring a daughter-in-law their sons' senior to help with the farm work. Therefore, it was common to see a groom of eleven or twelve years old there

¹⁷³ Hence, daughters may not receive as much education as sons and among the poor daughters may be betrothed as their husbands' servants, sold into slavery or prostitution, or even killed in infancy. See Latourette, *The Chinese* 565-76.

with his bride of fifteen or sixteen years old (148). Gowen's criticism of arranged marriage takes no account of the necessity for arranged marriage in China's agricultural society and hence skews his treatment of the issue.

However, Gowen's criticism of Chinese culture is not so radical as that made by many missionary novelists, for he differs from their uncritical praise of the West in pinpointing the problems of Western civilization as well, as shown in his character Timothy's explanation of why he decides to rear Nancy and Edward as Chinese. Timothy says,

[T]he West has nothing but a beastly machine-ridden civilization, nothing but thoughts of merchandise and profit, fattening the bodies and thinning the souls of its people. A Westerner could n't live in these mountains, for example, without wanting to dam the stream and make an electric plant. He would n't see the color of the hills, the light of the dawning sun shining on stones and trees; he would suffer an unbearable itch to change them, to make them useful. Bah! Every one of them is a materialist; none of them know the finer relationships of life. (50-51)

Presenting the problems of both Chinese and Western cultures, Gowen suggests there is no perfect culture and hence it is hard for one to identify completely with a culture, native or foreign.

Although Gowen's first novel on China, *Sun and Moon*, does not engage with political issues, his second novel, *Village by the Yangtze*, does. It mainly explores how the growing Communist influence, resulting from the KMT-CCP alliance in the 1920s, impacts Chinese society and Sino-foreign relations in generating banditry, shaking traditional values in human relationships, provoking conflicts between labor and capital, and inciting anti-foreign sentiments. As pointed out before, the KMT-CCP split in 1927 prompts people to think about where China should go. Although Gowen's *Village by the Yangtze* is set in 1926 and 1927 (before the split) the

novel in fact also tackles the post-1927 issue about which road China should take. As suggested on the jacket cover, Gowen means to show how Communist ascendancy in the 1920s with its agenda of uprooting China's past eventually produces "present-day crises and conflicts." Given the fact that the novel was published in 1975, "present-day crises and conflicts" are likely to refer to those caused by the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution, commonly known as the Cultural Revolution, a social-political movement advocated by CCP leader Mao Zedong from 1966 to 1976 with a view to eradicating feudal-bourgeois, capitalist, traditional, and cultural elements from Chinese society and establishing his authority and the orthodoxy of his thought within the CCP. As pointed out before, the CCP in its early stage in the 1920s had made clear its stance against the landlord-gentry-intellectual class, classical Chinese, classical literature, and Confucianism. The Cultural Revolution in the 1970s was the climax of the CCP's anti-intellectual, anti-traditional, and anti-cultural agenda. In that movement, many people, wrongfully accused as anti-revolutionary, were driven to suicide. As knowledge was seen as the spring of reactionary thought and action, a great number of scholars and scientists were sent to the countryside to do menial work and students were instigated to confront teachers. Countless historic buildings, artifacts, antiques, books, and paintings were destroyed. Needless to say, the Cultural Revolution resulted in drastic social turmoil and chaos and irreversible cultural damages.¹⁷⁴ In other words, Gowen's concern for the social and cultural disasters caused by the CCP in the 1970s makes him trace back their origin to the 1920s in order to probe whether there are other paths besides Communism for China to take in the wake of the KMT-CCP break in 1927 that might prevent later crises brought by the CCP.

A scrutiny of *Village by the Yangtze* shows that in Gowen's view there are four directions

¹⁷⁴ For brief introductions of the Cultural Revolution, see I. Hsü 689-706 and Kraus. Both references have bibliography for further reading.

for China to choose from after the 1927 political upheaval, but he pessimistically suggests none of them is viable. The first is Communism, but it causes banditry. As pointed out before, the CCP, representing the proletariat, makes great effort to seize hold of the labor movement. And, the CCP, like every other political party, seeks to carry out its agenda through students' participation, for they are young, energetic, passionate, and concerned for their nation's survival and future. Gowen, however, demonstrates his lack of confidence in the CCP by depicting how the CCP-led labor and student movements are abused by the bandits they generate and how the students are used as Communist tools. The leading bandit in Gowen's novel is Wen Fu, a dismissed foreman. Wen Fu's former employer is Douglas, a British missionary. Douglas has been working in the small village of Loshan near the Yangtze River for about fifteen years. He is in charge of one of the two mission compounds in Loshan, which consists of a school, a factory, a hospital, and a church (30). (The other mission compound is run by Douglas's father-in-law, Clifton, a veteran missionary who's been working in China for about three decades.) Wen Fu used to work in Douglas's factory, making towels for the marketplace. Douglas dismisses Wen Fu because he abuses his position by demanding bribes for hiring (40) and by stealing money from his workers (44). In response, Wen Fu falsely accuses Douglas of stealing workers' money and incites workers to strike (44). Although the workers finally choose to trust Douglas after he shows them the account books, Wen Fu's plan of revenge starts to plague Douglas. Not only was he struck on the head by a person suspected to be Wen Fu (103) but his younger brother Stewart and sister-in-law Celia are kidnapped by his cohort (167). (Stewart just arrives in Loshan from England and teaches English in Douglas's mission school. Celia is Douglas's wife's younger sister living with her father Clifton. Stewart lives with his Chinese teacher, Shen lao-ye,¹⁷⁵ who

¹⁷⁵ Shen is the Chinese last name, most likely referring to 沈. Lao-ye is the Romanization of the Chinese term 老爺, an old respectful way to call officials, the powerful, and the master of the

is an old mandarin and Celia's Chinese teacher as well. Wen Fu kidnaps Stewart to revenge on Douglas and kidnaps Celia to get revenge on Clifton. After Douglas dismisses Wen Fu, Clifton shelters him. Nevertheless, after Clifton discovers that Wen Fu does not repent but indulges in alcohol and gambling, he also kicks out Wen Fu.¹⁷⁶) When Stewart and Celia's kidnapping coincides with the student rebellion in Douglas's mission school and the latter is likely to end if Douglas pays the ransom for the former, Douglas suspects it is Wen Fu who instigates the students to rebel as well (183). As Wen Fu appeals to patriotism in provoking workers to revolt against "foreign slave-drivers" like Douglas (45), so the leaders of the student rebellion resort to nationalism in prompting students to resist "the intruding foreigners" and "imperialist slavery" (187). Nonetheless, Gowen denounces those patriotic appeals as only empty emotional words and the Chinese actually do not understand their meanings. As his description of the student rebellion goes, the students would destroy books, smash windows, and return to their homes and their studies after they have uttered their protests against "changes they did not understand" (183). In addition, although the students march defiantly with drums beating and fifes playing, the long streamers they carry are "abusively worded," declaring the indignities they are forced to bear under "foreign slave-drivers" (188). Moreover, like Wen Fu, who steals money from his workers, the leaders of the student rebellion embezzle the money they gather from students (189). In fact, Gowen's criticism of the labor and student movements is directed at the Communists, for he suggests Wen Fu and the student leaders are "planted trouble-makers" for the Communists (91). Even though the Communists have lofty ideals to liberate the Chinese from imperialistic oppression, some of them are merely bandits who abuse labor and student movements for selfish purposes. For Gowen, Communism is a "worse domination" than the imperialism that threatens

family.

¹⁷⁶ Gowen, *Village by the Yangtze* 97-98.

China (91).

(In truth, the Communist abuse of labor and student movements described by Gowen in his novel is not completely fictitious. Some newspapers and books have pointed that out. For example, the *North-China Herald* reported that Chinese merchants in the Concession of Shanghai criticized the leaders of the CCP-supported labor unions for exploiting the membership fees to better their own lives. Ironically, their behavior is no different from that of the imperialists or the capitalists they called to resist against.¹⁷⁷ And Gowen himself mentioned in his memoir that the Communist student instigators in his school embezzled the funds to which they had forced every student to contribute.¹⁷⁸)

The second direction China might take after the 1927 political upheaval is the Chinese nationalism upheld by the KMT led by Chiang Kai-shek, but Gowen is not confident in that direction due to Chiang's connection with the Communists. As discussed before, Gowen's novel shows he has a bad impression of the Communists because some of them are mere bandits who exploit people in the name of liberating them. Hence the fact that Gowen presents a growing Communist influence under the leadership of Chiang when the KMT and the CCP were allies suggests his mistrust of Chiang. Here are some episodes in which Wen Fu, Wen Fu's Communist soldiers, and Communist bandits treat Chiang Kai-shek as their leader: When Wen Fu and his Communist soldiers enter Loshan, partly to carry out the new order of Communism and resist foreign oppression and partly to have Wen Fu's revenge on Douglas and Clifton, Wen Fu wears KMT regalia and declares his intent to punish those who show contempt for Chiang Kai-shek (323). And, after Wen Fu and his soldiers confiscate the Clifton compound and make it their headquarters, they hang pictures of Chiang Kai-shek as well as of Lenin and Karl Marx on the

¹⁷⁷ See "Chinese Merchants' Manifesto." See also Wood 23.

¹⁷⁸ See Gowen, *Sunrise to Sunrise* 119.

wall (333). Moreover, Communist bandits in soldier uniforms deride and humiliate Shen lao-ye and force him to declare fidelity to Chiang Kai-shek and the new order of Communism. Shen lao-ye refuses and is beaten by the soldiers, who then loot his house (348). Furthermore, as Wen Fu finally occupies Douglas's compound, he does that in the name of Chiang Kai-shek, demanding Douglas swear allegiance to the KMT (370).

The third possible direction for China to take is to restore its tradition and past, but Gowen himself does not know exactly how. As pointed out before, the CCP, representing the proletariat, attacked the intellectual class, a component of the middle-class bourgeoisie, of which the KMT was the representative. And the CCP derogated China's cultural heritage, including classical Chinese, classical literature, and Confucianism, which the KMT advocated. Disapproving CCP radicalism, Gowen presents its negative impact on Shen lao-ye's family. Shen lao-ye is a symbol of old China. Passing the imperial exam and advancing to the mandarin class, Shen lao-ye is well versed in the old classics, classical Chinese, and Confucian thought. The 1911 Revolution, which overthrows the Manchu Dynasty, destroys his career. He rejects allegiance to the Chinese Republic because he detests the greed, hatred, and dissension brought by the politics of soldiers and schoolboys. He also does not show enthusiasm for the changes brought by foreign missionaries—Clifton's preaching and Douglas's towel-making activities. He prefers to live in the old Chinese way, writing calligraphy, tutoring his children, and visiting ruined temples (66-67). His frail eldest son, Mien-ho, and Celia, born and growing up in China, also love old China as he does. After Mien-ho dies and Stewart and Celia are released by their kidnappers, the latter two notice that Communist propaganda starts to shake the Shen family. (Mien-ho loves Celia, so he braves the trip to see and save Celia during her kidnapping. After that, his health goes down and he finally dies. Celia and Stewart eventually are released by the bandit leader Ch'en Fei-lo, who becomes powerful because he reveals Wen Fu's conspiracy to pocket the

ransom himself. When Wen Fu brings soldiers from the Communist forces for revenge on Ch'en, Ch'en decides to let Stewart and Celia go without taking the ransom, for they have become his burden.)¹⁷⁹ Mien-wen and Sung-wei, Shen lao-ye's second son and first daughter, despise the old poets and "cryptic style of the classics" as the Communists do (277). And they parrot the Communists in declaiming against the Western invasion and in expecting new leaders to liberate the China from "foreigners' greed and lies" (277). Mien-wen further shows contempt for scholarship, which for him is "a worthless achievement" (284), and enlists as a soldier to fight in the revolution without notifying his parents (289). Many old men in the village bemoan the loss of tradition and the loss of children's respect for parents after they learn of Mien-wen's breach with his family (293). Mien-wen's defiant deed wins admiration from Sung-wei and other young students, but Gowen suggests his disapproval by describing Sung-wei's regret over her and Mien-wen's Communist leaning. Sung-wei comes to realize the cruelty of the revolution she looks forward to after Shen lao-ye kills himself due to the humiliation he receives from the Communist bandits, who force him to swear fidelity to Chiang Kai-shek (348).

Not stopping at describing the negative effects of Chinese Communism, Gowen further suggests countering it by reclaiming China's past. Gowen's retro approach is similar to that of the KMT, despite his mistrust of Chiang Kai-shek. In the novel, Gowen's retro yearning is manifested in the characters' search for a lost poem written a thousand years ago by the antiquated poet Wei-Mo, which is not only a wonder of China but a token of China's past and tradition. Interested in classical Chinese literature, Celia and Mien-ho spend hours together visiting Wei-Mo's bower to search for the poem. However, it is Stewart who accidentally finds the poem first. Stewart takes Celia to see the inscribed stone and Celia copies the characters on paper. Although Celia can read each character, she cannot grasp the meaning of the poem when

¹⁷⁹ See Gowen, *Village by the Yangtze*, ch. 19-23.

putting all the characters together. She suspects Wei-Mo has rearranged the characters deliberately to conceal their meaning (315). She then seeks help from Shen lao-ye and asks him to translate and decipher the poem. To understand the meaning of Wei-Mo's immortal lines is of great significance to Celia for two reasons. First, the poem is a sort of last will and testament of the old China she loves (316). She does not think China needs any reform. She prefers to remember China before the violence and ugliness brought by republics, machines, labor unions, and nationalist fever beset it (59). In her view, the old ways are "far more rewarding" (115) and the old China is "a cultured nation" (267), respecting scholarship (59) and symbolizing "dignity" (35), "wisdom" (59), "gentleness" (59), "loyalty" (206), "tradition" (206), "truth" (291), "beauty" (291), and "mystery" (315). Second, the poem has been Celia and Mien-ho's dream. Now that Mien-ho is dead, the poem is Celia's final link with him (322). Unfortunately, Shen lao-ye's translation of Wei-Mo's poem is interrupted by Communist bandits intruding into his house and remains unfinished due to his suicide. After Shen lao-ye's death, Celia visits his study to pay the last tribute. She finds his translation on one unfinished parchment lying beside the ink-stone. The translation goes: "We rest, and come no more awaking / To trouble those we loved . . ." (350). Seeing Wei-Mo's lines as suggesting her release from the past, Celia laments that the China she loves is gone. She then tears the parchment into small pieces, giving the lost poem back to the ages (350).

Several aspects of Wei-Mo's poem suggest that Gowen himself is uncertain about the viability of the retro approach to help China. First, Celia's search for Wei-Mo's poem is in fact an unfulfilled quest because Shen lao-ye's deciphering the poem is left unfinished and the deciphered part, destroyed by Celia, is lost forever. Second, Wei-Mo's lines deciphered by Shen lao-ye seem to suggest that China's past is unrecoverable. Third, Wei-Mo's obscure identity hints at Gowen's uncertainty. Judging from the facts that Wei-Mo's poem is written a thousand years

ago (321) before the novel's setting in 1926 and 1927 and Wei-Mo's characters are used before the Tang dynasty (315), Gowen means to present Wei-Mo as a Tang poet. Nevertheless, there is actually no well-known Tang poet named Wei-Mo. He is most likely a fictitious figure of Gowen's. Compared to any factual poet, Gowen's reference to an imaginary poet is less stable and generates more ambiguity.

The fourth course of action for China to take after the KMT-CCP split in 1927 is to rely on foreign missions, but China's surging nationalism makes that course unfeasible. In the novel, Douglas symbolizes the obstructed missionary effort in China. He recalls that fifteen years ago the Chinese in Loshan were disease-ridden, impoverished, and hopeless and the village elders welcomed him "as a god com[ing] from beyond the rising sun to rescue them" (298). Indeed, Douglas has brought them prosperity, hope, and dignity: they are well paid for working in his factory and they receive medical treatment in the mission hospital he supervises (299). However, they lack respect for him now. Nationalist calls to resist "imperialism" and "foreign abuse" (299) have made him their "enemy" (300). They now call him "a capitalist" (300) and make unreasonable demands from him about their work and payment. Their misperception that he would rather protect himself than act to save Steward and Celia from kidnapping makes them ridicule him as "a coward" (298). What is worse, Wen Fu's revenge plan of occupying Loshan threatens his work. When the Consul orders all British subjects to evacuate Loshan, Douglas insists on staying. Dedication and a sense of duty make him unable to abandon his entire life's work there. After Wen Fu finally occupies Douglas's compound, Douglas is struck dead by Wen Fu. The fact that Douglas's missionary work ends in failure suggests that foreign missions would not work for China after the 1927 political upheaval. In a time of nationalist ferment, foreigners would not be welcomed by the Chinese. That anti-foreign agitation is clearly shown in Celia's experience of being assaulted by Chinese students. When Celia leaves Shen lao-ye's place after

reading his translation of Wei-Mo's poem, a group of Chinese students parading through the streets pelt her with the sticks of their flags inscribed with slogans of hate and shout obscene invectives. Celia is surprised at what has happened to her: "She had felt so safe, sure that because she loved China the Chinese could not fail to love her and think of her as one of them. That sudden assault had torn away her illusions, left her weak with doubts. Unbelievable as it seemed, she now realized that in their eyes she was merely another 'foreign devil' to be expelled from their land" (322).

As discussed before, both Nagel's *Ah Sin* and Gowen's *Sun and Moon* suggest China should reform toward the Western model. However, Gowen's *Village by the Yangtze* demonstrates that the Western way does not work for China, nor does Communism, KMT nationalism, or a quest to reclaim China's past. The complexity of China's post-1927 politics defies a simple solution, leaving Gowen unsure about where China should go. Compared with Nagel's facile optimism about Chiang Kai-shek and the missionary enterprise, Gowen's uncertainty in *Village by the Yangtze* suggests a deeper engagement with the China problem. Nonetheless, Gowen's assimilation into the Chinese political scene is still partial. While he mistrusts Communism due to the way the KMT-CCP alliance led to Communist bandits who abuse the labor movement, he fails to see the fundamental cause for the rise of Communism—its appeal to farmers and workers attempting to change their poor living conditions. Furthermore, Gowen's sole focus on negative consequences of the KMT-CCP alliance suggests he does not identify with the nationalist cause the Chinese pursue. His description of how that pursuit generates abuse and blindness implies, rather, his critique of it.

To sum up, although both Nagel and Gowen both misunderstand the Chinese scene in various ways, Gowen's engagement with Chinese culture is far deeper than Nagel's, as shown by Gowen's extensive knowledge of Chinese marriage customs and classical Chinese literature.

Furthermore, Gowen's problematizing the possibility of cultural assimilation and identification suggests he considers the cultural difference between China and the West more deeply than Nagel, who merely endorses Western culture and wants to impose it on China.

Table 1. Category of the landed peasantry

Category	Size of land held under cultivation (in <i>mu</i>)	Percentage within the landed peasantry	Percentage of land held
Poor peasants	1-10	44	6
Middle peasants	10-30	24	13
Rich peasants	30-50	16	17
Small and middle landlords	50-100	9	19
Big landlords	More than 100	5	43

(Source: Tu di wei yuan hui 2)

Table 2. Tenant debts

(a)	Annual income	
1.	tenant's share after rent (= crops from one picul of seeds- $\frac{1}{2}$ goes to rent)	13.5 piculs (=27 piculs-13.5 piculs)
2.	value of tenant's share after rent (one picul of crops worth \$6)	13.5*\$6=\$81
3.	rice stalks	\$3
Total		\$84
(b)	Annual expenditure	
1	fertilizer	\$30
2	seed	\$5
3	depreciation of tools	\$5
4	meals (=\$0.15 per day*365 days)	\$54
Total		\$94
(c)	Balance (=annual income-annual outlay)	\$-10 (=\$84-\$94)

(Source: Peng, "Haifeng nong min yun dong" 106-07)

Table 3. Wages in Shanghai cotton mills, 1925 (The letter J following the name of the mill refers to the mill as Japanese-owned; the letter C, Chinese owned.)

Job Mill	Willowing	Combing	Roving	Spinning	Reeling and packaging
Nei wai mian 內外棉 (J)	0.28-0.39	0.28-0.47	0.3-0.45	0.31-0.46	0.3-0.4
Feng tian 豐田 (J)	0.31-0.42	0.31-0.44	0.3-0.4	0.33-0.4	0.33-0.4
Tong xing 同興 (J)	0.4-0.45	0.35-0.39	0.37	0.3-0.4	0.32-0.4
Shen xin 申新 (C)	0.31-0.35	0.31-0.35	0.31-0.37	0.2-0.27	0.37-0.4
Gong yi 公益 (C)	0.36	0.35	0.36-0.4	0.25-0.4	0.35-0.4
Da feng 大豐 (C)	0.31-0.35	0.29-0.31	0.29-0.35	0.23-0.34	0.33-0.39
Yong yu 永豫 (C)	0.35-0.4	0.3-0.36	0.31-0.35	0.2-0.25	0.35-0.39
Zhen tai 振泰 (C)	0.35-0.4	0.3-0.34	0.26-0.36	0.24-0.36	0.34-0.39
Chong xin 崇信 (C)	0.3-0.36	0.3-0.32	0.3-0.36	0.36	0.36-0.38

Photograph 2. Vincent H. Gowen (Courtesy of Geoffrey Gowen)



Conclusion

All the American missionary novelists discussed in the previous three chapters fail to identify with Chinese culture despite their engagement with different Chinese historical events and Chinese cultural practices. As a pioneering missionary novelist, Davis sets his novels (*The Chinese Slave-Girl*, *Leng Tso*, *Choh Lin*, and *The Young Mandarin*) against the nineteenth-century Taiping rebellion. This rebellion against Manchu rule was led by Chinese Christian converts, whose tenets were inspired by Christianity. Although Davis is a reliable reporter of the rebellion, he falls silent about how Taiping tenets deviate from Christianity—something every missionary should have known and a key factor in their change of attitude toward the Taipings from sympathy to rejection. Davis's silence on the subject suggests a missionary's single-minded fervor in wanting to show only the growing influence of Christianity in China, which would encourage more participation in missionary work in China. The fact that his novels were published by the Student Missionary Campaign Library, the Presbyterian Board, and the Congregational Sunday School further points to the training and propagandist nature of his fiction. In it, Davis adopts a critical attitude toward the Chinese religious system and its practices. Despite his rich knowledge of these, he focuses exclusively on their superstitious and idolatrous elements and their failure to offer solace to those who experience hardships and social turmoil such as the Taiping rebellion. In Davis's view, Christianity offers a better alternative, for it is not superstitious or idolatrous, has healing power, and is a path to a rewarding religious career. Davis encourages not only Westerners but also the Chinese to do missionary work, a career choice especially significant for Chinese women. In traditional Chinese society, women occupy a low status. Treated as inferior to men, Chinese women could be sold as slaves in childhood. Davis believes that if they work as Bible women, they will not only help spread the gospel but help themselves to live independently.

After Davis, both Cory and Abbott set their novels in the teens, a crucial transitional period as China sought to modernize through the West. After China's defeat in the Opium War in the mid-nineteenth century, the Qing government made several Western-style reforms in order to strengthen its national power. However, their ineffectiveness and the corrupt character of the Qing government prompted Dr. Sun Yat-sen to lead the 1911 revolution, which overthrew the Qing government and established the Chinese Republic. A democratic government modeled on the West, the new Republic catalyzed the Chinese impulse to emulate the West in a multitude of ways. Hence the 1910s marked a high point in China's development. In fact, not only the Chinese themselves but many Western observers of China saw Westernization as the way for China to modernize and survive. Cory's *The Trail to the Hearts of Men* and Abbott's *Within the Four Seas* are two novelistic representations of this thinking. But because of their missionary identity, Cory and Abbott emphasize Christianity as the medium that will bring Western civilization to China. In other words, for Cory and Abbott, the benefit of Christianity is not merely religious. It can help reform China's non-religious aspects (its political system, hygiene, and the custom of arranged marriage) as well. In this sense, their view of the function of Christianity is broader than Davis's. For Davis, the advantage of Christianity is mainly religious. He stresses that believing in Christianity is rewarding spiritually. Eager to change China socially through Christianity, however, Cory and Abbott are not interested in any deep engagement with the Chinese scene in their novels.

Chinese confidence in the West dwindled in the late 1910s for a variety of reasons. First, the West supported Japan's unjustifiable move at the Versailles Peace Conference in Paris to occupy Shandong. Second, the West recognized and financed provisional president Yuan Shikai's Beijing government despite the fact that Yuan actually attempted to restore emperorship. In order to defend the Chinese Republic, Sun Yan-sen established a military government in Guangzhou,

but the West refused to recognize or finance it. The Chinese then fixed their hope on Russia, which offered to abolish unequal treaties and renounce privileges in China, and whose successful revolution impressed the Chinese. Detesting Western imperialism and respecting Russia, the China began to study socialism. It became a fad in the 1920s and the Chinese Communist Party (CCP) was established in 1921. Russian influence in China reached a high point when Sun Yat-sen decided to ally the Kuomintang (the KMT, the Nationalist Party that helped him to establish the Republic) with Russia and the CCP. That alliance, crystalized by the Sun-Joffe manifesto in 1923, helped push forward the Chinese revolution against imperial powers, warlords, and landlords because Russia offered Sun arms, funds, and military advisers and the CCP mobilized peasants and workers to participate in the revolution. However, the fact that Russia and the CCP also exploited that alliance to enhance their influence in China in order to finally subvert the KMT led to Chiang Kai-shek's decision to purge the party in 1927. The breakup of that alliance made Chinese people take sides in deciding where China should go.

Both Nagel and Gowen explore the Russia-KMT-CCP alliance in the 1920s in their novels but their concerns are different. In *Ah Sin*, Nagel is mainly concerned with religious issues. He worries that that alliance will deter the development of Christian missionary work in China because of the atheistic nature of Communism. Hence he supports Chiang's purging the KMT. And, owing to Chiang's Christian belief, Nagel is confident the KMT under Chiang's leadership is the way for China to go after the split. Nagel's standpoint shows that he endorses whatever will advance missionary work, which in fact hints at his indifference to other concerns of the Chinese.. As for Gowen, he criticizes the KMT-CCP alliance as generating Communist bandits in *Village by the Yangtze* but neglects to observe that Chinese workers' poor living conditions are the fundamental cause behind the rise of Chinese Communism. Despite this, Gowen has a deeper engagement with the Chinese scene than Nagel, for Gowen notices the complexity of China's

post-1927 situation and points out that Westernization, Communism, the KMT, and reclamation of China's past are all too facile solutions to China's problems after 1927.

In addition to tackling China's political scene, both Nagel and Gowen explore China's marriage customs in their novels. Nagel adopts a Christian take on the Chinese problem of concubinage in *Ah Shin* and suggests conversion to Christianity as the solution. In probing the custom of arranged marriage in *Sun and Moon*, Gowen criticizes the practice and suggests a need for the Chinese to follow the Western way of choosing one's own spouse. Both Nagel's and Gowen's negligence of the fact that in China's agricultural society concubinage and arranged marriage sometimes are economically useful skews their treatment of the issues.

Of all the missionary writers discussed in the three chapters, Gowen is the most unique. Unlike many missionaries, Gowen went to China for non-religious motives. Thus his novels do not feature conversion and his attitude toward China is less condescending than that of other missionary novelists. By comparison, Gowen has a greater interest in and a better understanding of classical Chinese literature, the Chinese family system, and Chinese marriage customs. Nonetheless, he does not consider assimilation and identification in a cross-cultural context possible. As is shown in his *Sun and Moon*, Gowen presents blood as an unbridgeable cultural gap that interferes with cultural assimilation and identification.

Epilogue

The story of American missionary novels set in China continues after the 1920s but its post-1920s chapter is marked by two significant changes. First, some American missionary novelists start to show a deeper and more intense identification with China. While, all pre-1930 American missionary novelists assimilate to the Chinese scene to some extent, all of them fail to identify with China, for they all criticize China in different ways. After the 1920s, while American missionary novelists continue to add Chinese elements to their novels in order to enhance their authenticity and to introduce China to the West, a number of them differ from their pre-1930 fellow writers by adopting a less critical stance on China and showing more sympathy for the Chinese. Second, post-1920s American missionary novels become increasingly distant from their Chinese settings. As demonstrated before, all pre-1930 American missionary novelists engage with China's political and social events in their novels: John A. Davis with the nineteenth-century Taiping Rebellion; Abram Edward Cory and Paul Richard Abbott with the Chinese impulse to reform China through the West in the 1910s; Sherman A. Nagel with the Russia-KMT-CCP alliance and Vincent H. Gowen with the burgeoning labor movement in the 1920s. While post-1920s American missionary novelists continue to engage with China's political and social scene, some of them differ from earlier writers in shying away from deep engagement: they either do not specify the setting of their stories or do not have much response to it. Their growing detachment suggests they find it hard to face the changes going on in China and feel nostalgia for the past, but this nostalgia carries a two-fold meaning. For the writers who identify with China, their nostalgia is for the past, that is, China before its Westernization and nationalist crisis. For writers who do not identify with China, their nostalgia is for the missionary past—in their view, the missionary enterprise is still *the* answer to all China's problems.

Naomi Lane Babson, Pearl Buck, and Cornelia Spencer (1899-1994) are three major

post-1920s American missionary novelists who identify with China, but Babson's identification is the deepest, for she embraces China's status quo, including the changes Buck and Spencer do not want to address. Born in Pigeon Cove, near Rockport, on Cape Ann, Massachusetts on 30 November 1895, Babson taught several years in country schools in Massachusetts and Connecticut after finishing high school in 1913. From 1920 to 1922, she took courses at Radcliffe College as a special student, majoring in English. After that she went to China in 1922 through the mission board (the United Board for Christian Higher Education in Asia) and taught the children of Western faculty and staff (grade one to four) at the Western School on the campus of Canton Christian College (*Ling nan xue xiao* 嶺南學校) in Guangzhou 廣州, Guangdong 廣東 Province, China. Babson's decision to go to China happened by chance. One of her friends could not commit to the job and Babson took it over. She was driven more by a spirit of adventure than by a sense of evangelical enthusiasm. On the ship to China, she met her future husband Paul A. Grieder 基來度, who was to be a professor of English at Canton Christian College. Because the Board prohibited marriage, Babson and Grieder returned to the U.S. in 1926 to get married. In 1928, they returned to Canton Christian College, which had been renamed Lingnan University (*Ling nan da xue* 嶺南大學) in 1927. There they remained until 1934, when the death of their first son and concerns about their second son's health forced them to return to the U.S. They went back to China again in 1948 because of Grieder's Fulbright professorship, but returned to the U.S. again in 1949 due to the Communist takeover. Had history permitted, Babson and her husband would have been happy to spend their entire lives in China. They came to love China and the friends they made there. Despite their meager salaries, they enjoyed the life that foreigners lived in China in those years. As Babson and her husband's work at Canton Christian College was supported by the mission board, they were listed as missionaries in the *Directory of Protestant Missions in China*. However, neither Babson nor her husband

thought of themselves as missionaries (Babson was an Episcopalian.). Skeptical or critical of the evangelistic and proselytizing missionary enterprise, they saw themselves as educators instead. After marriage, Babson did not resume teaching but devoted herself to writing. In her novels set in America, her native New England figures large. In her many short stories set in China (which were published in *Good Housekeeping*, *Saturday Evening Post*, *Collier's*, *McCall's*, *Good Housekeeping*, etc. from the late 1930s up until the 1950s) as well as her long novel set in China, *All the Tomorrows*, she expressed her love and awe for China and her admiration and respect for the Chinese.¹

Published in 1939 by Reynal and Hitchcock, a commercial publishing company in New York, *All the Tomorrows* features not China's conversion to Christianity but its patriotism when China's nationhood is under foreign threat. This novel is about the Chinese Lo family's four generation span from 1862 to 1937 and beyond, but Babson specifically foregrounds two political events indicative of a heightened sense of Chinese nationalism. The first is the May Thirtieth Movement followed by the May Thirtieth Incident in 1925; the second is the second Sino-Japanese War in 1937. As explained before, the May Thirtieth Incident resulted from capital-labor disputes in a Japanese-owned cotton mill in Shanghai. The police of the Shanghai Municipal Council opened fire on Chinese participating in a mass demonstration against the

¹ My description of Babson's life and her view of China and the Chinese comes from three sources. First, and the major source, Jerome B. Grieder, Letter to the author, 27 March 2010. (Jerome Grieder, born in Canton in 1932, is Babson's son, an emeritus professor of history at Brown University, and author of the book *Hu Shih and the Chinese Renaissance*). Second, Anne Lane, "Naomi Lane Babson," *Wilson Library Bulletin* 27.2 (1952): 114. Third, Babson's student files in Radcliffe College Student Files, 1890-1985, RG XXI, series 1, box 5, Radcliffe College Archives, Schlesinger Library, Radcliffe Institute, Harvard University, Cambridge, Massachusetts. One can use *Reader's Guide to Periodical Literature* to locate Babson's short stories.

Council's partisanship for Japan. The death and injury of Chinese in the conflict led to nationwide anti-foreign activities, including boycotts and strikes against Great Britain and Japan. In the novel, Jade, a fourth generation member of the Lo family, feels indignant about the fact that in China foreigners are safer than the Chinese (239) and so is driven to participate in the anti-foreign parade of the May Thirtieth Movement, despite family objection. (Most Chinese in the novel have English names.) As a patriot, Jade's life philosophy is to work for the whole nation not for a single individual (274). Babson's reference to the May Thirtieth Incident/Movement is significant, for neither Nagel nor Gowen mentions it in their novels set in 1920s-China. As discussed before, Nagel is mainly concerned about the impact of the KMT-CCP-Russia alliance on missionary work and says nothing about how that alliance leads to burgeoning peasant and labor movements in China. Although Gowen notices the labor movement in China, he criticizes its abuse by Chinese Communists but neglects Chinese laborers' poor living condition as its fundamental cause. Like Nagel and Gowen, Babson does not present Chinese laborers' poor living conditions, either. But her reference to the May Thirtieth Movement caused initially by Chinese labor problems suggests her awareness of them. In addition, Babson does not criticize Chinese anti-foreign activity from a foreigner's standpoint. Instead, she explicitly describes her character Jade's anti-foreign sentiment and her participation in the May Thirtieth Movement. Clearly, Babson sides with the Chinese. She not only understands Chinese people's patriotic concern at that time but is in support of it. Emotionally, she is much closer to the Chinese than Nagel and Gowen.

Although Babson's description of the May Thirtieth Movement as a case of Sino-Western conflict conforms to history, she actually has a utopian view in expecting China and the West to "meet in accord," as can be seen from the amicable relationship between her Chinese and Western characters. They develop love affairs (as shown between Apricot and Philip, Pearl and

Glen, Felix and Mary), friendship (as shown in the episode about Pearl and Jade's kidnapping), and quasi-parent-child relationships (as shown between Felix and Suzy). In other words, in describing the relationship between her Chinese and Western characters, Babson deliberately reverses the Sino-Western conflict prevalent in history as a way to express her ideal about Sino-Western relations. In contrast to Vincent Gowen's realistic view that "East and West could never meet in accord" (*Village by the Yangtze* 269), Babson appears to be idealistic. Nonetheless, her utopian expectation suggests she cares more about the Chinese than Gowen, for in Sino-Western conflicts it is usually the Chinese who fall victim to the more powerful West.

The second political event Babson engages to highlight Chinese patriotism is the second Sino-Japanese War, which breaks out in 1937. In the novel, Jade and her two brothers of a different mother all choose to join the Chinese Communist Party as a way to devote themselves to the anti-Japan cause. Babson's description that the young generation of the Lo family is willing to sacrifice a life of comfort to serve their country suggests her admiration for them. In fact, Babson has not only respect but also sympathy for the patriotic Chinese. In the novel, Jade's daughter Freedom, though only ten years old, chooses to support Communist work against Japan as Jade does. However, Freedom is killed by the Japanese in an air raid and Jade's family is thus fragmented. Babson's portrayal of the Chinese as victims in the war between China and Japan hints at her sympathy for the Chinese.

Moreover, Babson's identification with China can also be detected in her embracing its social change without criticism. As pointed out before, *All the Tomorrows* is a story about the Chinese Lo family's four generations from the late Qing up to the second Sino-Japanese War and beyond. In a sense, the story, with the dominance of female characters, can be seen as a history of Chinese women, reflecting the change in their social roles. In the mid-nineteenth century, when foot-binding was still prevalent, China confined women to domesticity. Around the 1911

revolution, the desire to modernize China, using a Western model, brought forth the idea of gender equality and the endeavor to abolish old-fashioned cultural practices such as arranged marriage, concubinage, and foot-binding. In this way, women began to have more access to education, freedom in choosing their spouses, and ability to work. In the novel, *Fragrant Incense* as a concubine of low social status in the old China is contrasted to Pearl as an educated woman and Jade as an educated social activist in the new China. The contrast is also shown in their clothing: *Fragrant Incense* wears “golden lotus shoes” (tiny shoes for bound feet), Pearl wears high-heeled shoes, and Jade a Communist soldier’s uniform. Although Babson is cognizant of Chinese women’s changing roles, she presents herself as an objective observer and refrains from taking sides regarding China’s social change. Babson’s neutral stance, differing from the dominant Western and Chinese viewpoint in favor of a Westernized and modernized China, shows her receptive attitude toward China, whether it changes or not.

Although Babson’s expectation of Sino-Western relations is unrealistic, her view of China’s social change is not, for she realistically depicts the fact that some traditional Chinese cultural concepts are not easy to eradicate even after China’s modernization. In the novel, Felix receives education in mission schools. Regarding China as a backward country, he endorses China’s Westernization. Nevertheless, when he has only daughters many years after marriage, he begins to want sons as heirs. He finds himself self-contradictory in espousing an idea of the old China, which he hates, but eventually he still accepts his mother’s arrangement and marries another wife, who bears him two sons. Babson’s description about the long-established Chinese ideology that favors sons over daughters suggests not only her deep assimilation to Chinese culture but also her identification with China, for she accepts, without criticism, what may be seen as a sign of China’s backwardness in the new China.

Furthermore, Babson’s satire on the missionary enterprise suggests her identification with

China. As shown before, in order to gain popular support for missionary work in China, dogmatic missionary novelists (John A. Davis, Abram Edward Cory, Paul Richard Abbott, and Sherman A. Nagel) tend to emphasize that Christianity can help people in all circumstances, especially those who suffer the extremes of danger and pain, but Chinese religious beliefs cannot. As a counter to the dogmatic missionaries' unrealistic approach, Babson's Chinese Christian character Fern fails to find solace in Christianity in the wake of her abortion.

Like Babson, Pearl S(ydenstricker) Buck is another American missionary novelist deeply assimilated to the Chinese scene who strongly identifies with China. Born in Hillsboro, West Virginia on 26 June 1892, Buck was brought to China, at the age of three months, by her American Southern Presbyterian missionary parents, Absalom Sydenstricker 賽兆祥 (1852–1931) and Caroline Stulting Sydenstricker (1857–1921), to resume their missionary work there. Buck's parents began their work in China in 1880 and Buck was born when they returned to the U.S. for furlough. Unlike many missionaries who had a condescending view of China and the Chinese, Buck's parents believed that Chinese civilization, including its philosophy and religions, was worth study and respect. They saw the Chinese as their equals and forbade their children to use the term "heathen" when referring to the Chinese.² They asked their children to be as polite to their Chinese servants as they were to guests and elders.³ Buck's parents' embracing attitude toward China and the Chinese made them give Buck a bicultural education in her childhood. In the morning, Buck used American schoolbooks for learning, purchased by her

² Buck, *My Several Worlds* 66-67. Like many dogmatic missionaries, Buck had used the term "heathen" to refer to the Chinese and had criticized the Chinese as having "degradation," "wickedness," and "sin" when she and her first husband John Lossing Buck 卜凱 (1890-1975) were in Anhui, but her use of those terms was rare and related to her frustration in marriage. Conn 65-66.

³ Buck, *My Several Worlds* 57.

mother in compliance with the Calvert System.⁴ In the afternoon, Buck learned to read and write Chinese from a Chinese Confucian tutor, to whom she bowed in the Chinese way. The tutor expounded on Buck's readings, instilled Confucian ethics in her, and taught her about *Guanyin* 觀音, a compassionate Bodhisattva venerated in China. He also liked to quote from the Bible to prove his liberal Confucian mind.⁵ In addition to her course work, Buck showed interest in both Western and Chinese literatures. She read William Shakespeare (1564-1616), Walter Scott (1771-1832), William Makepeace Thackeray (1811-1863), Charles Dickens (1812-1870), George Eliot (1819-1880), and Mark Twain (1835-1910).⁶ Of these authors, Dickens was one of her favorites, which she began to read at the age of seven and thereafter re-read many times.⁷ The cook in Buck's family told her stories from the Chinese classics, *The Romance of the Three Kingdoms*, *All Men are Brothers*, and *The Dream of the Red Chamber*,⁸ which Buck's Chinese tutor may have taught her as well. Buck also liked to see the plays performed by the troupes of travelling actors, from which she became familiar with Chinese history, knowing the heroes of the ages.⁹ Besides, Buck's receptive attitude toward things Chinese can also be seen from her liking for Chinese food. In secrecy, she often had breakfast within the servants' quarters and had dinner with her amah (nurse).¹⁰ Buck's daily association with the Chinese made Mandarin Chinese her childhood language,¹¹ which she was able to speak as if it were her native tongue.¹²

⁴ Buck, *My Several Worlds* 51.

⁵ Buck, *My Several Worlds* 29, 47-48, 51-53.

⁶ Buck, *My Several Worlds* 60-61.

⁷ Buck, *My Several Worlds* 25, 75.

⁸ Buck, *My Several Worlds* 57.

⁹ Buck, *My Several Worlds* 26.

¹⁰ Buck, *My Several Worlds* 22.

¹¹ Buck, *My Several Worlds* 44.

¹² Buck, *My Several Worlds* 70.

Despite Buck's deep engagement with Chinese, the anti-foreign agitation around the Boxer Rebellion in 1900 made her aware she was not Chinese and that China was only her adopted country. The street urchins called her "little foreign devil"¹³ and her family moved from Zhenjiang 鎮江, Jiansu 江蘇 Province, to take a temporary shelter in Shanghai, which, as pointed out before, was governed mainly by foreigners.

After Buck's Chinese tutor died in 1905, she went to a mission school for girls.¹⁴ Then she attended Miss Jewell's School in Shanghai, a school in China for Western boys and girls¹⁵ and worked at the Door of Hope, a rescue home for Chinese slave girls who had cruel mistresses, where Buck taught the girls to sew, knit, and embroider.¹⁶ After graduating from Randolph Macon College at Lynchburg, Virginia, U.S. in 1914, Buck decided to return to China due to her mother's illness. Through the Presbyterian Board of Foreign Missions, she secured teaching positions in Zhenjiang, one of which was to teach English to senior high school students.¹⁷ In 1917, she married John Lossing Buck, an agricultural economist missionary working for the Presbyterian Mission Board to conduct research into farming methods and teach them to the Chinese. After marriage, Buck and her husband moved to "Nanhsüchou" in Anhui 安徽 province due to her husband's work.¹⁸ Buck's observation of farmers' lives there later became the base of her novel *The Good Earth* (1931). In late 1919, after two and a half years' stay in "Nanhsüchou," the Bucks moved to Nanjing. There, at the University of Nanjing (*Jin ling da xue* 金陵大學), a Christian University, Pearl Buck taught English and John Buck was professor and

¹³ Buck, *My Several Worlds* 32.

¹⁴ Buck, *My Several Worlds* 60.

¹⁵ Buck, *My Several Worlds* 64.

¹⁶ Buck, *My Several Worlds* 69.

¹⁷ Buck, *My Several Worlds* 97, 100, 102.

¹⁸ Buck, *My Several Worlds* 135. Chinese sources refer to "Nanhsüchou" as the city of Suzhou 宿州 in northern Anhui.

head of the department of agricultural economics.¹⁹ In 1925, the Bucks returned to the U.S. in order to seek medical treatment for their only child Carol, who showed signs of abnormality, and to pursue masters' degrees from Cornell University, M.S. for John Buck and M.A. in English for Pearl Buck.²⁰ After that they returned to China and encountered the anti-foreign Nanjing Incident in 1927. A poor Chinese woman, whom Buck had helped before, let the Buck family hide in her house and Buck's Chinese servants protected her belongings from being looted. Soon American gunboats took the Buck family to Shanghai. They then sailed to Japan and stayed there for one year before getting back to Nanjing. The Chinese help Buck received in the Nanjing Incident and its aftermath touched her and she modeled her novel *The Mother* (1933) after one of her women servants in Nanjing.²¹

Upon returning to Nanjing, Buck devoted herself to writing partly because she was interested in it and partly because she had to pay for special care for Carol, who had been diagnosed with phenylketonuria (PKU). In 1929, Buck returned to the U.S. again, seeking long-term care for Carol. She finally enrolled Carol at the Vineland Training School in Vineland, New Jersey.²² In the meantime, Richard Walsh, editor and president at John Day Company in New York, accepted Buck's novel *East Wind: West Wind* and published it in 1930. (Walsh later became Buck's second husband.) After returning to Nanjing, Buck continued writing and published another novel *The Good Earth* in 1931, which immediately became a hit and for which Buck was awarded the Pulitzer Prize in 1932.²³ However, as her literary fame rose, her

¹⁹ Buck, *My Several Worlds* 176, 190; Conn 70; "Buck, J[ohn] Lossing."

²⁰ Conn 78.

²¹ Buck, *My Several Worlds* 206-24.

²² Buck's book *The Child Who Never Grew* (1950) was about her personal experience with Carol.

²³ Some American critics objected to Buck's winning the Pulitzer Prize because she was a

relationship with the Presbyterian mission board deteriorated due to her public stance against the missionary enterprise in China, expressed in her 1932 talk entitled “Is There a Case for Foreign Missions?”²⁴ In Buck’s view, missionaries were often ignorant of China and arrogant in their attempts to change it. Buck’s talk caused great a sensation among missionary groups and finally led to her break with the mission board. She then resigned the position she held at Nanjing University and returned to the U.S. in 1934. As a matter of fact, since her childhood, Buck had seen missionary work as a deterrent to building friendships with the Chinese. Therefore, while she respected her father’s religious fervor to convert the Chinese, she never asked her Chinese friends to adopt the Christian faith.²⁵ She also came to the conclusion that missionaries went to China more because they wanted to fulfill their own spiritual need than because they loved the people²⁶ and that evangelism was abhorrent, for she could never preach or persuade people to change their religion.²⁷ Moreover, the Nanjing Incident made her realize that the missionaries were one of the causes of Chinese hatred of the West.²⁸ Lastly, Buck’s anti-mission stance can be seen from her self-perception. Like Babson, Buck saw herself as a teacher rather than a missionary, despite the fact that her job at Nanjing University was supported by the mission board.²⁹

woman and because the prize was an American prize but *The Good Earth* was about Chinese peasants and Buck did not live in the U.S. See *My Several Worlds* 347-48. *The Good Earth* was also awarded the William Dean Howells Medal in 1935.

²⁴ The talk was published by John Day Company in 1932.

²⁵ Buck, *My Several Worlds* 60.

²⁶ Buck, *My Several Worlds* 51.

²⁷ Buck, *My Several Worlds* 96, 371.

²⁸ See Conn 95.

²⁹ Buck, *My Several Worlds* 109. Buck did not see her husband John Lossing as a missionary, either; she saw him as an agriculturalist (Buck, *My Several Worlds* 129). Although Buck did not see herself as a missionary, she did participate in the evangelistic work when she was in Anhui,

Whether in China or in the U.S., writing played an important part in Buck's life. In 1938, she was awarded the Nobel Prize in Literature "for her rich and truly epic descriptions of peasant life in China and for her biographical masterpieces."³⁰ The prize was not for *The Good Earth* alone but for the whole body of her work.³¹ At that time, Buck's work was mainly composed of novels set in China and biographies of her parents. The novels: *East Wind: West Wind* (1931), *The Good Earth* (1931), *Sons* (1932), *The Young Revolutionist* (1932), *The Mother* (1934), and *A House Divided* (1935). (Among them *The Good Earth*, *Sons*, and *A House Divided* composed the trilogy of *The House of the Earth*.) The biographies of her parents, published in 1936: *The Exile* (about her mother) and *Fighting Angel* (about her father).³² Despite Nobel Prize recognition, Buck's novels were criticized by both Chinese and American critics. Some Chinese regarded Buck's novels about Chinese peasants as smearing the image of the Chinese. Some Americans criticized Buck as merely a storyteller, and her reputation was also lowered by the fact that her optimistic view of life ran against the pessimistic trend in contemporary literature.³³

Despite the uneven reception of Buck's writing, her novel *The Good Earth* was a U.S. 1930s bestseller. In it, Buck expresses an intense identification with China. To begin with, her subject matter of Chinese peasants suggests her stance of identification. Although Buck does not specify the setting of her novel, her explicit reference to warlords and her implicit reference to

which the Mission Board expected. She also taught religion when she was in Nanjing. See Conn 67 and 88-89 respectively.

³⁰ "The Nobel Prize in Literature 1938," Nobelprize.org. 21 Mar 2013, http://www.nobelprize.org/nobel_prizes/literature/laureates/1938/.

³¹ Buck, *My Several Worlds* 348.

³² Buck was a voluminous writer. For a more comprehensive list of Buck's works, including the ones Buck published after she received the Nobel Prize, see Lucille S. Zinn, "The Works of Pearl S. Buck: A Bibliography," *Bulletin of Bibliography* 36.4 (1979): 194-208.

³³ See Doyle.

the Communist-led peasant movement³⁴ situate the story in the 1920s. As pointed out before, peasantry could be seen as representative of the Chinese in the 1920s, when it constituted approximately 80% of China's total population. Choosing to write about the peasants that are emblematic of the Chinese in general hints that Buck is not concerned about a specific Chinese individual but about the Chinese as a whole. In addition, the transformation of the protagonist Wang Lung also implies Buck's identification with Chinese farming life. Initially, Wang appears as an industrious peasant living a frugal life. After several years' hard work and his wife O-lan's unexpected financial gains, Wang became rich and gradually neglected his farm work. He spends time at the tea house in order to show off his financial power. Falling in love with Lotus Flower, a girl at the tea house, Wang began to hate the smell of the earth on his body. He hires farm hands to do the work for him and eventually became a big landlord, moving his family to a big house in town. However, toward the end of the novel, as Wang is aware of his senility and approaching death, he comes to the realization that he is rooted in the land. He then moves back to the house where he was born in order to end his days there. When he overhears his sons' plan to sell the land, he objects. He tells his sons they come from the land and into it they must go and that as long as they hold the land, they can live. Clearly, Buck understands the Chinese ideology that land is the source of wealth. And, in describing Wang's eventual allegiance to the land, Buck suggests her support of Wang's change, which reaffirms the meaning of Chinese peasants' lives.

Moreover, Buck's identification with China is shown in her nostalgia for the old China. Unlike Babson, Buck shows a reluctance to face China's political and social changes. To begin with, Buck avoids engaging with China's political scene in the 1920s and her avoidance becomes evident in two ways. First, she is uncritical about the political issues Chinese peasants faced in

³⁴ In chapter 32, soldiers tell Wang Lung's youngest son that they fight to free the land, which suggests the Communist-led peasant movement in the 1920s.

the 1920s. As pointed out before, Chinese peasants' major concern in the 1920s was to have their own lands so they could not be exploited by landlords who charged them exorbitant rents. There was therefore a nascent peasant movement in China in the 1920s. Since Buck's first husband, John Buck, was on the committee to Christianize economic relations, which sought to mitigate the conflict between Chinese peasants and landlords through the intervention of Christianity, Buck must have known about the importance of the land issue to Chinese peasants in the 1920s. However, she refers to that movement only implicitly and primarily presents the perennial problems Chinese peasants faced instead: droughts, floods, and locust plagues. Buck's silence about the peasant movement in the 1920s suggests she feels sympathy for the Chinese in general and so does not want to take sides in the peasant-landlord conflict. Second, Buck is vague about the political setting of her novel. As mentioned before, it probably takes place in the 1920s because she refers to warlords and alludes to the Communist-led movement. Nonetheless, there are no other indices to the political setting of the novel. Hence, when Buck remarks that Wang's uncle's son is going to join the war in the North, we never know what war it is. Buck's vagueness implies her unwillingness to face the political changes going on in 1920s China, which have caused social turmoil.

In addition, Buck is also reluctant to face China's social changes, as shown by her ahistorical treatment of China's cultural practices. As discussed before, China's modernization involves the eradication of several old Chinese customs and the establishment of the Chinese Republic in 1911 is a significant dividing line between old and new China. Nevertheless, in *The Good Earth*, Buck does not show attempts to change China's old cultural practices. Instead, her characters still have queues (as shown in Wang Lung), smoke opium (as shown in the old mistress Hwang), accept arranged marriages (as shown in Wang Lung and his children), purchase concubines (as shown in Wang Lung), and bind their feet (as shown in O-lan and her daughter)

as if modernizing reforms had never taken place. Buck's ahistorical stance implies her opposition to China's Westernization. Also involved in Buck's anti-Westernization stand in *The Good Earth* is her objection to the missionary enterprise. In one episode, O-lan receives a flyer from a Western missionary. Because she does not understand the flyer, she uses it to make soles for shoes. The fact that O-lan eventually is not influenced by Christianity suggests Buck does not side with the missionary group. And, the fact that the missionary flyer finally becomes the under part of shoes, on which people step, symbolically suggests her aversion to missionary work.

In contrast, Buck is in favor of Westernization in her novel *East Wind: West Wind*, which was published in 1930, one year before *The Good Earth*, but had been serialized in two installments under the title "A Chinese Woman Speaks" in the magazine *Asia* in 1926. In *East Wind: West Wind*, Buck points out that in the Sino-Western encounter, China has to discard some old customs. She particularly uses foot-binding as a sign of the old China and endorses its abolition. Obviously, Buck shows greater identification with China in *The Good Earth* than in *East Wind: West Wind*.

In fact, Buck's significance also lies in her great assimilation to Chinese culture. In *The Good Earth*, she describes the mutual obligations between parents and children in Chinese families. The protagonist Wang Lung's father arranges marriage for Wang and Wang and his wife O-lan in turn take care of Wang's father, who lives with the couple's family. Wang and O-lan serve Wang's father food and tea and prepare for his funeral. Buck's description shows that she understands the permanence of the parent-child ties in Chinese culture and their significance. In *All the Tomorrows*, Babson also implies Felix's living with his mother, but she does not explicitly detail how Felix takes care of his mother as Buck does for Wang.

Buck's younger sister Grace Sydenstricker Yaukey (pen name: Cornelia Spencer) was also an American missionary novelist who identified with China. In her novel *The Missionary*,

published by the commercial John Day Company in 1947, Spencer avoids criticizing China's political and social scene, problematizes the necessity of converting the Chinese to Christianity, and redefines missionary work. To begin with, although Spencer's story is set during China's civil war between the KMT and the CCP from 1927 to 1937, she does not take sides in the war. She merely presents the events of the war and their impact on Chinese civilians and foreigners in an objective way (e.g. Chinese suspected as Communists were taken as prisoners and shot by the Nationalist government. Foreigners held in captivity by the Communists were released on ransom. In order to evade KMT pursuit, the CCP Red Army took a Long March to retreat westward.). Secondly, Spencer emphasizes several times (as shown in the American missionary Daniel's talks with Chinese priests and with the Christian Pastor Han) the similarity between Buddhism, Confucianism, and Christianity in their advocacy of kindness, love, sincerity, simplicity, and peace, which suggests there is no need to convert the Chinese to Christianity. As Daniel puts it, there is no need to take away Chinese people's religion if it meets their need. Thirdly, Spencer takes an unconventional stance in not seeing conversion as an essential part of missionary work. Toward the end of the novel, Daniel and another American missionary Amy concur that missionary work should be a matter of human kindness in making efforts to understand other people and to share what one has. Spencer's broad definition of missionary work as a kind of social service implies her acceptance of China's old cultural practices, for she does not show any attempt to modernize China as many other missionaries do. In fact, Spencer's liberal attitude toward China and missionary work can also be detected from the way she portrays her missionary characters. American missionary novels that promote conversion and treat Christianity as a panacea (such as those by John A. Davis, Abram Edward Cory, Paul Richard Abbott, and Sherman A. Nagel) emphasize that Christians have a better personality than non-Christians and that China will be devoid of problems (greed, cheating, ignorance,

concubinage, etc.) if the Chinese convert. In other words, those novels tend to give Christians a sanctified image in order to persuade people to convert. Not seeing conversion as the missionaries' main task, Spencer portrays her missionary characters as ordinary human beings, subject to desires and mistakes, as shown in Daniel's and Amy's extramarital affairs.

In contrast to Babson, Buck, and Spencer, Grace M. Boynton, Hattie Love Rankin, Ellen Lane Drummond, and Anthony G. Bollback are American missionary novelists who do not identify with post-1920s China. A common feature of their resistance to the Chinese scene is their nostalgia for the missionary past. Although the American missionary enterprise in China had suffered setbacks since China's surging nationalism in the 1920s and had ended with the Communist takeover in 1949, all these novelists still wrote as if the missionary enterprise were at its apogee and still treated Christianity as the only answer to China's problems.

Although Grace M. Boynton's novel *The River Garden of Pure Repose* was published in 1952 by McGraw-Hill, a commercial book company, it features Jane Breasted, an American Quaker missionary teacher, and her practice of Christianity in a Chinese garden. Both Boynton's treatment of the Chinese garden and her portrayal of Jane suggest Boynton's resistance to the Chinese scene. Boynton's story is set in Sichuan province during the second Sino-Japanese war (1937-1945). Jane's Chinese student Wang Wei-chou, who is from a Christian family and is now a colonel in the Medical Corps of the Army of Resistance, invites Jane to live in the garden of his family so that Jane can have a good rest and recover from her illness. The setting of the garden undergoes great changes after Wang's great grandfather Wang Wen-hao converts to Christianity, for he takes away the Taoist flower maidens in the Temple that overlooks his home and seals up the Kwan Yin, the Buddhist Goddess of Mercy, in a grotto. Wang Wen-hao's conversion and his discarding of the objects used in Taoist and Buddhist worships suggest Boynton's identification with Christianity and her resistance to Chinese religions. Moreover, Boynton's emphasis that

Jane's practice of love, advocated by Christianity, makes the garden a shelter for people in trouble also implies Boynton's dogmatic view of Christianity as a panacea. Instances of Jane's deeds of love: First, the pilot Jack Fernald regains his will to live after he finds tranquility and peacefulness in the garden and in his conversion with Jane. Second, Jane lets a dying conscript lie in her lap and keeps vigil for him. Third, Jane helps her student Willow with delivery and finds a wet nurse for Willow's newborn. However, Jane's compassion for everyone, including the spy Benny Li, suggests Boynton is alienated from Chinese people's primary concern of patriotism during the war between China and Japan.

Similar to Boynton's novelistic strategy, Hattie Love Rankin's *A-Ling* is also set in the second Sino-Japanese War and emphasizes Christian values rather than Chinese patriotism. However, unlike Boynton's story of love, Rankin's novel is a story of forgiveness. Rankin's principal character A-Ling is sold as a slave girl at the age of five by her father due to his poverty. When she grows up, she discovers that by chance and also comes to realize her lover Wei-ting's father was the slave trader. Because A-Ling is a Christian, she chooses to forgive both her father and Wei-ting's father. The fact that Rankin does not deal with the issue of patriotism (the major Chinese concern during the war), but elaborates on a Christian theme suggests Rankin's distance from the Chinese and her nostalgia for the missionary past. In addition, the fact that Rankin portrays A-Ling as a victim of slavery and concubinage and Ai-deh, A-Ling's master, as a woman confined by her bound feet implies Rankin's criticism of old Chinese cultural practices. In fact, the way Rankin approaches China's cultural practices (such as slavery, concubinage, and foot-binding) is ahistorical— they should have fallen into decline after the 1911 revolution but Rankin treats them as if they were still common in China in the 1920s , 1930s, or even 1940s. Rankin's anachronistic approach suggests that her impression of China harks back to the old days, when missionaries make efforts to reform Chinese cultural practices.

Unlike Boynton and Rankin, Ellen Lane Drummond's novel *Swallow Cliff* (published in 1961) does not have a specific setting. Although Drummond asks her readers to pray for the Chinese under the totalitarian rule of the Communists in the epilogue to her novel, the main text does not refer to Chinese politics but presents the protagonist Little Swallow's problems of arranged marriage and her family's conversion to Christianity. Drummond's silence about Chinese politics in the main text suggests she does not know how to deal with—or is unwilling to face—China's shift to Communism. And her description of Chinese people's conversion suggests her faith in Christianity as the answer to China's problems.

Like Drummond, Anthony G. Bollback also writes in response to Communist China and shows deep nostalgia for the missionary past. But unlike Drummond's silence about the Communist scene, Bollback describes it explicitly in his novel *The Story of China's Persecuted Church*, which consists of two volumes: *Red Runs the River* (2004) and *Exiles of Hope* (2005). As a whole, the two volumes are set in the late 1940s and in Communist China, when the Communist Party comes to power and persecutes intellectuals and Christians. Bollback's description of how those Chinese under Communist persecution find solace and spiritual support from their Christian belief suggests his identification with Christianity. One instance: Pastor Yang is accused falsely by the Communists. Refusing to renounce his belief, Pastor Yang is immersed in the Yangtze River and sent to a stone quarry for twenty years of indoctrination, but his belief helps him survive the hardships. Moreover, Bollback's description that Christianity still flourishes despite Communist persecution suggests not only his advocacy of Christianity but also his belief that Christianity is the panacea for Communist China. In the novel, Chinese Christians seek to spread the gospel through secret meetings, broadcasting, and handwritten scriptures, regardless of Communist bans. And, after Pastor Yang's twenty-year term comes to a close, he decides to start a Bible School to train young people for ministry.

The novels of American missionary children (“mish kids”) about China also show similar trends as their parents’ generation. Lettie Rogers and John Hersey show identification with China and Hersey, who does not want China to be changed, has nostalgia for the old China. On the other hand, James Lincoln McCartney, who shows resistance to the Chinese scene, displays nostalgia for the missionary enterprise.

Similar to Vincent Gowen’s approach in *Sun and Moon*, Lettie Rogers problematizes the possibility of cultural assimilation in *South of Heaven* (1946) and suggests that blood is an unbridgeable cultural gap. In the novel, Rogers presents an American Baptist family in China. Judith, the missionary daughter, is caught in an in-between state, for she sees herself as Chinese but her Chinese friends treat her as a foreigner. In terms of Rogers’s stance of cultural identification, the fact that she ends the novel with foreigners leaving China (including Judith’s family) in the anti-foreign agitation in 1927 suggests her opposition to foreign interference in Chinese affairs. Rogers’s identification with China is also shown in *The Storm Cloud* (1951). Set during the peasant movement in 1927, the story describes how Leila, an anti-landlord daughter of a Chinese landlord family, gets killed by her own family so that her family can maintain their advantage in the land reform. Rogers’s approach to the 1927 peasant movement is different from Pearl Buck’s. As discussed before, Buck avoids dealing with that issue, for she does not want to make any criticism of Chinese politics and does not want to take sides in the landlord-peasant conflict. By contrast, Rogers takes a definite stand in favor of peasant resistance against landlord exploitation, which can also be seen from her comparison of Leila (leader of the peasant movement) to the heroine Joan of Arc. Rogers’s support of the peasant movement in fact suggests her siding with most Chinese, who are landless peasants.

In addition to Lettie Rogers, John Hersey is another American mish kid who expresses identification with China in his novels. In *A Single Pebble* (1956), Hersey presents an American

engineer's experience in 1920s China. Sent to China to conduct a survey of the Yangtze River for a possible dam site, the engineer at first appears as an arrogant young man. As he boards a Chinese junk for his survey trip along the Yangtze, he thinks of himself as superior to the Chinese river people, who are superstitious, passive, and lack goals. However, after getting along with the river people, he gradually notices their talents and knowledge and changes his attitude toward them from contempt to acceptance. Although the engineer recommends building the dam after his survey trip, the fact that his report is eventually dismissed suggests Hersey's inclination not to change China and, hence, his nostalgia for the old China. Hersey further shows his identification with China by problematizing evangelism in his historical novel *The Call* (1985). In the novel, the missionary character David Treadup eventually renounces his Christian belief, for it does not give him spiritual consolation during his internment by the Japanese. Treadup's change implies Hersey's objection to the missionary enterprise in China and again his belief that China does not need Westernization.

In contrast to Rogers and Hersey, the American mish kid James Lincoln McCartney expresses his resistance to the Chinese scene and his nostalgia for the missionary past in *Frustrated Martyr* (1953), a fictional biography of his father, a medical missionary to China. In the novel, McCartney's identification with his father's missionary work and with the West is shown in the following ways. First, McCartney adopts a condescending attitude in describing the Chinese as superstitious, lackadaisical, dishonest, effeminate, poor, and coward. Second, McCartney shares the dogmatic missionaries' view that their work will uplift China.

All in all, the whole process of cultural assimilation and identification shown in the novels by American missionaries and their children combines with increasing nostalgia after the 1920s and the object of the novelists' nostalgia determines the specifics of how or in what ways they identify with China.

Photograph 3. Pearl S. Buck, standing behind her sister Grace, was teaching to a class of Chinese children in about 1904. (Reproduced with permission, Presbyterian Historical Society, Philadelphia, Pennsylvania)



Photograph 4. Grace M. Boynton in 1919 (Reproduced with permission, American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions Archives, ABC 78.1 Box 5, Houghton Library, Harvard University, Cambridge, Massachusetts)



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