THE LOST REFORMERS:
CHINESE STUDENTS IN THE UNITED STATES FROM 1906-1931

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ABSTRACT

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By

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Chinese students were encouraged to come to the United States by the Chinese government in the early twentieth century. The *Chinese Students' Monthly*, published by the Chinese Students' Alliance from 1906-1931, shows how the students cooperated with various groups, organized and exerted influence to bring about reforms in the U. S. and China. The students wanted Americans to understand China better, so they worked with Chinese-American merchants, hosted cultural activities and responded to newspapers and movies which misrepresented China. While in the U. S., the students raised money for famine victims and sent telegrams to influence the Chinese government. The students learned about American society by observing and by making friends with professors, townspeople and national figures. Though they achieved reforms in the areas of education, government, and technology in China, their legacy became obscured by the tumultuous political changes which occurred during their lives.

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Discussions with Chinese friends who are students and scholars have enriched both my life and this thesis.

My parents encouraged me early to pursue international encounters. My mother remembers an evening when several Chinese students came to their home to cook during the time when her parents were teaching at Translyvania College in the early 1920s.

My husband, Tom, has eagerly discussed this thesis with me, provided encouragement and helped with editing and the photographs.

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> The image of a self-reliant people responsive to the challenges and the opportunities of history, animated by a unifying sense of its own political and cultural identity, able and anxious to assume the responsibilities of citizenship: these several overlapping visions became part of the political mythology of the prerevolutionary decade. . . . [I]t was a work of invention, or of autobiographical fiction, not a political program.[1]

One of the ways China has tried to create a strong and prosperous nation over the last one hundred years has been to send students abroad to study, many of them to the United States. The first wave, the Education Mission of 1872-1881, consisted of 120 teenagers, the majority of whom did not finish college degrees. Approximately 30,000 students were in the second wave from 1905-1949, mostly as undergraduates and graduate students.[2] Within ten years of the beginning of the third wave (1978-present), Chinese students became the largest number of international students studying in the U. S. and in 1991 they comprised more than 10% of the international student population.[3]

The three waves are remarkably similar in several respects: first, China's ambivalence, second, the students' cultural struggle while in the U.S. and third, China's hostile response to their return. China has sent students to the U. S. at times when her political and cultural foundation and future was uncertain, and when high level authorities have allowed interaction with the West in hopes of quickly strengthening China. Each time, China has struggled with the question of why the sons and daughters of the dragon, the oldest surviving civilization, should have to go to a young "barbarian" country to learn. The students, for their part, have had mixed feelings about their

culture, being both proud of China's past glory and ashamed of China's present weakness.

Each group, upon arrival in the United States, has made cultural and social adjustments in order to cope with living in another country. Though each group has been accused of forgetting about China, each has studied hard for her sake and sent back their opinions about political events in telegrams and letters. Students in each group have made friends with Americans who have encouraged and supported them and missed them when they returned.

Upon return, the three waves of Chinese students have found similar hindrances to their ability to reform China. China has expected the students to return, bringing back technological skills, but less willing to accept the packaging that comes with it - Westernization. Each wave has struggled with transferring the lessons learned in the U. S. into Chinese reality and have had difficulties finding jobs that suited their training; they have experienced jealousy and retribution from co-workers. The returned students have been caught between the conservatives clinging to the old and the reformers (and sometimes the revolutionaries) reaching for the new. Needing to create a home for themselves which takes into account both cultures, they have also wanted to participate in creating a new home which combines the best of China and the West. Though they have wanted quickly to change China, they have usually chosen a longer process than the attractive quick fixes or "movement mentality." Being able to view their own country from a distance while abroad has often left them with more questions than answers.

Several major difference between the three waves need to be noted. Each wave has sent progressively older students. While the Educational Mission sent teenagers, the second wave were mostly undergraduates and graduate students, and today's wave is mostly graduate students and middle-

aged scholars. Today China is no longer living with the same foreign interference that she had during the first two waves. Although today's students do not experience legalized discrimination, they can still discover prejudice when looking for work. The latest wave appears more adept politically than their predecessors in influencing the U. S. Congress, which passed the Chinese Student Protection Act of 1990 in response to the Tiananmen Square 1989, allowing the students who were in the U. S. before April 10, 1990 to become permanent residents. Whereas the first two waves were forced to leave the U. S., many students in the present wave are using the green card (*lu ke*) to stay in the U. S. while preserving the ability to return to serve China at a later date.

THE SECOND WAVE

This thesis looks at the Chinese students who studied in the United States from 1906 to 1931. They were a small group of elites, mostly male, who grew up in cities where modern education was beginning to be available. They came from families of merchants, officials, teachers and professors, free professionals and landlords.[4] Half of the students studied at Tsinghua College, which was established when the U. S. returned the excess from the Boxer Indemnity fund in 1909, and which served as a preparatory school whose graduates would automatically go to the U. S. for further education. Though the students never numbered more than 1500 to 2500, they quickly became the largest group of internationals on American campuses. (See Appendix A Countries of Origin, International Students in the United States, 1923-1924.) They studied a variety of fields, but mostly science and technology. (See Appendix B Fields of Study, Chinese Students in the United States, 1905-1931.)

A number of factors caused the second wave of students to go to the United States. China sent 20,000 students to Japan between 1895-1905 because of its lower cost and similar culture, but the students there often spent more time becoming revolutionaries than studying.[5] They complained that going to Japan was like learning about the West through a filter.[6] Several reform-minded Chinese leaders endorsed studying abroad, such as Zhang Zhidong who said, "To study in the West for one year is better than reading Western books for five years. . . to study in a Western school for one year is better than to study for three in Chinese schools."[7] Chinese provincial authorities began to raise funds to support students and American universities promised scholarships for Chinese students.[8] The number of students coming to the United States increased dramatically when the United States returned the Boxer Indemnity Fund.[9] (See Figure 1 where Uncle Sam is shown returning the excess funds to support the education of young China dressed in a uniform ready to go to a Western school. The sun is shining with the warmth of good will between the two countries.) With the abolition of the civil service exam in 1905 and the fall of the Qing dynasty in 1911, Western education became an alternative to Confucian knowledge to gain personal prominence and the U. S. served as a possible model for China's new government.[10] Studying abroad or "drinking foreign ink" (*he le yang moshui*) was a rare and promising opportunity.

Very little has been written in English about the Chinese students in the United States. In 1942, Thomas LaFargue studied the first wave of students in *China's First Hundred: Educational Mission Students in the United States, 1872-1881*.[11] Y. C. Wang's classic, *Chinese Intellectuals and the West, 1872-1949* combines historical description with essays about the impact of the students on China. Edwin Clausen's unpublished dissertation,

Uncle Sam — "*Make good use of it, my friend*"

Figure 1: Uncle Sam returning Boxer Indemnity Fund to China (*CSM*, January 1910) (Courtesy of Center for Research Libraries, Chicago).

"Profiles in Alienation: to 'Save China' and the American Experience," (1979) focuses on the students from the 1930s and 1940s who settled in the States.[12] Jon Saari's *Legacies of Childhood: Growing up Chinese in a Time of Crisis, 1890-1920* includes a chapter describing the second wave of students in the U. S.[13] Since the influence and results of study abroad are difficult to measure, some researchers have focused on individuals such as Hu Shih, William Hung, or James Yen.[14]

TO SAVE THE COUNTRY

This thesis gives insight into the Chinese students' strengths and weaknesses in organizing reforms in the U. S. and China and their response to the political and cultural forces which helped or hindered their ability to reform. Their ability to cooperate with diverse groups, to organize and carry out plans and to exert influence using a variety of means, are all keys to successful reform. Despite these abilities, the students have been portrayed as unpatriotic misfits who failed at reforms.[15] What is the source of these images and does it match the evidence? I propose that it was not as much the flaws in the students' character or ability, but the power structure of both the U. S. and Chinese which undermined the students' performance. In the midst of the struggle for power in China, their opponents discredited the students and denied their accomplishments.

My major source, the *Chinese Students' Monthly*, was published from 1906 to 1931 by the Chinese Students' Alliance, a national organization of Chinese students which had local campus clubs across the United States.[16] Through the *Chinese Students Monthly*, the voices of the students and their friends can be heard as they wanted to present themselves to the public. It is not always bright, for their hopes and struggles, strengths and weaknesses,

fears and follies are not covered up. Written during a transitional time in China, the magazine's variegated presentation makes the thesis richer, but less clear-cut in conclusion. The magazine articles are supplemented by autobiographies and biographies of students of this era. Besides offering another piece in the fascinating puzzle of a tumultuous time in Chinese history, the study of this wave of Chinese students stands at the intersection of diverse fields such as foreign policy, cross-cultural education and Chinese-American history.[17]

While the students were in the United States, they were expected to fulfill a number of duties. In order to gather support for China's cause, they were to change America's view of Chinese, but found many hindrances in fulfilling this. The students sought to abolish the Chinese Exclusion Law and "Americanize" the Chinese who were residing in the U. S. by teaching English. Since misinformation also hindered the students' ability, they taught about China through lectures, plays, festivals and museum shows and tried to correct misrepresentations by responding to movies, books and lectures. Americans' pride in military and economic strength during this "Age of Benevolence" kept many from listening seriously to the students."[18] Though the students came to learn from "Model America," they did not forget China while they were abroad, but tried to reform and strengthen China by sending telegrams which gave suggestions on policies or reactions to events and by raising money for national railroads.[19] Returning students were seen as representatives carrying reform ideas back with them.

Once the students returned to China, various factors limited their ability to implement reform. The weight of old China's values hindered their ability to bring change. The social and political instability disrupted their chance to apply what they had learned. Though the students' admiration of

the U. S. was tempered by racism they experienced, they still acquired many of its values. This change in thought and action led to contradictions when the students returned to China, including If the students were seen as outsiders, or "imitation foreign devils," (*jia yang guizi*) could they bring change to China? Despite various hindrances, many went on to change the Chinese educational system, to build China's technology and to serve in a significant number of bureaucratic positions, especially in foreign affairs.

Why did these students subject themselves to the strains of bringing reform to two countries which would not accept them? What did they and others hope to accomplish?

MANY VOICES

The students listened to three different voices who both encouraged them to reform China and then hindered their ability to perform. China had her hopes pinned on them for leadership in political arenas and technical and industrial fields. The United States planned for the students to become bridges of political and economic influence with China. Their parents expected the students to bring back honor to reflect on the whole family.

China's Hope

From the 1840s on, China struggled to respond to Western encroachment while retaining essential Chinese values. The Self-Strengthening Movement, which included the Chinese Educational Mission from 1872 and 1881, was abandoned when news of the students' acculturation, including cutting off their queues and converting to Christianity, was told to the court.[20] Their rapid acculturation may have been due to their young age, from ten to sixteen, and boarding with American

families, but the accusation was also politically motivated. Upon their return to China, the students were treated like barbarians and traitors and were principally employed as mere tools such as translators or interpreters rather than entrusted with important responsibilities.[21]

After China's defeat in the Sino-Japanese War of 1895, the policy of sending students abroad, primarily to Japan, was renewed. "China became the first modern nation to attempt to leapfrog domestic educational deficiencies by massive training abroad."[22] When China's relationship with Japan became strained in 1905 after Japan beat Russia, China began looking elsewhere for places to send her students.[23] When the U. S. returned the Boxer Indemnity Fund in order to support Chinese students' education in the U. S., the second wave of students came, hoping to learn the secret of the United States' growing wealth and strength. (See Figure 2 which shows the first group of Indemnity Fund students.)

The Chinese government placed high expectations on the students. They were to be faithful to bring change in China, though it might take years because of political turmoil. They were to cooperate with one another despite their differences, and to unite against corruption. They were to be energetic, mobilizing every person and every talent toward the urgent task of national construction. They were to be so determined to fulfill their goals that they could overcome even the greatest difficulties and resist falling into despair.[24]

China also expected the students to fulfill crucial roles. As China's future leaders, the students were called to "steer the new ship of state to her safe moorings."[25] Upon return, they were to serve as bridges, linking the old and the new China during the transitional time.[26] China expected them to be teachers whose topics would include the Western spirit of progress, Western science, and principles and methods of cooperation.[27] In short, these students

Figure 2 First Group of Indemnity Fund Students, 1909
(*CSM*, December 1909) (Courtesy of Center for Research Libraries, Chicago)

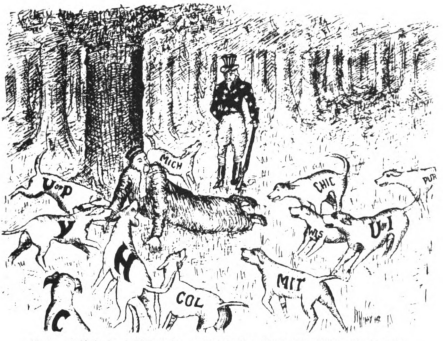
were expected to save China. (See Figure 3, a cartoon showing Uncle Sam's dogs, with markings representing different U. S. universities, waking up an old Chinese man.)

Women students lived with a double set of expectations during this time of transition.[28] Some thought higher education should be to make them better mothers and homemakers.[29] Educating women meant "greater men, wiser women, happier homes, and a stronger nation."[30] Others expected women to be leaders and to participate in building a new China. They were recognized as "worthy equals and compeers," who were to expected to strengthen China through their professions, such as business, medicine, journalism and education.[31] (See Figure 4, a cartoon showing a woman student returning to China. As she leaves her alma mater, she takes off her graduation robe, revealing a Chinese dress underneath. The writing in the circle on the dragon flag says "Uplift of Chinese Womanhood." The five Western buildings have flags which say "women's club", "conservatory," etc.) Though they prepared for professional life, women were commonly accused of getting married as soon as they arrived home.[32]

China asked the students to perform a precarious balancing act of the old and the new, the East and the West, the past and the future. The high expectations for intellectuals in China were nothing new, but during this transition, the students were also expected to be bridges between two cultures.[33]

The United States' Plan

At the turn of the century, the United States was growing in both military and economic power. The Philippines were now a possession of the United States and American business was seeking new markets for its goods.



CHINA — "Hello, Sam! Glad you have so many barking dogs to wake me up. The ground is awfully damp!"

Figure 3: Uncle Sam and his barking dogs waking up China. (*CSM*, February 1910) (Courtesy of Center for Research Libraries, Chicago)

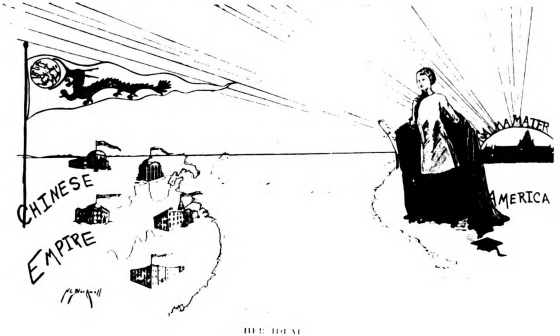


Figure 4: Chinese woman graduate returning to China (*CSM*, March 1911) (Courtesy of Kroch Library, Cornell University)

The year 1905 was a turning point in the Pacific. When Japan defeated the Russian Navy, the United States and Japan began to compete for power in the Pacific. The Chinese began a five-month boycott of American goods in order to protest the Chinese Exclusion Law, which had forbade Chinese immigration since 1882. The United States first responded to these new shows of power by sending the Asiatic Fleet to anchor off Shanghai, but later, the United States used education to extend its influence.

For years American mission boards had supported a trickle of students to the U. S., but the return of the Boxer Indemnity Fund "was a political decision that marked the emergence of a secular, as distinct from religious, American educational involvement with China."[34] Since China seemed to be on the verge of a revolution, people urged the President not to hesitate to try to influence the likely future leaders, for "[t]he nation which succeeds in educating the young Chinese of the present generation will be the nation which for a given expenditure of effort will reap the largest possible returns in moral, intellectual, and commercial influence."[35] The United States hoped that the Chinese students would acquire education to serve China and learn to love America in order to strengthen the ties between the two nations.[36] By 1924, other nations felt the United States was winning the competition for influence in China. (See Figure 5 where students hold flags representing China and the U. S. at the Madison Conference of 1911.)

The United States hoped the students would love both its politics and its products. In 1921 the Consul General of the Republic of China portrayed the students as advertising agents for American goods in yet another bid to end the Chinese Exclusion Law.

> On their return you will have in them living advertisements of things American. When the Peking-Kalgan Railway was built under

Figure 5 Mid-West Section Conference, Madison, WI, 1911
(*CSM*, November 1911) (Courtesy of Kroch Library, Cornell University)

> absolutely sure Chinese management, the engineer-in-chief, the late Jeme Tienyew, of the first Chinese Educational Mission to America, thought and specified in terms of American engineering, American rails, American locomotives and American coaches. He had offers from European manufacturers, but he rejected them all, even though their terms were more attractive, simply because he had no faith beyond America, and knew of no other locomotive works except where he acquired his practical experience.[37]

The United States hoped the students would build bridges of friendship between China and the U. S. They were "to bring to America that which is best in Chinese culture and life, and to take back to China only the best that America has to offer for the further development of China."[38] However, by the late 1920s, some students grew disillusioned. One Chinese told his American friend

> I am not ashamed to say that I will do all I can to spread the truth that the American people do not have a real friendship for the Chinese people, as people, and that China cannot depend on such a friendship. I am not ashamed to say that I will teach my people to turn from peace to force, if necessary, to combat the bad faith of the foreign nations to China. Yes, even of America. [39]

The students were caught in a wider international relations puzzle where both China and the U. S. used the term "friendship" in order to manipulate the other for an advantage, or for leverage against other countries.[40] Though American missionaries advocated abolishing extraterritoriality in the mid-1920s, American businesses and manufacturers balked at the idea and U. S. foreign policy still followed the lead of Britain rather than venturing on its own diplomatic path.[41] In order not to antagonize the growing power of Japan, the United States government chose not to stand in the way of Japan's expansion onto Chinese soil.[42] The students' role as bridges between China and the U. S. was built on an unstable international political foundation.

Their Parents' Expectations

Not only did the governments of China and the United States have hopes and plans for the students, their families also had expectations. When the students announced their plans of going abroad, "our cousins and uncles say all manners of pleasing words in our ears about the glorious future that must be ours, etc.."[43] Though Confucius had said, "if your parents are alive, you should only travel away from them for a good reason" (*fu mu zai bu yuan you you bi you fang*), the parents saw overseas study as a good way to bring the family honor since the old route to power through the exam system had been abolished.

In a short story, a Chinese student wrote his parents that he was going to marry an American woman, Edna. His father replied that the student's mother had been sick since receiving the letter.

> What have you done, my boy? Do you realize what you are doing? We have suffered and struggled to save enough money for your education. When you were selected to study in America, we thought some day you would come back to win fame for your family. Our mission in life would be fulfilled. If you have any appreciation of what your parents have done for you, forget about Edna . . .[44]

The parents expected their children to bring them glory (*guang zhong yao zhu*). When the *Monthly* editor printed the news that several college newspapers had stated that the Chinese were the best students, he hoped that this news would "give some consolation and satisfaction to our people at home who read these columns."[45]

Though a mother pleaded with her son to return to China, an American philosopher encouraged the Chinese student to stay one more year to secure a degree, arguing that since China revered the symbols of learning, it would be worth having the degree for the sake of future influence. The

philosopher suggested that the student write his mother, asking her to be patient, "for the sake of the life of a son whose work will always do her honor."[46]

These three voices affected the way the students abroad lived while studying in the United States and also when they returned to serve China. Chapter 2 gives an overview of the history and purpose of the Chinese Students' Alliance and its publication, the *Chinese Students' Monthly*. Chapter 3, "Carrying a Satchel in a Strange Land," opens by describing Chinese students' arrival and settling into the United States. In order to present a better picture of China to Americans, the students made connections with Chinese-Americans in towns and campuses despite social, educational, and provincial differences. They did not forget China, but kept in touch with events at home and tried to maintain their Chinese culture and language. Chapter 4, "Student Ambassadors," describes the students interaction with American professors, students, and townspeople in order to find out what made America strong and rich. The students represented China by writing, by giving public lectures, by protesting demeaning movies and plays, and by joining with national organizations interested in promoting China's cause. Chapter 5, "Returning Home from Thousands of Miles," begins by describing how the students prepared for returning to China through studying, gaining practical experience, looking at role models and developing professional clubs. After arriving home, the students kept connected with others returned students through informal meetings, clubs and fraternities. The images of returned students are mixed, due to the numerous hindrances and political jealousy that interfered with their ability to implement reform. The Conclusion summarizes the political and cultural forces which shaped the Chinese students' ability to reform, showing how

China, the United States and the students' parents expected the students to perform great feats, yet also hindered the students' ability to achieve them. By going to the United States, for the sake of their country and their parents, the students and their accomplishments became "lost." The students changed due to living in another country, and China, in the midst of a tumultuous transition, was no longer a welcoming "home" when they returned. Their political or professional opponents obscured many of the returned students' accomplishments.

Chapter 2: The Chinese Students' Alliance

> By joining the Alliance we enter into the laboratory of self-government. . . . My compatriots, just consider - the glorious task of shaping our New China lies in our hands. . . . Our future generation will envy us for our glorious privileges, and will either thank us for sending New China along the prosperous path or complain of us for neglect and carelessness.
>
> Miss S. T. Lok, 1909[1]

The Chinese Students' Alliance kept Chinese students in touch with one another while in a foreign land and influenced both the Chinese government and the American people. The three levels of the Alliance - the local, the regional and the national - lasted twenty-five years despite problems and divisions. Besides being a vehicle to help students cope with living overseas, it also provided an opportunity for students to organize reform while on foreign soil. Since students felt they held China's future in their hands, what lessons did they learn about reform from this "laboratory of self-government"?

The *Chinese Students' Monthly* was the Alliance's most regular and influential publication. After discussing its purpose, history, leadership, readership and authorship, this chapter will close with a brief overview its regular features. What role did the *Monthly* play in fulfilling the Alliance's social and political goals ?

BEGINNINGS

The Chinese student groups that sprung up on campuses organized into regional sections across the United States during the first decades of this century. The first group, the Pacific Coast Chinese Students' Alliance, formed on the West Coast in 1902 to encourage both American-born Chinese and Chinese-born Chinese to serve China. In 1903 the Chinese Students'

Summer Alliance of the Mid-West was formed in Chicago, while in 1905, the Chinese Students' Alliance of the Eastern States was organized.[2]

A joint council was created in 1908 to consider the amalgamation of the Chinese students' organizations across America. Participants hoped that a national organization would keep students from duplicating efforts and help to "break up provincialism by deepening the spirit of national welfare and to present our true nature to the American public."[3] The Chinese Students' Alliance, with its Western, Mid-Western and Eastern sections, was officially constituted in 1911. T. T. Wong, the Chinese Educational Director residing in Washington, D. C., praised the Alliance as having "done more than any other agency in uniting the Chinese student body for one great and supreme cause, the uplifting of our country to power, enlightenment and righteousness."[4]

PURPOSE OF THE ALLIANCE

The Alliance's social and political goals were not easy to balance, since the students differed in their views of the relative importance of them throughout the history of the Alliance. As a social organization where people from all over China could meet and exchange ideas, the Alliance helped alleviate some of the isolation felt by the small number of Chinese students in the United States in the early 20th century.[5] As the Chinese became the largest group of international students on college campuses, the Alliance wanted to enroll those who were not yet members.

As a political organization, the Alliance hoped to influence both Chinese and American people. It first tried to influence the Chinese government through telegrams, then through returned students.[6] Because more than 100 students were returning to China annually by 1916, the *Monthly* began printing news of the alumni in order to keep in touch and to

strengthen the Alliance's influence in China.[7] The Alliance hoped to educate the American public about China, but the students battled disinterest, prejudice and biased reporting. They worked with the Chinese living in the United States and fought the misrepresentation of Chinese in American films.[8] As China's situation became more desperate in the late 1920s, some students felt the political goals should take precedence over the social ones. The organization was flexible enough to incorporate new emphasis which reflected the changes in the aspirations of the students and the needs of China.

LEVELS OF ORGANIZATION

The Chinese Students' Alliance functioned at three levels. The local clubs on campuses across the United States varied over the years in both number of members and activity level. The three sections - West, Mid-west and East - functioned autonomously, electing officers at their yearly conferences. The national alliance sought to offer a unified voice to Chinese and American audiences through its publications, but suffered from chronic problems.

Local Clubs

The clubs on high school, preparatory school, college and university campuses, which existed before the national Alliance and continued after it fell apart in 1931, were the heart of the Alliance.[9] Inviting American guests to celebrate Chinese holidays, working together on service projects in Chinatowns, and educating the American public through exhibitions and pamphlets were common club activities. Though the clubs usually gave glowing reports about the social interaction, humorists twice portrayed the

students as no more social than a "bunch of oysters."[10] The lack of sociability was partly due to the divisions between northern and southern Chinese, as well as Chinese-born and American-born Chinese.

The local clubs varied in size and activity over the years due to the school's reputation in China and to strong or weak leadership. Smaller groups, such as the eleven-member club in Cleveland, had a "banner year" in 1928-1929 hosting a Thanksgiving get-together and a Christmas banquet and participating in a two-day roundtable discussion of the Far East at the Institute of Foreign Affairs in Cleveland. After setting up an exhibition at the week-long All Nations Exposition with local Chinese merchants, they closed the year with a club banquet and annual June picnic.[11] (See Appendix C "China and the All Nations Exposition.") In comparison, the small club at Michigan Agriculture College (M. A. C.) in East Lansing, Michigan was quiet. They accounted for the lack of club reports in the *Monthly* by either their lack of desire for publicity or their lack of time-due to farm production.[12] Despite their humbleness, one of their members was president of the Cosmopolitan Club at M. A. C. Larger clubs, such as the University of Michigan club with forty members, hosted two hundred guests at a October 10th play, "Democracy in China" and worked with Chinese merchants in Detroit over Christmas vacation in 1919. The Chinese Students Christian Association organized a weekly discussion and held a Christmas eve social in an American house.[13] (See Figure 6 for the University of Michigan club 1919-1920.)

Sections

The focal point of the three regional sections was an annual conference held each August where students invited speakers, organized English and

Chinese debates and oratory competitions, held elections and put on banquets.[14] Chinese guest speakers included Educational Directors and Chinese Ministers to the United States. American guest speakers included college presidents and professors, state governors, former American ministers to China, and ex-presidents of the American Chamber of Commerce. The conference announcement booklets could include pictures and greetings from U. S. presidents, college presidents, governors, mayors and the president of the local chamber of commerce.[15]

Though conferences were billed as places to learn cooperation, they experienced divisiveness as the dual goals of social interaction and political instruction brought tension.[16] (See Figure 7 Eastern Section Conference, 1910.) One humorist defined a student conference as the "annual occasion for the performance of the romantic tragedies or domestic farces."[17] (See Figure 8 for a cartoon entitled "Conference Reminiscence.") (See Appendix D "Why He Went to the Conference.") Finding the balance between the social and political goals became more difficult in the 1920s when the attendees were divided between those who wanted to stress the urgency of political and social questions and the other students, who were described as "drifting along aimlessly, as it were, in a yacht of pleasure."[18] American-born high schoolers at the 1925 Western conference were not as interested in restricted tariff or unequal treaties in China, as in solving the prejudice in the U. S.[19] Excessive college spirit also divided the delegates as students scorned people from other universities and even called them "rotten." Since leaders for the sections were elected at the annual conferences, college spirit also made for dirty politics.

The sections competed for power and influence. The Eastern section was perceived as having more power than the other two because it controlled

Figure 6: Chinese Students' Club, University of Michigan, 1919-1920 (Handbook for the Midwest Section's Eleventh Annual Conference) (Hatcher Library, University of Michigan)

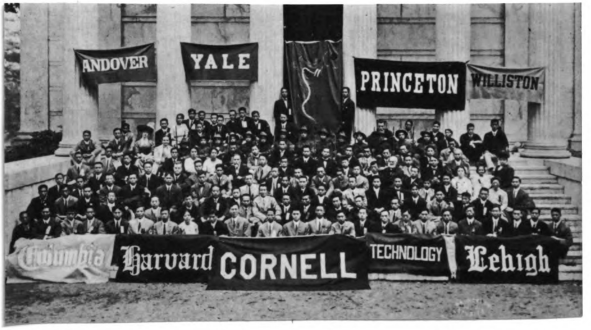


Figure 7: Eastern Section Conference at Princeton, 1911 (*CSM*, December 1911) (Courtesy of Kroch Library, Cornell University)

the Alliance's publications and had the largest number of students.[20] Both the Mid-West and West sections argued about holding national conferences to show the unity of the Alliance, but the Eastern members usually seemed unwilling to either travel to other regions or pay for students from other sections to attend conferences in the East.[21] After some lobbying, the first national conference was held in Cleveland in 1914, but proved to be a failure because of the short time for planning and raising funds, overworked leadership and disagreements over how to spend the money.[22] Finances were a source of squabbles. For example, in 1918, the Mid-west Section said it would contribute $300 towards the Alliance's Reserve Fund if the Eastern Section matched the amount. When the Mid-West also wanted to designate their money for certain purposes, the Alliance president frustratingly responded that the restrictions hampered the efficiency of the Alliance and called for more mutual trust between the Sections and the Alliance.[23]

The three sections tried to fulfill the social and political goals of the Alliance through the annual conferences' athletic competitions and the inspiring speeches. When the Alliance was under financial stress in the mid-1920s, there was talk about abandoning the sections since they were seen as superfluous, but it was ignored.[24]

National

The Alliance hoped to unite and to represent all Chinese students in the United States. In the first issue of each school year, opening editorials welcomed new students, inviting them to get involved and describing the benefits of membership. As more Chinese students came to the U. S., some schools had 100% membership, while across the country it averaged 55%.[25]

Some students found the Alliance personally beneficial, discovering the definition of a student organization as a "convenient laboratory where the would-be great men experiment [with] their politics" to be true.[26] A few of the Chinese who had notable careers both as students in the U. S. and later in China. Vi Kynin Wellington Koo, Columbia 1909, who served as editor-in-chief of the *Monthly* for two years (1906-08), became private secretary to President Yuan Shi-Kai, Chinese Minister to the United States, and one of the Chinese deputies at the Geneva Peace Conference. He was appointed China's chief delegate to the League of Nations assembly in 1935, represented China at the signing ceremony of the United Nations in 1945 and served as the vice president of the International Court of Justice at The Hague from 1964 to 1957.[27] (See Figure 9 for picture of Wellington Koo.) Hu Shi, who served as an editor and contributor for the *Monthly* and an advocate for the cosmopolitan movement, is best known for his influence on the *bai hua* or colloquial language movement. From 1938-1942, he served as Chinese ambassador to the U. S.[28] T. V. Soong, who served on both the *Monthly* editorial board as well as Alliance President, became the first minister of finance for the Nanking government. In 1941 he became minister of foreign affairs, and in 1945 became president of the Executive Yuan.[29]

Despite the desire for unity and influence, the national Alliance faced significant hurdles. The physical size of the United States presented a logistical problem. As a result students were reluctant to attend joint conferences and the Western section wondered how it could afford sending representatives to Council meetings. The Alliance's executive board was scattered across the country and ignorant of each other's work.[30] Indifferent members drained the group of its energy. Though some students did not want to add Alliance responsibilities to their graduate study load in a foreign

Figure 8 Conference Reminiscences, (*CSM*, November 1911) (Courtesy of Kroch Library, Cornell University)

Figure 9 Dr. V. K. Wellington Koo, Chinese Minister to the Court of St. James, Ambassador Extraordinary to the Washington Conference (*CSM*, December 1921) (Courtesy of Center for Research Libraries, Chicago)

language, the Alliance needed every member to be active in order to accomplish the important goal of influencing the American public. Financial troubles, due in part to people not paying their dues and to having a new treasurer each year, kept the organization from accomplishing all its goals.[31] In 1917, they established a Reserve fund, hoping it would "place the Alliance above a hand-to-mouth existence. . . ."[32] Sometimes the Alliance did not have enough money to publish the *Directory*, a crucial networking tool, or the Chinese *Quarterly* a influential tool in China.

Other problems also weakened the organization. The Alliance's leadership structure suffered from the lack of continuity because the former leaders returned to China, unable or unwilling to help the new leaders. Women participated most commonly as Secretary and Vice-President at the national level, but hesitated about serving as President.[33] Power plays or "bossism" made some student leaders notorious in the Alliance.[34] Sometimes a second or third ballot was necessary to elect the president and the resulting delay got the whole year off to a late start.[35] The question of authority also divided the Alliance. When actions were initiated, such as telegrams to the Chinese government, tempers flared over both the content and the cost of them. A humorist wrote once that the Alliance set out important goals for the coming year, but the first step, deciding who would be the boss, was yet to be decided.[36] Disagreements also arose between individual members' stance on an event and the Alliance's view published in the *Monthly*. For example, when an editorial supported Yuan Shi-Kai, twenty-six people sent a letter stating their indignation "to hear these words uttered by the *Monthly*, the only organ of the Chinese students' body in America."[37] Since the possibility for misunderstandings increased as the Alliance grew, it amended its constitution in 1925 to add all presidents of local clubs as *ex officio* members

of the Legislative Council and to allow any local club over 30 members to send representatives to the Council.[38]

Finally, the Alliance competed with other Chinese groups for the students' loyalty, time, and energy. In 1926 the Greater New York Chinese student community had 8 fraternal or sororal groups, 16 professional societies, 7 alumni associations, 6 provincial societies, 2 nationalistic societies, and one religious society.[39] The high activity level caused one humorist to comment that soon the person who held no leadership position in a group would be the unique person. The Chinese Students Christian Fellowship, which began holding yearly conferences in 1907 and publishing a journal in 1908, had a Student Aid Fund which served as a model for the Alliance's.[40] Though students had belonged to alumni associations, such as Peiyang University, St. John's and Canton Christian College, the Alliance worried when the Tsinghua Alumni Association was established, thinking it would become too powerful a voting block within the Alliance, half of whose members were Tsinghua graduates.[41] Though some fraternities and sororities first formed during the 1910s, it was not until 1925 that the *Monthly* described the divisiveness they were causing in the Chinese student community.[42]

Factionalism was always threatening to divide the Alliance. The Chairman of the Eleventh Annual Mid-West Section conference in 1920 directly addressed the problem.

> It is the European and American saying that we Chinese cannot co-operate. It has been the Japanese contempt that we Chinese have patriotism of only five minutes. No matter how exaggerated and unpleasant those statements may be, we must conscientiously and bitterly admit that it has some truth in it for China's past. But it would be our great shame and fault, if we knowingly permit these statements to be the true prophesy of China's future. . . . Come to the conference! Let us discuss our own problems, interchange our own

ideas and find out our own ways and means to effectively serve our mother country which is dear to every Chinese heart.[43]

PUBLICATIONS

The Chinese Students' Alliance offered various publications for its members and its larger audience. In the early years the Alliance sold calendars decorated with scenic places in China and pictures of the last Conference.[44] Directories of the Alliance members were published for about one-half of the years.[45] The *Chinese Students Quarterly*, the Alliance's Chinese journal which targeted an audience in China, went bankrupt in 1920, only to be revived four years later by students at Columbia.[46] In 1921, the Alliance published *Who's Who of the Chinese Students in America*.[47] These various publications show the dedication of many people who spent time raising money, compiling, writing, editing, and mailing.

The Alliance's publications suffered from several common problems, including the high cost of printing and the difficulty in convincing businessmen to advertise.[48] "Traveling subscribers," or students changing their addresses three or four times a year, was another problem.[49] Financial restrictions limited the Alliance's ability to influence the public, while "traveling subscribers" kept the Alliance from effectively networking with its members.

CHINESE STUDENTS' MONTHLY

The *Chinese Students' Monthly*, the most regular publication of the Chinese Students' Alliance, was written for both Chinese and American audiences. It served as a channel for Chinese student opinion at a crucial time in Chinese history.[50]

LEADERSHIP

The magazine had various levels of leadership. In 1910 the *Monthly* had three boards: the advisory board, the managerial board and the editorial board, which included editors for each department.[51] Finding the right people to fit the time-consuming, English-intensive editorial jobs was difficult for good editors and writers needed a combination of skills.[52] (See Figure 10 for the Editorial Board, 1916, including T. V. Soong as Editor-in-chief.) When the Alliance decided to establish a Joint Council instead of yearly alternating the editor-in-chief between sections, it was difficult to find Western and Mid-West representatives who would serve as associate editors.[53] The editors-in-chief and associate editors often did not cooperate because they were practically strangers to one another because the editor-in chief was elected by the out-going editorial board and the associate editors were elected by popular vote at the sectional annual conferences.[54] Finding good managers was also difficult since the students with business connections might not want to solicit subscriptions, while those interested in enlarging the subscription and advertisers lists might have too few contacts.[55] It was difficult to hold people accountable in larger cities where there was more than one local manager.[56]

Each editor-in-chief shaped the development and influenced the tone of the *Monthly* through organizing special issues, writing columns. For example, in November 1925 one editor outlined the special issues and four series of articles that would be published. He also published cutting and clever commentaries on Chinese women students and Confucius under the byline "Thus Spake Adam."[57] The Editor-in-chief for 1926-1927 wrote a

1, T. V. Soong, Editor-in-Chief; 2, Stewart E. S. Yui; 3, F. H. Huang; 4, H. S. Hu; 5, Y. C. Yang; 6, T. C. Chu; 7, Miss Nettie Sue-Hoo; 8, C. T. Kwei.

Figure 10 *Chinese Students' Monthly* Editorial Board, 1915-1916. Front, center, T.V. Soong, Editor-in-chief. Top, second from left, possibly Hu Shih (*CSM*, June 1916) (Courtesy of Hatcher Library, University of Michigan)

column and a farcical history of the *Monthly* where the editors were portrayed as a never-ending string of husbands of the flirtatious *Monthly*.[58] (See Appendix E "The Autobiography of a Flirt.") He also published a short story in serial form about the tragic love between a Chinese student and an American woman.[59] Besides encouraging the Chinese and American poetry department, the 1927-28 editor wrote a column of poetry and prose as an outlet for his opinions about prejudice and friendship.

HISTORY OF THE *CHINESE STUDENTS' MONTHLY*

Though the *Monthly* began as a circular among Alliance members, it quickly grew into a magazine covering numerous topics and designed to influence a wider audience. In 1905 each issue of the mimeographed *Chinese Students' Bulletin* contained less than five hundred words. Under V. K. W. Koo's direction the *Bulletin*'s was reformatted, changing its name to the *Chinese Students' Monthly*.[60] By November 1908 it had grown to 69 pages, not counting advertisements.[61]

The *Monthly*'s goals reflected the main goals of its parent, the Chinese Students' Alliance. Besides promoting the usefulness of the Alliance, it hoped to unite the student body and to inform the public of the students' opinions about events in China.[62] Though each new editor announced his goals for the year every November, the magazines' features remained within the original framework. However the presentation, such as the covers and the size, both in number of pages, as well as size of paper, changed many times.[63]

The *Monthly* experienced several problems. Typographical mistakes in the magazine cause one editor to offer his sincere apologies and tell his frustrations.[64]

> We, like other students, are burdened with college work, and the editing of the Monthly is done with the time snatched away from our studies. It is a hard enough task for us to find time to read the many manuscripts that are handed in, not to say that we are generally required to prune and to embellish a large portion of them. Added to this we have to be on the alert all the time to solicit essays, to collect news, and to read articles on China in current magazines and new books. . . . The printer certainly could not and would not rectify [errors] for us. As a matter of fact, they add a few more in the course of printing.[65]

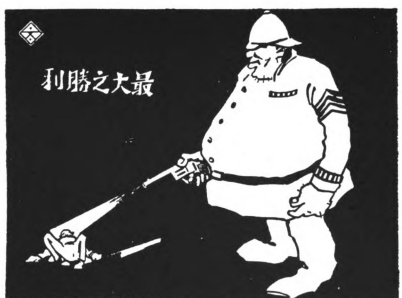
Similar to the Alliance leadership, the *Monthly* suffered from a lack of continuity because its staff often returned to China. The guidance provided by C. C. Wang and V. K. Wellington Koo, was an exception since they served as Chinese diplomats in the U. S. Finances were also often troublesome, though in the beginning the expenses were completely defrayed by subscriptions and advertisements.[66] After making a profit during 1912-1914, by the end of the next school year, the *Monthly* had a deficit of $1000.[67] (See Appendix F Income and Expenditure, *Chinese Students' Monthly,* 1906-1920.) The *Monthly* was almost orphaned when the Alliance would not advance a loan to publish the first issue of 1920-21.[68]

Despite the various serious problems listed above, it was politics, not lack of time or money, which brought the demise of both the *Monthly* and the Alliance. When left-wing students, radicalized from participating in events in China, took control of the Alliance in the late 1920s articles in the *Monthly* became more strident and some local clubs also became more radical.[69]

The November 1927 issue, which included an editorial telling how Chinese children were barred from white schools in Mississippi, two cartoons about Western imperialism and a positive article about Soviet Russia canceling its unequal treaties with China, brought criticism and support throughout the year. (See Figure 11 of a devil with a mask. The characters at the top left are translated "The civilized man's mask is removed." Figure

The civilized man's mask is removed!
We see the ferocious beast
That devours men. . . .

Figure 11 Cartoon "The civilized mask is removed" (*CSM*, November 1927) (Courtesy of Center for Research Libraries, Chicago)



British bullets—
They are fierce. . . .
Let all Chinese die.
A land of slaves shall never be theirs!

Figure 12 Cartoon "The great victory" (*CSM*, November 1927) (Courtesy of Center for Research Libraries, Chicago)

12 of a British soldier killing a Chinese. The characters are translated "The great victory.") A business patron of the *Monthly* in the U. S. wrote to cancel his advertisement, and an American in China suggested that the students return to China to see what was actually happening there.[70] The China Society of America scolded the students for alienating "the sympathies of sincere friends of China" and making the Society's job of securing practical training positions in American firms more difficult.[71] The editor of the *Monthly* replied,

> . . .Can you not even permit us to utter a word in protest. . . ? . . . The policy of the *Monthly* is to reveal to the world what it holds to be the truth concerning the actions of the "Powers" in China. The test of the sincerity of China's "friends" lies in their willingness to stand by her when the truth is discovered. . . . Why should members of the China Society of *America* object to what after all reflects only on Great Britain as do our cartoons? . . . Why should the Chinese not be permitted to hold a favorable view of Soviet Russia? She has proved herself China's friend by her actions. . . . On the whole your letter seems to us an unjustifiable attempt at intimidation and little more.[72]

Despite the editor's reply, the issue also contained a recall notice for the November 1927 issue. People who supported the editor's stance included Agnes Smedley writing from Berlin, and an anonymous correspondent who wrote, "You are darn right on race prejudice. . . . You may be alienating a few friends, but these are never real friends."[73] The *Monthly* did not fall with this first blow, but the end was coming.

From 1928 onward, the editors introduced articles with leftist slants by writing comments, such as "the Marxist analysis of the whole situation. . . deserves our close attention."[74] The conservative and moderate students who took a close look at the *Monthly* and did not like what they saw, removed both the editor and the president of the Alliance from office.[75] Things limped along for another year, but the internal struggle had so exhausted and

demoralized the Alliance that it collapsed, leaving only the local student clubs and suspended publication of the *Monthly* in 1931.[76] Both the Alliance and the *Monthly* survived for twenty-five years despite numerous possible divisions due to perseverance of students, only to be crushed in a power struggle imported from China.

AUTHORSHIP

The articles in the *Chinese Students' Monthly* came from a variety of sources. Winning speeches from the yearly conferences included "A Plea for True Patriotism" and "China's Remonstrance" about the United States' Chinese Exclusion Act.[77] Essay contests gave assigned topics, such as "How Can Foreign Capital be Used to China's Advantage?" or "Is Centralization or Decentralization the Most Desirable Form of Government for China?"[78] Reprinted articles from supportive magazines such as *The Far Eastern Review*, *The New Republic* and *The Nation* were used.[79] Talks and articles from Chinese politicians, educators and scholars or conference addresses given by American university presidents, professors, government officials and advisors also served as sources.

The *Monthly*'s contributors reflect the diversity of the students' political, scientific, philosophical and international connections. Some of the earliest American contributors were women who worked among the Chinese laborers or people who served as advisors in China.[80] Taraknath Das, formerly a fellow in Political Science and Economics at the University of Washington, submitted articles or book reviews in the early years, ultimately serving as a contributing editor for the *Monthly* in 1926-27.[81] The contributors for the March 1922 issue give an idea of the spectrum: President Goodnow, Johns Hopkins University and one-time adviser to the Chinese

Government; M. T. Z. Tyau, formerly a lecturer on International Law at Tsinghua College, who had served both the League of Nations and the Chinese Delegation to the Washington Conference; John E. Baker, a technical adviser on railroads to the Ministry of Communications in China; Y. S. Tsa, Assistant Secretary-General of the Chinese Delegation to the Washington Conference, who would return to China to become counselor to the Ministry of Foreign Affairs; K. O. Houx, former second secretary in the Chinese Legation at Berne; E. H. Parker, professor of Chinese at Victoria University, Manchester, England; and S. Y. Chu, a scientific scholar specializing in mining.[82]

READERSHIP

The *Chinese Student's Monthly* also had a diverse readership including Chinese students in the United States, Europe and Asia, American professors, students and businessmen and Chinese returned students. Initially Chinese student subscriptions grew quite rapidly, reflecting the rapid growth in numbers of students in the U. S. In nine years the circulation grew almost ten-fold; two-thirds of the subscribers were non-members of the Alliance, most of them Americans and Europeans.[83]

From the beginning, the *Monthly* hoped to provide American readers with authoritative information about China and to remove the prejudice against China. The *Monthly* attracted the attention of several American organizations, including the Library of Congress, the United States Bureau of Education and the Yale University Library.[84] Though Americans were viewed as happy to subscribe to the *Monthly* once they knew of its existence, it still only reached a small select group of people instead of the intended wider audience.[85]

The *Monthly* also hoped to keep in touch with returned students and to influence people in China. One of the first distributors outside of the United States was the World's Chinese Students' Federation in Shanghai.[86] Besides four other outlets in Shanghai, ten outlets in other Chinese cities were added over the years including three in Beijing, two in Tientsin, and Canton Christian College. The editor during 1923-24 attributed the surprising growth of the circulation in Central China to growing interest in the students' activities in the United States, the students' non-partisan view of China's internal and international affairs, and the industrial, commercial and financial news.[87]

The *Monthly* had distributors around the world. In 1920-22, the overseas representatives expanded to Honolulu, Paris, Liverpool, Dutch East Indies, Federated Malay States, Germany, Philippine Islands, Burma, Siam, and the two Straits Settlements of Penang and Singapore. The readership, like the authorship, shows the students' diverse connections. While Chinese students in the United States could read about home news, Americans and Chinese and others around the world found it an alternative source of information about China to newspapers and movies.

REGULAR FEATURES

The *Monthly*'s regular features or sections can be divided into eight types: editorials, contributed articles, world news, Chinese Students' Alliance news and business, creative writing, reader response and book reviews. The advertisements are another window into the students' connections with the Chinese and American business community. The *Monthly* usually had several editorials at the front of each issue. Some commented about the latest event in China or an international event concerning China, while

others highlighted Alliance news, introduced the author of an article or bid farewell to a Chinese Minister or Educational Minister.

The contributed articles generally followed the editorials. Today's reader sees the history of China slowly unfold, such as the 1911 Revolution, Japan's 21 Demands on China in 1915, the Paris Peace Talks in 1919, the cultural, literary and political debates of 1919-24, and China's relationship with the Soviet Union in 1927-28. The *Monthly* addressed a number of pressing questions, including How to reform China? What is patriotism? What was the relationship between the United States and China? and Had the Chinese revolution been successful? The special issues or "numbers," focused on one topic such as Education, Women Students, America's Open Door Policy, and the Washington Conference.[88]

The Chinese news sections kept the student well-informed of events in China. "Home News" or "March of Events at Home," often included pictures of Chinese leaders and ministers to the United States. During 1924-25, the *Monthly* gave day-by-day accounts of events in Shanghai, Peking, Tokyo, and Mukden. Sometimes the *Monthly* published appendixes of important documents verbatim; for example, the full text of Japan's proposals on Shantung or the proceedings and treaties of the Washington Conference.[89]

At first, the section on Alliance news and business called "Student World," contained the president's and business reports, the club news, correspondence, the personals, obituaries and pictures from the local clubs and the annual conferences.[90] Later, the local club reports, which peaked at 27 reports in one issue, under the byline "News: Abroad" or "Local Intelligence" or "Club News," comprised most of the section. As the *Monthly* grew older, it focused less on the Alliance news and more on the events in China.

The students used various forms of creative writing both to entertain and to strengthen their message. Poetry, written in the early years by Americans to tunes such as "Battle Hymn of the Republic" or "Home, Sweet Home," was later revived under the patronage of a poet editor-in-chief and a Chinese-American poet who served as literary editor and contributor. The short stories and plays, most of which were published during the 1920s, usually dealt with love or politics.[91] The humor section began as a Chinese wit and humor, later compared Chinese and American culture, and in the final years satirized various targets, such as the local clubs, the *Monthly* and women students.[92] The rare cartoon usually had a political theme.

The "Open Forum" and letters to the editor serve as a window to how readers responded to events in China and the United States. The "Forum" was a mixture of book reviews, articles, personal impressions and letters.[93] A letter in the November 1922 issue of the *Monthly*, "$1.00 Down to See China-Town," which complained about tourism in the New York City Chinatown, brought responses throughout the year.[94] Before 1911, most of the letters to the editors were Alliance business printed verbatim, but during the late teens and early twenties the topics of the letters varied from an invitation to attend the Chinese Students' Christian Association yearly conference, to a critique of the Alliance's Eastern Section conference, to a response to an article on the New Literary movement.[95] Letters during the late 1920s responded to political events, such as the Tariff Conference or foreign gunboats in Nanking.[96]

Book reviews were published throughout most of the history of the *Monthly*. Sometimes the recent literature on China was just listed, other times annotated, while in other years books received long reviews. Twice the *Monthly* published a list of the best books about China.[97]

Though the editors of the *Monthly* changed almost every year, they maintained a standard format to give the magazine a sense of order. The various additions and deletions reveal the strengths and weaknesses, as well as the biases of the editors. In general, the editorials, articles and news sections remained strong, while the Alliance news shrank and the sections on creative writing, reader response and book reviews were sporadic. The *Monthly* serves as a window into a tumultuous time in Chinese history as well as a memorial to students who desired to reform their country while studying abroad.

Advertisements

The number of advertisements in the *Monthly* rose and fell with the strength of the Alliance. Beginning with a few pages of advertisements, the *Monthly* grew to forty pages representing 181 businesses, only to shrink back to less than ten pages during the final years. The majority of the advertisers were on the East coast, reflecting both the *Monthly*'s base of operation, as well as the greater number of students. (See Appendix G Location of Advertisers, *Chinese Students' Monthly*, November 1920.) Though Chinese-American restaurants remained the top advertisers through the years, some American businesses and manufacturers became long-term advertisers. (See Appendix H Types of Advertisers, *Chinese Students' Monthly*, November 1920.) Since the magazine tried to support itself by subscription fees and advertisements, the editors ran the line, "Please kindly mention The Chinese Students' *Monthly* when writing to the Advertisers," along the bottom of the advertising pages for many years. Advertisements in the *Monthly* show the types of business connections the students made, the people who tried to

influence the students and the extent that advertisers wrote their advertisements directed especially toward the student audience.

CONCLUSION

The Alliance's twenty-five year success attests to the students' ability to work together on foreign soil. Its goal, to break from traditional provincialism and create a concern for national welfare, was able to bring divergent groups together. Despite this desire, factionalism constantly threatened all levels of the Alliance. Local clubs struggled with divisions based on provincial differences, as well as prejudice between the native-born and American-born contingents. Sections competed for power and struggled against excessive college spirit at the annual conferences. Regionalism in the U. S. took the form of East-West, rather than traditional North-South found in China. Though the Alliance was held up as a place where students could learn to cooperate, its constantly changing constituency, its mushrooming growth and the polarizing political events back in China threatened to divide the group. Politicization, which finally brought the Alliance's demise, foreshadowed the problems the students would encounter when they returned to China.

The Alliance also displays the students' ability to set goals and to organize reform. Publishing the *Monthly* regularly for twenty-five years required the talent of many students. Serving as a catalyst for change, the magazine offered an arena for debate and discussion. The annual sectional conferences, which played an important part in fulfilling the social and political goals, were organizational feats. The students displayed flexibility to adjust to new challenges, such as the growing student population, and a responsiveness to needs, such as encouraging practical training. While

indifferent members, powerplays and lack of time and money kept the Alliance from fulfilling its goals, the lack of continuity of leaders and competition with other groups did not cripple the organization.

The students' also possessed the ability to make diverse connections and encouraging others to join them in reform. While the clubs and conferences brought students together, the *Monthly* reached out to an audience that spanned the globe, using both instruction and humor to influence. Chinese and American politicians, foreign policy advisors, educators and other influential people wrote for the *Monthly* and spoke at conferences. The students used the term "friendship," to call on the U. S. to act on China's behalf rather than just speak of its past friendly actions, such as returning the Indemnity Fund. When the Alliance "experiment in self-government" blew up in 1931, the students lost a forum for discussion and China lost an important voice to the American public just as she needed a friend.

The Closure of The Educational Mission in America
Huang Tsun-hsien, 1881

. . . Many have lost themselves in the environment.
They step on a thousand flowers in the red carpet;
. . . A caller wants to discuss conditions in the old country;
The boys blush and know not what to say.
Though they can use the foreign tongue to call one another to play,
To summon the waiters to the dinner tables,
To chat on varying subjects among themselves,
Or to sing high-pitched solos,
Yet, as for the Shanghai or the Canton dialect,
They have forgotten and ceased to understand.
. . . They live in a mirage, a paradise,
And are showered with fragrant blossoms by the fair ones.
They have found the country of superb happiness;
They are too happy to think of their fatherland.[1]

Chapter 3: Carrying a Satchel in a Strange Land

> Many of our Chinese students . . . bring with them the highest expectations of good will and fellowship; . . . Rebuffs, snubs, and rudeness soon change their feelings to great bitterness against the Americans. . . . Many of them have come to the country without friends or connections of any kind; the people, the language, the customs are all strange and bewildering; what, then, could be more disheartening than to be refused shelter?
>
> Chinese-American woman student, 1924[2]

As a select group who had prepared for this opportunity for years, Chinese students came to the United States with great expectations. They experienced the typical adjustments of studying in a new country, including worrying about the political events in their home country. The opening composite, collected from articles, short stories, poems and humor in the *Monthly*, gives a glimpse of student life in the United States.[3]

Though they admired the United States as a democratic country, their experience with institutional and cultural prejudice dampened their enthusiasm. The students might have wanted to shun the Chinatowns in order not to be associated with the lower classes, but they joined Chinese-Americans in trying to create a new image of China and Chinese for Americans. How were they able to overcome the provincial, linguistic and social barriers dividing the two groups?

Despite the attraction of living in the United States, the students did not forget their goal of reforming China. The opening poem for this chapter describes how the students, who came on the first Chinese Educational Mission from 1872-1881, were accused of forgetting about China and losing their Chinese language skills. Living in the shadow of their predecessors, would the second wave of Chinese students do any better at keeping connected to China?

FARTHER WEST

In one autobiography, the author titled his chapter about life in the United States as "Farther West" since the process of westernization for him and most of the others had begun when they read translations of Western books and attended schools where classes were held in English.[4] When news of the opportunity of study abroad was announced, a queue, soft silk garments and pliable shoes were exchanged for a hard straw hat, stiff collar and a pair of heavy Western shoes.[5] Tears mixed with great anticipation when family and fiancees came to say farewell at the dock. Once on board the ocean liners, divisions sometimes arose between Indemnity-sponsored students who had studied at Tsinghua and the privately- or independently-sponsored students, but other times they cooperated in putting out lists of students and their destinations.

Once they arrived in San Francisco, Seattle or Vancouver, students had series of new experiences. They had to pass medical exams and undergo thorough inspections.[6] After being met by their compatriots, the students were given tour of towns where they might be driven by women! After hearing newspaper boys calling out "Extra, Extra," and seeing couples dancing and singing in the streets late into the night, and milk wagons making early morning deliveries, one student asked if people in America ever went to sleep at night. Self-serve cafeterias were strange and automation was new - dispensing chewing gun, telling one's weight, and collecting street car fares in boxes. The students going East from Vancouver or Seattle boarded trains. (See Figure 13 for train advertisement showing Chinese students.) Black porters arranged the students' berths and brushed their suits. Lots of paper was available in the form of paper cups, toilet paper and paper towels. Trains stopped at various scenic spots such as Glacier National

Special Train of Chinese Students, Seattle to Chicago via Great Northern September, 1924

For the Chinese Student

The efficient, dependable service furnished by the Great Northern Railway has made this route the most popular one with Chinese Students going to or coming from the Orient via Seattle, Wash., or Vancouver, B. C.

The New "Oriental Limited"

is the finest train operated between Chicago and the Pacific Northwest. A De Luxe train, but **no extra fare.** New steel compartment-observation cars, Pullman standard and tourist sleeping cars, and dining cars serving splendid meals at moderate prices.

Travel Through the Scenic Northwest

via St. Paul, Minneapolis, Glacier National Park, Spokane and Seattle through a wonderful territory particularly appealing to the student by reason of its scenic and educational features.

Any representative of this company will gladly assist in planning your trip, arrange your reservations both rail and steamer, will supply you free with time tables and descriptive literature, and be of service in every way possible.

BOSTON, MASS.
Chan Fong, 18 Harrison Avenue
J. H. Kenney, N. F. P. A.
294 Washington St.

CHICAGO, ILL.
Chin Kung Fong
533 So. Clark Street
E. H. Moot
General Agent, Passenger Dept.
226 W. Adams Street

NEW YORK, N. Y.
Wu Doshim
46 Mott Street
M. M. Hubbert, G. E. P. A.
516 Lexington Building

PHILADELPHIA, PA.
Fong Dock Wing
408 Finance Building
E. H. Whitlock, T. P. A.
408 Finance Building

Frank A. Simon, General Agent for the Orient
3 Canton Road, Shanghai, China
C. W. Maldrum, Assistant General Passenger Agent, Seattle
A. J. Dickinson, Passenger Traffic Manager, St. Paul, Minn.

Great Northern

Longest Cinderless Mileage of any Railroad in the Northwest

Figure 13: Train advertisement (*CSM*, November 1924) (Courtesy of Hatcher Library, University of Michigan)

Park. Once good-byes were said at Chicago to those attending Midwest schools, the others continued by train to the East Coast.

Upon arrival at their destination, students began to settle in. Some were given rooms in dormitories, while others had to find rooms to rent in town. Often their introduction to American prejudice was being turned away from boarding homes, though some Americans found the students to be well-mannered .

Difficulties of living in a foreign country were numerous.[7] Though they had studied English, some could not understand the professors' jokes during the first classes. While one student worked on his English by reading English literature aloud for at least fifteen minutes each morning, another decided never to speak perfect English, so that people would not think that China was colonized by England.[8] New foods, such as cheese or large steaks, seemingly "raw," caused difficulties.

Loneliness and unhappiness, due to the fact that some students had no one with whom to share the burden of problems or exchange serious ideas, were common problems. Some students dealt with loneliness by looking for spouses. American women, though seen as pleasant company, were not thought to be as faithful and patient as Chinese women.[9]

Lack of funding occasionally left some students destitute. When the Qing dynasty fell in 1911, students at Oberlin set up a society to support needy provincial-sponsored students rather than allowing them return to China without their degrees. When the financial situation deteriorated in the mid-1920s, some students were forced to go without food and to try to dodge university bills.[10] Some found work as fishermen or picking fruit during the summers, others thought housework was too menial, only to be turned away from chop suey restaurants for lack of experience.

Students could be separated into three categories. The hard-workers, or "grinders," who did not take time for sports or social activities, could easily become ill, have mental breakdowns, or even die.[11] The sociable students took to heart the recommendations to broaden themselves by participating in sports and in clubs. The "loafers" were castigated for being too light-hearted and given over to bad habits, such as cribbing, smoking, swearing and joy-riding. Most students stayed in the United States two to six years, but during times of crisis in China, some wanted to return home quickly before finishing their programs. Those who desired practical training in American businesses after finishing their graduate degrees often found the six year limit too short.

The students experienced cultural racism. They were called "Chinamen," a word commonly used with contempt. Though the *Monthly* ran humorous pieces and grammar lessons in order to teach Americans to use the word "Chinese, only a few missionaries and their friends called them "Chinese". Students were treated as though they were blacks. A short story recounts how a newly arrived Chinese student who wanted a shave was told to go around the corner to a black barber. Being unaccustomed to such treatment, he was about to vent his anger when another student who had been in the United States longer reminded him that he was in America, not China and that he would have to get used to discrimination since he could not change it.[12] Students were commonly mistaken for Japanese. One source of this confusion came from a Japanese professor who toured the United States in 1915, declaring that in towns and cities there are Chinese laundries, but in every American university there are Japanese students. (The official figures were 594 Chinese students to 336 Japanese students on American campuses.)[13] The students were embarrassed when Americans attributed

Japanese actions, both good and bad, to the Chinese students, such as winning the Russo-Japanese War of 1905 or aggression against Korea..

Students responded in a number of ways to prejudice and misrepresentation. One response was to correct the offender. When a Chinese freshman was greeted on the college campus with "Hello, Jap," he demanded the American sophomore to stop a minute.

> With a spirit which was a bit out of harmony with the Confucian ideal of peace or the Taoistic concept of non-resistance, the young man from the Far East approached his class opponent: "Call me a Chinaman, or even a chink if you have never learned of the proper word. I am a Jun Kuo Ren, a Chinese. Don't mix me up with a Jap!"[14]

Some responded with bitterness to Americans' assumption of superiority.. After recounting a conversation where a Midwestern hostess asked him, "Haven't you ever wished to have been born white?" one student wrote that America was not an earthly paradise.[15] By contrast, others denied prejudice or choose not to dwell on it. A Chinese student on the West coast wrote to friends in China saying, "All these so-called racial prejudices are very exceptional and are taken seriously only by exceptional individuals."[16] Students also reminded people of China's long heritage. When discussing psychological tests of intelligence the students said the question of Chinese superiority or inferiority should not be judged merely by mental tests, but by anthropologists, sociologists and students of cultural history.[17] In response to the American missionaries' portrayal of Chinese as heathen, the *Monthly*'s readers were reminded that the Chinese were not Polynesian savages who needed trousers and Bibles, for China had an ethical and religious system equal to any other.[18] Cultural one-upmanship sometimes bordered on reverse prejudice. "When Europeans wore dressed skins and were whacking one another with clubs, China was listening respectfully to her poets and

philosophers, and one of the greatest thinkers of all time had come and gone. His name was Confucius."[19] Students also pointed out that Americans had mysterious ways and strange features, such as the variety of hair color, especially red. They wondered how Americans could eat without cutting their lips with pointed forks and described the English language as equally strange and difficult as Chinese. Threats of retaliation were a less common response to prejudice. After the Consul-General of the Republic of China described the misrepresentations of China found in the press, at summer resorts, and on movie screens, he said, "If remedial measures are not taken it will tend to create racial ill-feeling. Over 2500 Chinese students will some day return to China and their opinion of America will react against you."[20]

During the 1920s, the students' disappointment with American society and foreign policy grew. Some of the Chinese Christians turned cold and indifferent towards Christianity, for the America they encountered was different from the one they had heard about from the missionaries.[21] Other wondered if they were exchanging the pearls of their historic culture for Western civilization's fake jewels of business or for worse, only "Bibles, bullets and beer."[22]

Students often had mixed feelings when preparing to go home. Though many would miss their life in the United States, one student summarized life in the States: "to be a needy student from a country much misunderstood affords the greatest test of individual character."[23] Another student described his experience as carrying a satchel in a strange land. "I have tasted sweet as well as bitter experiences. Here and there cheated and despised apart from any faults of my own, I grieve and become angry; but when I occasionally find an understanding friend, I rejoice, rejoice until I

weep."[24] While the earlier students returned with great hopes of changing China, the later students had more doubts about realizing their dreams.

SOURCES OF MISREPRESENTATION

Much of the general public knew little about China except for the floods and famines reported in the newspapers and a land of enchantment pictured in the ocean liner advertisements. One humorist left no class of Americans unscathed.

American Conception of the Chinese

> The average American: "They are Japs."
> The uneducated class: "Well, the Chinaman's chop suey is some class."
> The middle class: "Chinaman eats rats and birds' nests!" (Straw and twigs)
> The intelligent class: "The Chinese Revolution! Premier Kai and Dr. Sen!"[25]

Though the *Monthly* set up The Department of Questioners in 1910 because students were annoyed and humiliated by the "absurd inquiries of ill-informed Americans," twenty years later Americans still knew little about China, while they could discuss Russian politics, theatre and literature.[26] (See Appendix I "'Don'ts' For Foreigners When Discussing China.") Americans' distorted ideas about China and Chinese people came from a number of sources, including missionaries, traveler's tales, magazines, newspapers and movies, and tales of Chinatowns.

Missionaries were a major source of information about China for the American public. In 1916 more than 2800 American missionaries were working in China. Because they usually took furloughs every seven years, at least 300 missionaries were home writing articles and giving addresses in churches, clubs and schools during any one year.[27] Though missionaries' observations were accepted with respect because of their residence in China

and their noble motives, the students accused them of exaggerating China's problems in order to show how much work needed to be done to help the Chinese people.[28] Some missionaries worked in the rural areas where 90% of the Chinese people lived, whereas most students came from more urban areas.[29] Though the missionaries were experts on the majority, the students were frustrated that the missionaries rarely reported about the more progressive urban areas where "the high class Chinese" came from.[30]

Travelers' tales were another source of information for the American public. Tourists, who returned to lecture or write books about their adventures, often treated China as thought it were a museum or a storehouse of strange customs. Book reviews in the *Monthly* told how the writers, most of whom did not understand or appreciate the customs and civilization of the people, insisted on reporting the most ludicrous events.

Magazines and newspapers also used sensationalism, such as wars, floods, earthquakes, and bandits to attract readers. Some Chinese complained that only the extraordinary events got published, while signs of steady progress, such as promotion of modern education or the development of commerce and industry, were passed over. The emphasis in the press on the instability of China was seen by some as stemming from darker motives in order to prepare the American public for military intervention or to have an excuse to set up a non-Chinese government.[31]

Movies and plays only added to the misconceptions of the Chinese people. The students felt insulted and humiliated by the portrayals of Chinese as murderers, robbers, kidnappers, bloodthirsty priests and even geisha keepers.[32] Since more people went to see movies than listened to missionaries or read books, the students blamed the film industry for much of the racial prejudice the students experienced.

Some of the American public did not have to depend on missionaries or movies since Chinatowns were accessible. Most of the Chinese with whom Americans came in contact were the laundrymen and the chop suey proprietors whom the students described as representing "a very small locality in the South [and coming] from decidedly the lower strata of Chinese society".[33] Even when only a few Chinese still lived in New York City's old Chinatown, exhibitions about opium dens still attracted tourists.[34] Wars between *tongs*, or fraternal associations which acted like gangs, also caused prejudice and fear. After a Chinese man was killed in Cleveland in September 1925, the city's safety director, using the excuse of a tong war, arrested all 600 Chinese in the city - including the students - and fingerprinted them.[35] Since Chinatowns were thought to be urban islands of laundries, chop suey restaurants, and *tongs*, it was not infrequent for a Chinese student in the Western states to be asked if he was a proprietor of a laundry. One way the students fought misrepresentation was to work with the Chinese-American community.

LINKING WITH THE CHINESE-AMERICAN COMMUNITY

Because they believed that some of the prejudice they were experiencing was directly due to the Chinatowns, Chinese students had mixed feelings towards American-born Chinese. Wen Yiduo wrote a poem about the laundryman's plight while studying art in New York in 1924-25, which expressed his indignation about the inferior status of all Chinese in the United States.[36] (See Appendix J "Laundry Song.") The *Monthly* saw itself in direct competition with the "living advertisements" of American-born Chinese whose "backwardness and degradation will always remain a source of regret and shame for the Chinese people."[37] One student asked the

Alliance to hold a national conference in the West because "the Pacific Coast badly needs the acquaintance of the better class of Chinese. . . to correct certain prejudices of the anti-Chinese."[38]

Though Rose Hum Lee argued that the two groups never had a close affiliation because "the student group fear[ed] misidentification with a lower socio-economic level of those who look like them." and "the foreign- and native-born resent[ed] the superior attitude of the students," Lee's analysis does not seem to reflect the picture of the 1910s and 1920s presented in the *Monthly*.[39] Though class, provincial and language differences needed to be overcome, many students decided that working with the community was a necessary way to build a better image of China and Chinese people since both China's national dignity and their personal lives were at stake.

Though some students may have feared misidentification, the question of helping Chinatowns was raised early in the history of the Alliance. In the spring of 1908, professional men, students and merchants in New York negotiated with the YMCA to set up a branch for the 7000 Chinese who resided in Chinatown. A Fall 1909 editorial on the "delicate, but important" topic of "What can we do for our working class in this country?" brought several responses. An American woman who had worked with Chinese laborers for years told the students to stop ignoring the "weak and humble hard working men of their own race," and begin building bonds through visiting their places of business.[40] While one Chinese man called for cooperation and support from the official representatives, such as ministers and counselors, another argued that official support was not necessary since friendship alone would work to change the community. He knew that some students might be embarrassed at first to walk with one of these men who may be still wearing his Chinese clothes and queue, but told the students

that they would soon see the benefits of friendship.[41] A decade later, a student reporting on her work among Chinese women in Pittsburgh also argued about the benefits of friendship since their countrymen lacked only one thing, "the Opportunity to Mingle with People of High Intellectual Capacity."[42] The language the students used to describe the Chinese-American community and themselves seemed to preclude success.

The Chinese-Americans also had mixed feelings toward the students. Sometimes they criticized individuals. For example, one student recounting working on a ranch before he was fired, wrote "Everytime I, being unable to talk their dialect, said anything, there came the much repeated answer: 'You Chinee? No speak Chinee?'"[43] Other times the Chinese-Americans criticized the Alliance, such as a New York newspaper's comments about an election at the annual conference being "secret" and about the poor student attendance at a Chinese speech.[44] At the same time, the Chinese-Americans hoped the students would strengthen China and improve the position of Chinese within the U.S. Because of both custom and discriminatory treatment, Chinese-Americans still felt their home was China, not the U. S.[45] In his report of the 1918 Western Conference, one student told how the Chinese merchants "placed implicit trust in the Chinese students of to-day to bring about the great and wonderful changes in that promising but now alarmingly distressed country, and put into us a great desire to live up to their expectations."[46]

Working Together

Despite the students' fear of misidentification and Chinese Americans' resentment of the students' superior attitude, the two groups interacted on a variety of levels. Chinese-American merchants strongly supported the *Monthly* through advertising. From the beginning, Chinese merchants, such

as the ubiquitous restaurants and tea gardens, as well as the ginseng dealers and import/export businesses, bought more than one-half of the *Monthly*'s advertisements. In turn, the magazine encouraged students to patronize the businesses.

The merchants supported student conferences financially and served as judges for the speech contests. For example, when the Western Section held its conference for the first time in Portland, Oregon, the students' campaign among the merchants of Portland, Astoria and Salem raised $260.00 in two or three days. Three prominent Chinese merchants judged the Chinese oratorical contest. At the farewell banquet the merchants thanked the students for coming to Portland and the students thanked the merchants for underwriting the expenses and for entertaining the delegates .[47]

The students and merchants socialized together on national holidays and at other times. Students at the University of Washington reported that an open house was a great success at strengthening their friendship. After the merchants supported two shows by the Pittsburgh club, the students invited more than 100 merchants to a social.

Students sponsored general welfare projects in the major Chinatowns by supplying Boy Scout leaders, libraries and English lessons. In the Spring of 1910 ten students in the Boston area set up the General Welfare Association in order to offer classes in Chinese, English and mathematics. Though many Chinese students declined to join the effort, five years later the Welfare School was still going strong. In 1910, students at Yale began by assisting the local Baptist Church in its Sunday school for Chinese. Besides Bible study and church services, the school provided two regular English classes and frequent lectures. Ten years later, 20-30 men were enrolled in

the classes. Several Columbia students decided in 1915 to organize the first Chinese Boy Scout Troop using the proceeds from a play presented by the students. In 1918 the New York City Chinese Students' Club was still assisting the troop financially.[48] (See Figure 14 for Chinese Boys Scouts, Troop 50, Manhattan, N. Y.) Models of service like these encouraged the president of the Alliance to call for an extension of welfare programs, especially in teaching English. The remarkable longevity of the welfare programs display the students' consistent vision despite changing leadership.

The students co-sponsored events with the Chinese merchants to present a better image of China. The students and merchants in Cleveland presented an expensive ($25,000) exhibit about the art, music, civilization and industries of China in order to educate the public.[49] (See Appendix C.) Though barriers needed to be overcome, the students joined Chinese-Americans in various financial, social, educational and political activities which proved mutually beneficial, as well as helpful in changing Americans' views of China.

Interacting with Chinese-American Students

American-born Chinese interacted with the Chinese students on the campuses as members of the local Alliance clubs. Some Chinese-American students worked among the students from China. The young woman quoted at the beginning of this chapter planned to work with students while waiting to go to graduate school since "there are problems among the Chinese students themselves that have great bearing upon the future life of China."[50]

In order that China would be better served, the Western section of the Alliance encouraged American-born Chinese to participate despite them causing division and bringing different goals. The presence of American-born

Chinese was felt in local clubs. After describing the power plays and open hostility that came from the North-South China division in a club in Southern California, one student said that the same troubles were seen between the native- and American-born Chinese. She wrote that the cause of the division, was not the difference in dialect or biology, but prejudice.

> The [native-born] assumes that his birthplace has given him a certain lofty advantage and his attitude toward the American-born is rather more contemptuous. . . . The [American-born], always quick to resent, assumes that those from China are slow, lacking in pep, dowdy in dress, and not quite up to his American standard.[51]

The writer pointed out that students criticized the United States for excluding the Chinese people on the basis of race alone, yet they discriminated against each other on an even narrower basis, bigoted provincialism. She saw no hope for China if the divisions between North and South and native-born and American-born could not be overcome. Sectional conferences were also influenced by American-born Chinese. The *Monthly*'s report of the 1925 conference said that the high schoolers wasted time on the issues of race prejudice and the dangers of self-sufficiency, leaving the weightier matters, such as restricted tariff and unequal treaties, untouched.[52]

The tensions brought by American-born Chinese who participated in the Alliance can be further seen by looking at one person, Flora Belle Jan, who was the daughter of a chop suey restaurant owner in Fresno, California, and served as English Secretary in the Chinese Students' Club at Fresno State College from 1922-1923.[53] (See Figure 15 for Flora Belle Jan and other officers in the Fresno Chinese Student's Club.) Besides writing and performing in a play, she wrote an article about Chinese life in the local newspaper that caused a stir throughout Chinatown. After receiving

Figure 14: Chinese Boy Scouts, Troop 50, Manhattan, N.Y. Back, right, William Hung, Chairman of Chinese Welfare Committee in New York. (*CSM*, April 1918) (Courtesy of Center for Research Library, Chicago)

Figure 15: Officers in Chinese Students' Club, Fresno State College, CA. Front, center, Flora Belle Jan, Literary Editor. ("The Trailmaker") (Courtesy of Madden Library, California State University, Fresno)

blackmail letters and having two students, one from North China, the other from the South, fight a duel, she was called to account for her actions.

> A delegation of Chinese students met me at college and I challenged them to show what I had said that disgraced anybody or anything. They put on their spectacles and after ten minutes could not find anything. I said, "Ta ta, Kiddos, when you find any disgrace you just put me wise. I can't wait all day. . . ."[54]

A student from North China felt Jan's satires on Chinese life gave the wrong impression of China to America, for "she does not really know China, has never been to China and is out of touch with modern China and Chinese thought and events and culture."[55] In 1926 Jan transferred to the University of Chicago, graduating in 1927 with a Ph.B (Bachelors of Philosophy) degree. After contributing poems to the section on Chinese and American Poetry during the spring of 1928, she became one of seven contributing editors for the *Monthly*. Several of her poems, an article defending the existence of fraternities, and a short story about a Chinese-American girl growing up and marrying a Chinese-born student were published. Surviving the political upheaval in the *Monthly* in February 1930, she became one of three associate editors in 1930-31.

American-born Chinese students influenced the local clubs, the conferences, and the *Monthly*. Though they caused tensions by dividing the clubs in yet another way, by having different goals for the Alliance, and by presenting other images of China, at least one achieved an influential role in the Alliance. Both the students and the Chinese-American community had to overcome bitterness in order to work together to present a better image of China to Americans.

REMEMBERING CHINA

During the late 1920s the second wave of students were accused of forgetting the needs of their country while studying in the United States. "Chinese students here in this heavenly beautiful piece of land called America are under the hypnotic influence of their white bread and yellow butter, their furnished rooms, their books and classrooms, etc., and forget things across the Pacific."[56] The students were also accused of not knowing what was going on in China since they had been away too long. Considering their quick, and sometimes hasty, nationalistic responses, this accusation may be more on the mark. Were these accusations true or were they politically motivated like the accusations made against the first wave?

Though they were far from home, they still felt the burden of their bond with China. Political and social events in China as well as events on the international scene weighed on the students. Besides studying hard to bring back skills which were needed in China, they made timely responses with cables, and money and remembrances.

The students did know about events in China, because in addition to daily newspapers, the *Monthly* helped students keep aware of both Chinese and international events. The students responded quickly to the critical events in China even though an ocean separated them. The Alliance advised the government on the Canton-Hankow railway controversy and the Panama canal labor question.[57] They tried to influence the Chinese government, though the cables they sent to the government were not always welcome. When the students telegraphed the government in 1908, the government responded that it did not like the intrusion and that regulations would be forthcoming. When the students asked Tang Shao-Yi to consider becoming China's "George Washington," he thanked the students but declined the

position, replying that he had retired to the South due to poor health.[58] In 1915 students sent a petition to President Yuan Shi-Kai protesting his desire to change China from a republic to a monarchy. In response to the Japanese aggression in 1928, the Alliance sent cables to China urging firm resistance and issued manifestos to the Japanese press and army.

The students tried to influence international politics. During the Paris Peace talks in 1918, the Alliance cabled The Supreme Council at the Conference, protesting the decision about the railway and mining rights in Shandong. At the same time the clubs at Harvard, M.I.T. and Worcester cabled Paris asking for abrogation of the Treaty of 1915 with Japan. The government acceded to the Eastern Section's unanimous resolution that 5 representatives from the Alliance be allowed to take part in the deliberations at the Washington Conference in 1921-1922.[59]

Students also responded to needs in China by raising money. The *Monthly* used graphic photos, letters and creative drawings and clubs held "Chinese Nights" or bazaars to raise funds for flood and famine victims. (See Figures 16 and 17 for two methods the *Monthly* used to raise funds for famine victims.) In order to buy one battleship, a Naval Fund was endorsed at the 1911 annual conference, while in 1923 students in Missouri raised money to help pay for the Kiaochow-Tsinan Railroad.

The *Monthly* included obituaries of leading Chinese figures. The obituaries included those of the Emperor and his powerful aunt, the Empress Dowager (1908); Yung Wing (1912), who studied in the United States from 1847-1854, and who led the ill-fated Chinese Education Mission in the 1870s; and Madame Koo (1918), wife of V. K. Wellington Koo, Chinese Minister to United States.[60] Not all obituaries were favorable. The announcement of

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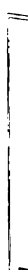

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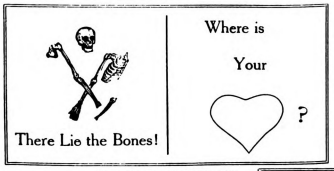
Figure 16 Chinese Famine Sufferers (*CSM*, February 1912) (Courtesy of Kroch Library, Cornell University)



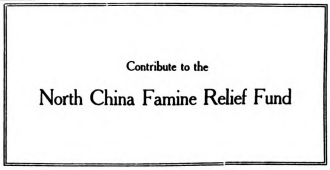


Figure 17: Famine Relief Fund advertisements (*CSM*, December 1920) (Courtesy of Center for Research Libraries, Chicago)

Yuan Shi-Kai's death in 1916 described him as "first the hope and later the curse and despair of all China."[61]

The students kept in touch with the Chinese diplomats who served in a dual capacity as education directors in the early years. The students depended on them for political and financial support and for encouragement, since most had been overseas students themselves in the U. S. or England. Dr. Ting Fang Wu, who served from 1907 to 1909, attended the Alliance's fourth annual conference in 1908 and was elected an honorary member of the Alliance at the fifth conference.[62] In 1908, the legation invited 100 students, mostly past or present Alliance officers, to Washington, D. C. for sightseeing, banqueting and meeting President Roosevelt. (See Figure 18 for group picture in front of the Chinese Embassy.) They gave the students a large national flag to use at the annual conferences.[63] Wellington Koo, a former editor of the *Monthly* who served in Washington from 1915 to 1920, spoke at conferences. In 1925 the Chinese Educational Director, whose job was to oversee the students as well as send out monthly scholarship checks to Indemnity students, returned to China before his replacement arrived, leaving many students destitute.[64] The directorship was taken over by the China Foundation for the Promotion of Education and Culture, which was established to oversee the return of the second part of the Indemnity Fund.[65]

The Chinese students in the United States had links with other students in China or studying abroad. Students in the United States kept in touch with students in China through several different means, such as the *Monthly*'s news of the World's Chinese Students' Federation in Shanghai and news from students who were able to return for a visit during their time of study. Letters from old schoolmates and newly-arrived students brought news, such as the eyewitness reports given in local clubs about the May

Figure 18 Student leaders invited to Washington, D.C., December 1908 (*CSM*, March 1909) (Courtesy of Center for Research Libraries, Chicago)

Fourth Movement in 1919, and the "Shanghai tragedy" in 1925, which were subsequently reported in the *Monthly*.[66] News about students in Japan, Canada and Europe came from personal correspondence or the rare article, news or picture in the *Monthly*. Though a Chinese student, who returned from visiting groups in Europe, expressed that a common sympathy should bind them together and that an exchange of ideas would be of great value both as students and once they returned to China, patriotic fervor often divided the students.[67] When students from other countries sent reports in the *Monthly*, they wrote about their patriotism. For example, "Chinese students in Japan are more patriotic than those in other foreign countries. At least they seem to be so. Whenever there is a meeting of Chinese students, it is a political one."[68] Geographic constraints and competition for "most patriotic" kept the students in the U. S. from building stronger ties with other Chinese students around the world.

Students kept up their Chinese language skills through writing articles for journals, such as the Alliance's *Annual* or the Cornell students' *Science* magazine.[69] The *Monthly* rarely used Chinese characters, perhaps due to the difficulty and expense of finding printers in the U. S. who could typeset Chinese script or because the magazine was also written for a non-Chinese audience.[70]

The students' various dialects hampered speaking Chinese at club meetings and conferences. Early on, Mandarin speakers were encouraged to teach others in the local clubs. Though a satirical article about the 1918 Eastern Conference told how more Chinese language had been used than all of the previous conferences combined, only two years later someone complained about the lack of Chinese at the recent conference.[71] When the Chinese oratorical contests were not as well attended as the English ones, one

person remarked, "If we only understand that Chinese language is our own language and we have to use it all through our life, we should, at least, put the same vigor and enthusiasm in both contests."[72] Making Mandarin the official language at the annual conference in 1925 did not solve the problem, for the speakers of other dialects felt they were being judged as being less patriotic.[73] Since the dialects remained a deterrent to unity, speaking English can be seen as a way to bring unity rather than a sign of deculturation.

Chinese names proved a problem to both Chinese and Americans. Written names (in romanized form, not in Chinese characters) were a source of confusion. In order to solve the problem some decided to take Western names, such as Miss Elizabeth Cornish from Shanghai or Charles K. Johnson of Nanking. Others used a Western name plus two initials for their Chinese name plus their family name, such as V. K. Wellington Koo.[74] A more confusing form was the use of the two initials and their family name, such as C. C. Wang, since "C. C." could stand for many different Chinese characters. More confusion arose when the same person spelled his or her name one time using a home dialect and another time using Mandarin, such as a woman whose first article in the *Monthly* listed her as Tsen Tsonming, while the second said Tsen Chung-min.[75] Conflicting guidelines for writing names were offered early. One visiting official suggested that all the names should be spelled out according to Mandarin dialect of north China, using the Wade system and not using abbreviations, while the Education Minister (who was annoyed when checks were sent to the wrong students) suggested that students not transpose their names and write out the names in their own dialect.[76] Since Americans were used to placing family names last, one person suggested that putting a hyphen between the two personal names

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would help Westerners distinguish which name was the family name. The controversy over the method of writing names reflected two larger tensions of the times: 1) provincialism versus unity of China and 2) the Chinese cultural patterns emphasizing family versus Western culture's emphasis on the individual.

Chinese celebrations and banquets helped strengthen their ties to China. The most common club reports were the activities surrounding either the national holiday on October 10th or Chinese New Year. In February 1911, the *Monthly* published a special cover celebrating the Chinese New Year, showing a dragon and four characters, *gong he xin nian*, meaning Happy New Year. (See Figure 19.) In January 1913, the New Year's cover said the issue was dedicated to "those who fought and died for our freedom." As students gathered together, they remembered past years' celebrations when they were surrounded by family in China. Chinese food was often difficult to find for those living with American families or studying in smaller towns. One story told how a transfer student, who had not tasted Chinese food for almost two years, was thrilled upon hearing that the club would be preparing a Chinese meal. Club news sometimes described the style of food at recent banquets or how students thought using chopsticks greatly increased their appetites.

Wearing Western clothes was one method of distinguishing students from the Chinese of Chinatown. The students usually wore Western clothes for their formal club pictures, even before 1912 when the Qing Dynasty diplomats still wore long gowns and queues.[77] Since students saw cutting the queue and changing to Western clothes as a first step of transformation, they were surprised and hopeful at the first meeting of the Welfare Association of Boston to find that "the meeting hall was packed by promising

young men of about 22 or 23 years of age on the average, most of whom dressed like us."[78] When the students were invited to a formal dinner in New York by the China Society of America in 1924, they refused their hosts' request that they wear Chinese long gowns on the grounds that the Society was only hoping to satisfy the curiosity of Americans. They felt it was not disgraceful to wear Chinese clothes, but did not like to be ordered to do so.

Homesickness, due to "voluntary scholastic exile," was partially assuaged by writing letters, reading poetry, seeing pictures of China in the *Monthly* and avoiding mixing with Americans.[79] Though mail was often slow or even waylaid, it was a source of great pleasure.[80] The salve of poetry is captured in the poem "Answering Mother in China."

I open a volume of poems
When I feel sad.
I sleep with my books
When I am tired.[81]

Pictures or drawings of scenic spots in China, such as West Lake near Hangzhou, were available on calendars and occasionally in the *Monthly*. (See Figure 20 for picture on cover of *Monthly*. Along the right and left side is the saying "if you are seeing with the eyes of the world you are not seeing, if you are listening with the eyes of the world, you are not listening." Along the bottom of the design are words such as "rich," "fortune," "happiness," and "long life.") Friendships with other Chinese students took some of the pain of homesickness away, but on the campuses with larger numbers, the students group could become like a ghetto. Celebrations, poems and friendships helped students both remember their past and take away some of the pain of the present. Through a variety of strategies the students were able to keep many of their ties to China.

Figure 19 New Year Cover, *CSM*, February 1911 (Courtesy of Kroch Library, Cornell University)

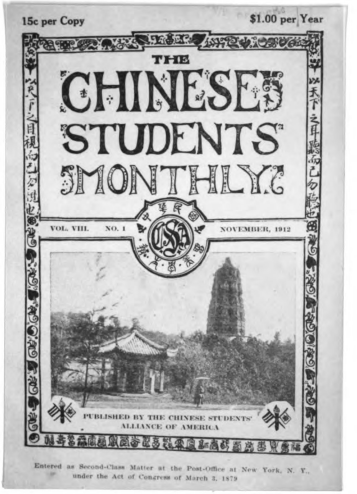

Figure 20 Chinese picture on cover of *CSM* (November 1912) (Courtesy of Hatcher Library, University of Michigan)

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CONCLUSION

One outlet for the students' reforming zeal while they were away from China was to work with Chinese-Americans in order to improve the image of China in the United States. Misrepresentation, due to political maneuvering and cultural prejudice, colored many Americans' view of China. The students were able to gain the Chinese-American merchants' financial support for their reforms in the U. S. and encouragement for their future reforms in China. The students' reform spirit was self-serving, since they, too, would benefit from a better image of China. It was also not without irony, since these foreign-born Chinese sought to "Americanize" Chinese-Americans.

Despite distance and distractions, the students responded to China's political, social, international and military needs they learned through both the *Monthly's* news and supplements and the steady stream of students coming to the States. Through organizing welfare programs in the Chinatowns, the students learned lessons of friendship and service, though their language was tinged with superiority. Geographical constraints and competition for being "most patriotic" kept the students in the U. S. from making strong links with Chinese students in other parts of the world.

Coming to the United States with no connections except possibly other alumni, and finding the U. S. no paradise for Chinese, the students were often drawn to remembering China. Local clubs celebrated Chinese holidays and the *Monthly* offered pictures and classical poems. Though they convinced Chinese-American students to participate in the Alliance for the sake of China, sometimes the others brought their own agendas. Some American-born Chinese saw that the students were also needy and worked among them for the sake of the future of China. The growing student population and the

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connections with the Chinese community gave opportunities to build enclaves, but did not contribute to their role as representatives of China to the U. S. public.

The Closure of The Educational Mission in America
Huang Tsun-hsien, 1881

. . . Before their recall was finally decided upon,
Americans wrote letters back and forth.
Former President Grant
And college presidents So-and-So
All spoke good words for the Chinese students,
And wished to have them become stars of the two nations.
". . . You have expected us to love and help these boys,
Why do you now leave us out of all consideration?"[1]

Chapter 4: Student Ambassadors

> [A student in a foreign country] has three functions: first, to study what interests him; second, to get to know the people of the country; third, and most important and perhaps most difficult, to get the people to know him. In a strange country with unknown customs, [a student] . . . must consider himself as an ambassador from his own country - an ambassador whose business it is to make his country known and loved through himself.
>
> Amy S. Jennings, 1922[2]

The Chinese students in the United States had two roles: students and ambassadors. Both the Chinese and American governments expected the students to learn more than their academic fields by observing American institutions and customs and bringing back the best to build a stronger China. Who did the students learn from? What lessons, intentional or otherwise, did they learn?

Students hoped to teach Americans about China's history and present situation as another way to break down prejudices and gain support for China's cause. The chapter's opening poem shows that the first wave of students built connections with influential Americans who spoke well of them when the Mission was threatened. The second wave was competing against both American and foreign influences who gave misleading information about China. Considering the strength of their competitors, how good were the students at convincing their audience? Were Americans willing to listen to what the students taught?

LEARNING AMERICAN WAYS

While in the 19th century, China wanted to maintain its cultural superiority while acquiring Western technology, and Chinese advocated

zhong-xue wei ti, xi-xue wei yong (Chinese learning for the essential elements, Western learning for the practical applications), students in the early twentieth century were urged to understand Western customs, through participating in the various social, literary and athletic activities available on campus.[3] They were warned against their natural tendency toward seclusion, which was seen as "a greater hindrance to the onward tide of our national prosperity, than any other factor that you may discover."[4]

Every area of American life was to be studied in order that the best aspects could be assimilated into Chinese life. Unlike government officials who were sent on short missions, the students had more time to learn. Even holidays brought no respite. If they were spending their Christmas vacations in a large city, students were encouraged to visit public buildings and museums, and spend the evenings in reputable theaters and concert halls so they could "examine the American characteristics which made this Republic so prosperous, imbib[ing] ideas which may be of use to [their] work."[5]

The Chinese students were expected to imbibe qualities such as cooperation and good sportsmanship during their time in the United States. Chinese, who often expected to return to their county and begin at the top, were encouraged to gain valuable experience by learning to work from the bottom up in an organization. They were also to learn cooperation since the old sedentary and individualistic "China of essay" needed to be replaced by a new "China of group activity, of organization of cooperative enterprise."[6] They were further encouraged to learn the "spirit to lose" in political contests rather than becoming disheartened after a defeat or trying to undermine the new leader.[7] Other characteristics such as fair play and honorable competition could be learned in athletic contests and debating societies, while

individual responsibility for social welfare and self-sacrifice could be learned in student organizations.

Though they were encouraged to learn American ways, the question of "denationalization" haunted the second wave of Chinese students. Learning to understand and appreciate both cultures was difficult to balance. One extreme was to reject the new culture and "assume the attitude of recluses by leading lives of isolation which deprive us of the beneficial influences permeating through the real American society. . . ." The other extreme was described as "entirely losing our identity among the Americans by participating in everything," thereby losing the "vitality of our own national character."[8] Trying to appreciate two both cultures can result in great loneliness, where one does not feel at home in either culture. Frances L. K. Hsu, who studied in England and the United States and settled in the U. S., uses the phrase "marginal" man to portray the person who paces the border where two contrasting cultures "confront each other within himself and he can reach out to touch them both."[9] Though others chose "mediating person" or "multicultural person" to describe the phenomenon, Milton Bennett has returned the phrase Hsu used, with some modification, "constructive marginality" because it better describes the subjective experience of people struggling to integrate two frames of reference.[10] Such intermediaries were needed, for they could speak both languages and know both sets of rules, but they might not be trusted by either country. How much acculturation does one need in order to survive in another culture? How much can one learn about another culture without being seen as denationalized? The students were encouraged to learn about American culture through interactions on campus and in towns and through observing and participating in government.

CROSSING CULTURES ON CAMPUS

Both large universities and small colleges in the United States vied to have Chinese students on their campuses because they knew the students would spread the fame of their alma mater when they returned to China. Colleges advertised in the *Monthly* and presidents promised to take good care of the students.[11] In the February 1913 issue the University of Michigan advertisement included, along with a list of the deans for each department, "A cosmopolitan student body - 50 students from China - Eight departments - A college town - Expenses low." When colleges hosted the Alliance's annual conference, they sent the president or another representative to welcome the delegates.

Though the campuses were thought to be academically sound and relatively free from discrimination, it was not always so. In the early years some colleges, in their eagerness to attract students, graded too leniently, hurting both the student's and the college's reputation. On some campuses American students hissed at any American walking with a Chinese student, or moved away from Chinese students when they sat down. One graduate student at University of Michigan resigned in 1924 in protest of an opera performed on campus, that misrepresented Chinese, arguing that continuing to denigrate China not only went against the American spirit of fair play, but against the university's educational aims and prestige.[12] Despite some academic and racial troubles, the universities were islands of learning and understanding where students saw their academic success as a clear expression of the democratic spirit, since recognition of ability in scholarship, oratory or athletics was given irrespective of race. Interacting with professors and with other students led to mutual appreciation and friendship.

Professors were usually eager to assist the Chinese students, for they saw them as representatives of China. The professors recognized that though the Chinese students had various difficulties to overcome, the Chinese were often the best students on campus. Not all professors began with positive opinions of the Chinese, including one who had worked among Chinese laborers. He changed his opinion once he encountered the "hardworking and highly cultured" students. Others, such as Dr. W. L. Phelps, a professor at Yale, came with a high opinion of Chinese, for he remembered growing up with the Chinese boys of the first wave before they were recalled to China.[13]

Professors also spoke at the club meetings and yearly conferences, wrote articles or served as judges for essay contests for the *Monthly*. They frequently hosted students for holidays. It was not one-sided. The students reciprocated by inviting their professors, provosts and deans for "smokers" or for socials celebrating the Chinese holidays. John Dewey, who taught at Teachers College at Columbia University, served for more than two decades in various capacities as a teacher, advisor and model for many students. When he visited China during 1919-21, he renewed his friendship with the returned students, giving lectures around the country as well as teaching. By the time of his departure from China at least fifty articles about him and his philosophy were available.[14] In 1928 he served as a founding member and chairman of the National Committee for Legal Defense of China, which was established to offer legal services for students and other Chinese in eighteen cities.

Students both admired and criticized American professors. A student, who was surprised to see a honored professor working out in his yard, learned that the older man had worked his way through college by mowing lawns, caring for furnaces, and waiting on tables. The student said this encounter

was the most striking lesson he had learned, for it changed his attitude toward labor.[15] Another student said that he respected American university professors above all others because they devoted their lives to scholarship though their salaries were the lowest of any occupation.[16] Hu Shi was critical of John Dewey, his advisor, after Hu saw Dewey get into a car of suffragettes during a parade, for Hu believed that scholars ought not to participate in politics.[17] Professors played an important role in students' lives. Some became life-long friends, providing another view of crucial aspects of life such as work, marriage and family life, and the role of intellectuals in society.

Though the Chinese and American students were in the same classrooms and libraries, many barriers hindered them from fraternizing. Chinese students perceived the Americans as provincial, indifferent and frivolous, frittering away their time on athletics and joking. American students rarely invited the Chinese into their homes or to spend time together. Even if an American were friendly, a Chinese student's modesty and reticence, might prevent him from meet the American half-way. Though Americans complimented Chinese students for having a high sense of honor, their over-sensitivity and undue pride of race were seen as weaknesses.

Participating in campus activities helped to break down some of the barriers. The earlier students were pioneers in certain fields such as sports and journalism. When a freshman became coxswain for Syracuse in 1907, it was the first time a crew team had a Chinese student. V. K. Wellington Koo's election as editor-in-chief of the *Columbia Spectator* in 1908 was the first time that a Chinese served as chief editor of an American university newspaper.[18]

Not all American students were provincial and frivolous. Some wanted to learn Chinese; others lived with the Chinese students. In 1926 American

students organized a meeting where 1000 gathered to hear speeches made by faculty about the United States' participation in a ultimatum against China.[19] The group voted to send telegrams and a delegation to Washington and a telegram to the students in Beijing. Despite the cultural and social barriers, the American campuses gave Chinese and American students opportunities to begin building understanding and friendships by competing in sports and oratory contests and by serving together in student organizations.

The Chinese students were also expected to learn about other cultures at American universities where it was possible to meet "men from every nook and corner of the globe."[20] Despite the disruptions between the Chinese and Japanese governments, the Cosmopolitan clubs and international houses offered opportunities for students from these two nations to interact.[21]

The Chinese students were active in the Cosmopolitan Clubs, which were organized on American campuses after 1903. They served as national and club officers and delegates to national conventions, as well as members of local clubs. Besides speaking and performing at regular meetings, they participated in stunt nights and China Nights, often getting rave reviews. (See Figure 21 of Cosmopolitan Club of University of Michigan in 1912. Notice the various countries represented in the club. The Recording Secretary, Tiam H. Franking, is a Chinese student married to an American. Their story can be found in Katherine Ann Porter, *Mae Franking's My Chinese Marriage*. Figure 22 is the Cosmopolitan Club at Michigan Agricultural College in 1914, led by Ming Sear Lowe (middle, third from right), a Chinese studying agriculture. He and Paul Kwong Fu (front, third from left), the president of the Chinese Students' Club, were also members of the Farmers Club.)

1912 MICHIGANENSIAN 1912

Cosmopolitan Club

OFFICERS

President	William W. Welsh
Vice-President	Premananda Das
Recording Secretary	Tiam H. Franking
Treasurer	Hugo Mueller
Assistant Treasurer	Jaswant R. Gandhi
Business Manager	James R. Conley
Editor to Cosmopolitan Student	John A. Bonilla

MEMBERS

United States
E. P. Grierson
S. M. Levin
J. R. Conley
H. N. Cole
J. Schlotthauer
Chas. Mitchell
J. P. Otte
B. B. Fallon
T. W. Fowle
Wm. M. Laird
F. P. Hunter
Jas. Devlin
H. C. Glover

China
P. H. Chang
T. H. Franking
Y. F. Hsu
A. Z. Sy Cip
C. P. Wang
K. Y. Wu
P. K. Chan
K. Lau

Canada
Wm. S. McCormick

Armenia
A. H. Konyiumjean

Scotland
Wm. W. Welsh
G. M. Clark

Germany
Hugo Mueller

Philippine Islands
J. Valenzula

Argentine Republic
P. Prichard
A. Bordato
E. D. Gibson

Cuba
J. M. Ramos

Columbia, S. A.
J. Bonilla
V. Bonilla

India
S. N. Bal
A. C. Bose
B. K. Bose
P. Das
J. R. Gandhi
R. K. Khosla
D. K. Sarkar

England
H. Pilgrim

Poland
T. Bleya
A. J. Frydrychs
A. Blecki

Peru
J. S. Garcia

Porto Rico
D. Biascoechea
Manuel A. del Valle
Luis Hernandez

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Figure 21 Cosmopolitan Club, University of Michigan, 1912. (*Michiganensian*, 1912) (Courtesy of Michigan Historical Collections, Bentley Historical Library, University of Michigan)

Figure 22 Cosmopolitan Club, Michigan Agricultural College, 1914. Middle, third from right, M. S. Lowe, president (*Wolverine, 1914)* (Michigan State University Archives and Historical Collections)

Hu Shih was one advocate for cosmopolitanism. He lived in the headquarters of the Cornell Cosmopolitan Club from 1911 to 1914, serving as one of the Cornell's delegates to the sixth annual convention in Philadelphia. In 1913 he was named as an official delegate to the international conference, at Ithaca, where he represented both the Cornell Cosmopolitan Club and the Chinese Students' Alliance.[22] In 1913 his article in the *Monthly* encouraged participation in the movement because it sowed "the seeds of friendship and mutual understanding . . . and will surely reap in the near future the rich harvest of international justice and good will."[23]

International Houses near universities were another opportunity for cosmopolitan participation. Harry Edmonds, who had organized the Cosmopolitan Club at Columbia, asked John D. Rockefeller to build an International House in New York City. Opening in 1924, it served as both residence and program center for the 1250 student members from 70 countries. Buildings near other campuses also provided club rooms, dining rooms and dormitories.[24] The excitement about cosmopolitanism began to die down when the Paris Peace Treaty failed to bring real peace.[25] Growing nationalism in China clashed with a vision of world peace, making suspect those students who advocated cosmopolitanism.

STUDENTS AND UNIVERSITY TOWNS

The amount of contact between students and people outside the university often depended on where the college was located. Though the American West was known for discriminating against Chinese, outright prejudice was better than the passive toleration encountered on the East Coast.[26] Cities were known for "cold formalities, the negative civilities, the habits of shy reserve," while people in the country were seen as frank and

joyful.[27] Though some argued that students should be more equally spread across the country, so that more varied information could be gathered, students began congregating around certain large universities that had the advantages of good facilities and reputations back in China, and the tendency for students to cluster together, having little contact with Americans, was a drawback. Small colleges offered the advantages of easier assimilation into the student body and more invitations into American homes, allowing the students to become acquainted with typical American life.[28]

Americans who came in regular contact with Chinese students included American families who let rooms to students, merchants and businessmen, dinner and holiday hosts, and members of churches and the YMCA. Families, who found the students to be good renters because of their adaptability and behavior, often ended up good friends with their Chinese tenants.[29]

Merchants and businessmen taught the students both on business and personal levels. Tailors or those who sold school supplies near the colleges and universities often came in contact with students. Small merchants, businessmen, and large manufacturers negotiated with the student managers for advertising space in the *Monthly*. The Otto Sarony photographers of Boston ran an enterprising advertisement in the May 1912 issue saying "we take the greatest pleasure to congratulate all our Chinese friends in this country for the establishment of the CHINESE REPUBLIC. Yes, you have changed yourself from a humble subject to a free citizen, but don't forget to have a picture taken of yourself to remember the wonderful change."
The students learned the importance of financial accountability in a "land where honor in fiscal matters is elevated to be the sovereign of all virtues."[30]

Henry D. Fearing, a merchant and leading member of the First Congregational Church in Amherst, first encountered Chinese in 1872 through a business concern. He served as host, English teacher, and guardian to many students. One student who visited Fearing weekly said that Fearing's friendship had almost made him forget that he was in a strange land.[31] Fearing, who attended the Eastern Section's conference each year, was made an honorary member in 1907. (See Figure 23 Eastern Conference, Andover, Mass, 1916. Fearing is sitting in the second row, on far right. Notice American women on left side.)

For the students not living in American homes, dinner invitations served as opportunities to make friends and learn about the United States. Dinner invitations were seen as one way to help with homesickness and break through some of the bitterness caused by discrimination.[32] One student wrote

> . . . I got acquainted with some people of Wooster whose friendship kept me from being "home-sick." Although I faced the same trouble regarding the language and the customs, yet my burden was made much easier because of the help which was graciously given me by my American friends.[33]

Those who did not experience hospitality felt "cheated of what chiefly lured them to America - the hope of contact with a new society."[34] More surprised than hurt, they accepted their isolation and buried themselves in their books.

Students remembered spending evenings and holidays socializing in American homes. Recalling being invited for Christmas eve and day in a home and receiving gifts in stockings as well as packages from known and unknown friends, another student wrote

> Had we been left in the boarding school for the vacation with a few old school teachers and servants, our first impression of an American Christmas vacation would have become a cold and dismal one. Now

> our home letters were filled with jolly, happy messages and beautiful descriptions of the home whose mother had been far-sighted enough to have seized the first opportunity to impress on us a most beautiful picture of American home life.[35]

(See Figure 24, Second annual Christmas party in Webster, Mass. Figure 25 shows a Christmas theme along the dragon seal which appeared on the *Monthly*'s covers during the early years. The Chinese characters accompanying the Christmas scene in Figure 26 say "Happy New Year.") Besides appreciating hospitality, students were able to observe customs and manners of the rich or the simple, the religious or the country homes.[36] Having visited a couple, whose "depth of their love and respect for each other cannot be described in words," Hu Shih found the traditional Chinese notions of love and honor wanting.[37] He recalled how the churches and the YMCA encouraged families to open their homes so that "Chinese students would see the real life of [a] Christian home, to bring the Chinese students in contact with the best men and women in American communities, to make them understand what an American home and American character are like - what Christian life is like in its family and civic activity."[38]

Churches and the YMCA often invited the students for social activities, when few other organizations crossed the color line. An article in the 1920s warned that loneliness often made a student easy victim for Christian groups since he would be warmly welcomed and listened to by an interested person.[39] Some Americans hoped to show the best about America, to order to counteract the prejudice the students experienced.

Students had opportunities to learn about the United States through making friends and local acquaintances. The students desired the "little courtesies" of friendly smiles and gentle words "more than the sumptuous and expensive affairs."[40] They gained insight into family life, business practices,

Figure 23 Eastern Section Conference, Andover, MA, 1918. Second row, right, Henry D. Fearing. (*CSM*, November 1916) (Courtesy of Hatcher Library, University of Michigan)

Figure 24 Second annual Christmas party in Webster, MA. Front, center, American hostess. (*CSM*, February 1912) (Courtesy of Kroch Library, Cornell University)

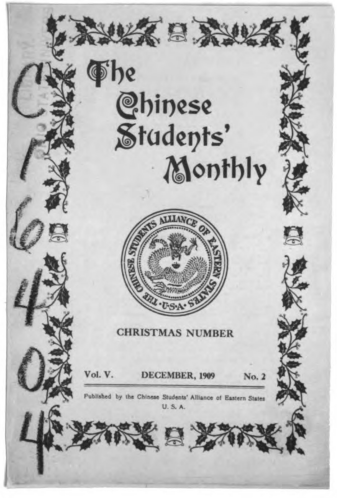

Figure 25 Christmas Cover (*CSM*, December 1909) (Courtesy, Center for Research Libraries, Chicago)

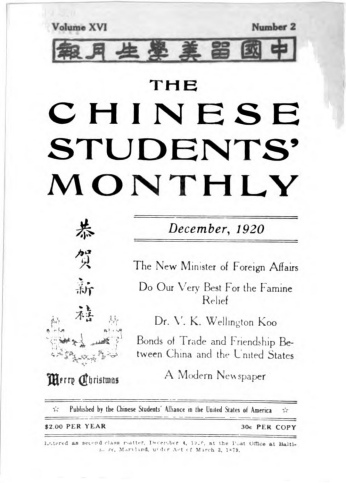

Figure 26 Christmas Cover (*CSM*, December 1920) (Courtesy, Center for Research Libraries, Chicago)

customs and celebrations, and Christian influence on character and civic responsibilities.

FRIENDS AND FOES IN HIGH PLACES

The students watched the election process and tried to influence the United States government by commenting on American foreign policy issues and recording the appointments, actions and deaths of U. S. ambassadors and policy advisors. In 1916, the *Monthly* published an editorial describing the electors as a holiday crowd whose members were more intent on material goods than on the national welfare. The same issue also published a student's letter stating his sadness that the Republican candidate did not win the presidency. A group of students at Columbia responded by expressing their deep regret and disapproval that the *Monthly* had published the editorial and letter since both were seen as possible sources of misunderstanding between the two nations and as discourteous to President Wilson.[41]

Through the Alliance and as individual clubs, students tried to influence American foreign policy. Three covers of the *Monthly* encouraged the U. S. to recognize the new Republic of China. V. K. Wellington Koo's letter to the editor, "Confusing Counsel from America to the Revolutionaries" was reprinted.

> Will you help a Chinese student out of a dilemma? . . . What, therefore, in the opinion of our American critics, is the proper speed with which China should proceed to reconstruct her own political institutions in order to escape their ridicule at her fancied retrogression on one hand and their disparagement of her rapid progress on the other?[42]

As the Alliance, they wrote letters to the President; in 1913, for example, they asked Taft to recognize the Republic.[43] Though they wrote President Wilson

before he left for the Paris Peace Conference, expressing their gratitude for being given the chance to study in the United States and their faith in his leadership, he did not stop the Shandong peninsula from being given to Japan.[44] In response, the November 1919 *Monthly* published a picture and statement by Senator Henry Cabot Lodge, who was serving as chairman of the Senate Foreign Relations Committee.

> Hence we become an active participant, we put our signature and give our approval to the control of Shantung by Japan. We assent to having the territory of an associated power, innocent and peace loving, handed over to another associated power. It is not enemy territory that we thus betray. It is the territory of a friend who helped us and the other nations in the war against Germany. It seems to me an intolerable wrong. I desire at least that my vote should record for the benefit of those who come after me that I in no way was associated with this wrong to man and to the cause of freedom and justice.[45]

In 1925 the Alliance sent two resolutions concerning autonomy and extraterritoriality to the Secretary of State and the Chairmen of both the House and Senate Committees of Foreign Affairs, but the U. S. did not relinquish its extraterritorial rights in China until 1943.[46] In 1927, Chinese students in Michigan wrote a resolution requesting that the U. S. government recognize the Nationalist government. Students and Chinese merchants in Cleveland sent a resolution to the President, Secretary of State, and Chairmen of both the House and Senate Foreign Relations Committees requesting that the U. S. government withdraw its military presence in China and abrogate its unequal treaties.[47] At least one Chinese student addressed the House of Representatives directly when Chih Meng, representing Chinese students at the National Conference on the Cause and Cure of War, spoke in 1925.[48]

As their disappointment in the United States grew in the last half of the 1920s, the students' analysis of American foreign policy became strident. In 1926, the *Monthly* published an article written by the editor of *The Nation*.

> Unless the official policy of the United States Government in China changes soon, the *Chinese Students Monthly* might as well shut up shop or move to Moscow. For two decades young China has turned its face eagerly and trustfully to America, expecting sympathy, encouragement, advice, assistance. . . . Today there is a growing current of distrust of America, of suspicion of speeches which, while full of ringing declarations of friendship for the Chinese people, are not followed by expressions of friendship in action.[49]

Some students began to doubt the special relationship between China and the U. S. when the United States did not cancel its treaties and did not support the Chinese nationalist movement.

This change in perception affected the way the *Monthly* described individuals in foreign service. For years the *Monthly* reported enthusiastically the appointments of United States ambassadors and other representatives to China, such as William W. Rockhill, John Watson Foster and Paul Reinsch, in both its editorials and articles. William W. Rockhill, who was heralded as saving China from the other Powers' punishment for the Boxer Uprising by setting up the Open Door policy, was described as representing "the highest ideal of diplomacy-justice and fair-play."[50] John Watson Foster, Secretary of State in 1892-1893, served as one of China's delegates to the Second Hague Conference in 1907.[51] When Paul S. Reinsch, a professor of political science at the University of Wisconsin, was appointed as Minister to China in 1913, the Chinese students at Madison offered a farewell banquet on the eve of his departure. When Reinsch resigned from his position after the Paris Peace talks, the *Monthly* attributed it not to ill-health, but to disappointment over President Wilson's failure to support

China's case at Paris.[52] In the later years, the students were less free with their praises. When Dr. Jacob Gould Schurman, who was Minister to China from 1921-24, returned to the United States, the students did not regret his absence.[53] Following the appearance of Silas H. Strawn's report on extraterritoriality in November 1926, several editorials wrote disapprovingly about his report that China was in near collapse.[54] In 1927 a student corrected Senator Hiram Bingham's report by stating that the United States needed to send representatives to only two political factions in China, not five or six.[55]

What lessons did the students learn from American politics? Both national and international politics were far from perfect. The democratic system, viewed as a balance of special interests, was not easy to influence, for the students competed against stronger voices. Foreign policy was not based on friendship, but took a zigzag path of least resistance. Though the students were often confused and angered by the United States' contradictory qualities, all these lessons, whether academic, social, religious, or political, left an indelible mark on the students.

HAVING NO PLACE ON EARTH

By striving to fulfill the goal of learning American ways, the students themselves changed. Though the students were encouraged to analyze and learn the principles underlying American behavior, some found it much easier to pick up only the surface aspects. After visiting Chinese students in England, Germany and France in 1923, one student described how each group's external behaviors reflected the countries in which they studied.

> In England, our students are tennis enthusiasts and play a very good game. They also assume the aristocratic tone which British

> universities seem to inculcate with their coat-of-arms. As one Chinese student said casually, "We never think of talking with the trades-people." In Germany, Chinese students drink beer, use walking-sticks and greet each other in stiff military fashion. In France they speak volubly and gesticulate expressively. . . . In America we yell and sing college songs and swap slang and jokes.[56]

Sometimes returned students dressed, talked and acted more American than Americans, and more Anglicized than Englishmen.

Superficial behaviors can be unlearned, but some changes in values may become too deeply ingrained to shed easily. A short story described the interaction between the external and internal changes.

> He wore clothes of the best fashion, smoked, and used slang, and developed a keen interest in athletics; in short, he was fast becoming Americanized. His ideas of life were changing too. Some of the old teachings which he had formerly regarded as infallible now appeared to him not only questionable but ridiculous. He began to lay more value on personal attraction and less on intellectual parts. He regarded riches as the highest prize of life and forgot his first resolution to dedicate his life to unselfish service. In studying American home life . . . he saw how far the principle of partnership is carried into the home. He was struck with the beauty of the companionship between father and son, brother and sister, and husband and wife. Other features of American life made their impressions on his alert senses, and he treasured them up to compare with his old ideas and beliefs, and from the union of the old and new he evolved fresh values of life.[57]

Some argued that the students had only picked up the veneer of Western culture, rather than the treasures of the living past, such as Hebraic-Hellenic civilization of philosophy, literature, music and art.[58] Instead of gaining the best of both worlds, some students seemed to have acquired the worst of both by losing the essence of China's civilization and failing to grasp the fundamentals of the West. One student set the goal: "to maintain the good that has given our country the splendid past, and to absorb the principles that have created for this country the glorious present, so that we shall be able to build for everyone of us a strong individuality - the key to China's success in the future."[59] But those who changed their internal

values would have even more difficulty adjusting back to China when they returned.[60] This skill at juggling two contrasting world views can be seen as adding cultural values rather than substituting one set for another.[61]

Pearl S. Buck found one person who had learned to juggle the contradictory worlds. In her introduction to Lin Yutang's *My Country and My People* she writes that she had almost given up hope for a balanced treatment of China by a Chinese. She listed the almost impossible traits for the writer as "a modern English-writing Chinese who was not so detached from his own people as to be alien to them, and yet detached enough to comprehend their meaning, the meaning of their age and the meaning of their youth." She was pleased to find that Lin had "roots firmly in the past, but whose rich flowering [was] in the present."[62]

The question of acculturation was always a political as well as personal matter. In the earlier years, the students' admiration of the U. S. often caused them to over-identify with American values, but by the late 1920s everything American was viewed as suspect. The "Total Westernizers" were thought to be pawns of the West.[63] Some Americans changed their ideas about acculturation also. In the first decade of this century Americans praised Chinese students for easily falling into American ways, such as their familiarity of manners and customs during athletic and speech contests, but by the third decade some Americans were encouraging students to retain their language and culture in order that Americans could assimilate the good aspects of Chinese civilization.[64]

The question of acculturation became more acute as the students returned home. Could they readjust to their home situation which had changed while they were abroad? How were they viewed by family, friends and coworkers? By coming to the U. S., had they obtained the heavens, but

given up their place on earth (*de dao le tian kong shi chu le tu di*)? These questions and others will be addressed in Chapter 5. For now, let us turn to the students' other role as ambassadors.

TEACHING ABOUT CHINA

The students tried to accomplish the difficult task of representing China without boasting about it. They wanted China to be recognized as a great culture, even though it was not equal to the U. S. economically or militarily. Methods to overcome prejudice have been discussed for years. Gordon W. Allport's classic, *The Nature of Prejudice*, reviews a variety of teaching techniques, including lectures, dramas, fiction, exhibits, festivals and pageants.[65] The most effective methods were acquaintance programs where people worked together as teams, which were sanctioned by the community and which led to a sense of equality in social status.[66] Almost twenty years later, Francis L. K. Hsu said that traveling in China only allowed people to indulge in their prejudices and the academic "museum approach" on college campuses only led to books and papers being read by specialists or students under the compulsion of a class assignment.[67] Milton Bennett discusses how to progress from the "ethnocentric stages" of denial, defense and minimization to the "ethnorelative stages" of acceptance, adaptation and integration.[68]

Keeping these various methods in mind, let's see how the Chinese students introduced Americans to China. They taught about China's rich heritage through encouraging Chinese history and culture classes and through presenting cultural events and museum shows. They used a variety of arguments and forums to present China's case. Individual Americans and national organizations encouraged and supported them.

PROMOTING CHINA'S RICH CULTURE

The students hoped that China would gain the respect and friendship of the United States by encouraging U. S. students to study Chinese history and culture and would broaden China's base of support by introducing Chinese culture to a wider audience through cultural events. Formal teaching of China's history, culture and language was one way to increase the recognition of China's worth and address the imbalance of educational exchange. Few American universities offered any courses in Chinese studies. Beginning in 1902, Chinese language, history, literature and arts were taught at Columbia, but only a few students had registered for the courses. The number of students taking Chinese language averaged from five to ten each year.[69] A small step forward occurred in 1913 when Yale allowed Chinese to be substituted for the Latin language entrance requirement.[70]

In the late 1920s both Chinese and Americans advocated the founding of Chinese departments and the establishment of scholarships to study China. The Consul-General of the Republic of China in New York said that the American government's persuasion of students to study Chinese history, literature, manners and customs in China was *second only* to a consistent policy toward China as a way of building bonds between the two countries. Using the business angle to encourage the study of Chinese language, he acknowledged that Chinese was the hardest language on earth, but encouraged people to learn it for "you cannot get at the heart of a person in a foreign language."[71] An American argued that the right motivation to study China was understanding, good will and friendship, not business. He urged that the establishment of scholarships for Americans to go to China to study the language, history, thought and institutions of China be as much as a

matter of course as it was for Chinese students come to the United States.[72] By the end of the decade, the American Council of Learned Societies in Washington established a committee to encourage the study of the Chinese language and literature, to provide scholarships and fellowships for those willing to study Chinese seriously, and to urge American universities to found Chinese departments. A Chinese Research Institute was organized in Washington, since a "liberal education is no longer possible without a thorough knowledge of the great achievements of the Chinese in literature and philosophy, in art, science and invention."[73] Americans also began to urge Chinese students to consider studying sinology themselves.[74]

The educational imbalance only emphasized the cultural weight of the West. By establishing classes about China on American campuses, by providing scholarships to assist Americans who wanted to study in China, and by encouraging Chinese students to study Chinese culture, the imbalance began to shift. Recognition of China's cultural heritage on American universities was a small step forward since it affected only a few people.

Cultural events influenced a wider circle of people. Students hosted open houses, receptions and "China Nights" where the students performed plays and music.[75] The plays were usually about Chinese history or the changes in modern Chinese society. Traditional tragedies were sometimes diluted by humorous acting in order to adapt to the taste of the American audience. Students also participated in multicultural events, such as the parade at the Panama Pacific Exposition in 1915 on the West Coast or the All Nations Exposition in Cleveland in 1929.

Students used various arts and crafts to attract Americans' attention. An exhibit of children's work was shipped from Shanghai to Columbia University's Teachers College in 1912, while speakers gave a "sugar coated"

short lecture about China when the *Amoy*, a Chinese junk, visited the coastal cities of the Atlantic in 1926.[76] In 1923, an exhibition of Chinese art was organized in Newark, New Jersey, which would also travel to 20 other sites. The museum curator encouraged students at Columbia and across the country to provide materials and give guidance to the exhibition. "You - Chinese must either learn to tell the world what you are like and what you are thinking and doing, and help your friends to tell it, or cease somewhat to complain. . . ."[77] Though few students responded, the Chief of the Far Eastern Division of the United States Department of State recognized the possible influence. One student who did participate wrote that an opportunity for valuable service to China had been missed.[78] The two-month exhibition doubled the museum's record for special showings, while the traveling exhibition was supplemented with articles that local students collected.[79]

Presenting cultural displays and art was far from innocent, since they were tools in competition for the hearts of Americans. It was hoped that the genius of China's arts would provide an alternative way of measuring China's worth other than material prosperity.[80] Though they had been correcting misrepresentations for many years, the students were slower than their American friends to realize the role of cultural diplomacy.

CORRECTING MISREPRESENTATIONS

Students commonly used a variety of arguments when educating the American public about China. The students tried to make good impressions on and off campus since they knew they were seen as representatives of China. Appearing respectable and achieving awards and honors at university were ways of breaking down stereotypes.[81] After all Chinese in Cleveland were arrested in 1925, an American woman protested, "[W]omen in college

vicinities prefer to house the Chinese students because they tell me 'they are so scrupulous, and are better mannered than our own American Boys.'"[82] Students held one another accountable, for their reputation could rise or fall on the account of each other. In order that Tsinghua's reputation might not be besmirched, the Alumni Association in New York decided in 1925 to warn and discipline the students who had "deviated from the path of a hard-working student."[83] In 1926 the *Monthly*'s opening editorial gave the initials, but not the names, of three students from different universities who had not paid their bills. The Alliance wanted the three to remember "their obligations to their creditors and the community of Chinese students."[84]

By emphasizing the United States and China as sister republics, they tried to invoke American friendship. Even though many Westerners doubted whether China could be a republic, and some even suggested that certain individuals, including foreigners, should rule China, an article in the *Monthly* argued that not only was China capable of being a republic, but that it had been the *first* republic in the world and that the new Republic established after 1911 was part of an unfolding pattern that would flourish in the future.[85]

By asking Americans how they would feel if the tables were turned, they tried to create empathy for China. When the Chinese in Cleveland were arrested in 1925, one local newspaper asked their readers to consider if the reverse had happened in China.

> Suppose 800 Americans were colonized at Peking, China. Suppose one of them should kill another member of the band. Suppose China without warning, without right in law, should throw the remaining members of the band in jail. You know what would happen then. . . . There would be hurried conferences with the president. Warships, airplanes, submarines would be radioed to proceed at once to the scene of trouble 'to protect American interest'.'[86]

The Chinese believed that the indignity in Cleveland had occurred because Chinese in the United States could not vote and the nation of China was too weak to respond militarily. Their only possible response was to protest and hope some Americans would join in. The public wrote letters and telegrams to city hall, county courts and local newspapers condemning the action. The local newspapers protested the action and the Cleveland Bar Association called for an apology to be made to Chinese residents and officials in Washington. The judge at the Court of Appeals declared the action of the police court illegal.[87]

Finally, the students and officials appealed directly to the American public, assuming that knowledge would change behavior. Both China and the U. S. used phrases, such as "fair play" or "traditional friendship" or "special relationship," to build bonds, however tenuous, between the two countries. In an award-winning speech at the Eastern Conference in 1922, a student said

> And it is to you, America, you, who have become the most powerful nation in the world, you the avowed defender of democracy, you, in whom alone, of all the powers, China has confidence, it is to you that she calls for justice against her oppressors. When American leads the other nations must follow. . . . Across five thousand miles of turbulent ocean rings China's cry for justice. Upon your answer to that cry depends the destiny of the Orient -- the future of the world. What shall that answer be![88]

After British and American gunboats fired on Nanking in 1927, the *Monthly* published the Nationalists' cable to the American people "appeal[ing] to the honest and right-minded people of America, indulging the fond hope that their fair sense of justice would not permit the continuation and extension of their government's present policy toward China. . . ."[89]

Though some of the Chinese students withdrew into their studies and let exaggerations go unprotested, national and international pressures made others speak out for their country lest their silence be misinterpreted as

moral cowardice or as tacit endorsement of the misrepresentations. American friendship was extremely critical to China since the United States was seen as the only neutral power which could stop Japan.[90] The battle was fought not only in the cultural arena, but also in magazines and newspapers, at lecterns and theaters.

The students were not alone, for they had Chinese and American "coaches" to encourage and guide them. In 1915, a Chinese argued that Japan had used articles written by Japanese press agents, protestations by Japanese students, exchange professors, and entertaining distinguished American visitors as ways to inform America about Japan, but since China had no information agency or exchange professors with the United States, it was up to the students to represent their country.[91] The Alliance encouraged the students by establishing an Information Committee which would send news circulars to the local clubs. American "coaches" also tried to help the students learn how to influence the American public. Believing that the students did not utilize the opportunities to speak up for China because of modesty, the editor of *The Far Eastern Bureau* encouraged them to write about China and to cultivate the acquaintance of editors.[92] Warning the students not to use either secret propaganda or to link friendship for China with hostility to another nation, another American suggested that they invite speakers who could clearly talk about China and make sure that summaries of the addresses were given to the press.[93] By remaining silent or responding with disorganized information, the students were seen as failing in their duty to China.

The students published the *Monthly,* articles and pamphlets to correct misconceptions of China. For twenty-five years the students desired that the *Monthly* be an authoritative voice on China, yet tried to make it "sparkling"

enough in order to attract more Americans.[94] The *Monthly* commended newspapers and reprinted articles from friendly magazines, such as *The New Republic, The Nation, The Far Eastern Review* and *Millard's Review*, though their influence, too, was limited due to small circulation. (See Appendix I for "Don'ts" For Foreigners When Discussing China," reprinted from *Millard's Review*.) Trying to create positive public opinion, presidents of the Alliance, editors of the *Monthly* and individual club members wrote replies to newspapers and magazines.[95] Some clubs formed "News Committees" to help create public opinion and report on the performances and lectures in the local papers. In April 1915 the editor of the *Monthly* wrote to twenty-five editors of leading newspapers, encouraging them to find out about the Japanese demands. Most of the editors responded with great interest, appreciating the gravity of the negotiations.[96]

Both the local clubs and the Alliance published their own materials about China. In 1919 two pamphlets, "China vs. Japan" and "China's Claims at the Peace Table," were prepared by students and merchants in the Chinese Patriotic Committee of New York, while the Illinois club raised $200 to set up a publicity bureau offering free pamphlets and articles.[97] The Alliance's Publications Department circulated three publications, including "Extraterritoriality in China" and "China's Tariff" at various conferences and institutes, as well as sending them to prominent members of the U. S. Senate. Through the years the students tried to give an alternative view to the "yellow journalism's" prejudice and propaganda, but modesty, along with lack of power, time, and money hindered their consistent presentation.

Though students were often invited to give talks about China to local clubs and churches, they sometimes found themselves in competition with nationally known speakers.[98] When J. O. P. Bland, an Englishman who had

served the Qing government, lectured for two months in various cities encouraging the American people to refuse to recognize the new Chinese republic because it was "merely old despotism under a new name," one student pointed out that some of the new Chinese ministers were educated abroad, while another pointed out that the Parliament of England had itself recently been disorderly.[99] Students at McGill University wrote a protest letter to the campus paper, accusing a guest speaker from Oxford of manufacturing history.[100] After a medical missionary, who had served in China for thirty years, described the rate of infant mortality among girl babies to the Women's Auxiliary at a local church, the students accused him of exaggerating.[101]

Students also verbally protested at some lectures, with mixed results. Despite being "howled down" by an American speaker at a conference on a campus in 1927, the students gathered eighty Americans' signatures on a petition calling for the withdrawal of American troops and warships from China.[102] When the author Upton Close spoke of his travels in China at the University of Chicago in 1928, a student rose to "make polite objections due to his respect for the memory of Dr. Sun [Yatsen]."[103] Public lectures were powerful tools of influence during this period. The students found it difficult to convince audiences who were listening to "experts" that there might be another point of view.

Students also tried to correct the misrepresentation of Chinese by protesting certain movies and plays. After years of locally protesting certain movies, the Alliance in 1922-23 wrote directly to Will Hays, President of the Motion Picture Producers and Distributors of America, to protest the distortion of facts about China. Using both a stick and a carrot in their argument, they warned that the resentment felt by the Chinese students

would not be beneficial once they returned to China, but also told how China was a promising market for movies. Mr. Hays replied that the matter would be given the "most careful and charitable consideration."[104] Someone suggested several years later that the Alliance appoint a scout who would attend previews. Then the students, along with women's club members, ministers, and professors, could write to managers of their local theaters asking that certain films not be booked.[105] Clubs continued to protest certain movies and plays at the state and local level. After the students at University of Ohio, who had long been silent, wrote a letter to the State Board of Film Censorship, they protested a play which came to town the following month.[106] Though the gains might be small, some were garnered. In 1926, a local theater manager apologized to the Stanford students.[107] Local papers sometimes printed verbatim the articles submitted by club members, such as when the *Cleveland Plain Dealer* published "Y Leader Assails 'Chinese Talkie'."[108] Though the Alliance tried to address the root of the problem in 1922, wave after wave of misrepresentative movies kept coming, with the students seeing a few minor victories.

NATIONAL ORGANIZATIONS WHO JOINED THE STUDENTS

The students had allies in their battle to present a correct view of China and bring about understanding between the two countries. One of the earliest national organizations to recognize the importance of the Chinese students in the United States was the Committee for Friendly Relations Among Foreign Students (CFR) begun by the YMCA in 1911.[109] Though the goal was to assist all foreign students, it focused on the Chinese. CFR arranged for Americans to meet students in San Francisco, for professors and other citizens to invite students into their homes, and for conferences to be

held each summer. CFR also encouraged cosmopolitan discussions among students, such as the Conference on World Problems held at University of Michigan in the spring of 1926.[110] CFR initiated a census of foreign students in 1916 and published *The Foreign Student in America*, which summarized its 1922 survey of student backgrounds, educational goals, social life in the United States, religious beliefs and careers of returned students.[111] By CFR's twentieth anniversary in 1931, most campuses with more than fifty international students had an international club.

The purpose of the China Society of America, established by Chinese students and Americans after the founding of the Republic in 1912, was to promote friendly relations between China and the United States and to disseminate among both nations a correct knowledge of the ideals, culture and progress of the two nations. Although it was immediately seen as powerful influence on American public opinion, the American domination in leadership and membership and the emphasis on commercial and industrial, rather than cultural, exchange strained the relationship between the Americans and the students. In 1928, the editor of the *Monthly* clashed with the Society, which felt the students' complaints about the events in China might hurt the its chances to find practical training in American firms for Chinese students.[112]

The American Committee for Fair Play in China, based in San Francisco, was organized in 1925. This volunteer movement was established to create better understanding of the Far East among Americans. Besides publishing and distributing reports about the political and economic transformation occurring in China to individuals and educational institutions, the Committee arranged lectures at clubs and corresponded with

the State Department and the Congressional Committees on Foreign Affairs.[113]

The China Institute in America was founded in May 1926, under the auspices of the China Foundation for the Promotion of Education and Culture. The Board of Trustees were mostly Chinese with a few Americans. Its purpose was mostly educational, facilitating students' admissions to American universities, exchanging professors, and encouraging Americans to study China. Under its auspices, American teachers gave lecture tours in China, and Chinese such as Y. C. James Yen, Director of the National Association for the Mass Education Movement, and William Hung of Yenching University, gave lectures in the United States.[114]

In March 1928, The National Committee for Legal Defense of China was established at Columbia University. John Dewey served as chair, with other professors such as K. S. Latourette and William Lyon Phelps as members. The Committee hoped to address the hardship and discrimination of Chinese by providing all classes access to adequate counsel.[115]

Students were not alone in the battle to present a good picture of China. Various institutions presented China's side of the argument and tried to build understanding between Americans and Chinese through social, religious, business, political, educational and legal means.

OVERCOMING CULTURAL BARRIERS

The number of Chinese students in the United States had risen from 600 in 1910 to 2200 in 1923, becoming more than 20% of the international student population in the U. S.[116] They had published the *Monthly* for almost twenty-five years, performed plays, given talks, participated in multicultural events and published thousands of booklets. It is difficult to

measure the Chinese students' success as it is to measure any teacher's, for what the student learns is partially dependent on the student's ability and willingness. Though much of their success will remain unknown, for it is also difficult to measure friendships and cultural learning, the relatively few Chinese students scattered across the United States affected and gathered the support of a number of influential people including professors, townspeople and national political figures. Pointing to the sales of books on China and the establishment of professorships on various American colleges, one Chinese in 1929 wrote that progress had been made in creating a more positive American public opinion of China.

Though individual Chinese and Americans might be friends with one another, the two countries were becoming more at odds. At the turn of the century American policymakers had exaggerated the importance of China, while the Chinese mistakenly thought that the United States' interest could be used for China's benefit. Intermediaries, who played a pivotal role, had always been vulnerable, since they were "obvious scapegoats when tensions and frustrations grew overcharged."[117] The "special relationship" with China began disintegrating when the United States did not choose to face off with Japan directly. America's Chinese Exclusion Act, which continued to be an affront to China's national dignity, remained in force until 1943. After the U. S. supported the Guomindang during the civil war of 1945-1949 and the Chinese entered the Korean war, those who served as intermediaries became vulnerable to Chinese Communist Party reprisal.[118]

Both interpersonal interaction and foreign policy are based on the images we hold of ourselves and others. Though Harold Isaacs in his classic on American images of Asians argued that the Chinese who came to study in the U. S. were an alternative source of "image-forming contact and

experiences" for some Americans, the students fought an uphill battle since most Americans did not have an opportunity to know them as friends and students. Isaacs argues that Americans were further confused because they simultaneously held opposite images of Chinese people, such as a superior people or inferior people and heathens or humanists.[119] People from other countries often hold opposite images of American also. "Americans have been extravagantly praised and blamed as idealists or materialists, anarchists or conformists, the world's most openhanded philanthropists or the world's most efficient killers."[120] The students overcame cultural barriers by making friends and changing Americans' perceptions of China. The interplay of personal friendships and political decisions is described by the woman whose quotation opened the chapter.[121]

> The skeptic will surely ask: How can a series of personal friendships prevent war or bring about an understanding between nations? It can't --by itself. But it can create a friendly feeling and a foundation of actual fact in our knowledge of other nations which will prove most useful when we have dealings with foreign countries.[122]

Sadly, all the students' and Americans' work to build bridges of friendship could be undermined by the decisions made by the two governments. No matter how good they were in helping Americans overcome misconceptions about China, the students were cast as intermediaries who only had a bit part in a complicated play which they were not directing.

CONCLUSION

As students, the Chinese were encouraged to soak up American characteristics along with technological skills in order to reform China. American professors, students, townspeople and foreign policy advisors informally and formally taught the students many qualities about the U. S., often playing an important part in providing images contrary to the national

mood of discrimination. Fair play was seen when students won awards on campuses, but it was rarely shown in U. S. support of China. Some learned unintended lessons, such as bitterness due to American discrimination and disillusionment over the United States' fickle foreign policy. Different locations in the U.S., such as urban-rural or East-West, offered a variety of instruction. The students learned positive aspects about the U. S. more because of their willingness to learn than from the United States' ability to teach by example. Some ideas, such as progressivism, democracy, or cosmopolitanism, were not easily transplanted to inhospitable Chinese soil.

Though many students would have wanted to immerse themselves in their studies, as ambassadors to the United States they had to organize in order to combat misrepresentations. Their teaching ability was shown by their acknowledgment that good reputations on and off campus would break down stereotypes and their willingness to adapt to American audiences by lightening up and shortening their various presentations. They also manipulated their audience by using terms such as "special friendship" or "sister republics," or by exaggerating the power and place of the U.S. Their tendency to react to misinformation about China rather than to create public opinion may have stemmed from their lack of voice within American society. By connecting with influential Americans and organizations who coached them, spoke for them and encouraged them to treasure their own culture, they were able to broaden their base of reform in the U. S. Their friends understood better than the students that this was no time for modesty and that cultural diplomacy was a powerful way to Americans' hearts. The students found it easier to influence individuals than the U.S. government or media. Despite the strength of their Japanese and English competitors, and their lack of voice, time, and money, the students provided both the "friendly

feeling and the foundation of actual fact" about China to those who would listen.

Many Americans and Chinese did not benefit from the students as teachers and students. The cross-cultural interaction changed the Chinese students more than many Americans, who viewed themselves as superior and benevolent. Because many Chinese assumed they themselves were superior due to China's past greatness, they were unwilling to listen to the students who returned to build China on republican dreams and technological skills. The transforming power of Chinese culture, described as the country's unrivaled talent, made it seem as if "all the good things from abroad always go out of whack when they come to China."[123]

After Passing the Examination
Po Chu-I, A. D. 800

For ten years I never left my books;
I went up. . . and won unmerited praise.
My high place I do not much prize;
The joy of my parents will first make me proud. . . .
Hopes achieved dull the pains of parting; . . .
Shod with wings is the horse of him who rides
On a Spring day the road that leads to home.[1]

Chapter 5: Returning Home From Thousands of Miles

> A returned student is to be known by his countrymen not by his class standing, high grades in tests and examinations, not by the keys he wears, not by his degrees, not by the number of years he spends in the States, but by what he can do to make China stronger and more prosperous, to give the millions better education, better house to live, better food to eat and more God. . . . If we want to do something in China, we need a system, an organization, a working plan and the spirit of service, achievement, and co-operation.
>
> C. F. Yao, 1921 [2]

After studying hard and breathing "progressive air" for years in the United States, the students looked forward to implementing the lessons they had learned. Like the chapter's opening poem, their leaving was a mixture of sadness of parting from their friends and of excitement of looking forward to bringing their parents honor. Often they had to readjust their plans to fit the political and economic reality at home. Despite the calls for cooperation, the students did not bring back a single plan for the rejuvenation of China.

Once they returned, the students faced a number of personal decisions, regarding such matters as work and marriage. Adjusting was complicated during this transitional period when two sets of cultural norms were competing. One way they coped with return and kept their reform spirit burning was by keeping connected with the United States, through informal friendships or organizations of other returned students, letters to friends in the U.S., and returning to the United States to give lectures or to serve as part of various commissions.

Though the students became influential in various professions, such as education and government service, the images of success are mixed. Considering the personal, educational, economic, social, professional, political

hindrances they faced, what is an appropriate measurement of their success? What are the sources of the mixed images?

PREPARING FOR HOME

From the time when students stepped off the ship on the West coast of the United States, they knew they had to go home, since the Chinese Exclusion Law made it impossible for them to remain in the U. S.[3] The students prepared by choosing majors that would help build the country, by doing practical training in their fields to complement their studies, by using role models as sources of encouragement, and by developing their professions through establishing organizations and publishing journals.

Sending students to the United States raised many questions about the purpose and process of education. The students were caught between two educational patterns. For centuries Chinese scholars preparing for government service had been tested on the classics, a set of moral teachings, which gave them an ability and a right to comment on all parts of life. With the rise of technology and specialization, some students were no longer willing or able to perceive the big picture.[4] Different majors were emphasized through the years, reflecting the various opinions of how the students could solve China's "problem." Some emphasized technical training, while others argued that political and social reformers, rather than engineers and doctors, were needed.[5] Until Chiang Kai-shek reemphasized pure and applied science in 1928, students selected which field they wanted to pursue, though many studied science and technology.[6]

Though students needed to study a broad number of technologies so that China could become industrially independent, a numerical balance in the various fields of study was discussed, but never achieved.[7] For example, in

the field of engineering, civil, electrical, mechanical and mining engineers were relatively equal, each around 20%; by comparison, other majors such as chemical engineering had 10%, naval architecture 7%, sanitary engineering 2.5% and architecture, 1.5%.[8]

The length of time spent studying abroad was another facet in the students' ability to serve once they returned. If they stayed in the U. S. for too short a time, they might only be able to teach English, but if they stayed too long, they were more likely to lose touch with the actual situation in China. With every year they stayed, adjusting back to China would be that much more difficult.

Studying in the United States raised important questions during this time of transition in China. What did it mean for a specialist not to want to comment about the social and political aspects of life? How could students take the time to study humanities if they were trying to learn technology?

As the number of students returned from the United States, complaints arose that they were unprepared for the positions of responsibility they were assuming.[9] When people in China began to wonder if other countries would help prepare students any better, offering practical training became an issue for saving face for both the students and the American educational system. Despite the long term-benefits, both the Chinese students and the American businesses had to be convinced. Chinese students needed to be convinced that practical training was better than pursuing other degrees ("degree fever"). Practical training taught them how to work with and manage people and prepared them for showing others how to do something, since Chinese were thought to be "empirical by temperament, like the traditional Missourians. They have to be 'shown'."[10] Few manufacturers were anxious to train students who were no more than temporary employees.

The first big breakthrough was in 1923 when the Buffalo Chamber of Commerce became convinced that training a student was cost effective, especially if the student became an executive in industry or commerce upon return to China.[11] Though American firms were warned that the 'natural' publicity would end for their products if the Chinese students stopped coming to study in the U. S., many firms still hesitated in hiring them, due to racial prejudice or a desire to protect secret chemical processes.[12] Later, they worried that the students, who were considered Bolsheviks, would stir up their workers. Both students, who were reluctant to labor with their hands, and American companies, who were reluctant to open their plants, needed to be assured of the benefits of practical training.

Various role models were used to encourage the students. Former American-educated Chinese who participated in the aborted China Educational Mission of 1872-1881 and those who studied in the U. S. before 1900 were held up as examples.

> When they first went back to China, in general they were not only slighted but, even in many cases, suspected. By their perseverance and courage and adaptability, however, they first won the confidence of all those about them and then of many responsible officials. Thence their useful careers began. Some of them have been rising gradually to positions of great importance and others have filled positions of minor responsibility; and all have served our country with ability.[13]

Jeme Tien-yu, who worked summers on American railways before graduating from Yale in Civil Engineering in 1881, became the "Father of Railways in China," after he built the Kalgan railway without foreign interference. "Through integrity, grit and superior intelligence, H.E. Jeme Tien-yu is blazing the path for those of our students who are plugging away with tripod and wheel in the universities and technical schools."[14] After studying naval affairs, Captain Tsao Ka Cheong returned to join the Imperial Chinese Navy,

where he was wounded twice during the Sino-Japanese war of 1895. After modernizing the police force of Tientsin, he built a scientific farm from waste land south of Tientsin.[15] After Dr. Mary Stone graduated from medical school at the University of Michigan in 1896, she spent two years in hospitals in Chicago while raising funds to build a hospital in her hometown. "She is an inspiration to many a girl in China to-day. She is showing them the worth of service. What life can be nobler for any woman?"[16] (See Figures 27 and 28 for pictures of Jeme Tien-yu and Dr. Mary Stone.)

Students who returned during the first two decades of this century were also acclaimed. The leading younger "products" of American colleges included members of the Foreign Affairs Office, a vice-president of a bank, a member of the National Assembly and a mining engineer.[17] James Y. C. Yen's work in rural education was highlighted in an article in 1928.[18]

Western role models were also used to encourage students. When describing the need for China's reconstruction in the face of domination by a neighboring country, one orator said,

> Under such a condition China needs no ordinary statesman: she needs a Cavour. Or if he is an engineer, let him take for his inspiration Peter the Great of Russia who was not too great to work in the dockyard of Holland, a foreign land, in order that the foundation of Modern Russia could be laid. As for the chosen women of China among our numbers, may I say that their observation of the position and ability of womanhood in this blessed land inspire them to be the Liberators and Enlighteners of their sisters at home.[19]

These Chinese and Western role models inspired the students to hard work at their studies, as well as giving them examples of patience, wisdom and service once they returned.

To build a foundation for their professions before returning to China, the students established professional clubs where they could hear guest speakers and make connections with those in the same field. The Alliance

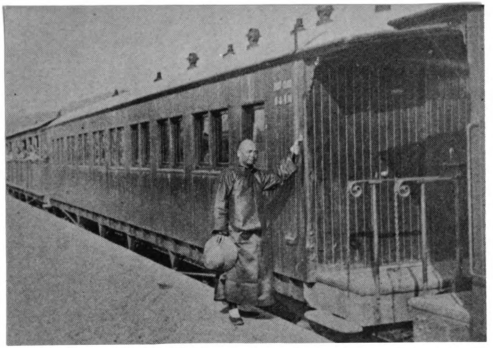

Figure 27 Chief Engineer Jeme Tien-yu (*CSM*, March 1911)
(Courtesy of Kroch Library, Cornell University)

Figure 28 Dr. Mary Stone (*CSM*, May 1911)
(Courtesy of Kroch Library, Cornell University)

encouraged the establishment of professional societies by reporting their news and growth in the *Monthly*.[20] The organizations included The Chinese Academy of Arts and Sciences (1910), Chinese Foresters Club (1911), Chinese Engineering Students' Society (1912), Chinese Students Banking Club (1919), The Chinese Medical Club of Boston (1921).[21] By 1926, sixteen learned societies were active in the Greater New York area.[22]

The professional clubs had a variety of goals. They provided agreement on translating technical terms and compiled bibliographies which would be crucial in setting up libraries to support their professions back in China. They held conferences, sometimes in conjunction the Alliance's annual conference and other times on their own.[23] They published journals, and promoted their fields of study by writing articles for the general public in the *Monthly*.[24] The clubs connected people in the same fields, by electing officers who were returning to China and could set up headquarters there or by affiliating with organizations already established in China.[25] They also promoted their fields in China and encouraged the development of extension work in China.[26]

Even the best laid plans were disrupted by the events in China. Hard study, practical training, encouragement from role models and professional clubs failed to prepare many students for the harsh realities of home.

CHANGING CHINA

Politically, the years between 1906 and 1931 were unstable. The last few years of the dynasty were a time of indecision and decay. (See Figure 29 "Opportunity of the Returned Students." At the Glory Fortune Mansion (*rong lun di*), the recently returned students holding Ph.D. diplomas are told to wait, though the writing on the pillar says "Learned people are the most

Opportunity Of The Returned Students
Servant — "Gentlemen, can you wait a few hours longer? My master is not up yet."

Figure 29 "Opportunity of the Returned Students" (*CSM*, November 1911) (Courtesy of Kroch Library, Cornell University)

important supporting force of the state.") After the creation of the Republic, the constant change of leaders left the country directionless. From 1916 to 1927 the warlords kept the country in a state of war, where violence hung like a shadow over the land. Though Chiang Kai-shek's rise to power in 1927 brought some semblance of stability for the next decade, it did not preclude constant struggles within and without the Guomindang.[27] The continued presence of the foreign powers, which led to inevitable clashes between police and nationalistic students in major cities and culminated in a war with Japan from 1937 to 1945, left China little time or peace to build a strong nation.

China suffered economically as some of the state's revenue went to pay debts to foreign powers, while much of the rest was drained off by incessant battles among the regional warlords. Large construction projects and industrial growth suffered for lack of capital.

China changed socially during the May Fourth era of 1918-1921 with its ideological smorgasbord of "*isms*" (*zhuyi*) including anarchism, nihilism, Communism, progressivism, and terrorism.[28] In addition, Christianity was being considered by some, while others believed Mr. Sai (science) and Mr. De (democracy) would save the country.[29] In 1919 Hu Shih warned against "isms" because they made "men satisfied and complacent. Thinking that they have found the panacea for a 'fundamental solution,' they would no longer make efforts to seek solutions for this or that concrete problem."[30] Young people broke off arranged marriages and explored the benefits of individuality rather than the burden of filial piety.[31] The role of intellectuals broadened as new jobs, such as professors, writers, journalists, lawyers, medical doctors and researchers, emerged slowly.[32] The elite were becoming increasingly urbanized not only because of better living conditions, but because life in the cities was safer from bandits.[33] Various voluntary associations, such as

professional organizations or returned clubs, served as networks rather than native place *huiguan*.[34] Some of the social changes allowed new freedom for returned students, while the economic and political instability hurt their chances of fulfilling their dreams. The interplay between changing students and changing China made their life more uncertain.

MEASURING WITH A HYBRID YARDSTICK

In order to understand the various tensions students felt as they returned to China, summaries of several biographies are supplemented by short stories and plays presented in the *Monthly*. In his autobiography Chiang Monlin titled his chapter on return "Rapid Changes." The former student of John Dewey was one of the leaders of China's new education movement during the 1920s and served for many years as Chancellor of Beijing University. In 1917, after nine years in the U. S., he stood at his window at Columbia, looking out on a familiar sight and began to weep. "Was I to be torn away once and for all from the fountain of wisdom, leaving my friends behind? But it was my duty to go home, just as it had been my privilege to come." When he arrived in Shanghai, he found that streets were wider, department stores and amusement parks had multiplied, young girls had bobbed their hair and men had cut their queues. "In America I had measured things American by the Chinese yardstick. Now I reversed the process, measuring things Chinese with the American yardstick, or most likely with a sort of hybrid stick, . . .vacillating between the two." Upon reaching his hometown, news spread of Chiang's arrival. One man told stories of the changes that occurred rapidly after the 1911 Revolution, while an elderly aunt recounted the births, marriages and deaths that had occurred in the village in the last sixteen years. Another old woman, who had held

Chiang in her arms when he was a baby, walked four miles to see him. "She examined me from top to toe and was satisfied to find nothing strange about me."[35]

Hu Shih, another student of John Dewey, was influential in the *bai hua yundong* or vernacular literature movement during the May Fourth era, wrote in his diary as he was preparing to return in 1917, "You shall know the difference now that we are back again!" But by June, with the demise of the early republic and the beginning of the warlord period, he wrote "The present situation, it seems, will not permit me to return to undertake the labors of reconstruction." Hu, like Chiang, chose to wear the clothes of a traditional scholar instead of the Western ones usually associated with returned students.[36]

When James Yen graduated from Princeton in 1920 with a Masters in history and politics, he hoped to return to be near his mother in Western China, since his father had died recently. After being convinced by others that Shanghai would be a better place to establish the headquarters for a mass literacy project, Yen quoted a Chinese proverb to his mother, "It is difficult to be a filial son and a patriotic citizen at the same time."[37]

In 1923 William Hung returned home after eight years in the United States. At the age of thirty he became dean of the College of Arts and Sciences at Yenching University in Beijing. After spending most of his adult life in the United States, he felt more at ease in American company than in a Chinese setting and chose not to throw off his American-acquired values, habits and ideas. Finding that neither the university library nor Beijing's only public library was of any use, he wrote several American friends asking for money to establish a library at Yenching, which became known as one of the best in China. At first students did not like Hung and considered him a

"fake Chinese," but after he defended the Yenching faculty in letters to newspapers, the students became reconciled to him once they realized he could write good Chinese, in a classical style.[38]

These reminiscences show how the transition of leaving the United States and settling back into China brought many decisions about occupation, location, clothing, and fulfilling familial responsibilities. The returned students were scrutinized to see if and how they had changed while being overseas.

When a student arrived back in China, another major decision was marriage. Would he divorce the wife he had married before leaving, since she was probably not educated? Would he or she marry the person chosen years before by their parents? Would women returned students use the skills they had learned or just get married? Hu Shih described the "returned students of recent days, who having breathed a bit of the air of enlightenment, get divorced first thing upon returning home."[39] He, however, had recently married a woman whom he had never met, but who had been chosen by his mother thirteen years before. During this cultural transition time, returned students were caught between two contradictory ideals, family vs. individual.

In the short story, "Happy Day of Yuelin," the Chu family is waiting anxiously for the arrival of the fiancé of their daughter, Yuelin. The Tang's son had been studying in the United States. Though the Chu's had heard that students who have studied abroad usually disregard the marriages arranged by their parents, the maid brings word that the son has yielded to the marriage despite thinking Yuelin is old-fashioned. At the end of the "happy day" the guests disperse, leaving the couple alone. When Yuelin offers to retire to a nunnery since she is unfit to be his wife, he is astonished by her

unselfishness and humiliated and professes both her beauty and his adoration for an old-fashioned girl. She smiles, having won.[40]

The play, "The Great Event in Life," opens with two women who were classmates in the United States talking together. When Pauling tells of her new job at a research laboratory, Li-ying tells how lonely she has been at home doing nothing since her father is afraid that she will be dragged into the current criticisms about all returned students. When her father, who has chosen a good son-in-law who comes from a well-known family and who has studied abroad, hears that Li-ying is already engaged, he is angry to think it is to a man from another province with an unknown family background. Li-ying tells her father that the couple plans to wait for four years while both find work, since "girls who have received a higher education are responsible to the society for a two-fold duty." Later, when Li-ying's fiancé is let in, her father gives his consent for marriage and offers to help the couple so they do not have to wait four years. Once the couple are alone, Li-ying tells her fiancé of her distress since she feels she will not have a chance to serve the community or to begin a career. When he replies that marriage is a career, Li-ying buries her head in his coat and the curtain closes.[41]

Marriage was one area where the returned students and their families' expectations could clash. The students had to decide during this transitional time between familial responsibilities and individualistic choices and family background against future plans. Even when the parents tried to adjust to the new ways of children choosing their own mates, they still might force their daughters to marry rather than allowing them to pursue a career they had prepared for.

After participating in the leadership of the Alliance or as editors of the *Monthly*, some students considered themselves quite important politically.

When a Chinese student wrote a dissertation about the qualities needed for success, he placed the leadership positions in the Alliance and the *Monthly* at the top of one scale for judgment.[42] The following is from the humor column in 1914.

Self-Consciousness

> A former member of the Editorial Board of the C. S. Monthly recently was introduced to Pres. Yuan in Pekin[g]. Having written some articles against his policies, this returned student thought he will certainly be beheaded if Pres. Yuan remembered his name. Unfortunately he was introduced as "a prominent student in America, and once one of the editors of the Chinese Student *Monthly*."
>
> What Monthly?" asked Yuan. Our former editor turned pale at this question.
>
> "The Chinese Students' *Monthly*," replied the introducer.
>
> "I am glad you have such a paper, though I never have heard of it before I am glad to meet you, I am sure," said the President, shaking him by the hand. Our friend has always related this as one of the greatest jokes in his life, concluding with these words: "Before that time I have thought I was somebody, but really I was nobody."[43]

Students who had daydreamed of glory while abroad often found themselves regarded as quite ordinary when they returned. Though many were unprepared for the many years of hard work necessary to bring change, they were even less prepared for their offerings to be rejected.

The returned students did not have a common plan for China. Disagreements which had started while they were students in the U. S. often continued once they returned to China, such as Hu Shih's running argument with Mei Kuang-ti over the use of vernacular language.[44] Some changed their minds after returning, such as Tao Xingzhi, who returned from Columbia, then joined James Yen's mass literacy movement, and finally drifted into Marxism in the 1930-1940s.[45] These disagreements were not only personal, for they affected the future of the country as a whole. Progressivism, brought by Dewey's students in the U. S., clashed with the communism imported from

Russia. Since progressivism, which believed that change could be brought through education, had to rely on funds from the government, it looked conservative because it did not address the existing oppression. Education, which had little government support, was no match for violence.[46]

Some who spoke out against the Nationalist violence were not allowed easily to settle in with the Communist camp either. In the 1980s an elderly returned student living in China, who had studied at Stanford, Cornell and Harvard recalled,

> Oh, I suppose if I had kept silent, Chiang Kai-sheks' government would have found a place for me. But after 1927, when he unleashed the White Terror, how could I in good conscience. . . . Afterwards the Kuomintang did not trust me. Later the Communists did not trust me. . . .Those of us who have traveled to the West or are influenced by foreign ideas are never trusted. . . .You can't imagine what it has been like for me. Three degrees, three summa cum laudes from three famed universities, and never any responsibilities, never![47]

Despite these disappointments, he hoped that some day "Chinese, who have for over a century banished prodigal sons like lepers, will be more tolerant of those who venture abroad to see the wonders of other worlds and return out of love for their impoverished land."[48] Some tried to create a third way, such as Luo Longji, who through his writings gained a reputation with students and young intellectuals in the late 1920s. Unlike Hu Shih, who urged the students to serve China through their studies, Luo, who had been a student leader at Tsinghua during the May Fourth era, never questioned the value of student activism.[49]

Intellectual life was disrupted by either external forces or internal struggles for many years. During wartime in 1937-45, the universities in the north moved southward to Chongqing. Mao's "Yan'an Talks on Art and Literature" in 1942 set restrictions and goals for writers and artists who had been influenced by Western individualism.[50] Some of the early campaigns

after the founding of the People's Republic of China focused on returned students. During and after the Korean War, called "Resist America, Aid Korea" in China, the Communist Party launched attacks on Hu Shih.

> Despite all the regime's earlier efforts, intellectuals who had received their education in America, or from American-educated teachers in China, remained "incapable of fostering hatred for America," as an editorial in the *Ta-kung pao* complained. The "returned-students' dream" persisted still: " 'fame' and 'position' are used as an enticement to turn students into bourgeois 'scholars'. . . . [They] are corrupted by the preoccupation with personal fame and gains." And so the already battered figure of the archetypical returned student was once more propped up as a target.[51]

Intellectuals were also subjected to thought reform from 1949 to 1956 in order to expunge their elitism, individualism and their preference for Western curriculum and admiration of the United States and capitalism.[52] Opinions of experienced professors were overruled or neglected because they had been trained in the West. When Russian syllabi replaced English language and methods, some social scientists found themselves unable to continue their research.[53] After seven years of thought reform, the Communist leaders wanted to rally the intellectuals around the new regime. Instead of "One Hundred Flowers," complaints or "weeds" emerged about the restricted intellectual life and against the Communist ideology, system and the top leadership.[54] Luo Longji criticized the government for misusing intellectual talent, saying that "there are returned-students from England who make their living as drag-coolies, and returned-students from the United States who run cigarette stalls."[55] The Party responded with the Anti-Rightist Campaign of 1956-57, holding endless study sessions with accusations and self-criticism, turning scholarly institutions into production units and sending intellectuals into villages (*xia fang*) to learn from the peasants.[56] During

the Cultural Revolution of 1966-1976 intellectuals and others with foreign connections were again targeted.[57]

The students were out of step with the times. Thinking they were patriots who could rebuild the country with Western technology, they were accused of being imperialist-lovers. Their desire to remain connected with the West was one of the main charges against them.

KEEPING CONNECTED WITH THE UNITED STATES

When students returned in the 1910s and 1920s, they developed a number of ways of keeping their time in the U. S. alive. Returned students often held informal meetings in their homes. During 1922 Wellington Koo hosted a series of informal and irregular "tea parties," where he invited Hu and a number of returned students from Europe and America to talk about politics. The parties were discontinued when the group disagreed about the new leaders in government.[58]

Various organizations and returned student clubs were established in major cities in China, serving as gathering places for Chinese graduates of American colleges and universities. Besides the World's Chinese Students' Federation of Shanghai and the "Alliance Committee in China," which was established by the Chinese Students' Alliance in Spring 1910, the Y.M.C.A. encouraged the returned students through sponsoring conferences and creating a National Alliance for Western Returned Students in 1918.[59] Students in large cities such as Beijing, Canton, Nanjing and Shanghai established local associations.[60]

These organizations provided places for social interaction. People gathered at club houses after work, for monthly lecturers and refreshments and for annual banquets to hear Chinese or American reformers. For

example, at the semi-annual banquet at the American Students' Club in Beijing in December 1912, the returned students from thirty different colleges in the United States gave their college yells after the new president, V. K. Wellington Koo, gave his acceptance speech. The acting Premier Sun Pao-chi, Dr. Frank J. Goodnow, the President-elect of Johns Hopkins University and Dr. Harry P. Judson, President of Chicago University, also spoke.[61]

Establishing professional networks was another function of these associations. The YMCA's National Alliance For Western Returned Students started a circulating library to help students keep up with their fields and began to publish a journal offering opinions of returned students on China's problems and connecting returned students and those still studying in the U. S.[62] Consider the networking opportunities among the group of fifty returned students in Canton, whose members included the Chief Justice of the Supreme Court, the Attorney General, and the Chiefs of Foreign Affairs, Civil Administration, and Bureau of Industry and Commerce, or the officers of the Association in Shanghai, who included the ex-Premier, the former Vice-Speaker of the Senate who had become secretary of the National YMCA and the President of the Shanghai-Nanking and Shanghai-Hangchow Railways.[63]

Implementing social change was the third function of these associations. The World's Chinese Students' Federation had committees on Lectures and Day and Evening Schools.[64] In Beijing, returned students volunteered alongside foreigners to improve the conditions in the city, providing recreation grounds where children could "learn lessons of team work, order and cleanliness together with the sheer joy of play."[65] Health slides, child welfare, a visiting nurse and a loan fund to help start small businesses were also offered.[66]

Fraternities which had been established by students in the United States migrated to China, performing many of the same roles as the returned clubs. By 1935, all but one fraternity were electing and initiating new members in China as well as in the United States, though members were still required to have studied in U. S. In the large cities of China, fraternity houses served as meeting places, as well as provided accommodations for out-of-town members. Besides annual or semi-annual reunions where friendships could be renewed, the fraternities provided a place for newly-returned brothers to meet the older generation. In 1936 five fraternities, which had 1300 active members in China and the United States, were located in Shanghai, Canton, Nanking, Beijing, Tientsin, and Hangzhou.[67]

Two other views of the clubs are possible. In his novel, Ch'ien Chung-shu describes one of them. "Alumni meetings are always attended by the well-fed ones with nothing to do but shake hands with their rich classmates. When they see a classmate who hasn't made it, they ask, 'Where are you working?' and then without waiting for an answer they prick their ears up to catch what the rich classmates are saying."[68] When implementing reform became difficult in an unstable and polarizing setting, the returned clubs may have become cocoons of retreat rather than reform.

The students recreated duplications of the organization which had sustained them while they were abroad. Returned student clubs and fraternities offered regular opportunities to interact with others who had the similar experience of studying overseas. Besides offering places to meet older role models they provided practical help finding jobs. Conversations and conferences could revive the returned student's flickering spark of reform and associations offered opportunities to join in local reform.

The students' nostalgia about America was also assuaged somewhat by writing letters to their friends, by friendships with Americans serving long-term in China in business, and by renewing old friendships when delegations of visiting professors traveled through China. Returned students maintained friendships with Americans by writing letters. Besides soliciting funds for the Yenching library, William Hung asked for support to send an excellent student in the United States. Returned students also interacted with Americans who were residing long-term in China. The American University Club in Shanghai, which welcomed its first Chinese members in 1908, held receptions for Tsinghua students leaving for the United States and raised money in order to give scholarships to encourage the study of China. By 1930, one-half of the Club's annual members were Chinese.[69] The American members were living reminders of the students' stay in the United States.[70]

Former professors and friends visited China as part of commissions and fact-gathering trips. At one returned club meeting, students were saying farewell to one professor who was returning to the United States to become president of a university and welcoming another who had just arrived. When John R. Mott, who had encouraged many Americans to become missionaries through the Student Volunteer Movement, returned to China in 1913, returned students helped set up a tour which packed houses in every corner of China.[71] During the 1920s a procession of American educators and agriculturists conducted surveys in China in order to submit recommendations.[72] From 1919-1921 Professor John Dewey lectured around the country, as well as taught at universities and teachers' colleges. During his stay, several of Dewey's students, including Hu Shih and Chiang Monlin, served as advisors and translators.[73] The students gained support from old friends from afar, as well as new American friends serving in China. Visiting

professors could help the returned students reach a wider audience with reform ideas.

Students in the twentieth century found ways to return to the United States, by serving in the diplomatic corps and with the Educational Mission, or by giving lectures or receiving honorary degrees. As cultural mediators, some served China in the roles of ambassadors and educational directors.[74] They also served as China's delegates to international conferences, such as the Washington Conference in 1921-22. Former students served on the board of The China Foundation for the Promotion of Education and Culture, which monitored the return of the second part of the Boxer Indemnity fund from 1924 to 1950.

In the late 1920s and 1930s Chinese returned to the United States as lecturers. Besides receiving an honorary degree from Yale, Y. C. James Yen, Director of the National Association for the Mass Education Movement, lectured and recruited influential Americans to support his project.[75] When William Hung of Yenching University lectured at the School of Chinese Studies at Harvard University from 1928-1930, both Americans and Chinese came to renew their friendship with him.[76] Hu Shih spent six months in the U. S., as head of the delegation to the Banff Conference of the Institute of Pacific Relations and as lecturer at the University of Chicago in 1933.[77] Hu Shih lived in the United States, serving as Chinese ambassador from 1938-1942. After returning to China, he then left again in 1948, spending most of his time in the United States. In the same year, 1958, that he became the president of the Academia Sinica in Taiwan an anonymous pamphlet appeared in Taipei accusing Hu of destroying national thought. He died there in 1962.[78]

After the Chinese Exclusion Law was revoked in 1943 and the People's Republic of China was established in 1949, some former students spent long periods of time in the United States and eventually died in the U. S. William Hung, who spent the last 34 years of his life in Cambridge, Massachusetts, writing, occasionally teaching and counseling graduate students of Chinese at Harvard, died in 1980 at the age of 87.[79] Y. C. James Yen spent thirty years encouraging rural reconstruction in the Philippines, Africa, Central America and Southeast Asia. He became honorary president of the Western Returned Students' Association during his visit to China in the fall of 1987 and he died in 1990 in Manhattan at the age of ninety-seven.[80] Through their connections with Americans and others who had studied in the United States, the students were able to keep some of the reform fires burning. Some looked for another home by settling in Taiwan or the United States, whereas James Yen found the world his home.

IMAGES OF RETURNED STUDENTS

The images of returned students were mixed. While some were acclaimed for serving as diplomats, changing the educational system, or helping China's development, others were derided for their laziness and lack of service. As one editorial wrote, "When they have succeeded, they are given no recognition. When they have failed, they are practically doomed forever."[81] What were the sources of these contradictory images?

Positive Images

The *Monthly* encouraged students in the United States by giving the returned students' accolades and listing their positions in China. One list published in 1911 described 91 people (31 of whom were in politics and 24 in

both technical work and education) who were deans of institutes and colleges, professors at universities, directors of mines and of foreign offices, vice-presidents and presidents of banks, advisors to governors, provincial treasurers and members of boards of foreign affairs, naval, finance, posts and communication.[82] In 1911, an article in the *Monthly* closed by stating, "They are giving a good account of themselves; they are reflecting credit to the country from which they drank inspiration; and they are setting us a worthy example of serious and efficient service."[83]

The preface of Tsinghua College's *Who's Who of American Returned Students* stated that, though it was impossible to adequately estimate all that the students had done, "it is within the bounds of safety as well as propriety to say that it has been entirely due to their efforts and influence that the country is being modernized."[84] The bilingual book, which was published in 1917 in order that both Chinese and Americans would know what the students were doing, showed the 340 students evenly divided between government, education and technical/professional work.[85] When trying to tell American businessmen how influential the returned students would be in choosing the products used in the future in China, one man wrote, "What the four hundred million at home, who represent the greatest potential market on the globe, will know of you will be known through these students. What they will eat, drink, wear, and enjoy in the future will be largely determined by the influence of these returned students. What skyscraper they will build, what railways they will construct, what institutions they will rear, will be conceived, planned and directed by these thousands of Chinese students who swarm to your shores yearly."[86]

Returned students held influential positions in government. Among the 12 members of the Republic's first cabinet in Beijing, four had trained in

the U. S., two in Japan and another four in other Western countries.[87] A census of returned students from Europe, the United States and Japan in Beijing published in 1918 found that 806 of the 950 were engaged in government service, which constituted 23.2% of the total number of departmental officers. Nearly half of the department of agriculture were returned students, while they comprised one third of each of the Ministry of War, the Ministry of Education and the Forestry Bureau. One-half of both the Ministries of Commerce and Communications and forty percent of the National Supreme Court were returned students.[88] The students' political power can be seen by the comments made by English and Russian competitors for influence. In 1921, an article in the London *Daily Mail* argued that England should also return its Boxer indemnity funds.

> Educated under the American system, constantly reminded of the happy associations of their school days through the influential alumni organization, aware that they owe their scholarship to American justice, and are saturated with American sentiment by five to eight years' residence in the country, they will look to the United States solely for cooperation in the troublous [sic] years to come. . . . Why should we not share an influence that we formerly monopolized and that is now slipping away from us?[89]

In 1928, M. N. Roy, who served in the Comintern, the Russian-dominated Communist International, complained that the Western-educated students influenced the Chinese government to follow the Anglo-Saxon road rather than the Soviet one.[90]

American-trained students also influenced the Chinese bureau of education despite its lack of government funding and frequent turnover of leadership.[91] In 1922, the American educational model, which was influenced by John Dewey, emphasized formation of citizens capable of self government. This model replaced the Japanese model, followed since 1902, which used education as an instrument of the state.[92] The new policies especially

influenced higher education, which was broadened to include applied knowledge and cross-disciplinary fields, such as business and commerce, psychology, agriculture and rural sociology.[93] Those who opposed the reforms denounced them as evidence of enslavement to foreign interests.[94] Though a widespread backlash against Western methods was felt in the 1920s and 1930s, American-style education, with some modification, was still in place until the Soviet model replaced it in 1951.[95]

Students with technical expertise returned to a more uncertain future. Since China did not have the finances to support large projects, engineers experienced the highest unemployment rate of returned students, but still built many of China's proudest accomplishments. In order to boycott Japanese products, Chinese engineers also needed to manufacture common goods such as umbrellas, hats, toys, and toilet articles.[96]

It was and still is difficult to estimate the American-trained students' achievements and influence. In 1923, one editorial wrote of the problem. "Many returned students. . . have been most instrumental in the industrial and commercial development of China. Others have been equally useful though less well known. Success should be measured by its intrinsic value and not by the popularity it draws to the individual achieving it."[97] In honor of the one hundredth anniversary of Yung Wing's graduation from Yale in 1854, the China Institute of America published a survey in 1954, describing a *Who's Who in China* published in 1931 and its supplement, where 348 out of 1211 prominent men and women listed had studied in the United States.

> As we study the lists of graduates of American universities, we discover that it is only a small percentage that become "prominent", and yet we know that many whose names never got into "Who's Who" are doing useful work in the country just as important as that of those who occupy distinguished positions. So we must bear this in mind,

> when we attempt to evaluate the work done by the returned student from China.[98]

Did those who fit back in do so because they were not seeking glory and fame? Were they too busy working to proclaim what they were doing? In later years did the students change or did those commenting on them change their views?

Negative Images

The *Monthly* hoped to prepare students for return by using negative images of returned students. Speeches about the problems facing returned students, given in conferences in both the United States and China, were reprinted. V. K. Wellington Koo's address at the 1917 annual Alliance conference summarized the most commonly held negative views about returned students. They were proud and intolerant of opposition. Thinking that their years abroad and their degrees prepared them for top positions, they were unwilling to start at the bottom. They disregarded details in their work as being of little importance in comparison to dreaming of future ideals. Koo felt that all these faults were due to their lack of steadfast purpose which would have made them "willing to forbear and suffer a great deal in order to achieve [their] ultimate purpose in life."[99]

In 1926 the *Monthly* published a satirical short story, "The Return of the Donkey," telling of a "Philosophical Donkey" who returns to China expecting to be honored by the people. Claiming that anything he says is patriotic, his plan of reconstruction consists only of turning Chinese into Americans. Instead of being able to do anything to save the people from misery, the donkey wants to teach the only skills he has learned, the fox-trot and the waltz. As the welcoming crowd becomes angry and resentful, his old

master takes pity and offers to take him home, but the donkey refuses because he does not want to work in a common mill or live with other animals. After the master hitches the donkey to the carriage, the donkey, knowing nothing about cooperation, topples the carriage. Believing the donkey is good for nothing, his owner offers anyone in the crowd his donkey for one penny, but no one wants him.[100] (See Appendix K "The Return of the Donkey.")

One of the saddest, funniest, and most biting commentaries about this generation is Ch'ien Chung-shu's novel *Wei Cheng* (*Fortress Besieged*) which introduces a cast of European- and American-trained returned students. The protagonist is a student who returns home in 1937 from Europe having bought a degree from a fake university in the U. S. "All his excitement about going ashore having evaporated, he felt small and weak, thinking a job would be hard to find and romance difficult to achieve."[101] He is an indecisive young dreamer who reacts rather than initiates, muddling along due to feeling immobilized by the overwhelming difficulty of effecting social change.[102] Both his parents and parents-in-law, who had hoped to gain honor by his return, are not impressed by his performance as a bank clerk or as a professor. Being caught between the traditional and new values, his love life is a series of disasters. The cycles of hope, frustration and defeat are both compelling and agonizing.[103]

Where did these images come from? Some came from reality. Wellington Koo, who had worked with hundreds of returned students, related actual stories. Others came from jealous coworkers who did not go abroad. In 1908, Wu Ting-fang had warned the students

> When one of our class is found tripping, his fault is magnified and his case is taken as a general type of the foreign educated Chinese. You

> may depend upon it that your present conduct abroad, and your future movement are carefully and critically watched. . . . I entreat you, to be careful in what you learn and do, so as to give no opportunity for slanderers.[104]

Still other negative images were politically motivated. Though American trained students were not that different from the urban-raised, urban-educated Chinese at that time, their American experience made them easy targets during the rise of nationalism, since those who wanted power wanted to discredit other possible competitors.[105]

DROPS OF RAIN IN A POLLUTED STREAM

The *Monthly* discussed many personal, educational, social, economic, professional and political hindrances students faced in bringing about reform. Even those who were strong in one aspect could be greatly hampered in another area. No wonder the students were pictured "just like drops of rain, which, having fallen into a polluted stream immediately mix with the water with little effect of purgation."[106]

Personal Hindrances

Some problems were of their own making. Pride could cause them to be overbearing, assuming that the new viewpoints they had obtained while overseas were the right way to do things.

> [The returned student] is unusually inclined to manifest undue liberality in offering opinions on subjects of which he probably has nothing but a theoretical book-knowledge; if he is contradicted by them he at once charges them with deep-rooted prejudice; if he is asked to explain his opinions, he hastens to infer their utter ignorance. It does not always occur to him that men who are senior to him in age may have learned from experience something which he did not get from books. . . . By his pride mingled with intolerance of opposition he offends the sensibilities of the men of the old school of thought and

> courts their enmity rather than he wins their sympathy and support to his ideas and to his ways of looking at life.[107]

As an example, Koo recalled how a returned student who was a civil engineer on a railroad had an argument with a foreman of his section about the best way to construct the railbed. The foreman, having worked on the section for ten years and knowing the local conditions of labor and material, turned out to be right. The young engineer was so deeply embarrassed that he resigned from his post and became a school teacher.[108] Pride caused some to refuse to take positions which did not match their expectations of honor, power and wealth. Koo told of one student who upon returning from the United States, rejected an offer of a junior secretaryship in one of the ministries of the government.[109]

Idealism, which stemmed from youth as well as being in the United States, caused some of them to overestimate their own abilities and underrate the obstacles in their way. Idealism needed to be tempered with insight from those affected by reform and with patience when facing difficulties and opposition.[110]

Some students in applied sciences were seen as poor workers who were unwilling to work with their hands. Civil engineers, who had been sent out to make a survey of a proposed railroad line of, alighted only now and then from their sedan chairs to take measurements. A student, who returned with a Masters in Agricultural Science, quit his job on a farm when he found that he was expected to run the plows in order to teach the farmers. Encouraging the students to be pioneers, Koo said,

> . . .engineers and students of agriculture and other applied sciences and arts should always be prepared to work with their hands whenever required to do so. . . .[I]n many parts of China, particularly in the inland, modern facilities which contribute so much to convenience and efficiency of work in the West, cannot always be found. . . . A mining

> engineer, for example, cannot always expect to find the most up-to-date machinery waiting for him at the mine to which he is invited. . . .[111]

The human limitations of every student kept them from achieving everything they dreamed. Not everyone had exceptional ability or was destined to be a leader, for even with an American academic or professional education, the students still had limitations.[112]

Educational Hindrances

Educational hindrances were due both to the government and to the students. The new education that they learned at urban schools already set them apart from many of the ills of China before they ever boarded a boat for the United States. For example, of the few students who chose to study agriculture, neither locally- nor foreign-trained students wanted to do fieldwork![113] Though educational commissions from the U. S. encouraged research into Chinese agricultural problems and learning to communicate with farmers, Y. C. James Yen's experiment in northern China, where the technological expertise of Cornell-trained Ph.D.s won the admiration of the participating villages, was an exception to the rule.[114]

Due to the political instability of much of this period, the government did not direct the students to study areas that would be most useful for China.[115] One author blamed the failure of returned students on the Chinese government, saying it was a crime to send the immature and mediocre students abroad.[116] Though a plan might not have affected the privately-sponsored students, it would have helped guide those under government sponsorship.

Many students could not or did not transfer what they had learned in the United States. One Westerner complained, "The old school in China

which prided itself upon the ability to imitate classics was too incompetent to cope with the irresistible current of modern civilization; the new school which based its claim to superiority over the old on its imitation of the west was too ignorant of decadent China to heal its ills."[117] The growing resentment toward foreign domination, the fading optimism about the West when the Paris Peace Treaty failed, and the unstable political setting in China made Chinese soil inhospitable for liberal seeds of Progressivm.[118] Since China could not imitate the West's level of support for technology, the students needed to seek the principles rather than try to transfer the learning *in toto*. Though Americans acknowledged the various drawbacks of American education, they usually believed the advantages outweighed them, especially if the students were older, having had time to learn their own cultural background and knowing more what they wanted in their studies.[119]

Social Hindrances

The students faced a number of social restraints once they returned from China. By going overseas some students had weakened the connections which could help them find proper work that would use their new skills. In China, an individual often got a job due to connections or *guanxi*, rather than to skills. "In China men are judged not so much by merit as by family connections or personal affiliations. Only too often have talented students been sacrificed to make way for those with some 'pull.'"[120] Few Chinese agencies advertised jobs in the *Monthly*. By the time the Monthly published a letter from the director of the Railway Department in Beijing telling of positions for railway experts, the deadline had already passed.[121]

Familialism, which was helpful in finding work, was also a hindrance when implementing reform.

> [The returned student] tries to start a little reform, but he desists because he is told that his scheme, although admirable, will nevertheless upset the "ricebowl" of Mr. Chang, Chang being "the cousin of his uncle's mother-in-law' daughter's nephew"![122]

Becoming discouraged, some students did not dare try anything new for fear of offending someone.

Their young age should have tempered their expectations. The students returned to a society where the young people were to learn from the old.

> It is hard for foreigners to appreciate how slow this consummation must be because of the peculiar organization of Chinese society, in which parental authority is supreme even in matters of life and death. . . . It is not until [the Chinese student's] progressive ideals have permeated two or three generations, until time has placed this mantle of authority on his own shoulders, that he can be successful in his task.[123]

The small number of students returning from overseas should also have moderated their dreams. By focusing on students, this paper may skew understanding of how small a group that is being discussed. Considering their number, their influence was considerable.

Denationalization, symbolized by white bread and yellow butter, was given as a reason for the students' failure. Some argued that denationalization was brought on by the subtle lure of Western luxuries or by suggestions of inferiority implied by U. S. laws and Japanese propaganda.[124] An editorial in the *Monthly* responded to the accusation by saying that the fact that students dressed in American attire and spoke English showed their ability to adapt, not their tendency to denationalize.[125] Those who flaunted their overseas experience made it easy for people to quickly judge them on their behavior rather than by their abilities.[126] Despite the students' denial of denationalization, their opponents used it as a way to write them off.[127]

Economic Hindrances

New businesses and industries in China needed money, but during much of the 1920s factional warfare drained away the resources. The government did not have enough money to set up projects which used the returned students' skills. As one man recalls, "Those who studied machinery had no factory to set up after returning. Those who studied mining had no mine to dig, those who studied forestry had no forests to plant. They had to teach in schools."[128] When the government borrowed money for projects from foreign countries, foreign rather than Chinese engineers were usually employed as part of the package.[129]

Setting up new professions in the cities also took money. One person encouraged the students to create the new professions so that the public would recognize them. "A new profession will thus be finally and firmly established, embracing great numbers of people and producing new services or goods contributory to public welfare."[130] The goal was noble, but what was the returned student to eat in the meantime?

Professional Constraints

Unemployment, underemployment and difficult co-workers were some of the professional constraints. Some returned students were unable to find work. By 1927, the unemployment rate of returned students was between fifty to sixty percent. Some of the unemployed died of tuberculosis as a result of staying isolated and despondent in their homes.[131] The high percentage of unemployment did not go unnoticed, for Michael Borodin, another Comintern agent from Russia, reportedly said, "Every Chinese bandit who turns into a militarist can hire enough returned students to equip a government."[132]

Though a bureau which would match students to jobs was opened in 1914, it did not last long.[133] After the Tsinghua College set up its Returned Students' Information Bureau in 1915, an editorial in the *Monthly* urged the new president to establish a government bureau for other students, since the problem was only getting worse as more students returned.[134] Though the government had a bureau for preparing and sending out students, the absence of a bureau helping those who returned meant that "the full measure of fruits obtained by sending students abroad" could not be realized.[135]

Some returned students took jobs they were not trained for because they needed living expenses or did not like being out of work. The "wanton waste" of trained people was described.

> A Chinese student who had specialized in chemistry or physics became an under-secretary in the Chinese diplomatic corps; . . . another who had studied engineering or mining returned to be a district magistrate; . . . still another whose major study was law or political science secured . . . a position in a railway company or a mining corporation.[136]

If the students' incompetence became conspicuous, they would lose their positions, and once more join the crowd of job-hunters.[137]

Difficulties with co-workers hindered the returned students' work. Wu Tingfang warned about jealous co-workers. "There are some men of the conservative type with Chinese education, pure and simple, who are filled with jealousy and alarm when they notice the increasing number of foreign educated Chinese in the Government service."[138] For example, after a chief engineer was selected, he was attacked from all sides by his enemies before he had any results. Other times co-workers raised obstacles to the work, which caused delays, increased the cost and sometimes resulted in projects being abandoned. Some engineers could withstand the attacks and bring the project to completion, but many resigned.[139]

Those who had no practical training were sometimes unprepared for the responsibilities thrust upon them. They needed hands-on experience as well as management skills to direct large projects or they might become frustrated and fail.[140]

Political Deterrents

Besides battling reactionaries, the students were in direct conflict with militarists and foreign powers who wanted China to remain weak and unstable.[141] Sometimes the patterns of corrupt government service infected the returned students, since "Mandarin" rule, defined as leaders who ruled without being held accountable, was a difficult pattern to oppose and resist.

> Owing to the backward stage of our commercial and industrial life, which offers few openings, a returned student is either attracted or forced into the government service. . . .The melting pot of the Mandarinate or Chinese officialdom is one of the strongest influences existent in the world. . . . After a few years of official life, the returned student, consciously or unconsciously, loses his identity. . . . Not infrequently he is induced by his official superiors to sacrifice his sense of honor and self-respect.[142]

Some of the students' inability to bring reform was due to falling into the web of the Mandarinate. Failing to preserve their identity, they could not make a difference.

The political instability and the returned students' discouragement brought about by militarism caused one returned student, who had served as the President of the Alliance and had been back in China for nine years, to suggest that students in America should research militia systems in democratic countries and train to become competent leaders in a militia movement in each province. Since militarism was hindering the change students wanted to make, he argued this training was as important as their professional training.[143]

The presence of the foreign powers also thwarted the students' goals. When describing the lack of progress since the 1911 Revolution, one student wrote "Young China" was not to blame, for the Powers imposed handicaps on her while they simultaneously grew impatient with her national rejuvenation.[144] International forces did not want China to grow strong too quickly for they did not want to lose their possessions and interests.[145] Japan was especially noted as being hostile to the Republic by supplying bullets to Chinese bureaucrats and militarists in order to kill their republican "brothers."[146]

Some argued that the students needed to cooperate, since any project required combined financial, intellectual, moral, and physical efforts to meet the general opposition which was to be expected when starting anything new in China.[147]

> There are cases when some returned students are engaged in single-handed fights against corrupt customs and practices of long standing. When they have succeeded, they are given no recognition. When they have failed, they are practically doomed forever. They receive no support, no encouragement, no sympathy. If they were not men of a strong character and steadfast purpose, they themselves might fall victims of the very temptations and corruptions which they had tried to fight against. All these evils can be readily diminished and even removed if there is co-operation.[148]

Even the call for cooperation showed that the students still lived in a dream. Could cooperation face a gun?

Others argued that the students' lack of political power hindered their reforms. One author called for a break from Chinese scholars' past inclination not to form groups by arguing that the very country was in peril.[149] Telling how a returned student in Shanghai had set up a union, he encouraged students to create and support political parties which had definite reconstructive programs, rather than just criticizing the party in power.[150]

Americans also encouraged students to invest time in patriotic fraternities while in the United States, so that upon return the principal aims and objects of the organization could be accomplished.[151]

The shift in the political climate toward nationalism left the returned students out of the mainstream, for the Western values which they had been told to imbibe were now thought to be traitorous by the radicals in the next generation.[152]

> The gap between returned and native students widened during the Japanese invasion of the 1930s, when many Anglo-American-educated academicians (as well as those trained in Japan) supported the government, sought help from the League of Nations, opposed the radical nationalism of the younger generation, and rejected student arguments that the national emergency made it imperative to interrupt normal education.[153]

The new generation of Chinese students saw their elders as imperialist-lovers infected by an alien disease.

Returned students did not have the power to create an environment conducive to reform. Economic, social and political hindrances limited their chances of finding jobs. Personal and professional hindrances hurt their chances of gaining influence. Cooperation was the only possible way to bring reform when competing with internal and international foes, but it may not have been enough during a time of political instability and terror.

REVERSE CULTURE SHOCK AND REENTRY

Today as we look at this long list of personal difficulties and institutional constraints the students faced, the terms "reverse culture shock" and "reentry" come to mind. Reentering a home culture is often mistakenly thought to be easier than entering a new culture, but readjustment to home can be most severe if students do not expect any problems.[154] The symptoms

of reverse culture shock can explain some of the behaviors the Chinese students exhibited in the earlier part of this century. The four stages are "initial euphoria," "irritability and hostility" as the daily activities frustrate plans and hopes, "gradual adjustment" and "adaptation," as the student feels at home again and is able to meet some of his goals.[155] A list of problems published in 1987 is strikingly similar the problems faced by Chinese students seventy years ago. Besides cultural and social adjustments, the list includes linguistic barriers, educational, professional, and national and political problems. (See Appendix L "Some Possible Reentry Problems.")

Many of today's international students are being encouraged to think about reentry before they even leave home in order to help them clarify and maintain their goals. The methods used by the Chinese students earlier this century are similar to those suggested today: alumni networking, developing resource libraries, maintaining contact with their peers while in the United States, establishing contact with professional peers in the home country and being a resource for others who may go abroad to study.[156] Though seminars, workbooks, organizations and employment guides are available today, re-entry is still difficult for many students when they return.[157] Though the Chinese students lacked government support when they returned at the beginning of this century, they used their networking skills of the Alliance, returned student clubs, and American friendships to help them to carry out their reforms.

SUCCESS AND FAILURE

The success and failure of the Chinese returned students is difficult to assess. Even if they cooperated, did they have enough power, both politically and economically, to implement the programs of reform? What definition of

success should be used? Some might say that success should be measured by adoption or adaptation of Western models, while others would say that a better measure would be the emergence of a strong China which is equal militarily and economically to the West. What sources do we use to measure the students' success? Some portrayals of returned students as unsuccessful resulted from political ambition and jealousy. Sometimes their accomplishments were hidden or stolen in order to portray them all as losers, while other times the portrayal has been colored by political campaigns against them by the Chinese Communist Party before and after 1949.

In the early 1980s, every university and factory in China was encouraged to write books about the history of their illustrious people (*sheng shi jiu shi*). Tsinghua University published *Annals of Famous People*, Book 1 in 1983, followed by Book 2 in celebration of the 80th anniversary of the school in 1991.[158] In 1984 an article in a periodical from the People's Republic of China began with the obligatory review of the common accusations of the minority of returned students from the second wave before presenting a positive account of the majority.

> [Some] wasted their lives or fell at the foot of Western civilization, disseminating pessimism about their own nation; some aspired to become an elitist group of Chinese on foreign soil; others sold out their country and became renegades and turncoats. The majority, however, devoted themselves to their studies, observed at first hand the modern industries, advanced cities, and developed transportation system of the West, and came to realize that these countries built up their power and wealth mainly because they adopted an attitude of respecting the truth found in natural science and because of the institution of democratic systems and parliaments.[159]

The article especially noted the accomplishments of the students in the areas of diplomatic, entrepreneurial, educational and military service.

> In modern Chinese history, returned students have been an indispensable force. They were determined to put what they had learned in the West to work in China to lift their nation and people out of poverty and weakness. . . . Like Prometheus, they stole fire from the West to destroy imperialist aggression and feudal autocracy in China, lighting the way forward for Chinese society.[160]

Like Prometheus, they paid dearly for their action.

Knowing about the broader setting in which the students returned to work for reform brings a more balanced view of both the successes and failures of the second wave of returned students. Their dreams and goals should not be dismissed, but be seen as unrealistic in light of the political and social turmoil of the times.

CONCLUSION

When the time for preparation and dreaming had passed and the time for implementing reform had arrived, students of the 1910s and 1920s were often seen as having failed to fulfill their goals of reform in China. Was it their failure or the political setting which thwarted their actions and denied their successes? The students used the cooperation skills which they had learned in the United States. By convincing American businesses to allow them to receive practical training, and by establishing professional clubs which published journals and held conferences, they had become better prepared for their responsibilities awaiting them in China. When they returned, they established returned clubs and cooperated with the YMCA to offer places to gather socially, to establish professional networks and to implement social change. In order to bring reform, some worked through established systems, such as the Guomindang, rather than becoming revolutionaries, while others, due to their cosmopolitan background, trusted in the judgment and justice of the League of Nations.

The great needs of China and its instability made implementing plans difficult, while growing nationalism made returned students' plans suspect. Practical training offered a bridge from academia to real service, but the lack of funding kept returned students from using their skills. Progressivism did not fit China's political or social setting, for education's incremental progress did not seem to be either quick or broad enough to answer the pressing problems facing China. Breathing "progressive air" in the U. S. did not prepare some accurately to weigh their own abilities in light of their conservative *and* radical competitors. Their influence was limited in part by lack of finances and their unwillingness to resort to violence. Though some organized social reforms in urban areas, few dealt with the more necessary rural reforms. If they worked individually they were doomed, since reforms were interconnected, but even a more coordinated plan may have failed, for they did not have enough power to bring their dreams to fruition.

Influencing China by using what they had learned overseas changed from a benefit to a liability in China's climate of growing nationalism. Though they had been influenced by models of previous students who called on them to demonstrate perseverance and service, how were they to keep their steadfast purpose? Informal networks of returned students lent support, but could disintegrate in the polarizing political scene. Friendships with American reformers living either in China or lecturing around the country gave the students an opportunity to spread reform ideas. Though technological change to strengthen China still had many advocates, tampering with Chinese culture or advocating "total Westernization" was out of style by the mid-1920s. Being seen as too different could ruin their chance for reform, while expressing alternative voices became more dangerous in a

violent and polarized setting. Cosmopolitanism was seen as an empty dream as Japan encroached on Chinese soil and the world prepared for another war.

China hoped to leap-frog into the twentieth century on the backs of her students, but the weight of China's past and the instability of China's present rendered the students unable to jump as high as China, the U. S. and their parents hoped. Ironically, the few who ultimately unified China and rid her of foreign military domination chose another foreign-born "ism," Marxism, which they hoped would solve China's many problems.

A Second Song of Endeavor
Hu Shih, May 7, 1922

"Without a good society, how can we have a good government?"
"Without a good government, how can we have a good society?"
Such a set of chain, how *can* we untie?

"If education is not good, how can we have good politics?"
"If politics is not good, how can we have education at all?"
Such a set of chain, how *can* we untie?

"If we do not destroy, how can we begin construction?"
"Without construction, how can we destroy?"
Such a set of chain, how *can* we untie?[1]

Chapter 6: Conclusion

The second wave of students who studied in the United States displayed an ability to cooperate with diverse groups, to organize reforms and to exert influence through a variety of means. Despite these strengths, the students were not able to accomplish as much as either China or the U. S. had hoped, for neither country were conducive to reform. The chapter's opening poem reflects the questions about implementing interlocking reforms which were raised by the students' time in the U.S. as well their return to a transitional, tumultuous China.[2]

The students cooperated despite many divisions that threatened to divide them, because their goal, the national welfare of China, was broad enough to put differences aside. Besides having students from North and South China, the local clubs also included both foreign-born and American-born in their clubs. The students worked with the Chinese-American community despite social and educational differences. They were able to find openings for practical training in U. S. companies and to cooperate with U. S. organizations whose social, political, religious, and legal goals helped strengthen their own. These cooperative skills helped them when creating professional clubs in the U. S. and returned student clubs in China which could support their research and reform activities. Provincialism and factionalism were always threatening to undo their goals, shown both in the collapse of the Alliance in 1931 and the inability of the students to effect all their goals in China.

Organizing was another strength of the second wave of students. Besides the Alliance, the students participated in professional, religious, alumni, and fraternity groups. By setting goals, they responded to needs in

the U. S. by setting up welfare programs and to needs in China by sending cables and money. Though they were naive about the power of various forces opposing them in both countries, they were better at recognizing and working against the opposition in the U. S. than in China.

The students' ability to influence through building "special relationships" was substantial. Despite racism in the U. S., they were able to make friends with all types of Americans, some of whom became their advocates and coaches. Their popular cultural shows reached a wider audience than the campus. They were so influential that there was a shift in American sentiment from a feeling of superiority to a willingness to learn about China. Despite their ability to attract the support of many individual Americans, they had less success convincing the U. S. government to support China's cause, whether it be quick recognition of the Republic in 1912, return of the Shandong Peninsula in 1919, or cancellation of unequal treaties in 1928. Once the students returned to China they continued their contacts with Americans in the U. S. by letter, visits or friendships. Strong familial, cultural and political pressures were exerted upon the students. Their exposure to fair play and cooperation in the U.S. did not prepare them for the divisive and violent game of influence in China.

BALANCING CHINA'S WELL-BEING ON THEIR SHOULDERS

The students carried the weight of the future of their country on their shoulders. China's hopes, the United States' plans, and their parents' expectations drove the students to set impossible goals. Romantic ideals required the students to be forbearing toward the Chinese who had not had training overseas, and not to be too self-confident or over-ambitious when introducing reforms. They were to be heroic, still making progress in the face

of great odds. With the rise of nationalism, the rules of the game changed from romantic to revolutionary; under the new rules many students were considered traitors for having studied abroad, rather than patriots. When their dreams of being saviors did not materialize, the students themselves needed to be saved.[3] Stepping onto American soil had not automatically transformed students into leaders.[4]

Many expectations were contradictory. When China first considered sending students abroad, some were worried that China would lose face by having to learn from barbarians. China had still not settled the contradiction that sending students abroad was to admit that China was not self-sufficient.[5] The Chinese political leaders' desire "to transform knowledge patterns within the higher curriculum to serve explicit goals of economic modernization," was a political contradiction because they were reluctant "to abandon patterns resonant with the Confucian tradition which were seen as essential to the preservation of political order."[6] Educational contradictions included calling the students simultaneously to balance Chinese traditional moral learning and technical skills, while balancing participation in American customs with excellence in their studies. The necessity for the students to be Chinese and think Western in order to bring reform was a cultural contradiction. The students were living contradictions.

Many expectations were unrealistic. Consider a short list given in 1910: free China from foreign domination, abolish the practice of extraterritoriality, establish a parliamentary government, frame a constitution, establish a new financial system and an effective military system.[7] Y.C. Wang argued that

> study abroad failed primarily because of its misconceived and unattainable goal, which was no less than national rejuvenation and

> achievement of major-power status within the shortest possible time. Even more illogically, the Anglo-American experience inspired the Chinese to believe that they could foster democratic institutions at the same time they were attaining national power.[8]

China's desire to become a powerful nation without changing its political structure was unrealistic, especially in light of the various social, economic and political hindrances to change.

The Introduction's opening quote tells about the pre-1911 Revolutionary myth of progressive and unified citizens, which became autobiographical fiction for many students in the second wave. I propose instead that China, the United States and their families wrote a play, "To Save China," encouraging the students to star in the performance. The students dreamed of their staring role in the romantic production. Then the three rewrote the script, leaving the students with much less of a role to play. Many became disheartened when they could not live up to the myths they had accepted without question. How did China, the U. S. and their families rewrite the script?

CHIPPING AWAY AT THEIR INFLUENCE

China, the United States, and the students' parents failed to build a foundation on which the students could become effective agents of reform. China and the U. S. chipped away at the foundation of friendship and influence needed to ensure the students' success, while their parents wanted to benefit from a glorious new structure, but did not permit the old foundation of culture and values to be changed.

Due to the political and social instability, the Chinese government offered little economic or professional support to returning students. Once the warlord period began, the window of opportunity for student participation

in the republic closed. Those struggling for power did not want to share authority with those who had studied overseas. At most, the returned students were used as tools to support existing power structures; at worse, their opponents undermined them by labeling them "denationalized." The students' lessons about democracy and cosmopolitanism became suspect with the rise of nationalism.

Though some Americans befriended and supported Chinese students, the U. S. government and educational system, by omission and commission, made both their time in the U. S. and their return more difficult. Professors often gave little thought to translating the concepts presented in an American classroom into Chinese reality. The Chinese Exclusion Act, which reinforced the cultural racism that the students experienced in the U. S., remained a thorn in U. S.-China relations. Wilson's failure to bring China justice at the Paris peace talks, combined with the government's unwillingness to release China from unequal treaties, discredited the U. S. as friend and model. In later years the United States' support of the Guomindang during the Civil War and its involvement in the Korean War sealed the returned students' fate.

Their families built high expectations for the students before they left for the U. S. Through them the parents hoped to gain glory, but they also tried to remold the returned students back into the traditional family system. The strength of the extended family further undermined the students' ability to effect reform.

The second group should not have been surprised by their reception. Why did the students remain optimistic for so long? Their youthful idealism combined with the "progressive air" in the U. S. made the time following the fall of the Qing dynasty seem like an opportunity for political and social

change. Some of the returned students became disillusioned when they found that the same people who had encouraged their study abroad, then sabotaged their ability to achieve their goals.

PROBLEMS AND ISMS

China needed new plans to solve her problems and new ideologies to replace Confucianism. The U. S. offered the students progressivism as a gift to take back to China, but it was undermined by the racial policies in the U. S. and failure of the U. S. government to support China, leaving the American-trained reformers little ground on which to stand. The Communist International agents from Russia offered Marxism as a solution, which had both Lenin's strength of organization and an ideology to overlay, if not replace, the failing Chinese vision. Russia's successful revolution and her release of China from unequal treaties, made Russia seem like a model and a friend. The friendship ended in 1959 when China grew tired of the strings attached to the gift.

The student reformers who came to the United States in the 1910s were supplanted by the student radicals of the 1920's and 1930s. When the earlier group's ideal of responsible, unified citizens failed to emerge in the Chinese setting, they and their ideology looked old and conservative to the next generation of radical youth who desired to create a new world instantly.

LESSONS FROM THE SECOND WAVE

The lessons from the second wave of Chinese students do not need to be frozen in history, but can be used to build successful models for cross-cultural exchange today.[9] The Chinese of the 1920s and 30s had unrealistic expectations for their success. The government did not direct the students to

select which fields of study would be most helpful and did not screen all its applicants carefully so a few poor students ruined the reputations of the many. Since many of the students came well prepared in English, they excelled as students, even winning oratorical competitions. The balance between returning home as quickly as possible and gaining benefits from practical training was difficult to find.

In the United States the students were given a variety of opportunities to learn inside and outside the classroom. Since many professors did not modify their lectures to reflect international applications, the students often did not learn what most would be useful for China. Through informal conversations with professors and landlords, being hosted for dinners and holidays, some students learned about aspects of American life other than those presented by the media. American friends who listened and understood helped assuage homesickness more than another invitation to a large group dinner. Though the United States saw the students as bridge-builders and agents of influence, its policy decisions, such as passing the Chinese Exclusion Act and not supporting China in the face of Japanese aggression, undermined the United States' role of training China's future leaders by alienating China and weakening the students' chance for influence.

The students were able to teach about their culture on campus and in the community. Sports activities, campus newspapers and cosmopolitan clubs offered Chinese and American college students a chance to interact. Cultural events, museum shows and lectures were various ways Americans could learn from the enthusiastic available. Besides fulfilling many of the social and networking needs of the students living in an unfamiliar culture, the students' national club, the Alliance, offered a means to coordinate large

cultural events and build networks which would help them when they returned.

When they left the United States, the students had little support except for what they created since there was little infrastructure, whether political and technological, to support them. A referral service helped some find a job, but jealous co-workers hindered the students' ability to effect reforms. While the YMCA provided libraries so students could keep in touch with international developments in their field, visiting U. S. professors on short-term lecture tours encouraged the students. Nationalism kept them from becoming "cultural brokers," who could explain informally and formally what they saw and experienced overseas. Looking at the second wave of Chinese students offers encouragement and warnings to those who are hoping to build bridges of understanding today.

THE LOST REFORMERS

The second wave of students from 1906-1931 became lost between two educational systems, two political cultures, two set of cultural norms and two roles for intellectuals during this transitional period in China. Neither the old nor the new education fit the needs of a country in crisis. The new education made urban dwelling desirable, but it cut students off from rural ties which had brought intellectuals of previous generations a sense of place. Politically, the choice was between two imperfect systems. Students came to the U.S. hoping to learn about a republic, but found it to be both racist and materialistic. When China tried to set up a republic, it quickly disintegrated into warlordism and prolonged civil war. The students were led down a promising path by the Chinese and the U.S. political systems only to be abandoned by both.

Culturally, students were caught between two sets of norms. When they ventured outside the "wall" of China, they found Americans to be both racist and hospitable. When the students returned to what they assumed to be "home," they found they no longer fit, since their changed values made them different from most Chinese people. Though their families wanted them to submit their personal aspirations to family commitments once more, they had new loyalties. Their peer group who had also been overseas could give some relief and comfort to the feeling of being strange and unique. Some grew tired of living between two cultures and became disillusioned with their attempts to bring the best of the two countries together.

The students were also caught between two roles to play in their country during this transitional period. With the fall of the Qing Dynasty, the guaranteed future of serving within the bureaucracy was denied. Would they remain advisors to politicians or become directly involved in politics themselves? What would their role be in education and culture? Those who wanted to serve China in technical roles found that economic contraints limited their contribution. The transition from the old role to the new unknown was only made more difficult when the students were unwilling or unable to change their expectations. Not only were the students lost between two cultures and between the expectations of traditional and modernizing China, their accomplishments were obscured by their political and professional opponents.

NOTES

Chapter One Notes:

[1]Jerome Grieder, *Intellectuals and the State in Modern China* (New York: The Free Press, 1981),198.

[2]This number includes all those before 1950, but since few came before 1905, they are included in this figure. David M. Lampton, *A Relationship Restored* (Washington, D.C.:, National Academy Press, 1986), 18.

[3]Zikopoulos, Marianthi, ed. *Open Doors 1988/89* (New York: Institute of International Education, 1989), 21; *Open Doors 1991/92* (New York: IIE, 1992), 20.

[4]Su Yuen-feng, "The Disequilibrium Between Social Values and Reality," *Chinese Studies in History*, (Spring 1990), 9.

[5]Paula Harell, *Sowing the Seeds of Change, Chinese Students, Japanese Teachers, 1895-1905* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1992), 2; For more reasons to send students to Japan, see Hiroshi Abe, "Borrowing from Japan: China's First Modern Educational System," in *China's Education and the Industrialized World*, ed. Ruth Hayhoe and Marianne Bastid (Armonk: M.E. Sharpe, 1987), 73; Though at least ten times as many students studied in Japan, those who eventually gained Ph.D.s in the U.S. were 20 times those in Japan. Mary Brown Bullock, "American Exchanges with China, Revisited," in *Educational Exchanges: Essays on the Sino-American Experience,* ed. Joyce K. Kallgren and Denis Fred Simon (Berkeley: University of California, 1987), 29.

[6]Students also complained about Japanese customs. "The inns were built of wood and you had to take your shoes off before coming into the room. Here we had crossed the seas and gone abroad to study in order to prepare for a future restoration, yet once in Japan the first thing we had to do was go back to antiquity." Marius Jansen, "Japan and the Revolution of 1911," in *The Cambridge History of China*, Vol. 11, ed. John K. Fairbank and Kwang-Ching Liu, (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1978), 353.

[7]Jansen, 349.

[8]Y.C. Wang, *Chinese Intellectuals and the West, 1872-1949* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1966), 55, 71.

[9]The Indemnity had been levied by eight countries against China for damages and deaths due to the Boxer Rebellion in 1899. Japan decided to return part of its indemnity in 1923. From 1933-1947, 194 students went to England as Boxer indemnity scholars. Wang, 118, 128-9; The students were one of the exempt classes of the Chinese Exclution Law, along with merchants, visitors, teachers and government officials.

[10]Sally Borthwick, *Education and Social Change in China* (Stanford: Hoover Institution Press, 1983) 84; Jessie Lutz, *China and the Christian Colleges, 1850-1950* (Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, 1971), 300; Wang, 64.

[11]Reprinted by Washington State University, 1987.

[12](UC Santa Barbara, 1979). His sample is 92 former students from the 1930s and 1940s who were all living in the United States. 320, footnote 24; Essays by Clausen and others appeared in a special issue of *Asian Profile* about China and the West in October 1988.

[13](Cambridge, Mass: Harvard University Press, 1990), 195-227.

[14]Jerome Grieder, *Hu Shih and the Chinese Renaissance* (Cambridge, Mass: Harvard University Press, 1970); Min-Chih Chou, *Hu Shih and Intellectual Choice in Modern China* (Ann Arbor, MI: The University of Michigan Press, 1984). Susan Egan, *A Latterday Confucian: Reminiscences of William Hung* (Cambridge, Mass: Harvard University Press, 1987); Charles Hayford, *To the People: James Yen and Village China* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1990)

[15]Charges of denationalization began in the 1920s and continued through the campaigns against returned students in the 1950s. Wang (166) generalizes several instances of embezzlement and forgery to the whole group having "a severe personality maladjustment" and of dissipation and decadence. In two of his footnotes for the chapter about the students' time in the U.S., Saari disagrees with Wang's description of students as privileged and decadent. Saari feels that those who studied overseas were similar to other intellectuals of the period in their urban orientation, their exalted self-image and their iconoclastic attitude towards tradition. The returned students are set apart from the rest because of their orientation toward professional specialties and their prominence in education and national politics. Saari, fn 6, 330-331; Saari, fn 33, 333.

[16]*The Chinese Students' Monthly* was published from 1906-1931, mostly New York and for awhile in Ann Arbor, Michigan. It is abbreviated *CSM* in the footnotes. I have decided not to correct the students' English when I quote the *Monthly*. Though the *Monthly* is dated with a day as well as month and year until June 1914, I will only use the month and year since there never was more than one issue per month.

[17]For general works in these disciplines: Chinese History: For a brief overview of the late Qing dynasty and the Republican era, see Frederic Wakeman Jr., *The Fall of Imperial China* (New York: The Free Press, 1975) and James E. Sheridan, *China in Desintegration* (New York: The Free Press, 1975). History of intellectuals in China: Jerome Grieder, *Intellectuals and the State in Modern China* (New York: The Free Press, 1981); Jonathan Spense, *The Gate of Heavenly Peace* (New York: Penquin, 1981); Chow Tse-tung, *The May Fourth Movement* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1960); John Israel, *Student Nationalism in China, 1927-1937* (Stanford, Stanford University Press, 1966). For China-U.S. relations: Akira Iriye, *Across the Pacific* rev. ed. (Chicago: Imprint Publications, Inc., 1992); Warren Cohen, *America's Response to China* 3d ed.(New York: Columbia University Press, 1990). Cross-cultural Education: Ruth Hayhoe, *China's Universities and the Open Door* (Armonk, NY: M.E. Sharpe, 1989); Mary Brown Bullock 's piece in *Education Exchanges: Essays on the Sino-American Experience,* ed. Joyce Kallgren and Denis Fred Simon (Berkeley: University of California, 1987), 23-43; Ruth Hayhoe and Marianne Bastid, ed., *China's Education and the Industrilized World: Studies in Cultural Transfer* (Armonk, N.Y.: M.E. Sharpe, 1987). Chinese-American History: Ronald Takaki, *Strangers from a Different Shore* (New York: Penguin Books, 1989), ch. 3 and 6.

[18]"The Age of Benevolence" is the phrase used by Harold R. Isaacs for the period from 1905-1937. *Scratches on Our Minds* (New York: The John Day Company, 1958), 71.

[19]"Model America" is the phrase used in by R. David Arkush and Leo O. Lee for the years immediately before and after the 1911 Revolution. *Land Without Ghosts* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1989), 97-98.

[20]LaFargue, 44. In his autobiography; Yung Wing, the organizer, tells how the conservatives sent back reports that misrepresented the mission. Yung Wing, *My Life in China and America,* (New York: Henry Holt and Company, 1909), 204. Other reasons for cancelling the mission include the anti-Chinese movement on the West Coast of the United States and China's feeling that the U.S. government had violated the Burlingame Treaty of 1868 by not allowing Chinese students to attend West Point and Annapolis. Yung Wing, 208-209; The

students' youth and lack of basic Chinese training were thought to be a reason for their denationalization. Wang, 44.

[21]"Speech Delivered by Wu Ting Fang. . .", *CSM*, November 1908, 29. Not until 1895, when China lost to Japan, were many of these first wave given responsibilities.

[22]Bullock, "American Exchanges," 29.

[23]During the peak year 1905-1906, 13,000 Chinese students were in Japan. Borthwick, 84.

[24]David Z. T. Yui, "What China has a Right to Expect from Her Returned Students," *CSM*, June 1918, 432-439.

[25]T. T. Wang, "The Responsibilities of the Chinese Students," *CSM*, April 1913, 414; Americans also thought the students would become leaders. One American felt that it was impossible to learn statesmanship in China at that time and that the colleges in the U. S. provided the character building necessary to the task. F. W. Williams, "An Ancient Ideal and a Modern Application," *CSM*, December 1921, 95.

[26]Editorial, "Welcome!" *CSM*, November 1917, 5; For American view, see H. B. Alexander, "Chinese Culture and China's Future," *CSM*, December 1927, 9.

[27]C. Y. Tang, "China and the New Education," *CSM*, January 1919, 185.

[28]Since speaking English was a prerequisite, most women sent to the U.S. before 1900 came under missionary auspices. Besides scholarships available from colleges and the Boxer Indemnity, women students came with private support. In 1907, the first competition for three scholarship to Wellesley College were rewarded. Pinsa Hu, editor of the Chinese *Annual*; Che-chi Wang, daughter of a member of the Privy Council of the imperial government; Chung-ling Soong, youngest of the Soong daughters; F. Y. Tsao, went on to Columbia University; In 1911, fifty women students were pravitely supported. By 1911, twenty women had completed their education in the States. F. Y. Tsao, "A Brief History of Chinese Women-Students in America," *CSM*, May 1911, 616-622; for a brief discussion about women students, see Wang, 72-73, 112-113; Probably the most famous American-trained woman in the United States is Madame Chiang Kai-shek, one of three Soong sisters who studied in the U.S., who addressed Congress in 1943. Ron Takaki, *Strangers from a Different Shore* (New York, Penguin Books, 1989), 376.

[29]Esther M. Bok, "The Education of China's Daughters," *CSM*, March 1907, 87-88.

[30]Mrs. Margaret Wong, "What Does an Education Mean to a Chinese Woman?" *CSM*, December 1909, 107-109; Women were to be given practical knowledge, aesthetic education such as poetry, drawing and music and character development. Character development was the most important for only it could cause women to be "a cheer to the hearth, an inspiration to the community, a noble guardian of the coming citizen, an unselfish worker for the regeneration of the country and an ideal new woman of the new China." Miss Y. J. Chang, "The Fundamental Principles of Female Education," *CSM*, March 1912, 432-434; Some argued that education was fine as long they learned about useful aspects of chemistry, botany and psychology. "The woman's courses in chemistry should include the chemistry of food, of cooking, and of nutrition. . . . The course in physiology should not only leave her well versed in the anatomy and physiology of the human organism, in general, but should give her a specialized knowledge of her own organism and the organism of her child. . . . Her study of botany should give her a practical knowledge of floriculture, horticulture, and gardening. Her course in physical science should make her the master of the sanitation of the home in all its aspects. Her study of psychology should include the psychology of the child, not omitting its

moral and religious nature. And her courses in aesthetics should not only awaken and develop the art impulse, but should give her a practical working knowledge of the finishing and decoration of the home." Ruby Sia, "The College Curriculum in Relation to Home-making," *CSM*, January 1910, 172-173; The theme "Education for motherhood," was still being raised in 1928, for "the supremely important and extremely difficult task of rearing and educating their children, the hope of the future." H. S. Chen, "Education for Motherhood," *CSM*, January 1928, 21-23.

[31]Editorial, "The Woman-student Number," *CSM*, May 1911, 613-614; Women fought against the stereotype of women's education as being only music, literature and home economics. Miss D. Y. Koo, "Woman's Place in Business," *CSM*, November 1922, 34.

[32]This led Tsing Hua College to propose suspending the sending of woman students in 1922. In response a cry of indignation was heard, arguing that women should be able to choose which kind of work, home or profession, should dominate her life. Letter from "A Girl Student" to the Editor, *CSM*, January 1923, 64.

[33]The Neo-Confucian goal for intellectuals was "to set right goals, to be honest, to study material, to achieve knowledge, to cultivate yourself, to manage one's family, to manage one's country, to pacify the world under heaven" (*zheng xin, cheng yi, ge wu, zhe zhi, xiu shen, qi jia, shi guo, ping tian xia*).

[34]The reasons for the change from religious to secular motivation included (1) fundamentalist theology was declining, (2) scientific discoveries and institutional changes were transforming American higher education, (3) the Progressive era gave confidence for reformation of society, individuals and politics and (4) the expansion of American economic interests. Bullock, 25.

[35]Bullock, 26.

[36]"Dean Crane's Comments," *CSM*, November 1913, 65.

[37]Iuming C. Suez, "Bonds of Trade and Friendship Between China and the United States," *CSM*, January 1921,196.

[38]Charles K. Edmunds, "A Challenge to the Youth of China," *CSM*, November 1924, 6; "Address by P. J. Treat," *CSM*, January 1912, 230.

[39]The wording in the magazine is "friend" not "friendship". Elizabeth Green, "Moulding a New-Age Diplomacy," *CSM*, June 1927, 10-11.

[40]For books about the beginning, middle and end of this era see Michael Hunt, *The Making of a Special Relationship* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1983); Jerry Israel, *Progressivism and the Open Door* (Pittsburgh: University of Pittsburgh, 1971); Dorothy Borg, *American Policy and the Chinese Revolution, 1925-28* (New York: The Macmillan Company, 1947).

[41]Extraterritoriality allows Westerners accused of crimes while in China to be tried by their own consular officials rather than by Chinese courts. Dorothy Borg, *American Policy and the Chinese Revolution, 1925-28* (New York: Macmillan Company, 1947), 68-94; Cohen, *America's Response*, 56.

[42]Warren Cohen, *America's Response*, 61.

[43]Letter to Y. Y. Tsu to Editor, *CSM*, June 1922, 716.

[44]Anonymous, "Shadow Shapes, Part Six," *CSM*, April 1927, 69.

[45]Editorial, "Chinese are Best Students," *CSM*, January 1910, 147.

[46]Anonymous, "The Problem of China," *CSM*, May 1928, 8.

Chapter Two Notes:

[1]Miss S. T. Lok, "Why Join the Alliance?" *CSM*, January 1909, 171.

[2]V. K. Wellington Koo, "A Short History of the Chinese Students' Alliance in the United States," CSM, March 1912, 420-422; P. K. Yu, "Introduction" to the microfilm of *Chinese Students Monthly* (Washington, D. C., Center for Chinese Research Materials, Association of Research Libraries, 1974) 3; *The Handbook of Chinese Students in U.S.A. 1935*, Twelfth Annual Issue. (New York: Chinese Students Handbook Co., 1935), 23.

[3]Editorial, "Welcome," *CSM*, November 1909, 2; P. W. Kuo, "Report of the President of the Alliance 1911-1912," *CSM*, November 1912, 51.

[4]"Director Wong's Message," *CSM*, March 1912, 468.

[5]Editor's note, *CSM*, January 1909, 173.

[6]Because of their common educational and social goals, the Alliance thought of uniting with the Shanghai World's Chinese Students' Federation in 1907 , but the two organizations decided to remain separate since the Alliance did not want to abandon its political aims. The Alliance had already advised the government on the Canton-Hankow railway controversy and the Panama canal labor question. "Preliminary Report of Committee on W.C.S.F.," *CSM*, May 1907, 123-125; "The Alliance and the World's Chinese Students' Federation," *CSM*, November 1907, 24-26.

[7]H. K. Kwong, "Alliance President's Annual Report," *CSM*, November 1916, 37-38.

[8]Tsao Chien Li, "President's Message", *CSM*, November 1922, 63.

[9]During the first decade of this century, 35% of the Alliance members were in high schools and private academies. V. K. W. Koo and C. C. Wang, "Work and Progress of the Alliance," *CSM*, November 1907, 19; "Statistical Report of the Membership Committee," *CSM*, March 1910, 269; In 1921 there were at least 47 clubs, *Who's Who of Chinese Students in America*, 8-9; There were as many as 200 clubs at one time. *A Survey of Chinese Students in American Universities and Colleges in the Past One Hundred Years* (New York: National Tsing Hua University Research Fellowship Fund and China Institute in America, 1954), 23.

[10]*CSM*, December 1920, 181-2; Thomas Ming-heng Chao, ""Confessions of a New Yorker," *CSM*, January 1926, 78; Members at Harvard revolted when the "social meetings" were lectures and business rather than socials. "Harvard," *CSM*, February 1920, 60.

[11]Their activities, along with their pictures were published in the local newspapers. This high level of energy was attributed to a graduate student at Western Reserve University, who had been a "Y" secretary for nine years in Shanghai and Beijing before coming to America. "Making Friends in Cleveland," *CSM*, June 1929, 388-39.

[12]The small number reflects the few students studying agriculture in the United States. "Michigan A.C.," *CSM*, February 1912, 310; Two officers and six members were listed in "The Directory of Chinese Students' Clubs in U. S.," *CSM*, June 1913, 566; *CSM*, April 1912, 500; Jan 1913, 228; March 1914, 423; May 1914, 561; Only 11 students went to MAC between 1854 and 1955. Four received B.A.s, 6 M.A.s and one was granted a Ph.D. *A Survey of Chinese Students in American Universities and Colleges in the Past One Hundred Years*. (New York: National Tsing Hua University Research Fellowship Fund and China Institute of America, 1954), 45.

[13]"Ann Arbor," *CSM*, February 1920, 57-58.

[14]The West Coast held its first conference in 1902, the East in 1905 and the Mid-West in 1910. Y. S. Tsao, "The Pros and Cons of a General Conference," *CSM*, March 1914, 431-433; During the early years, a conference issue, which included the schedule, conference yells and songs, and pictures of the speakers and the setting was published. For example, see *CSM*, Conference 1909. Until 1919 group pictures of the delegates were published in the *Monthly*.

[15]*Announcement* for the fifteenth Annual Conference, Mid-West Section, CSA. The theme was "Returned Students' Part in Promoting the Welfare of the Masses". Held September 4-11, 1924 at Ann Arbor, Michigan.

[16] C. C. Chi, "Annual Conferences and Chinese Students," *CSM*, May 1925, 43.

[17]"In Lighter Vein," *CSM*, February 1920, 50; Several years later another humorist wrote "Charleston hit the Eastern Conference at Philadelphia. . . . It was a miracle that the introduction of charleston for the reconstruction of China was not among the resolutions introduced at the discussions". T. M. C., "Cabbages and Onions," *CSM*, November 1926, 65-67; Until 1917 the Eastern Section conference completely underwrote the fees for the few women who attended. C. H. Wang, "Summer Conference of the Eastern Section," *CSM*, June 1917, 388-389; A humorist reflecting on the Princeton Conference of 1920 wrote "Lost and found. Lost-a heart and a girl! Found-many girls, no heart!" *CSM*, November 1920, 87.

[18]Editorial, *CSM*, November 1924, 3-4; The *Announcement* for the 1925 Eastern Section Conference had greetings from the Chairman of the Eastern Section, "Every patriot should attend this year's Conference. . . " Greetings from the Conference Chairman. "So, when you come, bring your constructive plans along. We want to hear your aspirations for China, your desires and hopes for her." *Announcement*, 24, 25.

[19]Sinley Chang, "The Syracuse Conference," *CSM*, November 1925, 72-74; W. P. Hsieh, "Official Report of the Western Conference," *CSM*, December 1925, 54-56; A letter to the editor following the next conference accused the students of hypocrisy. "Looking imposing, talking patriotic, and acting intelligent, the great majority of these conference delegates and officials alike came to these conferences to have a "good time". An Observer to the Editor, *CSM*, February 1927, 76.

[20]Though the business office moved to Michigan during the 1920s, the tone of the magazine still sounded like New York. Letter from Roderick Scott to the Editor, *CSM*, June 1928, 63.

[21]One way the West could beat the uppity East Coast was by listing which number conference it was holding, since the West was always three years ahead of the East. "Fourteenth Annual Conference of the Eastern Section of C. S. A." and "The Seventeenth Annual Conference of the Western Section," *CSM*, November 1918, 47, 49.

[22]A return trip ticket cost $29 from Boston, $25 from New York and $15.50 from Chicago. Every delegate who traveled as far or farther than New York got a $5.00 rebate. (No West coast figures were included.) Y. S. Tsao, "The Pros and Cons of a General Conference," *CSM*, March 1914, 431-433; "The Decennial Anniversary Conference," *CSM*, June 1914, 612-613; Y. S. Tsao, "The Aftermath of the Joint Conference," *CSM*, February 1915, 310-315; Albino A. Syclip, "Why Our Next Conference Should be Held in the West," *CSM*, February 1910, 232-3; Letter from J. Zohn Zee to the Editor, *CSM*, January 1915, 236-237.

[23]Mistrust could have stemmed from the fact that the Alliance had borrowed $140 from the Mid-West in 1915 for the use of the *Monthly* and had yet to pay it back. "Report by Mr. F. Chang, Alliance President, 1917-1918," *CSM*, November 1918, 45.

[24]Chao-Lung Tseng, "Reorganizing the Finances of Chinese Students Alliance," *CSM*, June 1925, 45.

[25]Not only were new individual members listed in the *Monthly* until 1917, but schools boasted about their percentage of membership. In 1915, fourteen schools on the East Coast had 100% membership including Cornell, Harvard, Princeton, and Yale, while M.I.T. and Columbia had 95%. New members: East: 97, Midwest: 45 and West: 17. "159 New Alliance Members," *CSM*, January 1915, 240; For the school year 1910-1911, 385, or 59.2% of the students were members. During the 1919-1920 school year 800 of the total 1500 students (53%) were members *CSM*, February 1911, 394; M. H. Chou, "Message from the President of the Alliance," *CSM*, January 1920, 55.

[26]"In Lighter Vein," *CSM*, February 1920, 50; Besides holding leadership positions with the Alliance and the *Monthly*, students also served as student body officers, editor-in chiefs of their college newspapers and competed in college oratory contests.

[27]Personals, *CSM*, May 1912, 629; Editor, "The New Chinese Minister," *CSM*, December 1915, 78; "Chinese Delegates at the Peace Conference," January 1919, 163; "The Resignation of Dr. Koo," *CSM*, December 1923, 64; He also served as president of the Alliance of the Eastern States and editor of the Chinese Students' Annual. Howard L. Boorman and Richard G. Howard, eds., *Biographical Dictionary of Republic China,* Vol. 2, (New York: Columbia University Press, 1967), 255-259; See also Warren Cohen, "The Americanization of Ku Wi-chun" (unpublished manuscript, presented at the University of Chicago, 1979).

[28]"The International Student Movement," *CSM*, November 1913, 37-39; His famous open letter to all Chinese students, "A Plea for Patriotic Sanity," argued that a student's duty was to study rather than return home to fight despite Japan's 21 Demands of 1915. *CSM*, April 1915, 425-6; "Problems with the Chinese Language," *CSM*, June 1916, 567-572. See also Grieder, *Hu Shih*, 75-88 and Chou, 149-165 and Boorman, Vol. 2, 167-174.

[29]Wang, 422-442; Boorman, Vol. 3, 149-153.

[30]V. K. W. Koo, "History. . ., " *CSM*, March 1912, 425; T. C. Chu, "President's Epistle," *CSM*, December 1909, 88.

[31]Though P. K. Yu argues that the Alliance was financially sound, one of the greatest troubles echoing through the *Monthly* is the lack of funds. Yu,"Introducation," 5; "Message from the President of the Alliance," *CSM*, January 1920, 54; Chao-Lung Tseng, "Reorganizing the Finances of the Chinese Students Alliance," *CSM*, June 1925, 43; In 1925, the subscription of the *Monthly* was separated from the Alliance membership. Editorial, "Ssu Tu Chen and Clarence K. Young: An Appreciation," *CSM*, November 1925, 2; When the Alliance account was audited in 1915, the thirty-eight page report included problems of ledger accounts not properly kept, absence of asset account, and lack of bank statements. Y. C. Ma, "Criticisms of the Alliance Account," *CSM*, March 1915, 393-399; In 1925 the Alliance set up a committee of inquiry about a possible scandal about "The Missing $2,900" gathered by the "Famine Relief Committee of 1921". *CSM*, April 25, 2-3; The committee's report was accepted and the matter closed at the annual conference. "The Famine Relief Fund," *CSM*, November 1925, 3-4.

[32]"Alliance President's Message," *CSM*, February 1917, 216-7; Though a special financial drive to overcome a $1,000 deficit in 1920, brought in more than double what was needed, it was not long before another wave of financial troubles crashed. The treasurer listed each contribution (from $20.00 to $.50) from clubs, individual students, honorary members, returned students, and Chinese merchants. "The Alliance Financial Drive," *CSM*, March 1920, 12-13; F. P. Ling, "Report on Special Financial Drive," *CSM*, December 1920, 144-147.

[33]Though few women studied in the United States, they participated in leadership in the sections quite early . They served in all three sections, most often holding the positions of Vice-Chairman or English Secretary. *CSM*, January 1914, picture; *CSM*, January 1915, pictures between pages 252-253; *CSM*, February 1918, pictures; "Twenty-sixth Annual Conference Chinese Students' Alliance: Western Section," *CSM*, November 1928, 59; *CSM*, June 1921, 621 picture; In the Fall of 1908, Sieu Tsung Lok, a woman from Yale, resigned from Alliance vice-presidency saying that many difficulties would attend her becoming president. Instead she would serve as assistant editor, "a post less honorable and which involves work more tedious and heavy." Correspondence from Sieu Tsung Lok, *CSM*, November 1908, 58-9; In the Fall of 1925, another woman vice-president wrote of her hesitancy to take over the presidency while the president was in China for a few months. Letter from L. C. Lo, President of C. S. A. to Editor, *CSM*, November 1925, 85; Letter from Y. F. Wu, Acting President, C.S.A. to Members of the C.S.A., *CSM*, December 1925, 78; When a woman, who was initially elected as Vice-President, became president in 1929, she was removed from office and replaced by a executive committee of three men. A little more than a year later, the Alliance ended. "News of the Alliance," *CSM*, December 1929, 62; "Alliance News," *CSM*, February 30, 138.

[34]It was blamed on indifference of other members. Letter from An Observer to the Editor, *CSM*, February 27, 76; Included in the Mid-West conference report of 1918 was a hope to keep bossism out of their section. Letter from C.W. Luh to Keats, *CSM*, December 1918, 146. In the humor column they ran a joke entitled "Hardly Begun." "An American professor some time ago asked Chairman V. T. Maw: The Chinese Students' Alliance started out this year to decide a number of questions of national importance?" "Yes. We aranged to consider the 'immigration question', the Alliance constitution, the getting of accurate information from home, the spreading of this information, the establishing of societies for scientific and literary students, and getting the sections, clubs and individuals to work harmoniously, and --" "And have you done so?" "No. We have just got the Board of councilmen established, and have not yet decided the question of who is the boss." CSM, January 1914, 232.

[35]For example, in the 1916 election a woman, Mabel Lee, the former Secretary of the Alliance, ran for President against the incumbent, T. V. Soong and lost on the third ballot. The election had taken three months. *CSM*, April 1916, frontpiece; T.V. Soong, "Alliance President's Annual Report" *CSM*, November 1917, 61-65; For an example of another election misunderstanding which turned sour, see "Annual Report of the President of the Alliance," *CSM*, December 1920, 142-143.

[36]Letter from Heenan T. Shen to Paul H. Linn, *CSM*, April 1907, 112-115.

[37]"Yuan Shi-Kai - A Traitor," *CSM*, February 1912, 344-347; Editorial, "Students Declare for the Republic," *CSM*, February 1912, 284-285; An earlier example was during the Chinese revolution in 1911-12 when the *Monthly* was caught in the middle between the government students who were supported by money from the Imperial Treasury and the other members of the Alliance who supported the revolution.

[38]M. H. Chou, "Message From the President of the Alliance," *CSM*, January 1920, 53; "The Amended Constitution of the C. S. A.," *CSM*, December 1925, 2.

[39]"Organizations in Greater New York," *CSM*, January 1926, 73-4.

[40]Paul C. Meng, "C.S.C.A. in the Life of the Chinese Students in America," *CSM*, April 1926, 49-51; Editorial, *CSM*, May 1925, 2; Meng tells about the cooperation between CSA and CSCF. He became President of CSCA in 1923. 2,471 members were located at ninety-seven student centers in the U. S. In 1924 he was appointed Chinese secretary of Committee on Friendly Relations among Foreign Students and concurrently elected general secretary of the CSCA. Chih Meng, *Chinese-American Understanding* (New York: China Institute in America, 1981),107-108, 114, 119.

[41]Editorial, *CSM*, March 1916, 299-301.

[42]Sinley Chang, "Is Fraternity Desirable Among the Chinese Students?" *CSM*, January 1925, 37-39; Quintin Pan, "Evaluation of Chinese Student Fraternities in America," *CSM*, June 1925, 26-37; For further discussion, see American University Club of Shanghai ed., *American University Men in China* (Shanghai: The Comacrib Press, 1936), 153-164. It describes the Flip Flap, the Chen Chi Hui, the Phi Lambda, Rho Psi, and the Ta Chiang; James Yen was a member of the Christian fraternity, the Jonathan and David Society (which later combined with the Cross and Sword to become Chen Chi Hui). Hayford, 21; Wellington Koo and T. V. Soong were members of the Flip Flap, while William Hung was a founding member of Cross and Sword. Egan, 59-61.

[43]F. C. Liu, "Message from Chairman of the Conference," The Eleventh Annual Conference, Mid-West Section, Chinese Student's Alliance, Ann Arbor, MI, September 1-9, 1920.

[44]T. C. Chu, "President's First Monthly Report," *CSM*, December 1909, 90; *CSM*, December 1910, front.

[45]The pocketbook size 1909 *Directory* contained a full list of names and addresses of students in both the East and West sections arranged according to both alphabetical and geographical order. *CSM*, March 1909, 345; The 1914 *Directory* was supplemented by a publication with the history and constitution of the Alliance, a directory of Alliance and Sectional officers and statistics of the students such as native province and which year the student came to the United States. 400 copies were distributed at 30 cents gold each. "Important Announcements," *CSM*, November 1913, 89; The 1915 *Directory*, a 40 page volume containing statistical data on 1500 students, was sent free to each member if they would send 15 cents postal stamps. "Alliance Directory Out," *CSM*, February 1915, 320; When the Directory was canceled in 1917 due to the high cost of printing, the Alliance's tight budget, and the unsettled election of the Alliance president, the President wrote, that it was doubtful whether much was lost because the recent Directories had not been accurate. T. V. Soong, "Alliance President's Annual Report," *CSM*, November 1917, 65; The growing number of students had made the job of compiling impossible for one person. Y. L. Tong, "President's Report for the Year 1914-1915," *CSM*, November 1915, 61; The Alliance constitution had still not yet amended to allow a committe to replace the Alliance Secretary. Editor, "The Chinese Student's Directory," *CSM*, March 1918, 247; After the Directory was suspended for a year in the Spring of 1919 due to financial reasons as well as health of the Alliance secretary, the President announced a new way of gathering data with a *Directory*-editor and a new way of making the *Directory* a supplement to the *Monthly*. "Announcement," *CSM*, April 1919, 390; F. H. Huang, "Annual Report of the Alliance President, " *CSM*, December 1919, 31; In 1924, 1927, 1931 the Alliance published *The Handbook of Chinese Students in the U.S.A.* Wang, 510-511.

[46]In 1904 the *Dragon Student*, an annual, was in Chinese. In 1905 it was in both English and Chinese. V. K. Wellington Koo, "A Short History. . . ," *CSM*, March 1912, 421; In 1906, the East and West sections decided that each would be responsible for its own part in the

book and the work of compiling and publishing would be taken care of by the West. Due to the San Francisco earthquake, the work force in the West was scattered and was unable to raise money from advertisements. So the Eastern section took charge. Editorial, "Dragon Student," *CSM*, January 1907, 22-23; Yet in the historical sketch included the *1935 Handbook* (published in New York), the Ithica Chinese Student's Alliance is given credit for first annual in 1903 and the Chinese Student's Alliance of the Eastern States is given credit for the second in 1905. Is this misinformation or rewriting history? The *Quarterly*'s topics included education in the United States and China, American customs and institutions, the activities of the Chinese students in the United States, and Chinese political and economical problems. Though printing the magazine in China was cheaper. it the circulation was less regular since the Alliance had to rely on Chinese printers as well as Western steamships to get it to readers in the United States. Letter from Fen Chin to C. C. Wang, *CSM*, November 1907, 42-43; Letter to Members of the Chinese Students' Alliance, *CSM*, Conference 1909, 509; P. H. Hu, "The Chinese Student's Annual," *CSM*, March 1911, 466-468; "In Re Annual." *CSM*, April 1911, 570-571; "Report of the Publication Committee," *CSM*, January 1912, 254-255; M. C. Hou, "The First Issue of The Chinese Students' Quarterly," *CSM*, June 1914, 638; Y. L. Tong, "President's Report for the Year, 1914-1915," *CSM*, November 1915, 61; T. V. Soong, "Alliance President's Annual Report," *CSM*, November 1917, 65; Printing in Chinese was difficult to obtain in the United States. *CSM*, November 1908, 47; Chinpin Tsen Tsai, "An Annual Report from the Editor-in-Chief of the Chinese Students' Quarterly," *CSM*, February 1920, 46-48; Editorial, "The Ta Kiang Quarterly," *CSM*, December 1925, 4-5; "Chinese Students' Quarterly," *CSM*, June 26, 1926, 75.

[47]Tsinghua's *Who's Who* had two purposes: to promote a better understanding among the returned students and to serve as a work of reference to the public. It was printed in Chinese and English in order that "the American public who may wish to know what part the students, educated in their country, have been doing in this critical period of China's history". reprint (San Francisco: Chinese Materials Center, 1978) Forward; The Alliance's *Who's Who* was advertised in *CSM*, March 1921, 400. (Berkeley, CA: Lederer, Street & Zeus Company, 1921).

[48]F. H. Huang, "Annual Report of the Alliance President," *CSM*, December 1919, 32; The Manager,"FACTS," *CSM*, December 1919, 11.

[49]Y. G. Chen, "Report of the Ex-Manager of the Monthly," *CSM*, January 1921, 228; Editorial, "Try a Postal," *CSM*, May 1918, 363-364.

[50]Editor, "The Chinese Student' Alliance," *CSM*, December 1916, 81-82.

[51]Liu-Ngau Chang, "Editorial Board. The Year's Policy," *CSM*, November 10, 44-45.

[52]"One student may have a wonderful command of English and unusual ease in expression, but he says he is 'too busy' to work with us; while another student is very energetic and full of good thoughts, but his English is not such as warrants publication." Liu-ngua Chang, "Some Recommendations for the Monthly," *CSM*, January 1910, 502; Women did not play as significant a role in the *Monthly* as they did in the Alliance. No woman ever served as a editor-in-chief, but many served on the editorial team, as editors for the literary section in the early years and later as associate editors. Literary: 1914-15, 1915-16, 1916-17; Associate Editors: 1918-1919, 1919-20, 1920-21, 1921-22, 1928-29, 1929-30, 1930-31. A few were also in charge of the Student World, 1913-1914 and Club and Personal sections 1918-1919.

[53]Editorial, "The Monthly," *CSM*, May 1910, 413; Editorial, "The Monthly," *CSM*, November 1910, 2.

[54]Editorial, "The Monthly and Its Future," *CSM*, June 1925, 5-6.

[55]Liu-ngau Chang, "Some Recommendations for the Monthly," *CSM*, January 1910, 502; No woman ever served as general manager, but they served as associate or assistant managers in 1907-08, 1914-15, 1915-16, 1918-19, 1919-20, 1928.

[56]Y. P. Sun, "'Monthly' Manager's Report," *CSM*, November 1916, 39, 41, 42.

[57]Most of the special issues were published while the series failed. Editorial, "The Twenty-first Volume of the Monthly," *CSM*, November 1925, 1-2; C. Y. Adam, "Who's Who Chinoise," *CSM*, February 1925, 32,33; "An Unexpurgated Life of Confucius," *CSM*, November 1925, 83-84; "Dancing and China," *CSM*, December 1925, 72.

[58]Thomas Ming-heng Chao, "The Autobiography of a Flirt (Life and Adventures of the Chinese Students' Monthly)," *CSM*, December 1926, 72-73.

[59]"At the Eastern Conference," *CSM*, November 1926, 65-67; "The Autobiography of a Flirt," *CSM*, December 1926, 72-73; "On Love, Taxi, Marriage and Other Follies," *CSM*, April 1927, 77-78; Though the story is anonymous, the women's names are the same as in the poems written by the editor. "Shadow Shapes (Memoirs of a Chinese Student in America)," *CSM*, November 1926 - June 1927.

[60]Editorial, *C.S. Bulletin*, November 1906, 1; Editorial, *CSM*, November 1907, 1.

[61]Editorial, "The Monthly," *CSM*, November 1908, 1.

[62]Editorial, "The Functions of the Monthly," *CSM*, November 1908, 2.

[63]The *Monthly* swelled to an average of 70 pages in the early 1920s and then dropped off to an average of 25 at the end of the decade. With supplements, it could be over 120 pages. Editorial, "An Apology," *CSM*, January 1917, 135.

[64]In 1911, Yale professors and Alliance club advisors were asked to critique the *Monthly*. One professor suggested that several Americans be asked to read the manuscripts to catch the grammatical and typographical errors, while a Chinese advisor suggested that abstracts rather than the complete business letters be printed. V. K. Wellington Koo, the adviser from Columbia, and former editor-in-chief of the *Monthly* from 1906-8, suggested publishing fewer, but better, editorials. "Criticisms of Yale Professors," *CSM*, June 1911, 717-721.

[65]Editorial, "Au Revior," *CSM*, June 1910, 499-500.

[66] K. L. Carlos Sun, "The Year's Work," *CSM*, November 1908, 46.

[67]Y. S. Tsao, "The Pros and Cons of a General Conference," *CSM*, March 1914, 432.

[68]Y. G. Chen, "Report of the Ex-Manager of the Monthly," *CSM*, January 1921, 227.

[69]Him Mark Lai, "To Bring Forth A New China, To Build a Better America: The Chinese Marxist Left in America to the 1960s," *Chinese America: History and Perspectives, 1992* (Brisbane, CA: Chinese Historical Society of American and Asian American Studies, San Francisco State University, 1992), 7-9, 15; After the San Francisco club meeting was interrupted in 1929 by two law enforcement officers, the detectives told the Chinese press that the students were Communists. Letter from M.Y. Mu to Chao Wi Liang, *CSM*, February 1929, 190; Him Mark Lai, 14.

[70]Quoted in Kwei Chen, "Justice," *CSM*, December 1927, 70; ". . . You sensationalize in tone; you are hot and hectic. . . . You are so far away from home; you want to see things move. . . ; and this Revolution is so slow! . . . Like Gen. Grant before Vicksburg, you'll have to sit down and invest the enemy. Dig in and wait. But there's no *news* in that. Yours in hopes of better days. . . ." Letter from Roderick Scott to the Editor, *CSM*, June 1928, 63.

[71]Letter from J. L. Simpson to Kwei Chen, *CSM*, February 1928, 66.

[72]Letter from Kwei Chen to J. L. Simpson, *CSM*, February 1928, 67.

[73]"I feared that, living as you do in an imperialist land,. . . you would not take a straight stand. Your letter pleased my heart. . . .I congratulate you upon your magazines. . . . To me it is a constant source of knowledge and joy. If I should criticize it all, I should say that I should like to see more articles by Chinese and fewer by foreigners." Letter from Agnes Smedley to Mr. Chen, *CSM*, April 1928, 62; Letter from A. Y. to Mr. Chen, *CSM*, May 1928, 62.

[74]R. Doonping, "The Warring Factions in the Chinese Civil War," *CSM*, December 1929, 1; Another example is ". . . .the views and interpretations may be foreign to many readers, but as such his treatise all the more shouldn't be denied close attention." James Mo, "The Seizure of the C. E. R. and the Defeat of World Imperialism," *CSM*, January 1930, 1; At the beginning of the reprint of an article Lenin had written on Marxism the editor wrote that he hoped it would stimulate an interest in discussing revolutionary doctrines among his fellow students, though the "terrorist Nanking regime" was not allowing it in China. "Lenin on Marxism," *CSM*, December 1929, 32.

[75]They followed a call given given earlier to impeach Alliance officers rather than be indifferent. Letter from Hsiang-Chun Wu, Edgar C. Tang and Chao-Wei Liang to the members of the Chinese Students' Alliance, *CSM*, February 1928, 70; The students came from elite and privilege family backgounds. Him Mark Lai, 15; The editor was charged with "deliberate-red-editorial policy". H. C. Wu, "Announcement," *CSM*, February 1930, unpaginated; The charges confirmed against the President were: "1. Illegal use of the good name of the Alliance for red propagada; 2. Unequal to the office; 3. Abuse of power in a false charge against the General Manager of the Monthly with a view to remove him to make way for her henchman, K. S. Mo or James Mo.; 4. Illegal attempt to remove an elected official, the General Manager of the Monthly, Mr. H. C. Wu, for his refusal to let the Monthly develop into a red organ, whom the President of the Alliance has no power of appointment nor the power of removal.; 5. Defame the Alliance and reputation of its members." "Alliance News," *CSM*, February 1930, 138.

[76]; The early records of this period give only indirect information about the demise of the Alliance. The 1935 *Handbook of Chinese Students in the U.S.A.* records the history as "1930-31 - Due to political opinion divergence, the Alliance was paralyzed.
1931-1935 - The Alliance inactive"; *A Survey of Chinese in American Universities and Colleges* published in 1954 and the "Introduction" to the *Monthly* on microfilm written in 1974 almost identically euphemistically describe the demise of the Alliance. "Unfortunately, since the early thirties, due to increasing financial and other difficulties, the activities of the Chinese Students' Alliance in the United States of America were seriously interrupted and its publications practically suspended. While a majority of the local Chinese student clubs are still active up to the present, the national organization of the Alliance never recovered." Yu, "Introduction," 3; *A Survey of Chinese Students*, 23; H. C. Wu served as both General Manager and Editor. Him Mark Lai, 15. The last issue described in the *The Chinese Students' Monthly, 1906-1931; A Grand Table of Contents* is April 1931. (Center for Chinese Research Materials, Association of Research Libraries, 1974), 84.

[97]During the Spring of 1919, four issues of the *Monthly* carried "The Best 250 English books on China" on topics including agriculture, athletics, commerce, crime, currency, travel, education, foreign relations, industry, ship-building and social life. The *Monthly* gave a second listing of books in the Spring of 1929. The China Institute of America, "One Hundred Selected Books on China," *CSM*, February, March and April 1929.

[88]January 1911 and June 1921; May 1911; March 1921; April 1921; November 1921, December 1921 and March 1922; and February 1923, respectively. The editor for 1926-27 published special issues every month. Several issues spilled over into the next year as well.

[89]*CSM*, November 1921, 67-71; *CSM*, March 1922, 423-490.

[90]The President of the Alliance handled 900 pieces of correspondence in 1910-11. "Editorial," *CSM*, November 1911, 5.

[91]One play was suggested by the Chinese classic, *The Dream of the Red Chamber*, while another was based on a story from the *Daily Worker*. Thomas Ming-heng Chao, "Crimson Petals," *CSM*, May 1927, 44-48; T. Min Tieh, "The Spirit of Chinese Youth," *CSM*, June 1928, 25-28; Love: Lin Pu-Chi, "The Comedy of Ignorance," *CSM*, June 1919, 488-494; Dorothy Wong, "Happy Day of Yelin," *CSM*, May 1927, 40-43; Flora Belle Jan, "Transplanted Flower Blossums," *CSM*, May 1929, 324-328, June 1929, 351-366; Politics: Kwei Chen, "Humiliation," *CSM*, November 1927, 53-56; Anon, "'Autumn Moon' and 'Spring Cloud'," reprinted from *The Daily Worker*, 1927, *CSM* December 1927, 20-23.

[92]Calls to lighten up the magazine were made, such as "Wanted - A Sense of Humor" Ninety percent of the jests herein printed will make you laugh, because I wrote only ten percent but 'edited' the other ninety." "In Lighter Vein," *CSM*, November 1919, 47; For example, "The Difference Between the Chinese and American Bridegroom. An American lady: "Isn't it true that in China the girl marries a man whom she has never seen before the wedding?" A Chinaman: "Yes, ma'am, it is just as true as in America where the girl marries a man whom she will never see again after the wedding." "Special Department," *CSM*, April 1912, 531; For example, "Who's Who Chinoise. . . Girls who have had their S. S. Pres. Jackson romances brutally shattered a year after landing * * Girls who get engaged to a young *medicinae doctor* three days after meeting him at an Annual Conference * * Girls who by the mere accidental possession of wealthy parents are kept at college in spite of scholastic incompetence * * Girls who armor themselves against possible jungle tactics by advertising loudly their absent fiancees * * Girls who are so excessively ornamented that they cease to be women clothed but become merely pieces of clothes womaned. . ." Chao Ying Shill, *CSM*, February 1925, 34-35.

[93] The Forum hoped to provide a "medium for the free and informal exchange of ideas and ideals on topics of general interest to the student body". Editorial, *CSM*, November 1918, 3; Keats S. Chu, "Open Forum: An Anouncement," *CSM*, November 1918, 74-75. Personal impressions included the summer conference *CSM*, December 1918, 144-145. Letters included complaints about breweries going to China and describing social work among Chinese women in Pittsburgh. *CSM*, February 1919, 262-263, 263-264.

[94]After several years' absence, the "Public Forum" had a brief resurgence in the Fall of 1928. A letter called for nationalism and articles, included "Peasant Movement in China," "Is the Idealism of the Kuomintang Dead?" and "In Defense of Fraternities".

[95]He suggested that the *Monthly* was a magazine, not a circular. "From Advisor C. C. Wang of Illinois," *CSM*, June 1911, 719; "An Invitation to all the Chinese Students," *CSM*, May 1918, 403-404; "Just a Word about the Princeton Conference," *CSM*, November 1920, 89-91; "A Few Facts about the New Literary Movement," *CSM*, November 1921, 61-64.

[96]Letter from Edward K. Mao to Editor, *CSM*, November 1925, 85-86; "An Urgent Message to the People of America from the People of China," *CSM*, May 1927, 74-78.

[77]Pingwen Kuo of Wooster, 1909 prize, *CSM*, December 1909, 102-106; Pingwen Kuo, 1910 prize, *CSM*, December 1910, 146-151.

[78]Two topics were given each month. $15 and $10 were awarded for first and second prize. Editorial, "The Monthly's Prize Competition," *CSM*, January 1915, 196-197; In 1917 and 1918 other contests, such as the Girls' Essay Competition, the American-Asiatic Association Essay Contest, and the Street Prize for articles about American commerce in China were added. The Girl's essay prize, a silver case, was awarded by Madam V. K. Wellington Koo. Editorial, "Essay Competitions," *CSM*, November 1917, 7-9; This was named for Nelson Street of the Providence Chamber of Commerce. Editorial, "The Street Prizes for the Best Articles on Development of Commercial Relations between China and America," *CSM*, November 1918, 6; In 1920-21, the largest number of sponsors, including the Educational Bureau of Chinese Ministry of Education, several Chinese diplomats and three scholarly student clubs, held competitions. Editorial, "Essay Competition," *CSM*, November 1920, 25-28; Editorial, "Essay Competitions," *CSM*, January 1921, 192; In 1927 four donors, the China Institute in America, the Chinese Educational Mission, Ta Chiang Society and Tsing Hua Alumni Association, joined to offer prizes to students writing on any subject or in any style. "Announcement," *CSM*, January 1927, back.

[79]Editorial, "The Far Eastern Information Bureau," *CSM*, May 1914, 511.

[80]Editorial, "By Way of Introduction," *CSM*, February 1910, 203-4.

[81]Taraknath Das, *CSM*, March 1913, 323-329; *CSM*, November 1923, 56-57. In 1917 he wrote *Is Japan a Menace to Asia?* which was introduced by Tong Shao-yi, the ex-premier of China. (Shanghia: by author, 1917). Born in 1984, he was a lecturer on international relations, especially in the Far East. Jaques Cattell, ed. *Directory of American Scholars* (Lancaster, PA: The Science Press, 1942), 195.

[82] ."Among Our Contributors," *CSM*, March 1922, Front piece.

[83]Yu, 4.

[84]In early 1909, the Library of Congress asked for a complete set of the *Monthly*, but unfortunately, copies of the 1905-6 mimeographed *Bulletin* were not obtained. "A Demand for Back Numbers," *CSM*, February 1909, 217; "A Demand for Back Numbers," *CSM*, March 1909, 289. Letter from Z. Z. Zee to Library of Congress, "Introduction" to microfilm of CSM, unpaginated; "From the Department of the Interior, Bureau of Education, Washington, D.C.," *CSM*, June 1911, 717; Yale University Library wrote the editor asking for help in finding certain issues that the library lacked, saying, "I need not tell you how important we deem it to secure such material. . . . " Letter from J. S. Schwab to Mr. Yun Siang Tsao, *CSM*, March 1913, 359; In 1913, Charles W. Wason, a Cornell graduate and sinophile, wrote that he was willing to pay for the first year of the *Monthly* to make his set complete. Editorial, "Fifty Dollars for the First Editions of the 'Monthly'," *CSM*, January 1913, 153; K. S. Lee, (untitled), *CSM*, February 1913, 279.

[85]Liu-ngau Chang, "Some Recommendations for the Monthly," *CSM*, June 1910, 504; An American suggested that American students connected with the YMCA, the missionary classes or the students aid departments could be agents for the *Monthly*. Rev. C. B. B.liss, CSM, June 1911, 717.

[86]*CSM*, January 1915, title page.

[87]Especially in Shanghai. Editorial, *CSM*, June 1924, 1.

Chapter Three Notes

[1]William Hung, trans. and annotated, "Huang Tsun-Hsien's Poem 'The Closure of the Education Mission in America'" *Harvard Journal of Asiastic Studies,* 18, (1955), 53-54.

[2]"October 13, 1924, Southern California," Survey of Race Relations, 6-7, Stanford University, Hoover Institution Archives.

[3]Ken Shen Weigh, "Our Trip to America," *CSM*, January 1925, 26-31; F. L. Chang, "'Innocents Abroad'," *CSM*, February 1914, 300-305; S. K. Chou, "America Through Chinese Eyes," *CSM*, November 1928, 81-84; Woon Yung Chun, "'East is East and West is West', " *CSM*, April 1914, 491-493; E. K. Moy, "Thirteen Years of Chinese Students," *CSM*, December 1923, 7-10; Chi Chang, "Going Through College," *CSM*, December 1925, 36-46; Anonymous, "Shadow Shapes, *CSM*, in serial from November 1926-June 1927; anon, "Vanities of the Half-Fledged," *CSM*, January 1926, 63-64; Some images come from Li, 219.

[4]The title of Chapter 8 is "Westernization" and the title for Chapter 9 is "Further West". Chiang Monlin, *Tides from the West* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1947).

[5]Chinese men were required to wear queues during the Qing dynastry.

[6]One student describes his arrival: "When I landed in San Francisco, I was not allowed to go ashore, but was placed in confinement in the Immigration Station on Angel island. My body was very strong and my health very good, and I greatly resented being placed in prison in this way. I can never forget the bitterness of this experience and those four days of confinement. I felt that I would rather go back to China than bear the disgrace and I was ashamed of being a Chinese. This was especially so since other nationalities were allowed to go on shore." "A Student in Fresno State College," circa 1924, 1. Survey of Race Relations, Stanford University, Hoover Institution Archives.

[7]A dissertation published by a Chinese student in 1934 discussed the following adjustment problems: financial conditions, moral and religious interests, homesickness and loneliness, health conditions, boarding conditions, rooming conditions, vocational opportunities and problems, contacts with persons outside the university, social and recreational contacts, contacts with American students, contacts with professors, contacts with Chinese students, marriage problems, educational problems, administrative regulations, Sino-Japanese conflicts, and immigration law. Tsung-Kao Yieh, *The Adjustment Problems of Chinese Graduate Students in American Universities* (Chicago, The University of Chicago Libraries, 1934).

[8]Hu Shih,who won speech awards in the U.S., had mixed feelings about knowing the English language. "Hu condemned America as 'conspiratorial' and admonished his fellow countrymen not to take the rudimentaary knowledge of English as an unusual accomplishment. On the other hand, he could not avoid identifying himself with the 'conspiratorial' conqueror, and he would spend years mastering a foreign language the importance of which he tried to minimize." Chou, 27.

[9]Short stories about Chinese students who had American girlfriends always ended in sorrow. Anon, "Shadow Shapes," *CSM*, 1926-1927; Flora Belle Jan, "Transplanted Flower Blossoms," *CSM*, June 1929, 351-366; A true story of an American woman marrying a Chinese student, while both students at the University of Michigan, is found in Katherine Anne Porter, *Mae Franking's My Chinese Marriage* (Austin: University of Texas Press, 1991). The book was reviewed favorably twice in the *Monthly*. March 1922, 421-422 and March 1924, 72.

[10]During the political stress of 1917, the government failed to send stipends. By 1921 some of the provinces were two years behind in their stipends to students in the U. S. Wang, 102.

[11]A common cause of death was from influenza turning to pneumonia. Other students died from streetcar accidents, being hit by an automobile, and drowning. One woman student in aviation died as she jumped from a falling airplane. *CSM*, February 21, 306.

[12]Anonymous, "Shadow Shapes," *CSM*, November 1926, 62.

[13]The unofficial CSA number was 800. Editorial, "A Reply to the Japanese Professor," *CSM*, April 1915, 410-411.

[14]William Hung, "Get Acquainted," *CSM*, March 1923, 33.

[15]Kwei Chen, "Pride and Prejudice," *CSM*, March 1928, 62-63.

[16]The article was first published in the *Stanford Literary Magazine*. Siegen K. Chou, "America Through Chinese Eyes," *CSM*, November 1928, 83.

[17]I-Chuan Wen, "China Through American Eyes - Psychologists," *CSM*, December 1925, 53.

[18]Lowe Chuan-Hwa, "The Christian Peril in China," *CSM*, March 1923, 43.

[19]"China and the All Nations Exposition," *The All Nations Exposition* (Cleveland: 1929), 16.

[20]Iuming C. Suez, "Bonds of Trade and Friendship Between China and the United States," *CSM*, January, 1921, 198; "It is no child's play to arouse the vast Chinese population to an awakening for feats of arms." Lowe Chuan-Hwa, "Why the Foreign Devil," *CSM*, April 1925, 44.

[21]Chang-Ken Chi, "Christianity and Chinese Christians," *CSM*, February 1925, 10; Milton Dreyfus, "The Plain Truth," *CSM*, March 1923, 47-48; Not all were disappointed. Chih Meng tells of his attraction to religious life of the Virginians. Meng, *Chinese-American Understanding*, 105.

[22]Lowe Chuan-Hwa, "Why the Foreign Devil," *CSM*, April 1923, 44.

[23]Chungshu Kwei, "The Chinese in America," CSM, February 1924, 16; One editor wrote that due to the U. S.'s superficiality and prejudice, the only place to live was China. "The Denationalization of the Chinese," *CSM*, April 1923, 4.

[24]"Thoughts of the Editor," *CSM*, April 1928, 65.

[25]Here is an example of how Americans were viewed in confusing Chinese names. Yuan Shikai's family name was Yuan and Sun Yatsen's was Sun. *CSM*, April 1912, 531.

[26]*CSM*, November 1910, 47; Lack of information was not the greatest problem. One editor of the *Monthly* went so far as to advise an American friend, who requested more knowledge about China, to keep away from going to lectures given by returned missionaries and from reading the newspapers, for knowing nothing was better than learning misinformation. Kwei Chen, "Understanding and Misunderstanding," *CSM*, December 1927, 71.

[27]If each one gave two addresses in churches, societies or schools each week, that would be 30,000 talks on China each year. James Reed, *The Missionary Mind and American East Asia Policy, 1911-1915* Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1983), 18, 25.

[28]Paul A. Varg, *Missionaries, Chinese, and Diplomats* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1958) 121-122.

[29]"In 1922 only 6 per cent of China's population lived in cities of over 50,000. Yet 66 per cent of the missionaries. . . resided in these urban centers." Varg, 226; When a Chinese student scolded an American professor for dispensing wrong information about China, the professor asked Chih Meng to settle the disagreement. The professor had said that Chinese shoes were the same for both feet. The student said he had never known or seen any Chinese with identical shoes. Chih told the professor that he had worn identical shoes until he was nineteen. The other student had never been outside of Shanghai until he had come to the U. S. Meng, *Chinese American Understanding*, 144.

[30]Editorial, "Correct Information about CHina," *CSM*, February 1919, 219.

[31]Seymour C. Y. Cheng, "A Plea for Justice," *CSM*, June 1927, 35-36; "The reading public, unaware the articles are the artificial means of producing certain intended effect, will soon acquire a sort of notion that China is disorganized, that the Chinese, in spite of 4000 years' experience in government are really incompetent of self-government, and that for her own interest and the best interests of the world she needs a boss or a tutor. . . ". Editorial, "Correct Information about China," *CSM*, February 1919, 220-221.

[32]For a brief discussion about movies made in China and stories written by Chinese-Americans today, see Richard Corliss, "Pacific Overtures," *Time*, September 13, 1993, 68-70.

[33]Editorial, "Correct Information about China," *CSM*, February 1919, 219-222.

[34]Two Chinese, introducing themselves as Japanese, were allowed in to see an exhibition. Though this exhibit was finally shut down after months of protest, others remained open. William Hung, "Get Acquainted," *CSM*, March 1923, 36-37.

[35]An editorial in the *Monthly* responded, "not until Tong wars are abolished can we ever hope to bring up such a question as racial equality in our dealings with the United States". Editorial, "Tong Wars," *CSM*, April 1925, 4-5; Letter form Y.E. Hsiao to Editor, *CSM*, June 1929, 394-395.

[36]Boorman, Vol. III, 409.

[37]Liu-ngau Chang, "Working for China's Welfare Abroad," *CSM*, June 1910, 547.

[38]J. Zohn Zee to the Editor, *CSM*, January 1915, 237.

[39]Rose Hum Lee, "The Hua-ch'iao in the United States of America, " in *Colloquium on Overseas Chinese*, Morton H. Fried, ed. (New York City: Institute of Pacific Relations, 1958) 39.

[40]Mrs. Harry E. Mitchell, "What Can We Do For Our Working Class?" *CSM*, February 1910, 221-223.

[41]John Yiubong Lee, "Can We Help Our Countrymen in the United States?" *CSM*, March 1910, 292-295.

[42](Miss) Be Di Lee, "Social Work Among Chinese Women in Pittsburgh," *CSM*, February 1919, 263-4.

[43]Chi Chang, "Going Through College," *CSM*, December 1925, 40-41; Chiang Monlin tells of writing for a Chinese newspapers and of his encounters with Cantonese-speakers on the West Coast. One woman wondered how he could write Chinese characters if he could not speak Cantonese. Chiang, 80-86.

[44]Zen-zuh Li to the Editor, *CSM*, November 1920, 89-90.

[45]For a discussion about how Chinese-Americans became politicized, due both to discrimination in the U.S. and to democracy, see L. Eve Armentrout Ma, *Revolutionaries, Monarchists, and Chinatowns: Chinese Politics in the Americas and the 1911 Revolution* (Honolulu: University of Hawaii Press, 1990). Interaction between Sun Yatsen and Chinese students are discussed on pp.141-142.

[46]"The Seventeenth Annual Conference of the Western Section," *CSM*, November 1918, 53. Chinese newspapers also told their high regard and expectations of the students. "YOU are the most powerful force. . . . Yours are the pure visions, the flaming torch of idealism that the builders of culture and the social and economic state held high and cherished all their lives." Paul S. Wei, to Editor, *CSM*, February 1927, 76-78.

[47]K. C. Chung, "Western Section Conference Report," *CSM*, November 1916, 50-52.

[48]"General Welfare Committee," *CSM*, May 1910, 419-430; C. S. Hsin, "Welfare Association of Boston and Vicinity," *CSM*, May 1914, 566; Paul C. Fugh, "Yale," *CSM*, June 1921, 619; Editorial, "Organization of New York Boy Scouts," *CSM*, June 1915, 537-539.

[49]"China at the All Nations Exposition in Cleveland, " *CSM*, January 1929, 162-163.

[50]Saying that the greatest problem China faced was reunification, she expressed a hope of later working in China although she considered America her home. "Southern California, October 13, 1924," 8. Survey of Race Relations, Stanford University, Hoover Institution Archives; The *Monthly* published very little on foreign-born Chinese. One Chinese-Canadian student told of the obstacles he had overcome in order to be able to attend school, including his backward father (who thought that employment as a restaurant keeper and laundryman was fine), the student's own failure to win a scholarship, and the people in Chinatown who were scornful and incredulous because he defied his father. The editor noted, "The author's sincere account of his struggle against formidable obstacles, which is common to many young Chinese born abroad, deserves the attention of the more fortunate." Edward A. Lee, "My Education Problem," *CSM*, April 1924, 28-32.

[51]Miss Mamie-Louis Leung, "Lest We Forget," *CSM*, May 1924, 43-45.

[52]W. P. Hsieh, "Official Report of the Western Conference," *CSM*, December 1925, 54-55.

[53]*CSM*, February 1923, 58. Jan is listed as serving as Socials chair 1922, and Vice-President and Yell Leader 1924. *The Trailmaker* (Fresno, CA: Chinese Students' Club of Fresno, 1924), 12.

[54]"Interview with Flora Belle Jan," circa 1924, 2. Survey of Race Relations, Stanford University, Hoover Institution Archives.

[55]"Interview with a Student in Fresno State College," 4.

[56]Letter from K. S. M. to Editor, *CSM*, November 1928, 64-65.

[57]"Were it not for the activeness of our Alliance, we are not at all sure whether our Government would have dealt with those questions in the way it did." "Preliminary Report of Committee on W.C.S.F.," *CSM*, May 1907, 123-125.

[58]Chinese Students in the United States to Tang Shao-Yi ; Tang Shao-Yi to the Chinese Student-body in the United States, *CSM*, February 1912, 308-309.

[59]One of them, Chiang T'ing-fu, went on to become China's ambassador to the Soviet Union and representative at the United Nations. Meng, *Chinese-American Understanding*, 109.

[60]Editorial, *CSM*, December 1908, 81-2; "In Memoriam," *CSM*, June 1912, 644-645: "In Memoriam," *CSM*, November 1918, 40.

[61]Editorial, "The Passing of Yuan Shi-Kai," *CSM*, June, 1916, 533.

[62]Editor, "Farewell and Appreciation," *CSM*, November 1909, 2.

[63]The students were also given a silver cup to be passed around as a award in yearly contests. C. T. Wang, "One Week with our Special Ambassador in Washington," *CSM*, February 1909, 245-250.

[64]Editorial, *CSM*, May 1925, 2; In 1919, the director plus two aids were shot to death for refusing a loan to a student. "The Late Director T. T. Wong, Mr. C. H. Hsie and Mr. B. S. Wu of the Chinese Education Mission," CSM, March 1919, 287-289. Their three pictures are on the frontpiece. Wang, 166; .

[65]Editorial, "China Foundation Board and the Returned Indemnity," *CSM*, June 1925, 1.

[66]C. C. Yu, "A Student in the Students' Movement," CSM, March 1920, 30-37; The May Fourth Movement continues to influence intellectual thought today. See Vera Schwarcz, *The Chinese Enlightenment* (Berkeley: University of California, 1986); "The truth of the Tragedy, as it was vividly set forth in the report, made the audience gasp. The authenticity of the information would make most American journalists blush and their indifference in Chinese affairs alarming." "Double Ten in Chicago," *CSM*, December 1925, 58. On May 30th, 1925 students were protesting a death of a Chinese worker at a Japanese mill in Shanghai. The students clashed with foreign-controlled police, leaving 11 students dead and 20 injured. See Jeffrey Wasserstrom, *Student Protests in Twentieth-Century China: The View from Shanghai* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1991), 95-124.

[67]Y.Y. Tsu, "Chinese Students in Europe," *CSM*, November 1923, 31-32.

[68]Howard S. Chang, "Chinese Students in Japan," CSM, April 1918, 325.

[69]Students also wrote for the *Political Science Review*, *Cheng Hsueh Ts'ung K'an*, *Shanghai Shun Pao*, "The Renaissance" and the "Eastern Miscellanies". Jennings Pinkwei Chu, *Chinese Students in America: Qualities Associated with Their Success* (New York City: Teachers College, Columbia University, 1922), 45.

[70]Chinese script in the *Monthly* included a poem in an editorial, a heading for a list of contributors to a fund, commentary next to cartoons and several pages of characters accompanying articles which proposed changes in the Chinese language.

[71]"We had platform addresses in Chinese, orations and informal speeches in Chinese, stunts and plays in Chinese, jokes in Chinese, songs in Chinese, yells in Chinese, I was going to say dancing in Chinese." Y. R. Chao, "My Impression of the Eastern Conference," *CSM*, December 1918, 144.

[72]The contestants were fewer and poorly prepared and the Chinese contest had neither an attractively printed program nor a conveniently scheduled time. Zen-Zuh Li to the Editor, *CSM*, November 1920, 91.

[73]The decision was hotly debated and may have been one cause for the poor attendance at that conference. Sinley Chang, "The Syracuse Conference," *CSM*, November 1925, 72,74.

[74]"When a nationalistic spirit with an anti-Christian undertone set in, many of us began to drop our Christian names. . . " Meng, *Chinese-American Understanding*, 110.

[75]Tsen Tsonming, "Chinese Poetesses," translated by Ruth Flanders, *CSM*, November 1927, 45; Tsen Chung-min, *CSM*, December 1927, 12.

[76]Wu Tingfang to C. T. Wang, *CSM*, March 1909, 340-342; The controversy over names made it into the satirical account of the history of the *Monthly*. The American-born magazine did not like being told how to call someone, especially using the old Chinese way of putting surnames first. Thomas Ming-Heng Chao, "The Autobiography of a Flirt," *CSM*, December 1926, 72.

[77]Women wore Chinese dress more often than men for the club and conference pictures.

[78]"Report of the General Welfare Association of Boston," *CSM*, May 1910, 421.

[79]Humor was also thought to be a salve. The humor column on 231 in February 1914 issue was called "Homesick Pills".

[80]In 1915 the Canton post office alone had 3,000,000 dead letters yearly because people had not used Chinese characters or return addresses.

[81]Kwei Chen, *CSM*, December 1927, 36; Both classical and students' poetry in the *Monthly* often described parting and remembering home. See the poem"To an Old Schoolmate," by Kwei Chen on the same page.

Chapter Four Notes

[1]William Hung, 55.

[2]Amy S. Jennings, "The Student as International Ambassador," *CSM*, November 1922, 16.

[3]Paul A. Cohen, "Ch'ing China: Confrontation with the West, 1850-1900," in *Modern East Asia*, James B. Crowley, ed. (New York: Harcourt, Brace and World, 1970) 43; While one Chinese student encouraged his fellow students to take a few courses in political and social sciences of the West, an American suggested that several short courses on political economy, sociology and American institutions be mandatory for all students; Students had already began to learn about Western institutions and thought before coming to the U.S. Yen Fu, who studied in England from 1877-1879, translated works by Huxley, Spencer, Montesque, Mills. Grieder, *Intellectuals*, 149-152; See also Benjamin Schwartz, *In Search of Wealth and Power: Yen Fu and the West* (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1964).

[4]"An Appeal to Chinese Students," *CSM*, April 1908, 220-221

[5]"How to Spend Christmas," *CSM*, December 1908, 128.

[6]Julean Arnold, "Chinese Students' Opportunities in America, " *CSM*, March 1920, 23.

[7]This was exemplified by defeated American candidates who sent congratulatory messages to their successful rivals and exhorted people to support the newly elected person.

[8]S. J. Chuan, "Individuality," CSM, December 1915, 122-124.

[9]Francis L. K. Hsu (New York: Henry Schuman, 1953), xi.

[10]Milton J. Bennett, "Towards Ethnorelativism: A Developmental Model of Intercultural Sensitivity," in Education for Intercultural Experience, ed. R. Michael Paige (Yarmouth, Maine: Intercultural Press, 1993), 63.

[11]Nicholas Murray Butler, the president of Columbia University, took a personal interest in V. K. Wellington Koo. For more about his life on campus and afterwards see, Warren Cohen, "The Americanization of Ku Wei-Chun" (unpublished manuscript, presented at the University of Chicago, 1979), 3.

[12]Hsian Chuan Ch'ang, "Why I Left the University of Michigan," *CSM*, February 1925, 31.

[13]William Lyon Phelps, "Chinese Students in America," *CSM*, June 1911, 705-708; See also W. L. Phelps, *Autobiography with Letters* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1939), 83-87.

[14]Keenan, 11.

[15]"A Student in Fresno State College," 2; William Hung also learned physical labor by washing a gym floor for seventeen cents an hour. When Hung returned to China, he folded his pair of overalls and took them back as a curiosity. Egan, 54.

[16]Xu Zhengkeng, "Things About America and Americans," in Arkush and Lee, 134.

[17]Grieder, *Hu Shih*, 54.

[18]When Y. S. Tsa won the DeForest medal for undergraduate oratory at Yale in 1911, it was remembered that Yung Wing had won it in the early 1850s. "Tsao Wins DeForest Prize," *CSM*, June 1911, 734.

[19]One professor, reviewing the three times in 1925-1926 when Chinese students had been shot down, said "There was May 30th [1925] in Shanghai, a date from which history will always run. . .The world will never be the same again since May 30th. There was also June 30th [1925] in Canton. . . and now there is this happening in the streets of Peking. "Harry Ward, "The Student Crisis in China and Political Consequences," *CSM*, May 1926, 50; The delegation of six students spoke with President Coolidge, Secretary of State Kellogg, Nelson Johnson, chief of the Far Eastern Division of the State Department and a number of senators. Like many follow-up meetings, fewer American students showed up to hear the reports of the delegation. "American Attitudes as the American Students Find It," *CSM*, May 1926, 38-49.

[20]"In the evenings we may sit before the dormitory fire with a man from Hindostan or one from Egypt who will willingly entertain us with some East Indian myths or a story of the past glory of the Valley of the Nile".Chinson Young, "Is it Worth While to be 'Grinds'?" *CSM*, January 1910, 171.

[21]"Chicago," CSM, April 1919, 395; "DePauw Chinese Students' Club," *CSM*, March 1926, 73.

[22] The conference was VIII International Congress of the Federation Internationale des Etudiants (FIdE). Grieder, *Hu Shih*, 53. Also see Chou, Chapter 6, "Cosmopolitanism".

[23]Suh Hu, "The International Student Movement," *CSM*, November 1913, 37-39.

[24]525 students lived in the I House in NYC. Harry E. Edmonds, "The International House," *CSM*, June 1925, 21-25; Joe Lurie, "International House Berkeley - A Sixtieth Anniversary Retrospective," 1990, 1-2; The Christian Association at the University of Pennsylvania had also established a meeting house. Edward C. Wood, *CSM*, January 1919, 202-204.

[25]A short story in 1927 described a cosmopolitan club, still speaking about unity, but divided by language. Anonymous, "Shadow Shapes," Part Five, *CSM*, March 1927, 44.

[26]Few Chinese attended schools in the South, though the climatic conditions, which were similar to Central and Southern China, would have been better for many agricultural students. Chih Meng began at Davidson College, North Carolina after being urged to go to a school where there had never been a Chinese student. For insight to his life in the south, see Meng, *Chinese-American Understanding*, 102-105.

[27]Chinson Young, "Is it Worth While to be 'Grinds'," *CSM*, January 1910, 171; An American wrote, "I both wish and dread your going to New York. . . . New York is a great and heartless city, and I can see in imagination the lonely and desolate hours that would come to you, and there would also be almost certainly, for you a, a sense of its own pompous emptiness. You might not become more bitter about America, but you would not love us more. . . ." "The Problem of China," *CSM*, May 8, 1928, 8.

[28]For an example of a student at a small mid-western college who lived with church people, see Elizabeth Green, "Moulding a New-Age Diplomacy," *CSM*, June 1927, 11.

[29]J. S. Tow, "Living Conditions of the Chinese in the U. S. A.," *CSM*, June 1923, 27.

[30]Editorial, "A New Way to Pay old Debts," *CSM*, April 1926, 2.

[31]A student wrote, "We often discussed unreservedly some of our national problems in which he had just as much interest as I. Not infrequently I talked with him about certain things that I would not tell other American friends, because he had won my full confidence. "Fearing's obituary was the length usually reserved for a Secretary of State. L. M. Tsaou, "Henry D. Fearing," *CSM*, November 1917, 49-51. With Picture.

[32]"Thoughts of the Editor," CSM, March 1928, 63; "

[33]Chung Wang, "An American College - As I See It," *CSM*, January 1927, 37.

[34]Without hospitality, the students had "an enveloping weariness and disillusion." Elizabeth Green, "Moulding a New-Age Diplomacy," CSM, June 1927, 11.

[35]Siok-an Chiu, "American Home Life," *CSM*, June 1918, 463.

[36]Ibid, 461-470; Grace Jay Lewis, "American Home Life," *CSM*, June 1918, 453-461.

[37]Hu Shih, "The American Woman," in Arkush and Lee, 112. When Hu Shih heard the story of how a respected elderly professor had married a woman who went blind after they were engaged, he recorded in his diary, "This is a model of Western faithfulness and duty that deserves to be emulated." Arkush and Lee, 114.

[38]Hu Shih, quoted in Chou, 40; Meng remembers a family in Brooklyn whose home was a center of hospitality for generations of Chinese students. *Chinese-American Understanding*, 110-111.

[39]Arthur A. Young, "The Foreign Student at the University," *CSM*, April 1923, 49.

[40]T. K. Chuan, "An Essay on Errors," *CSM*, April 1924, 23-24; This search for friendship can be seen in the monthly column, "Thoughts of the Editor," written during 1927-28.

[41]Editorial, "The Recent Elections," *CSM*, December 1916, 79; Letter from D.K.F. Yap to the Editor, *CSM*, December 16, 125-126; Letter from 16 members of the Columbia Chinese Students' Club to the Editor, *CSM*, Janaury 1917, 181-182. (Names listed, including Hu Shih's); Editorial, "Dissenting Opinion," *CSM*, January 1917, 180.

[42]Originally published in the *New York Sun*, January 4, 1912; Reprinted in *CSM*, February 1912, 352-353.

[43]Their arguments failed for Brazil was the first country to recognize the Republic.

[44]Letter from F. H. Huang to President Woodrow Wilson, *CSM*, January 1919, 188-189; The third assistant secretary acknowledged receipt. Letter from Brinckenridge Long to F. H. Huang, *CSM*, January 1919, 189.

[45]Lodge, *CSM*, November 1919, frontpiece.

[46]Correspondence, *CSM*, November 1925, 85-86; Dorothy Borg, 417.

[47]"Declarations and Resolutions of the All Michigan Chinese Students Conference," *CSM*, June 1927, 66-67; "Cleveland Resolutions," *CSM*, June 1927, 69-70.

[48]Meng, *Chinese-American Understanding*, 120.

[49]Lewis S. Gannett, "America's Choice," *CSM*, May 1926, 62-65.

[50]He died en route to serve as diplomatic adviser to the Chinese government. "The Death of Ambassador William Woodville Rockhill," *CSM*, November 1913, 194-195.

[51]His address at the annual conference in 1910 was reprinted in the *Monthly*. John W. Foster, "What Young China Can Learn From America, " *CSM*, November 1910, 24-30; Editorial, "The Passing of Another Friend," *CSM*, December 1917, 81.

[52]A Persona Grata Minister," *CSM*, November 1913, 7; "Dr Reinsch Resigns," *CSM*, November 1919, 20; Editorial, *CSM*, February 1923, 2.

[53]They were especially angry at his treatment of the Coltman case where an American had shot a Chinese who was trying to arrest him for smuggling. The American government demanded that Coltman be freed. Charles Dailey, "Dr. Schurman's Return - Its Significance!" *CSM*, November 1924, 24; Editorial, "Schurman's Four Years in China and After," *CSM*, June 1925, 3.

[54]Editorial, "A Reply to Strawn," *CSM*, December 1926, 3; Calling him a Chicago capitalist, they denounced him for writing a 300-page book about Chinese politics and economics after only visiting China. Editorial, "Indiscretions and Misrepresentations," *CSM*, January 1927, 1-3. Reprints of the editorial were made available for wider distribution; Despite opposing his findings, the *Monthly* published his article. Silas H. Strawn, "Eleven Months in China," CSM, March 1927, 14-20.

[55]He felt that Bingham, as a guest of China, had "suffered from being distinguished. . . . He had the disadvantage of walking in too high places, among those who 'divide to rule.'" Chang-wei Chiu, "Mr. Bingham and Chinese Unity," *CSM*, December 1927, 34-36.

[56]Y. Y. Tsu, "Chinese Students in Europe," *CSM*, November 1923, 31.

[57]Woon Yung Chun, "East is East and West is West," *CSM*, April 1914, 491-492.

[58]Tseng Ku Chuan, "An Appeal to A Radical Foreignization of Chinese Students Abroad," *CSM*, April 1925, 19-20.

[59]S. J. Chuan, "Individuality," *CSM*, December 1915, 122-124.

[60]One researcher argues that a person who is most successful at adjusting to a new culture is often the worst at readjusting to his old culture. S. Bochner, "The Mediating Man and Cultural Diversity," in Richard Brislin, ed., *Topics in Culture Learning* (Honolulu: East-West Culture Learning Institute, 1977), 23-37.

[61]Janet M. Bennett, "Cultural Marginality," in *Education for the Intercultural Experience* ed. R. Michael Paige (Yarmouth, Maine: Intercultural Press, 1993), 118. .

[62]Pearl S. Buck, "Introduction" in Lin Yutang, *My Country and My People* (London: Heinemann, 1936), xi-xii; Lin studied at Harvard, receiving a M.A. degree *in absentia* in 1922. Boorman, Vol. 2, 387-389.

[63]Grieder, 267.

[64]Dr. Berthold Laufer, "Promotion of Chinese Studies in America," *CSM*, May 1929, 330-332.

[65]Allport described the effects of different levels of contact. Casual contact might dispel prejudice, but might as likely heightened it. He found that contacts that bring knowledge and acquaintance are likely to engender sounder beliefs concerning minority groups and contribute to the reduction of prejudice. The communication resulting from residential contact was decisive, not the mere fact of living together. Group sharing about topics which bring out universal values combined with working together for a common goal brought the most change. He closed by reminding that contact, no matter what level, will not cause reduction of prejudice in *all* individuals. Gordeon W. Allport, *The Nature of Prejudice* (Reading, Mass: Addison-Wesley Publishing Company, 1954), 26-281, passim; 484-485.

[66]Allport, 485-491, passim.

[67]He suggested that non-Western content in the curiculum, which emphasized the differences in how people feel about themselves, each other and the world, rather than what they do, make or wear, be increased on all levels. . Francis L. K. Hsu, "Intercultural Understanding: Genuine and Spurious" in *Rugged Individualism Reconsidered*, Hsu (Knoxville:The University of Tennessee Press, 1983), 408-418, passim.

[68]Bennett, "Towards Ethnorelativism," 21-71.

[69]"Columbia Notes," *CSM*, December 1908, 87.

[70]H. J. Fei to Editor, *CSM*, June 1913, 542; Another step was in 1919 when Columbia hired a recent Chinese graduate to teach Chinese and Far Eastern trade and diplomacy. Personal, *CSM*, February 1919, 259. Picture, 260.

[71]Iuming C. Suex, "Bonds of Trade and Friendship Between China and the United States, Part II," *CSM*, January 1921, 195-6.

[72]Malcom W. Davis, "Why Only Trade with China?" *CSM*, November 1922, 10-12.

[73]Dr. Berthold Laufer, "Promotion of Chinese Studies in America," *CSM*, May 1929, 330-332.

[74]Paul C. Meng, "Thinking Beyond the Unequal Treaties," *CSM*, Janaury 1929, 127-129; The book by Dr. Li Chi, a graduate of Harvard's anthropology department, was held up as an example. Dr. Berthold Laufer, "Promotion of Chinese Studies in America," *CSM*, May 1929, 330-332.

[75]Local newspapers covered these events, which sometimes had standing room only. Sometimes the plays were performed in Chinese, which "furnished the audience with a fertile field for imagination and thought, with the action and gestures as clues. . . . [The audience] understood almost everything and indulged in talking about it afterward." "Harvard," *CSM*, June 1920, 67.

[76]"Chinese School Work Exhibit," reprinted from the *Spectator*, *CSM*, November 1912, 6; "Even the people in the summer colonies could stand [the lecture] and not be too obviously bored. Chao-ying Shill, "When 'Amoy' Comes to New York," *CSM*, December 1926, 39.

[77]Theodora Rhoades, "An Exhibit on China in 1923," *CSM*, January 1923, 17.

[78]C. W. Chiu, "The Chinese Exhibition at the Newark Museum," *CSM*, January 1924, 28-29.

[79] Editorial, CSM, January 1923, 1-2; Paul Y. Cheng, "The Chinese Art and Industiral Exhition at Seattle," *CSM*, January 1925, 32.

[80]The Japanese had already learned to use art as a tool of cultural diplomacy, gaining both the respect and interest not only of those interested in art, but from the broader American public. Japan was seen as a progressive nation while China was a once great civilization in decline. Art reinforced American's views of the two countries' political systems. Warren I. Cohen, *East Asian Art and American Culture* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1992), 30, 32, 33.

[81]The American public's response to Chinese wining awards was not always positive, such as an editorial in a local newspaper which asked, "if the yellow race is inferior, why did a Chinese student just win one of our most valued awards?" "News and Comments," *CSM*, February 1910, 236.

[82]Letter No. 4, from A Cleveland Gentlewoman to the Cleveland Times, in "The arrest of Chinese in Cleveland," *CSM*, January 1926, 46.

[83]There was talk of inventing some way of making reparations for the damages and controlling such persons in the future. *CSM*, December 1925, 68.

[84]Editorial, *CSM*, April 1926, 1-2. Was the behavior of the students worsening during the 1920s or was the *Monthly* now willing to print the information?

[85]"They doubtless honestly believed that by calling their government a republic and copying the trademark U. S. A. they could magically transform an ancient empire into a modern state." Georges Dubarbier, "American Designs in China," *CSM*, March 1925, 44; J.A.L. Waddell, a bridge engineer who had worked in China, said that China needed a strong ruler and suggested General Leonard Wood. One student wrote a reply that the best way to help China was to leave her alone. Waddell, "A Scheme for the Regeneration of China," *CSM*, November 1923, 7-20; Dison Poe, " A Reply to J.A.L. Waddell's 'Scheme'," *CSM*, January 1924, 7-10; John B. Jeffrey, "China-The First Republic," *CSM*, May 1913, 463-465.

[86]"The Arrest of Chinese in Cleveland," *CSM*, January 1926, 50.

[87] Eight of the letters are reprinted in this article. James K. Shen, "The Arrest of Chinese in Cleveland," *CSM*, January 1926, 44-53.

[88]K. A. Wee, "What About China?" *CSM*, January 1923, 42-43.

[89]"An Urgent Message to the People of America from the People of China," *CSM*, May 1927, 74.

[90]Y. L. Tong, "The Chinese Student and the American Public," *CSM*, March 1915, 348-351; Jerry Israel argues in *Progressivism and the Open Door: America and China, 1905-1921* (Pittsburgh: University of Pittsburgh Press, 1971) that the U.S. foreign policy toward China reflects the competition against and cooperation with Japan.

[91]Y. L. Tong, "The Chinese Student and the American Public," *CSM*, March 1915, 348-351.

[92]"Speak For Yourself," *CSM*, April 1916, 417-420; The editor of the *Monthly* responded that the competition between Chinese students' wit and resources and Japanese press agents with unlimited budgets would probably end in only local victories for the students. Editorial, "Our Other Duty," *CSM*, April 1916, 382-383.

[93]William T. Ellis, "Serving China in America," *CSM*, January 1917, 147-151.

[94]Lui-Ngau Chang,"Working for China's Welfare Abroad," *CSM*, June 1910, 546-547.

[95]One former-editor of the *Monthly*, C.C. Wang, published articles for the *Atlantic Monthly*, *North American Review*, and the *American Journal of International Law*; another, V. K. Wellington Koo wrote a protest that was published in the *New York Sun*. "Laurels for Editors," *CSM*, June 1911, 735; V. K. Wellington Koo's letter "Confusing Counsel from America to the Revolutionists," was originally in *New York Sun*. *CSM*, February 1912, 352-353.

[96]"Letter to American Editors," *CSM*, May 15, 476.

[97]"Illinois," *CSM*, June 1919, 505.

[98]One student had an opportunity to work as a camp counselor on Lake Huron during the summer of 1923. He was impressed with the congenial candid discussions, where "the stream of accurate information acted upon [the campers] like a tonic. They understand that China, in spite of her present disturbance and unsettled conditions, will be one of the most interesting countries in the world to watch for some years to come." E-Tsung Chang, "Impressions of My Camp Life," *CSM*, June 1924, 51-53.

[99]Editorial, "Mr J. O. P. Bland Tries to Break the Friendship of China and the United States," *CSM*, December 1912, 80-82; A Chinese Student, "Thou Shalt Not Bear False Witness," *CSM*, December 1912, 98-100.

[100]"Professor Soothill Manufactures History," *CSM*, April 1928, 44-48.

[101]Editorial, "Exaggeration Benefits No One," *CSM*, June 1926, 4-5.

[102]It was sent to the State Department. "Pan-Pacific Conference," *CSM*, June 1927, 71-72.

[103]Flora Belle, Jan, "A Meeting with Upton Close," *CSM*, May 1928, 1931.

[104]"A Challenge to Mr. Will Hays," *CSM*, December 1922, 31-32.

[105]Letter from Arthur A. Young to J. A. Mei, Editor, *CSM*, January 1929, 166.

[106]"Ohio Club," *CSM*, May 1923, 73-74.

[107]"Telling the World," *CSM*, November 1928, 8.

[108]Y. E. Hsiao, "The Chinese Students' Club of Cleveland," *CSM*, June 1929, 395.

[109] The three men who combined their interests and several other people's money to begin CFR were C. T. Wang, who organized the groups for Christian Chinese students in the United States in 1908 and later became minister of foreign affairs in China, W. W. Lockwood, the general secretary of YMCA in Shanghai who had recently returned to the United States and John Mott, an original member of the Student Volunteer Movement, who recognized the importance of influencing students. Though CFR was independent, staff were often YMCA workers on furlough. Three Chinese students who traveled from campus to campus were part-time with the Chinese Students Christian Association (CSCA) and part-time with CFR.

Mary A. Thompson, ed., *Unofficial Ambassadors* (New York: International Student Service, 1982), 21-22.

[110]"International Student Conference on World Problems, Michigan University," *CSM*, June 1926, 73.

[111]Thompson, 21-28, passim, 38, 58. CFR was influential in the founding of both the Institute of International Education and NAFSA: Association of International Educators. In 1960's CFR changed its name to International Students Services.

[112]"The China Society of America," *CSM*, November 1912, 36; Editorial, "The China Society of America," *CSM*, March 1923, 4; "The China Society and the Chinese Students," *CSM*, April 1925, 50-51; "The China Society of America Protests," *CSM*, February 1928, 66; "The Editor's Reply," *CSM*, February 1928, 67.

[113]"Concerning the American Committee For Fair Play in China," *CSM*, January 1928, 52.

[114]Chiang Monlin, Wellington Koo and W. W. Willoughby are only a few of the well-known orgainal board members. "China Institute in America," *CSM*, January 1927, 75-77; The Institute published bulletins, including "Theses and Dissertations by Chinese Students in America" and "One Hundred Selected Books on China". The *Monthly* reprinted the book list in three consecutive issues during 1929. Letter from Eugene Shen to the Editor, *CSM*, May 1928, 62; For a description of the first thirty-seven years of the Institute, see Part IV of *Chinese- American Understanding* by Chih Meng, who served as director during those years.

[115]Letter from John T. Find, to Kwei Chen, *CSM*, May 1928, 60-61.
[116]Pepper, 11; Committee on Survey, 12; The numbers vary depending whether or not students in prepatory schools are counted. For example, Y.C. Wang quaotes a figure of 2600 for 1922-23, whicle the "official figure" from Institute of International Education (IIE), which only counts those attending Amerian colleges and universities, is 1507. Wang, 147; *Survey of Chinese Students*, 18. The average number from 1921-1931, using IIE figures was 1321. *Survey of Chinese Students*, 18.

[117]Michael H. Hunt, *The Making of a Special Relationship: The United States and China to 1914* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1983), 302-3.

[118];Harry Harding writes about *A Fragile Relationship* from 1972-1989. (Washington, D.C.: The Brookings Institution, 1992), 4-11, 21-22; In *Across the Pacific*, Akira Iriye argues that that problems between the two countries are due to cultural rather than political issues.

[119]Isaacs, 68, 70-71.

[120]"These apparent contradictions may be rooted in the basically different motives that brought individuals to America in the first place. They came to find salvation or they came to get rich, or, often enough, for both reasons..." Robert N. Bellah, *The Broken Covenant* (New York: The Seabury Press, 1977), chapter 3; In 1918 Tang Hualong spoke about "The Contradictory American Character". See Arkush and Lee, 119-127.

[121]For a description of "America-watchers," the elite group in China who study the U.S. and interpret the events to both the leaders and the public, see David Shambaugh, *Beautiful Imperialist: China Perceives America, 1972-1990* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1991); For insight into elementary and secondary school Chinese textbooks used since 1976, see Richard E. Gross, *What Chinese Children and Youth are Learning about the United States* (Stanford: The Hoover Institution, Working Papersin Education, ED-91-2, 1991).

[122]Amy Jennings, "The Student as International Ambassador," *CSM*, November 1922, 17.

[123]Ch'ien Chung-shu, *Wei Cheng (Fortress Beseiged)* Trans. by Jeanne Kelly and Nathan K. Mao (Boomington: Indiana University Press, 1979), 220-221.

Chapter Five Notes:

[1] *CSM*, January 1924, 4.

[2]C. F. Yao, "Suggestions About Chinese Students in the United States," *CSM*, June 1921, 644.

[3]Wang found that 21 of the 1,152 students (.01%) listed in the Tsinghua Alumni Register of 1937 maintained permenant residences in the U. S. Wang, 187.

[4]Some Chinese worried that technology was replacing morality. "We are supposed to lead, not to follow; we are supposed to replace foreigners; but responsible leadership and competent substitutions require a knowledge not only of things but also of man." W. Way Tam, "Students' Problem of the Hour," *CSM*, January 1908, 114-115; Americans also worried about the drive for technology since it could be turned towards national aggrandizement, where as the study of humanities was a foundation for internationalism. Some hoped that the Chinese would be able to return to teach both Confucian *Analects* and the *Ethics* of Aristotle. Irving Babbitt, "Humanistic Education in China and the West," *CSM*, December 1921, 91.

[5] C., "A Word to the Thoughtful," *CSM*, December 1907, 73-74; By 1913, some saw the drop in students preparing for political positions as a healthy result of being in the U.S., for students were seeking places to serve rather than power. Editorial, "Professor Monroe on Chinese Educational Problems," *CSM*, December 1913, 96; While a student in Japan, Lu Xun switched from medicine to writing in order to strengthen China. Lu Xun, *Selected Stories*, 2-3; Though the Indemnity fund was to support students in science and technology, after the fall of the Qing dynasty, no one guided the students.

[6]Ruth Hayhoe, "China's Higher Curricular Reform in Historical Perspective," in *China Quarterly* 110 (June 1987) 203.

[7]In 1921 a suggestion was made that the Educational Director should guide which majors students should pursue in order to balance the distribution. The imbalance was partially due to various schools' reputations which attracted more students.

[8]Distribution was uneven within one branch, such as civil engineering, where seven times more students were interested in some aspect of railroads than in water, highways or concrete. S. J. Shu, "The Statistics of Engineering Students," *CSM*, June 1914, 622-625.

[9]C. C. Woo, "Some Suggestions on the Preparation of the Chinese Technical Students in the United States," *CSM*, December 1920, 168-172; Saosan Ken Huang, "Experience as Education," *CSM*, January 1913, 196-198.

[10]C. T. Wang, "Our Golden Opportunity," *CSM*, January 1920, 30.

[11]Editorial, "Practical Work for Students," *CSM*, May 1916, 455-456; Correspondent, "The Employment of Chinese Students," *CSM*, April 1923, 52-53; "The China Society and the Chinese Students," *CSM*, April 1925, 50-51; Joseph Bailie, who had taught in China for years, was convinced that the best way to help China was to assist students in finding practical training. He visited leading manufacturing, mining, construction companies to make arrangements for students. Kuang Pin Liu, "An Acknowledgement to Dr. Joseph Bailie," *CSM*, November 1924, 36-39; For more about Bailie, see "Zeal: Joseph Bailie's Scular Crusades, 1910s," in *The Stubborn Earth: American Agriculturalists on Chinese Soil, 1898-1937* by Randall E. Stross (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1986), 66-91. Wellington Koo, China's foreign ambassador to several countries, and C.C. Wang, General Manager of

the Chinese Eastern Railways, were held up as examples of influential Chinese students who were once students. Arthur A. Young, "China's Best Advertising Buy is Her Foreign Students," *CSM*, February 1924, 42.

[12]Arthur A. Young, "China's Best Advertising Buy is Her Foreign Students," *CSM*, February 1924, 43.

[13]Z. L., "Our Present Situation," *CSM*, April 1909, 399.

[14]Fong F. Sec, "American Educated Chinese at Work," *CSM*, March 1911, 440-443.

[15]Other students from the China Educational Mission served as engineers, telegraph managers, navy yard managers, transportation managers and railway directors. "The American Spirit in the Chinese Education," *CSM*, January 1909, 185; Fong F. Sec, "American Educated Chinese at Work," *CSM*, March 1911, 440-449. For more about Jeme Tien-yu and other students from the Chinese Educational Mission, see La Farge.

[16]Fong F. Sec, "American Educated Chinese at Work, *CSM*, March 1911, 443-445; Other outstanding women served in the medical field and in academics. Miss F. Y. Tsao, "A Brief History of Chinese Women-Students in America," *CSM*, May 1911, 616-622; Because of the work of Dr. Stone and two other returned students, one Chinese and one Japanese, Levi Lewis Barbour set up the Barbour scholarships for Asian women at University of Michigan in 1917. *The University of Michigan: An Encyclopedic Survey* IV (Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 1958), 1855-1856; See also Boorman, Vol. III, 128-130.

[17]T. E. Alfred Sze and W. W. Yen were at Waiwupu; Chen Chin-tao was the Vice-President of the Ta Ching Bank; Chang Taung Yuen was a Member of the National Assembly and Director of the School of Finance and Wang Chung-yu was the mining engineer. Fong F. Sec, "American Educated Chinese at Work," *CSM*, March 1911, 449; "Students Elected to Board of Foreign Affairs," *CSM*, May 1907, 127.

[18]"Reshaping a Chinese Community," *CSM*, June 1928, 19-21.

[19]Ho-Min Lin, "Critical Period of Chinese History," *CSM*, November 1916, 31-35; V. K. Wellington Koo used the examples of Cavour (the count who united Italy), Abraham Lincoln, Napoleon and Turgot (who became Comptroller-General of France under Louis XVI after thirteen years of devotion to the poor in France). V. K. Wellington Koo, "Address Made at the Platform Meeting of the Chinese Student's Conference at Brown University, Providence, R.I., on September 6, 1917," *CSM*, November 1917, 26-27, 22-23.

[20]The formation of groups was seen as part of fulfilling an overall goal of cooperation. "Returned students of various lines of specialty should form societies, not for the purpose of providing pleasure..., but *primarily for the purpose of gathering, classifying, systematizing, and organizing facts, truths, and principles in any given line of thought or activity.*" T. L. Li, "What Chinese Students Should Do when They Return," *CSM*, January 1918, 165; The clubs were active in recruiting new members and holding monthly meetings. Memberships often grew quickly. The clubs developed handbooks and directories. The Chinese Educational Club of Columbia, established in 1917, had fifty members by 1925. The Chinese Economic Society, founded in 1923, had 37 members within two years. Guest speakers included Americans, such as Paul Reinsch addressed the Political Science Club of Columbia, or Chinese, such as the doctors who spoke during Spring 1924 at the Medical Students Club of Boston. "Columbia," *CSM*, January 1920, 67; "Medical Students Club," *CSM*, May 1924, 75.

[21]T.C. Chu, "Chinese Academy of Arts and Science, " *CSM*, December 1910, 180-181; F.L Chang, "The Chinese Foresters' Club," *CSM*, December 11, 144-145; "The Chinese

Engineering Students' Society in North America," *CSM*, March 1912, 461-463; "The Chinese Students' Banking Club," *CSM*, February 1919, 245; "The Chinese Medical Club of Boston," *CSM*, June 1921, 610; See also "C. S. A. of Commerce in America," *CSM*, November 1923, 62; "The Chinese Students' Political Science Assocciation in North America," *CSM*, April 1924, 64; "China Accounting Association," *CSM*, May 1924, 74-75; and "Boston Music Circle," *CSM,* May 1924, 74.

[22]"Organizations in Greater New York," *CSM*, January 1926, 73.

[23]One conference hoped to attract all Chinese medical people in the U.S. "Chinese Medical Conference in Philadelphia," *CSM*, June 1921, 623.

[24]The Political Science Club published a quarterly with articles by both Chinese students in the U.S. and China. "The Chinese Students' Political Science Association in North America," *CSM*, April 1924, 64; The Agriculture number was February 1926. Frank H. Liu, "A History of the Agricultural Society of China," *CSM*, February 1926, 58-61; The Economics issue was April, 1928. "The Chinese Economic Society in America," *CSM*, April 1928, 64.

[25]Few mutual benefits came from that affiliation because civil strife near the headquarters hampered interaction. Frank H. Liu, "A History of the Agriculture Society of China," *CSM*, February 1926, 60.

[26]The Cornell in China Club, which was established by chemical and electrical engineering students, was one example. "Cornell Club," *CSM*, May 1923, 65.

[27]For a discussion of Nationalist rule from 1927-1937, see Lloyd Eastman, *The Abortive Revolution* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1990).

[28]For a discussion of "problem and isms" see Chow Tse-tsung's *The May Fourth Movement* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1967) chapter 9; Recent books have explored the choices that were not taken. See the influence of anarchism on Communism in Arif Dirlik, *The Origins of Chinese Communism* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1989) or Roger B. Jeans, ed., *Roads Not Taken* (Boulder, Co: Westview Press, 1992).

[29]Samuel Ling, "The Other May Fourth Movement: The Chinese 'Christian Renaissance, 1919-1937" (Ph.D. diss., Temple University, 1980); Wing-Hung Lam, *Chinese Theology Construction* (Pasadena, CA: William Carey Library, 1983); Students studying in the States also thought that Christianity was needed in China. See Hayford, 39 and Egan, 55, 59-60; For a discussion about the Chinese optomism about science, see Thomas A. Metzger, *Escape from Predicament* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1977), 221-223. For the impact of this May Fourth era on intellectual thought to the present, see Vera Schwarcz.

[30]Hu Shih quoted in Chou, 118.

[31]Vera Schwarcz, 107-116. See Lu Xun's "Regret for the Past" and other stories that explore people's lives who are caught in the midst of these changes. *Selected Stories* (New York: W. W. Norton and Company, 1977).

[32]For a discussion about the life of writers, see Ezra F. Vogel, "The Unlikely Heroes: The Social Role of the May Fourth Writers," in Merle Goldman, ed., *Modern Chinese Literature in the May 4th Era* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1977), 145-159.

[33]The returned students reflected this by rarely returning to their home provinces, much less their specific native places.

[34]R. Keith Schoppa, *Chinese Elites and Political Change* (Cambridge, Mass: Harvard University Press, 1982), 67-71.

[35] Chiang, 92-105.

[36]Grieder, *Hu Shih*, 71,75, 122, 175; For the symbolic meaning of different styles of clothes, see Yeh, 222-226.

[37]Hayford, 40.

[38]Egan, 85, 93, 99, 102, 105-106, 107.

[39]Grieder, *Hu Shih*, 354.

[40]Dorothy Wong, "Happy Day of Yuelin," *CSM*, May 1927, 40-43.

[41]Dorothy T. Wong, "The Great Event in Life," *CSM*, June 1927, 16-20.

[42]His top ranking positions were president of Alliance (9.2), chairman of a section (8.0), chairman of the annual conference (7.9), general manager of the *Monthly* (7.3). For organizations besides the Alliance, he ranked president of the Chinese Student's Christian Organization (7.3), president of the Chinese Patriotic Committee (6.9), the president of alumni associations (6.3) and president of professional clubs (6.2). Chu, 42-43.

[43]Wits and Humor, *CSM*, March 1914, 419.

[44]Grieder, *Hu Shih*, 80, fn 8; For a discussion about the differences in opinion about Chinese civilization, science and literature, see James Sheridan, *China in Disintegration* (New York: The Free Press, 1975) 124-136.

[45]Tao Xingzhi returned from Columbia's Teacher College in 1917. In 1923 the joined the mass literacy campaign. Hubert O. Brown, "American Progressivism in Chinese Education: The Case of Tao Xingzhi," in *China's Education and the Industrialized World: Studies in Cultural Transfer*, Ruth Hayhoe and Marianne Bastid, eds. (Armonk: M.E. Sharpe, 1987), 120-138.

[46]For example, Chiang Monlin had to escape a new warlord in Beijing who wanted to suppress free speech by fleeing and hiding in the International Settlement in Shanghai. Keenan, 111, 122, 125.

[47]Bette Bao Lord, *Legacies: A Chinese Mosaic* (New York: Alfred A. Knopt, 1990), 88-89.

[48]Lord, 88.

[49]Fredric J. Spar, "Human Rights and Political Engagement: Luo Longji in the 1930s," in tr*Roads Not Taken*, ed. Roger B. Jeans, 61-77, passim; Due to the calls for cooperation and tolerance after the war began in 1937, the liberals found themselves in a more favorable political environment. But after 1945 they were again attacked from both sides. Young-Tsu Wong "The Fate of Liberalism in Revolutionary China: Chu Anping and His Circle, 1946-1950," *Modern China*, Vol. 19, No. 4 (October 1993), 459, 473; Andrew Nathan compares the democracy movements in China during the 1930s nad 1940s to the 1980s and 1990s. He notes two striking similarities, actionalism and marginality. "Historical Perspective on

Chinese Democracy: The Overseas Democracy Morement Today," in Jeans, Roads Not Taken, 313-337.

[50]The campaign against six writers resulted in death for one, while the other were sent to learn as well as teach revolutionary ideas to peasants. Ellen R. Judd, "Prelude to the 'Yan'an Talks," in *Modern China*, Vol. 11, No. 3 (July 1985), 399-400. For further information, see Merle Goldman, *Literary Dissent in Communist China* (New York: Atheneum, 1971), 18-50. Also Nienling Liu, "The Protest of Wild Lily: The Execution of Wang Shih-wei," in *Chinese Studies in History*, Vol. 25, No. 3 (Spring 1992), 10-17; Though the Talks were initially directed at a small number of intellectuals, they have been used again and again over the last fifty years as guidelines for all PRC intellectuals. One example is Liu Baiyu, "Adhere to the Socialist Orientation in Literature and Art -- Commemorating the 45 Anniversary of the Publication of 'Talks at the Yanan Forum on Literature and Art'," *Renmin Ribao*, May 19, 1987, in FBIS, May 21, 1987, K1-K7.

[51]Grieder, *Hu Shih*, 362. See Appendix C, "The Chinese Communist Attack on Hu Shih," 358-368.

[52]Adrian Hsia, *The Chinese Cultural Revolution* (London: Orbach and Chambers Ltd.,1972), 79-80; For example, Zhou Peiyuan, a physicist who returned from Cal Tech in 1929, confessed "both how his 'whole body had been saturated with the pernicious germs of the bourgeoisie' and that while on a return visit to do research in 1943 he had cast his lot with imperialists and taken part in 'military research work supported by the American imperialists and designed to murder the peace-loving people of the world'." As a reward for "blowing with the winds," he became president of Beijing University during the Cultural Revolution. Anne Thurston, *Enemies of the People* (Cambridge, Mass: Harvard University Press, 1988), 56-58.

[53]Roderick MacFarquhar, *The Hundred Flowers Campaign and the Chinese Intellectuals* (New York: Praeger, 1979), 77-78.

[54]The title is drawn from the saying "Let a hundred flowers blossom and let a hundred schools contend". The complaints about intellectual life varied. Industrial scientists objected to the trivial work, to security regulations which stifled the flow of professional contacts and to scientific libraries which would not lend books. University scientists complained that they could not subscribe to foreign technical journals and that Party cadres interfered with the scientific research which they knew nothing about. Lynn T. White, III, "Leadership in Shanghai, 1955-1969," in *Elites in the People's Republic of China*, Robert Scalapino (Seattle: University of Washington Press, 1972), 318; Teachers objected to Party interference, nepotism and political appointments for heads of departments. Hsia, 88; A professor of accountancy wrote a letter to Chairman Mao saying that at the time of liberation some of the intellectuals, thinking they were wise, did not heed advice to go abroad. He complained that intellectuals had been punished in the last seven years much worse than landlords and workers, resulting in suicides by jumping from high buildings, taking poison, drownings, etc. MacFarquhar, 95-96.

[55]By 1958 Lo was stripped of all his important posts. Lo Lung-chi, Boorman, Vol. II, 437-8.

[56]During 1958-1959 one million native and foreign-trained intellectuals, including teachers, were reeducated on construction sites or in the fields. Jean Chesneaux, *China: The People's Republic, 1949-1976* (New York, Pantheon Books, 1979), 72-73; For a novel about life as an intellectual in a labor camp, see Zhang Xianliang, *Half of Man is Woman* trans. by Martha Avery (New York: Ballentine Books, 1986).

[57]Some people who returned from studying abroad were accused of being American spies. Fox Butterfield, *China: Alive in the Bitter Sea* (New York: Times Books, 1982), 290-291.

[58]Grieder, *Hu Shih*, 204, footnote; While everyone hoped for an invitation to Hu Shih's beautiful house where he served marvelous dinners, Chang Po-ling, a Christian educator who established Nankai University in Tientsin and served as its president until 1948, only offered pickled radishes and loaves of unleavened bread, the stable food of laborers. Chih Meng, "Recollections of Chinese-American Cultural Persons: A Sampling," *Chinese Studies in History*, Vol XI, No.2 (Winter 1977-78), 19-20; Hu Shih had led discussion groups on American politics and world politics while a student at Columbia, Yang, 5.

[59]The Chinese Students Alliance wanted to keep the returned members in contact with the Alliance, as well as extend the influence of the Alliance. They began gathering data about the students who had returned, asking for their advice as to the best way to prepare for working in China. Letter from T. C. Chu to E. M. Ho, *CSM*, March 1910, 265-6; Letter from T.C. Chu to E. M. Ho, *CSM*, June 1910, 505-506; Letter from Yu Shu Chin to members of Returned Students Committee, *CSM*, June 1910, 508-509; "Returned students cheated of a role in society could use the association as a gathering place." Shirley S. Garrett, *Social Reformers in Urban China* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1970), 112; Y.M.C.A. conferences allowed for longer times to mingle and reminisce as well as be reminded to fulfill the call for service to the country. "Many Returned Students Participated in the Y.M.C.A. Convention," *CSM*, January 1913, 222.

[60]Beijing - the American Students' Club (1908), Canton - The European and American Educated Club (1913), Nanjing- American Returned Students' Club (1915), and Shanghai - American Returned Students' Association of East China (1915). "Many Returned Students Participated in the Y.M.C.A. Convention," *CSM*, January 1913, 222; Y. Y. Tsu, "Recent Observations in China," *CSM*, December 1922, 33-36.

[61]"The American Students' Club," *CSM*, January, 1909, 153; "The American College Banquet in Peking," *CSM*, March 1913, 252; The American College Club," *CSM*, June 1914, 573-576.

[62]Editorial, "Proposed National Alliance of Western Returned Students in China," *CSM*, June 1918, 423-424.

[63]The Committee in charge of organizing the club in Canton included the Chief of Health Department , a dean of a medical college, the General Superintendent of Government Homes for the Blind, Aged and Infirm, the Chief of the Division of Mines in the Bureau of Industry and Commerce, the manager of Kwangtung Cement Works, and the Assistant Director of Canton Electric Light Company. "Students Organize Club in Canton," *CSM*, March 1913, 351; Shanghai, "American Returned Students' Association of East China," *CSM*, April 1915, 462-463; For an example of old-boys network, see Yeh, 306, fn 76.

[64]*Monthly*'s Correspondent at Shanghai, "World's Chinese Students' Federation Banquet," *CSM*, May 1915, 528.

[65]"Community Service," *CSM*, December 1922, 51.

[66]The slides were shown to a thousand people during the summer. One hundred students had joined the "Swat the Fly" campaign. For the role the Y. M. C. A. played in conjunction with the returned students in lectures, education and public health, see Garrett, 140-145.

[67]P. T. Chen, "Chinese Fraternities in America," in *American University Club,* 156-164.

[68]*Fortess Beseiged*, 301.

[69]The presidents were all Americans until 1923, except for Tong Shao-yi (1913, 1920), when the club began to alternate Chinese and American presidents. C. L. Boynton, "The Club's History in Outline," in American University Club, 19-26.

[70]See the simliarities in the roles that Americans play in India in John Useem and Ruth Hill Useem, "American-Educated Indians and Americans in India," *Journal of Social Issues*, Vol. XXIV, No. 4, 1968, 143-157.

[71]Hayford, 19.

[72]William Russell, Professor of Education and Dean of the School of Education at Iowa served as the head of the American Educational Committee to China in 1921. "Iowa," *CSM*, April 1922, 561; The President of Massachusetts State Agricultural College, Kenyon L. Butterfield, travelled as part of the China Educational Commission in 1921. Butterfield, "The Chinese Student's Interest in Rural China, " *CSM*, February 1927, 447-448. He also served as Vice-President of the American Board of Comissioners for Foreign Missions. For discussion of Butterfield's papers on rural missions, see Varg, 233-234.

[73]Dewey's visit was seen as auspicious, for his sixtieth birthday was the same day as Confucius'. Both scholars were far from home as lecturers on that birthday. Keenan, 10; Beijing University and Tsinghua invited ther prominant American and British scholars lecturers to speak such as a Harvard astronomer, a MIT physicist and a chemical engineering professor from Purdue. Meng, *Chinese American Understanding*, 96.

[74]Similar to Yung Wing, the Father of American-trained students who studied in the U.S. from 1847 to 1854 and returned to the U.S. to guide the China Education Mission in 1872 .

[75]Hayford, 78-83.

[76]Egan, 122.

[77]Eugene Chen, "The China Institute in America," *CSM*, November 1928, 32. Grieder, *Hu Shih*, 279. His Haskell lectures are in Hu Shih, *The Chinese Renaissance* (University of Chicago Press, 1934).

[78]The pamphlet also accused Hu Shih of letting "the Communist bandits hand over the broad expanses of China to the Russian bignoses as a satellite. . ." Grieder, *Hu Shih*, 320; Boorman, Vol. II, 167-174; Other examples include the former *Monthly* editor and Alliance president, Ching-ch'un Wang, (C.C. Wang) who first served as a administrator of railroads in China, then served as director of the Educational Mission in the United States for three years. After retiring from the position of director of the Chinese Government Purchasing Commission in England, where he had served from 1931-1949, he retired to Claremont, California, where he died in 1956 at the age of 73. Boorman, Vol. 3, 366-369; Another former *Monthly* editor, Chiang T'ing-fu, first taught in China, then served as ambassador to the Soviet Union and to the United States. After serving in the United States as China's representative from 1947 to 1962, he died in October 1965 in New York. Boorman, Vol. 1, 354-358.

[79]The *Harvard Journal of Asiatic Studies* dedicated its 1963 volume to Hung on the celebration of his seventieth birthday. Egan, 201, 209, 219.

[80]Hayford, 232-4. See also Boorman, Vol. 4, 52-54.

[81]Editorial, "Proposed National Alliance of Western Returned Students in China," *CSM*, June 1918, 423.

[82]Y.T. Tzur, "A Supplement," *CSM*, March 1911, 449-453.

[83]Fong F. Sec, "American Educated Chinese at Work," *CSM*, March 1911, 448-449.

[84]*Who's Who,* i.

[85]Forward. Appendix "Classification of Returned Students According to Professions and Occupations for the Year 1916," i-iv; To see the variety of positions that Meng's friends held when they returned, see *Chinese-American Understanding*, 122, 126, 127, 128, 130; See also Y.C. Wang, Appendix C Occupational Distribution of American-Trained Students, 514-515. For

[86]Arthur A. Young, "China's Best Advertising Buy is Her Foreign Students," *CSM*, February 1924, 43.

[87]The four who had studied in the U.S. had returned to China in 1881, 1902, 1904, 1910. Wang, 89.

[88]"Returned Chinese Students - Some Interesting Facts," *CSM*, February 1918, 193-194.

[89]The correspondent had attended Tsinghua College's tenth anniversary celebration in China. At that time there were 200 Chinese students in England and 2000 in the United States. Keenan, 18.

[90]M. N. Roy, "Imperialism and Counter-Revolution in China," *CSM*, February 1928, 6; See also Georges Bubarbier, "American Designs in China," CSM, March 1925, 44-5. A bishop in China wrote that since the leadership in "New China is practically run by returned students," the government should make careful consideration as to which American university the students are sent. Art Yun, "A Chinese Reader-at-Large," *CSM*, January 1930, 43.

[91]Education was the least funded ministry during the warlord period. From 1916 to 1926 twenty different people served as Ministers of Education. Keenan, 61.

[92]Marianne Bastid, "Servitude or Liberation?" in Hayhoe and Bastid, 11.

[93]Hayhoe, "China's Higher Curricular Reform," 202-203.

[94]Bastid, "Servitude or Liberation?" 11.

[95]Bastid, "Servitude or Liberation?" 18; The backlash in the 1920s called the education urban, impractical and irrelevant. Suzanne Pepper, *China's Education Reform in the 1980s* (Berkeley: University of California, 1990) 14, 17.

[96]Letter from T. C. Chu to Mr. Wang, *CSM*, December 1919, 35.

[97]Editorial, "The Denationalization of the Chinese," *CSM*, April 1923, 4.

[98]*A Survey of Chinese Students in American Universities and Colleges in the Past One Hundred Years* (New York: National Tsing Hua University Research Fellowship Fund and

China Institute of America, 1954), 21; For a comparison of educational backgrounds of listees in "Who's Who" by country of study and selected years, see Y.C. Wang's Table 5, 177; For a list of their accomplishments see Gu Dun Rou, *Bai nian liu mei jiao yu de wei gu yu qian zhan* (Reflections on one hundred years of Chinese students studying in America and prospects) Jiao yu yu wen hua Vol. 8 no. 1 (June 1955), 11.

[99]V. K. Wellington Koo, "Address," *CSM*, November 1917, 21-27; Ten years later foreign traders and Chinese merchants alike were choosing to hire old fashioned Chinese than Chinese who had learned their English abroad because they found "the former steadier in business, more reliable, and more pliable in adapting himself to his idea and methods." Walter Buchler, "Leadership in China's Foreign Trade," *CSM*, May 1928, 34.

[100]K. C. Wu, "The Return of the Donkey, (A Story of Absurdities)," *CSM*, March 1926, 79-81.

[101] Chi'en, 32.

[102]For a humorous description of the CSA conferences and returned student clubs, see Chi'en, 301. Hsia highly praised the novel. C.T. Hsia, *A History of Modern Chinese Fiction* (New Haven, Conn.: Yale Unviersity Press, 1961), 441-460; Vogel, 145-146; An TV adaptation of the novel was shown nationally in the People's Republic of China several years ago.

[103]Other literature which deal with returned students includes "The English Professor" by Ye Shengtao tells of a student returning from Harvard in the early 1920s. The violence during the later 1920s caused him to withdraw into his private life. See -Yeh, 233-235; Another image of returned students, this time from Japan, is found in Lu Xun's "The True Story of Ah Q" written in December 1921. The protaganist, Ah Q, calls him an "Imitation Foreign Devil" of "Traitor in Foreign Pay". Lu Xun, 65-112.

[104]"Speech Delivered by H. E. Wu Ting Fang, Chinese Minister to the United States," CSM, November 1908, 35.

[105]In a long footnote, number 6, on 330-331, Saari argues that the difference between the two groups were the returned students' orientation toward professional specialties and prominence in education and national politics, not their deep inferiority complex which caused them to identify with foreign ideas and institutions and to discredit traditional ones.

[106]T. L. Li, "What Chinese Students Should do When They Return," *CSM*, January 1918, 163. Another place the students are described as a few drops in a bucket. Quo Tai-Chi, "China's Fight for Democracy," *CSM*, January 1920, 36.

[107]Koo, "Address," *CSM*, November 1917, 21-22.

[108]Koo, "Address," *CSM*, November 1917, 24.

[109]Koo, "Address," *CSM*, November 1917, 22-23.

[110]Y. L. Tong, "A Word for the Returned-Students-to-be," *CSM*, June 1915, 557-559.

[111]Koo, "Address," *CSM*, November 1917, 25.

[112]Editorial, "The Denationalization of the Chinese," *CSM*, April 1923, 4.

[113]John H. Reisner, "Wanted - Rural Leaders for China," *CSM*, February 1926, 11-12.

[114]He also challenged students to recruit 100 villages to participate in a program. Kenyon L. Butterfield, "The Chinese Student's Interest in Rural China," *CSM*, February 1927, 47-48; "Reshaping a Chinese Community," *CSM*, June 1928, 19-21; See also D. Hoe Lee, "The Chinese Students of America in Agriculture," *CSM*, April 1918, 333-340 and Hayford; For a discussion about Shen Zonghan, see Stross' chapter "Defeat: The Failure of the Star Pupil, 1930s," 188-212.

[115]The exchange process could have been more productive, avoiding both glutted and sparse fields. Li, 307-8.

[116]P. C. C. Lu, "The Failure of Returned Students Explained in the Light of Psychology," *CSM*, May 1922, 602.

[117]T. Gray, "China Emerging From Intellectual Dormancy," *CSM*, April 1924, 6.

[118]In discussing the reason for the failure of liberalism to take root in China, some have focused on the lack of fit between American liberalism and the Chinese authoritarian political culture, while others pointed to the similarities between Dewey's pragmatism and Chinese people's practical mentality. Chiang Monlin, *Tides from the West* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1947), 87, 254-257; Others have said that liberalism offered neither a moral basis nor a plan for China on which to build a new society. Others argued that liberalism did not have an outstanding leader after Hu Shih switched to cultural change. George Dykhuzen, *The Life and Mind of John Dewey* (Carbondale: Southern Illinois University Press, 1973), 203-204; Some have said that the crucial weakness of liberalism was the inability to achieve change in a violent setting, for it supposes order, but does not create order. Thomas Berry, "Dewey's Influence in China," in *John Dewey: His Thought and Influence*, ed. John Blewett (New York: Fordham University Press, 1960), 224; Barry Keenan, *The Dewey Experiment in China* (Cambridge, Mass: Harvard University Press, 1977),151-152; Thompson talks about the failure of gradualism to address the large problems in in China. James Thomson, *While China Faced West* (Cambridge, Mass: Harvard University Press, 1969),196-241; For a discussion of democracy and dictatorship in China during the Nationalist period, see Eastman, 140-180. In order to understand Chinese historiography written during the Vietnam War, see Paul A. Cohen, *Discovering History in China* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1984) 7, 98, 104-105.

[119]W. L. Godshall, "Should Chinese Students Study Abroad," *CSM*, May 1925, 32-38; See also Julean Arnold, "Educating Chinese in America," *CSM*, March 1923, 28-29; ; Malcolm W. Davis, "Why Only Trade with China?" *CSM*, November 1922, 12; For a negative view, see Georges Dubarbier, "American Designs in China, " *CSM*, March 1925, 43-44.

[120]Editorial, "The Denationalization of the Chinese," *CSM*, April 1923, 4.

[121]"Railway Expert Wanted," *CSM*, January 1921, 253-254.

[122]Yung Chi Hoe, review of *Explaining China* by John Earl Baker, in *CSM*, January 1929, 165.

[123]John Pierrepont Rice, "China and The Chinese Student," *CSM*, June 1921, 571.

[124]P. C. C. Lu, "The Failure of Returned Students Explained in the Light of Psychology," *CSM*, May 1922, 600-602.

[125]He argued that human limitations and lack of connections, not denationalization, were the reasons why returned students were not successful. Editorial, "The Denationalization of the Chinese," *CSM*, April 1923, 4;

[126]People make quick judgments of the students based on nonverbal behavior. See Brislen and Van Buren IV, 224-226.

[127]This tension has also been described for Saudi students. In order for returning Saudi students to have a role in their country's technological development, they must give up any plans to tamper directly with the cultural life of the country. This produces more personal tension, frustration and bitterness as years go by. Only by wearing a mask of cultural conservatism do they have the opportunity to help their country develop. James R. Corey, "Cultural Shock in Reverse," in Austin, *Cross-Cultural Reentry*, 156-157; How nonverbal behavior is viewed by the people back home is also discussed in Brislin and Van Buren IV, 225-226; The success of reform depends on whether the change-agent is seen as similar or different than those he want to change. Everett Rogers and Floyd Shoemaker, *Communication of Innovations*, Second ed. (New York: The Free Press, 1971), 14-15.

[128]Li, 306-307.

[129]C. T. Wang, "Our Golden Opportunity," *CSM*, January 1920, 28.

[130]T. L. Li, "What Chinese Students Should do When they Return," *CSM*, January 1918, 163-164.

[131]Letter from Huang Pei Liu to Fellow Returned Student, *CSM*, March 1927, 72-74.

[132]"Thoughts of the Editor," *CSM*, November 1927, 62.
[133]Editorial, "Government Service for Returned Students," *CSM*, December1914, 126-128.

[134]Tsinghua's *Who's Who,* ii; In 1917, The editorial urged that the new President appoint a special commission to study the question of a setting up a bureau, with subdivisions in provincial centers could serve as a clearing house for various administrative, educative and mercantile bodies and an employment agency for returned students. Editorial, "Government Service and Returned Students," *CSM*, March 1917, 238-240.

[135]C. H. W., "Government Service and Returned Students," *CSM*, March 1917, 238-240.

[136]T. L. Li, "What Chinese Students Should do When They Return," *CSM*, January 1918, 163-164.

[137]Some blamed the educational system and lack of economic base for unemployment/underemployment of intellectuals. Others claimed that it was the intellectuals fault for were holding on to past images of their position in society. Personal connections, rather than academic or professional degrees were necessary to find suitable jobs. Some recommended increased production, while others urged the government to provide state-sponsored career counseling and placement services. Thomas D. Curran, "Underemployment and the Changing Role of Intellectuals in Republican China," Republican China, Vol. 15 no. 2, 59-76; See also Y. C. Wang, Tables 3 and 4 for measurement of prepapration to occupation, 172,173.

[138]"Speech Delivered by H. E. Wu Ting Fang, Chinese Minister to the United States," *CSM*, November 1908, 32, 34-5.

[139]He gave two examples, an engineer in charge of reconstructing Hankow and a superintendent of public works in Kwong Tung. H. S. Chuck, "A Problem of Young Chinese Engineers," *CSM*, December 1913, 124.

[140]For more about practical training, "Help Yourself!!" *CSM*, November 1923, 39; Letter from Kuang Pei Liu to Fellow Returned Student, CSM, March 1927, 72-73.

[141]Quo Tai-Chi, "China's Fight for Democracy," *CSM*, January 1920, 36.

[142]Quo Tai-Chi, "China's Fight for Democracy," *CSM*, January 1920, 35.

[143]While admitting that some of the returned students had become corrupt militarists and officials, ". . .the great majority, seeing the overwhelming difficulty to do anything good for China, become discouraged and disappointed and settle down to an ordinary race for bread and butter". Letter from "A Returned Student" to the Editor, *CSM*, June 1921, 639-641.

[144]Editorial, "The Denationalization of the Chinese, " *CSM*, April 1923, 4.

[145]Quo Tai-Chi, "China's Fight for Democracy," *CSM*, January 1920, 36.

[146]Quo Tai-Chi, "China's Fight for Democracy, " CSM, January 1920, 36.

[147]Editorial, "The Denationalization of the Chinese, " *CSM*, April 1923, 4; T. L. Li, "What Chinese Students Should do When They Return," *CSM*, January 1918, 163, 164-165; "Team-work," was the watchword of the twentieth century. J. L. Li, "Chinese Students and Sociability," *CSM*, December 1916, 130-131.

[148]Editorial, "Proposed National Alliance of Western Returned Students in China," *CSM*, June 1918, 423; Without cooperation, mutual counsel and encouragement students would become disheartened. Y. L. Tong, "A Word for the Returned-Students-to-be," *CSM*, June 1915, 560-561.

[149]"The literati were to act as individuals, not as part of a group. The formation of a group to fight for views was regarded as disruptive. Since the rights of groups were never institutionalized, the literati lacked a corporate entity or autonomous organization with sufficient power to exert influence." Merle Goldman, *China's Intellectuals: Advise and Dissent* (Cambridge, Mass: Harvard University Press, 1981), 4.

[150]C. T. Wang, "Our Golden Opportunity," *CSM*, January 1920, 26-27.

[151]J. A. L. Waddell, "A Scheme for the Regeneration of China," *CSM*, November 1923, 19; At least one fraternity in the United States were more political than social, but very little is known about it since it did not want to draw attention to itself before it began its series of programs. Quentin Pan, "Evaluation of Chinese Student Fraternities in America," *CSM*, June 1925, 35; The secrets of poltical fraternities remained more than ten years later. When describing the various Chinese fraternities in the States and in China in 1936, one researcher had a futile search. "Another fraternity called the 'Ta Chiang' is said to have been organized in American over ten years ago. This fraternity differs from all the others in that it is generally known to be somewhat politically-minded, its members espousing certain political principles." P. T. Chen, "Chinese Fraternities in America," in *American University Men*, 163.

[152]For a description of how university campuses changed from activism of the May Fourth, 1919 to the disillusionment at the end of the Nationalist decade, see Yeh.

[153]John Israel, "Reflections on the Modern Chinese Student Movement," in Seymour M. Lipset and Philip G. Altback, eds. *Students in Revolt* (Boston: Beacon Press, 1967), 321. For more insight into the 1930s student generation, see John Israel, *Rebels and Bureaucrats* (Berkeley: University of California, 1976).

[154]Richard W. Brislin and H. Van Buren IV, "Can They Go Home Again?" in *Cross-Cultural Reentry*, ed. by Clyde Austin (Abilene, TX: Abilene Christian University, 1986), 221.

[155]L. Robert Kohls, *Survival Kit for Overseas Living* (Yarmouth, Maine: Intercultural Press, 1984), 78.

[156]Mary Ann G. Hood and Kevin J. Shieffer, eds, *Professional Integration: A Guide for Students From the Developing World,* (Washington, D.C.: Education for International Development and National Association for Foreign Students Affairs, 1983), 138.

[157]Margaret D. Pusch and Nessa Loewenthal, *Helping Them Home: A Guide for Leaders of Professional Integration and Reentry Workshops* (Washington, D. C. : NAFSA: AIE, 1988); Martha Denney, *Going Home: A Workbook for Reentry and Professional Integration* (Washington, D. C.: NAFSA, AIE, 1986); APEC Student Professional Integration and Reentry (ASPIRE) was established in 1991 as a five year program to promote successful reintegration of students from ASEAN (Brunei, Indonesia, Malaysia, the Philippines, Singapore and Thailand) and Pacific Islands. *ASPIRE Newsletter*, Vol. 1, No. 2, 16; For an example of an employment guide see The American Chamber of Commerce in Indonesia with the Institute of International Education in the U. S. and The International Education Foundation in Indonesia have published their second edition of *Returning to Indonesia* (1993); Leiton Chinn, *International Students Reentry: A Select, Annotated Bibliography* (Washington, D. C.: NAFSA: Association of International Educators, 1992);

[158]*Ren wu zhi, di yi ji* (Beijing: Qinghua University Printinghouse, 1983); *Qinghua ren wu zhi, di er ji*(Beijing: Qinhua University Printinghouse, 1992). Both listed 18 or more famous graduates in various fields.

[159]Wu Genliang, "Lun Zhongguo jindai liuxueshengde lishe quoyong, " *Wenhui bao*, March 25, 1984, 4, translated in *Chinese Education,* Vol. XXI, No. 1, (Spring 1988), 16-17.

[160]Ibid, 19.

Chapter Six Notes

[1]Quoted in Chou, 120.
[2]Compare this to the questions Chinese intellectuals were asking about role of government, education and China's past in the late 1980s, see Perry Link, *Evening Chats in Beijing* (New York: W.W. Norton & Co., 1992).

[3]Letter from Kuang Pei Liu to Fellow Returned Student, *CSM*, March 1927, 73.

[4] "Double Ten Celebration in Boston," *CSM*, November 1924, 70.

[5]The contradiction had been expressed in the 1860s when "Wo-jen expressed his shame at the idea of regarding the Western 'barbarians' as teachers. . . They feared not only that the Chinese students might be'barbarized' once outside the 'civilized' land, but also the likelihood of China losing 'face' to the Western 'barbarians' once directly learning from them." Edwin Pak-wah Leung, "China's Decision to send Students to the West: the Making of a 'Revolutionary' Policy, " *Asian Profile*, Vol. 16, (October 1988), no. 5, 392.

[6]Ruth Hayhoe, "China's Higher Curricular Reform in Historical Perspective," *China Quarterly*, 110, (June 1987), 197.

[7]John W. Foster, "What Young China can Learn from America," *CSM*, November 1910, 29-30; It was not the first time that the government expected too much. The first wave of students suffered from the same. Wang, 50

[8]Wang, xiii.

[9]For a discussion about international students in general, see Stephen Foust et al., "Dynamics of cross-cultural adjustment: from pre-arival to re-entry in Gary Althen, ed. *Learning Across Cultures* (Washington D. C.: Nationals Association for Foreign Student Affairs, 1981) 7-29.

APPENDICES

APPENDIX A

COUNTRIES OF ORIGIN, INTERNATIONAL STUDENTS IN THE UNITED STATES, 1923-24

Abyssinia	1	Holland	27
Africa *	6	Honduras	22
Afghanistan	2	Hungary	34
Alaska	2	Iceland	2
Albania	5	India	231
Algeria	1	Ireland	31
Arabia	2	Isle of Cyprus	3
Argentina	33	Italy	89
Armenia	101	Japan	708
Asia Minor *	7	Korea	96
Australia	25	Latvia	8
Austria	21	Liberia	2
Aserbaijan	1	Lithuania	4
Asores	2	Macedonia	5
Belgium	28	Malay States	1
Bermuda	8	Marshall Islands	1
Bolivia	19	Mexico	198
Brazil	52	New Zealand	18
British Guiana	13	Nicaragua	10
British West Indies	90	Norway	58
Bulgaria	23	Orange Free State	1
Burma	3	Palestine	12
Canada	684	Panama	33
Canal Zone	6	Paraguay	1
Central America *	9	Persia	22
Ceylon	3	Peru	52
Chile	33	Philippines	591
China	1,467	Poland	67
Colombia	34	Porto Rico	181
Costa Rica	13	Portugal	11
Cuba	139	Roumania	24
Czecho-Slovakia	38	Russia	391
Denmark	37	Salvador	6
Dominican Rep.	5	Scotland	38
Dutch East Indies	19	Sierra Leone	3
Ecuador	9	Siam	30
Egypt	25	Smyrna	1
England	170	South Africa	97
Esthonia	4	South America *	12
Finland	15	Spain	52
Formosa	2	Sweden	58
France	126	Switzerland	36
Georgia	3	Syria	25
Germany	78	Turkey	36
Gold Coast	2	Ukraine	4
Great Britain *	11	Uruguay	15
Greece	103	Venezuela	13
Guam	2	Wales	5
Guatemala	18	Yugoslavia	34
Haiti	4		
Hawaii	85	Total **	6,988

* Specific country not designated.
** Students in secondary and trade schools not included.
Note: There were 849 girls reported and 919 graduate students.

From Committee on Survey on Foreign Students in United States of America, *Foreign Student in America* (New York: Associated Press, 1925), 307.

APPENDIX B

FIELDS OF STUDY, CHINESE STUDENTS IN UNITED STATES, 1905- 1932

	1905	1906-07	1909	1914	1918	1920-21	1924	1927	1931-32
Humanities	—	—	16.4	2.1	11.9	8.6	10.2	10.7	20.8
Literature	—	—	—	—	.5	—	.2	2.6	5.4
History	—	—	—	.3	.5	.9	2.1	1.6	1.0
Philosophy	—	—	.6	.1	1.0	1.0	—	1.7	.8
Library Science	—	—	—	—	.3	.2	—	.2	6.5
Journalism	—	—	—	—	.2	—	.7	.2	.4
Fine Arts	—	—	—	.1	.3	1.0	2.3	.2	.1
General	—	—	15.8	1.6	9.1	5.5	4.9	4.2	6.6
Social Science	5.4	5.6	19.7	10.2	12.3	15.1	10.1	19.3	12.5
Law	1.5	—	8.2	1.7	2.6	1.5	5.5	2.3	1.7
Political Science	1.6	5.6	7.7	2.8	3.1	4.6		7.3	4.2
Economics	2.3	—	3.8	4.7	5.9	6.8	4.6	7.6	4.4
Sociology	—	—	—	1.0	.7	2.2	—	2.1	2.2
Business	5.4	8.6	9.3	4.0	10.5	10.1	14.0	14.1	10.8
Education	4.6	—	4.4	4.7	8.9	7.1	8.7	9.0	9.2
Education	4.6	—	2.2	3.5	5.8	5.6	7.5	6.0	6.5
Home Economics	—	—	—	—	.7	.2	.1	.1	.6
Religion	—	—	—	1.0	1.6	1.2	1.1	1.1	1.5
Music	—	—	2.2	—	.8	.1	—	1.8	.6
Social Work	—	—	—	.2	—	—	—	—	—
Engineering	23.8	27.2	33.9	30.8	28.2	38.3	36.3	23.7	22.4
Sciences	4.6	—	9.8	7.5	9.3	9.3	10.2	11.1	11.7
Medicine	4.6	—	2.2	4.8	7.9	6.0	6.8	7.6	7.8
Agriculture	4.6	—	4.3	6.0	4.3	5.2	3.5	3.3	4.2
Military Sciences	.8	—	—	.4	.5	.3	.2	1.2	.6
Preparatory	46.2	58.6	—	29.5	6.2	—	—	—	—
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
Subtotal no. students	130	162	183	747	1,058	862	1,225	1,272	933
Unknown	—	55	—	100	66	55	412	141	323
Total no. students	130	217	183	847	1,124	917	1,637	1,413	1,256

Adapted from Y. C. Wang, *Chinese Intellectuals and the West, 1872-1949* 510.

APPENDIX C

CHINA AND THE ALL NATIONS EXPOSITION

China is the newest Republic built upon the oldest Empire!

China has the longest historical record without interruption - about 5000 years.

Some of the earliest and most useful inventions came from China: gunpowder, block printing, bank notes, porcelian, the compass, the compartment boat, and the taxicab.

Chinese art and Chinese literature are two of the greatest contributions to civilization. During the Tang dynasty, sometimes called the Chinese Age of Pericles, music, sculpture, painting and applied arts- the porcelains and bronzes, embroideries, lacquers, carvings and jewelry brought rare beauty into the lives of the Chinese people.

While Europeans were dressed in skins and were whacking one another with clubs, China was listening respectfully to her poets and philosophers, and one of the greatest thinkers of all time had come and gone. His name was Confucius.

It is, therefore, with humble respect to China's glorious past that the Chinese Students' Club of Cleveland and the Chinese Merchants' Association of Cleveland have cooperated in presenting the Chinese exhibit of the All Nations Exposition.

The Chinese Students' Club of Cleveland is one of the most active branches of the Chinese Students' Alliance of North America. Founded in 1914, with fourteen members, it has always been a leader in sponsoring all movements that aim to make China better understood to Americans.

Dr. Samuel H. Chiu, the first president, graduated in 1916 and was head of a hospital in Shanghai, China, until his death a few years ago. Many of the former members of the club are prominent in affairs of present-day China. Western Reserve University and Case School of Applied Science attract the largest number of Chinese students. Quite a few Cleveland institutions and plants opened their doors to provide post-graduate and practical training for these students.

Art, religion, journalism, medicine, cartooning, accounting and electricity are included in the specialties studied by the present members.

The Chinese Students' Club has always been anxious to cooperate with Cleveland organizations interested in China. It has participated in the Third Institute of Foreign Affairs, held in Cleveland under the leadership of Newton D. Baker, secretary of war in President Wilson's' cabinet, during which problems of the Far East were discussed.

It has issued for distribution at the All Nations Exposition a valuable booklet, "Seeing China in Cleveland," the first of its kind to present a comprehensive record of Cleveland's many contacts with China. Arthur A. Young is editor.

Members of the Chinese Students' Club have addressed the Chamber of Commerce, Woman's City Club, Associates Club, Rotary Club, Kiwanis

Club. Churches in and near Cleveland have enlisted its help, and talks are constantly being made to Christian groups. Y. E. Hsiao, Y.M.C.A. secretary in Peiping (Peking) and Shanghai for nine years, now a fellowship secretary of the Cleveland Y and graduate student at Western Reserve, has addressed many local and out-of-town groups.

Members of the Chinese Students' Club for 1929 are Tsi-lian Dong (treasurer), Jack F. Yep, Moon Yee Poy, Kailuen Eng, Mrs. Jessie W. Ming (secretary), George Wang, Y. M. Yuan, Miss Gam Bow, S. C. Ling, Fred Wong, T.W. Leung, A. A. Young, and Y.E. Hsiao (president).

The Chinese Merchants' Association on Ontario Street, Cleveland, is a brand of the National Chinese Merchants' association. The Cleveland membership numbers 500. Headquarters are at 1307 Ontario Street. Fong Lee is president; Wong Sing, vice-president; and Charles Jung, secretary.

A Chinese evening school is maintained by the association at 1293 Ontario street, where children are taught Chinese after day-school hours. Mrs. Lee Hap is the teacher. The Old Stone Church, under the guidance of the Misses Trapp, has for many years conducted a Sunday School for young Chinese in Cleveland. It is popular as a Sunday meeting place.

The Yee Family Association of Fifty-fifth Street, comprising about 150 members, have cooperated in sponsoring the Chinese exhibit. Yee Kim Sing is president; William Yee Foo, secretary; and Yee Sam Wah, treasurer.

A number of Cleveland friends interested in China and things Chinese have made loans from valuable personal collections. The Cleveland Museum of Art and Harvard University Chinese department have kindly assisted.

Y.E. Hsiao, president of the Chinese Students' Club, 2200 Prospect Avenue, has been chairman of the Exposition committee on the Center Council. Other members: Mrs. Jessie Wong Ming, Kailuen Eng, Tsi-lian Dong, Arthur A. Young.

Other committees are:

Collection and Display Committee: Y. E. Hsiao, Jessie W. Ming, William Yee Foo, Charles Jung, Fred Wong.

Decoration Committee: Kailuen Eng, L.W. Leung.

Program Committee: Tsi-lian Dong.

Reception committee: Moon Yee Poy, Jack F. Yep.

Publicity Committee: Arthur A. Young, Paul E. Lee.

From the handbook for The All Nations Exposition (March 18-23, 1929), 16-17.
(Courtesy of the The Western Reserve Historical Society, Cleveland, Ohio)

APPENDIX D

Why He Went to the Conference
(19th Annual, C.S.A.)

By Flora Belle Jan

"Did you go to the Conference
Oratorical honors to win,
Relying on your studied nonchalance
And sophistication of mien?

"Or was it in quest of athletic fame
on cinder track and field,
Where the law for all is to play the game
Regardless of the yield.

"Or perchance you had a thirst for
knowledge
Which the Forums would supply,
On every subject found in college,
In every phase, the how and why.

"And then you might, with laughing spirit
Invade the Stunt Contest,
in which *le grad pris* of merit
Goes to the best laid jest.

"Which of these was you objective,
Will you tell me true.
It may inspire the members prospective
To get ideas from you."

REPLY

"I went for none of these reasons,
For none of them, you mind.
If you note the four seasons,
This is Indian summer time,

"When the wistfulness of spring returns,
Once more, before the snows,
And one sits and wonders and dreams and
yearns
For beauty that so soon must go.

"I could not stay, in solitude,
To seek the eternal truth.
My soul cried out, in sullen mood
For the life and breath of youth,

"Youth and romance, which once were
mine
Years ago, on the blue Whang-po,
Before the rush of the Peking line,
Before the edict that Beauty must Go!

"Sir, I crave your indulgence,
For what I have said above.
My attendance at the Conference
Was a quest for love."

Chinese Students' Monthly, November 1928.

APPENDIX E

THE AUTOBIOGRAPHY OF A FLIRT

72 THE CHINESE STUDENTS' MONTHLY VOL. 22

CABBAGES AND ONIONS

THE AUTOBIOGRAPHY OF A FLIRT
(Life and Adventures of the Chinese Students' Monthly)

THOMAS MING-HENG CHAO

Last month was my twenty-second birthday, which occasion was celebrated jointly with my twentieth trip to the marriage altar.

I had an early start in marital adventures. My first romance culminated in an elopement in 1905, the year when I was born. This may sound incredible to you, but such things did happen in those days. I was foolish, I know, to have married so early, but you understand how young heads turn cuckoo over infatuations. They just fall in love with love.

I was so young. Really I did not know what I was doing. I don't even remember the name of my first lover. There is a vague idea in my mind that he was a good looking boy. My heart instantly knew its conqueror when I first saw him in a light suit made by, people told me, English tailors.

You may like a suit well enough to marry its owner. But when you see a thing day in and day out, it soon ceases to be an attraction. So at the end of one year I could not stand him any more. The divorce was followed by two marriages during that same number of years.

None of them came out successful. The truth was none of my two husbands had an income large enough to suit me. I left them to marry a young fellow who later became the director of a railway line in China.

My fourth husband was a very particular person. He did not like the way I spent our money. Being too much occupied with his own work in the office, and unwilling to leave money matters in my hands, he had one of his best friends to be our business manager.

That new boss was certainly hard to please. I called him by all the pet names I could think of. I shed enough tears, woman's last but most effective weapon, to drown an army. But his checks came more sparingly than a century blossom.

I was proud, however, of my husband's distinguished friends, among whom were the director of an educational mission, the president of a college in China, one former premier, and the manager of a bank in Peking. Some of them were as fussy as they could be.

Being born and raised in America, I had been accustomed to call a person's surnames before our personal names is however, aroused the anger of one of my husband's friends, who in a letter to him said:

"Our universal custom in putting our surnames before our personal names is to show respect to our ancestors, from whom we have received our surnames, and we should not change them without having strong and convincing grounds for doing so."

I did not like that. I thought I could call anybody any way I wanted to, and certainly nobody else had the right to tell me what to do. I did not lose any time in telling my husband just how I felt about the matter. I pulled his hair, took the cigar out of his mouth, and threw it out of a window, but he merely cleared his throat, spat into the waste-paper basket and "uh"ed.

The next morning we talked things over. We both agreed that it was best for us to get a divorce.

In the fall I married Jack. Jack was like a baby to me. He would break down and cry like a child at the slightest irritation. He spent most of his life in

the hospital. How strange is a woman's love! She wants to worship one as her hero and to be governed by him like a slave. Sometimes the case is reversed. She wants to "mother" her man.

A month later Jack died. For days I lived in sorrow. I needed someone to cheer me and to help me to carry on, and he finally came in the person of Carl, who later became the president of one of the foremost universities in China.

Carl was a little fellow whose wit and humor were his specialties. When he proposed to me, I simply could not refuse him. He was so funny! Our life together went merrily on for one year when one aftrenoon I discovered by accident a joke book in his coat pocket. I took it into the kitchen and unwittingly left it in the ice box.

That night Carl was completely upset. He was searching his coat pockets. He would not talk, and when he did say anything, it was nothing more than pure nonsense. You would never believe that a man could be so utterly changed. I got impatient and told him that I would leave him and marry somebody else. He never recovered his joke book, and so our marriage went to pieces.

In 1910 I came to know a newspaper correspondent from Canton. He was some story teller! You would believe him even if you knew he was not telling the truth. He is back in China now and has been very active in politics. But once in a while he would still write to me and tell stories like this:

"I was sentenced to be shot yesterday for calling our military governor "a bum." On our way to the execution ground, I told the soldiers that none of them could see their own eyebrows. I won my bet, and they set me free."

My seventh husband was an art lover. Yet he could not draw a pig. His best friend was, naturally, a painter who visited our home frequently. One morning the painter called when my husband was out. I came down in such a hurry that I had only time to put on my kimono.

I blushed when he told me I had a beautiful figure. He asked me to pose for him. Ordinarily I would have refused such a request. Since he was a good friend of my husband, and knowing he was more concerned with art than flesh, I consented. When my husband came home to find me in a semi-draped pose, he was simply furious. He would not listen to any explanation. He virtually kicked the painter out of our house, and told me to pack my things and to leave the house before midnight.

From 1911 to 1921, I followed my usual custom of changing my husbands annually. My life began to drag. Nothing held my interest, and much less my love, for a while. I married out of habit more than anything else.

But during the year 1921-1922, the whole world was aroused by the things going on at the Washington Conference. My husband, who was fighting desperately for the interest of his country, brought me out of my slump by the example of his courage and enthusiasm. I co-operated with him in every way, and we stayed up nights working and planning on our program.

Those days brought a miraculous change in me. I have since given up the use of rouge, lip-stick, and other women's petty ways. Though I have not succeeded in tearing down the tradition of changing my husband once a year, which I hope to do some day, I see a new dawn in the making. Behind dark cliff rises the golden glory of the invisible sun.

I have struggled, I have suffered and I have erred. Shake not your head and lift not your finger at this short narrative of a sinful life. What good purpose can it serve for one to tell of one's unworthiness except to show others how one may rise, as if on stepping stones of one's dead self, to higher things? Hosanna to life!

APPENDIX F

INCOME AND EXPENDITURE, *Chinese Students' Monthly*, 1906-1920

Year	Cost of Printing	Income from Advertisements
1906-07	$ 236.50	$ 238.15
1907-08	491.50	742.20
1908-09	733.75	724.00
1909-10	799.65	782.70
1910-11	1018.95	960.75
1911-12	944.70	740.45
1912-13	1382. 83	1293.25
1913-14	1463.37	1793.19
1914-15	2485.80	1850.29
1915-16	2043.53	1230.60
1916-17	1770.46	1273.54
1917-18	....	....
1918-19	2261.50	1729.49
1919-20	3934.97	3560.81

"The sudden increase of the cost of printing. . . is due to two causes: (a) the increase of the cost of printing as affected by the strike of the pressmen and the general social unrest immediately following the War; (b) the increase of pages and printed materials in the magazine."

Table and quote from *Chinese Students' Monthly*, January 1921, 228.

APPENDIX G

LOCATIONS OF ADVERTISERS, *Chinese Students' Monthly*, November 1920

New York	61	
Chicago	15	In the top ten, the East has 6,
Cleveland	14	cities, the Mid-West has 4.
Ithaca	10	
Boston	11	New York and Brooklyn
Brooklyn	8	combine to make 69 or 40%.
Philadelphia	6	
Oberlin	5	
Detroit	5	
Providence	4	
Columbus	4	
Madison	3	
San Francisco	3	
Hartford	3	
Albany	2	In the next ten, the East has 5
Rochester	2	cities, the Mid-West has 4
New Haven	2	and the West 1.
Cambridge	2	
Milwaukee	2	
Champaign	1	
Schnectedy	1	
Montreal	1	
Pittsburgh	1	
Newark	1	
Worcester	1	In this group, the East has 10
Syracuse	1	cities and Canada has 1.
Camden	1	
Buffalo	1	
Bridgeport	1	
Trenton	1	
Springfield	1	Two-thirds (21/31) of *CSM*
Total	172	advertisers were in the East.

Data from "Index to Advertisers," *Chinese Student's Monthly*, Nov. 1920, 109-111. (It was corrected for repeats before compiling. Businesses whose types were not identifiable were not counted. Numbers accurate to 3%.)

APPENDIX H

TYPES OF ADVERTISERS, *Chinese Students' Monthly*, November 1920

STUDENT SERVICES		
Restaurants	86	
Import/Export	17	
Clothiers/Tailors/Jewelers	12	
Banks	11	
Book store	3	
Ocean transport	5	
Photographers	4	
Ginseng sellers	2	
Laundry	1	
Athletic equipment	1	
Education	1	
Tabacco	1	
Immigration issues	1	
Publishing	1	
Medicine	1	
Total	150	(89%)
AMERICAN MANUFACTURERS		
Machinery	11	
Cotton cloth	2	
Electric companies	2	
Oil company	1	
Automobiles	1	
Total	17	(10%)
FOR CHINESE MERCHANTS (?)		
Restaurant/Laundry supplies	1	
Chop suey range and pans	1	
Food Supplies	1	
Total	3	(1%)

Data from "Index to Advertisers," *Chinese Students' Monthly*, Nov. 1920, 109-111. (It was corrected for repeats before compiling. Businesses whose types were not identifiable were not counted. Numbers accurate to 3%.)

APPENDIX I

"DON'TS" FOR FOREIGNERS WHEN DISCUSSING CHINA

"DON'TS" FOR FOREIGNERS WHEN DISCUSSING CHINA

[Reprinted from *Millard's Review*, Shanghai, China]

After glancing over some hundreds of foreign newspapers, magazines and trade publications, many of them containing articles pertaining to the Far East, we would like to offer some advice to Americans and other foreigners on this subject:

Don't use the word "Chinaman", for it is about as pleasant to a "Chinese" as the word "Americaman" would be to an American.

Don't use the term "Jap" for the same reason. Say, "Japanese."

Don't make invidious comparisons between Chinese and Japanese. It's about as pleasant to a Chinese to be told of the superior accomplishments of the Japanese as it is to tell an American he is inferior to an Englishman.

Don't use the word "Chink" unless you are trying to form enemies wholesale.

Don't write your friends in Canton and tell them to give your best regards to your other friends who live in Peking, for it takes longer to travel from Canton to Peking than it requires to travel from New York City to San Francisco and return.

Don't address all missionaries as "Reverend," for the one you are addressing may be a physician, a teacher, or a Y. M. C. A. worker and not a minister of the gospel.

Don't imagine that all foreigners in China live in mud huts with thatched roofs, and subsist on rice.

Don't jump to the conclusion that because an American lives in China he is necessarily "warped" in his views on the "Chinese-Japanese" question, or that the same thing is true in the other direction if he happens to live in Japan.

Don't imagine that all Chinese women bind their feet, or that all Chinese men wear queues. Modern Chinese are discarding these things, just as modern American women are ceasing to wear "hobble skirts" and American men to wear "peg-top" trousers.

Don't ask your Chinese friend whether he eats rats and dogs. It will please him just about as much as it would please an American to ask him if he ate snakes and toad-frogs.

Don't try to make persons believe you know all about China, just because you have visited Chinatown in San Francisco, Shanghai, or Hongkong. They are no more like the real China than the East Side in New York is like America.

Don't say the "Far Eastern Question is of no consequence to me." Remember you may have said the same thing a few years ago discussing European affairs.

Don't call China a "heathen" nation, for Chinese civilization was well developed when the ancestors of Americans and modern Europeans were living in caves and huts made of skins and obtained their food by killing wild animals with stones and other primitive weapons, and then ate the flesh raw, because they did not know the use of fire.

When writing to your Chinese friends, always use the street address, for the American postmaster in Shanghai once estimated that there are more than five thousand Chinese in this city alone who have "Wong" as part of their names.

Don't become discouraged at China's struggles in establishing a permanent centralized government. After some thousands of years of absolutism, it isn't possible to organize a modern democracy in six years. Remember that it required several years between 1776 and 1865 for the American nation to really establish itself.

Don't send the office boy or an unpopular salesman you want to get away from the home office to represent your firm in China, for the Chinese business men he happens to come in contact with may be graduates of American or European universities with "Ph.D." degrees.

Don't establish a branch office for your firm in China and expect to amass a fortune in three months. Firms that have been successful in China are those who have studied the field and worked just as carefully and painstakingly as they did when the business was started at home. You can't transport an American business and expect it to blossom overnight on the soil of China. It must acclimate itself.

Don't send your Spanish catalogs (prepared for the South American trade) to Chinese merchants and expect them to be read.

Don't give your agent in China (unless you know him to be reliable) an appropriation for advertising your product in China, without investigating as to how the money is to be spent. It may be used for other purposes, such as the purchase of an automobile by the manager, or the payment of his rent. Select your advertising mediums in China just as carefully as you do at home.

Don't expect all Chinese to be honest any more than you expect all Americans to be honest.

Don't think that because one or two Chinese in your city operate laundries, that all Chinese in China are engaged in the same kind of business.

Don't try to purchase "Chop Suey" in China. It's a dish prepared by Chinese in America for American consumption and is unknown in China.

This list might be extended for several columns, but the *Review* does not wish to deprive its subscribers in China of the pleasure of sending in additions to the list. Does anyone else know of any additional popular misconceptions regarding China and the Chinese, that are prevalent in America or Europe ?

APPENDIX J

Laundry Song

By Wen I-to (1923)

(One piece, two pieces, three pieces,)
Washing must be clean,
(Four pieces, five pieces, six pieces,)
Ironing must be smooth.

I can wash handkerchiefs wet with sad tears;
I can wash shirts soiled in sinful crimes.
The grease of greed, the dirt of desire . . .
And all the filthy things at your house,
Give them to me to wash, give them to me.

Brass stinks so; blood smells evil.
Dirty things you have to wash.
Once washed, they will again be soiled.
How can you, men of patience, ignore them!
Wash them (for the Americans), wash them!

You say the laundry business is too base.
Only Chinamen are willing to stoop so low?
It was your preacher who once told me:
Christ's father used to be a carpenter.
Do you believe it? Don't you believe it?

There isn't much you can do with soap and water.
Washing clothes truly can't compare with building warships.
I, too, say what great prospect lies in this -
Washing the others' sweat with your own blood and sweat?
(But) do you want to do it? Do you want it?

Year in year out a drop of homesick tears;
Midnight, in the depth of night, a laundry lamp . . .
Menial or not, you need not bother,
Just see what is not clean, what is not smooth,
And ask the Chinaman, ask the Chinaman.

I can wash handkerchiefs wet with sad tears,
I can wash shirts soiled in sinful crimes.
The grease of greed, the dirt of desire . . .
And all the filthy things at your house,
Give them to me - I'll wash them, give them to me!

From Renqui Yu, *To Save China, To Save Ourselves: The Chinese Hand Laundry Alliance of New York* (Philadelphia, PA: Temple University Press, 1992).

APPENDIX K

THE RETURN OF THE DONKEY

No. 5 THE CHINESE STUDENTS' MONTHLY 79

Thus Spake Adam

THE RETURN OF THE DONKEY

(A Story of Absurdities)
Dedicated

To the Person Who Has Once Said:
"He Satirizes Nobody, Who Satirizes Also Himself."

HE WAS a good donkey before he went to America.

And now, after having staid there for several years, he was about to return. It turned out to be a great occasion. For long before the event it had been heralded throughout the country that the marvelous animal which had just acquired the most distinguished title, "Philosophical Donkey," would come back on such and such a date to put everything to rights again. Loud was therefore the people's praise of the Donkey; and high their expectation. When at last the day came, a multitude rushed to the pier to see their hero home.

When the Donkey saw the crowd gathered before him, he stepped out of the boat and brayed out: "I am the Philosophical Donkey. I am the American Returned Donkey. Are you all here to welcome me?"

"Yea, yea," shouted the people. "You have come back to save us from misery, to deliver us from chaos; you are the hope of the nation. What can we do but come here to welcome and honor you!"

"That's right. That's right," said the Donkey. "It certainly does you credit that my genius is appreciated. Really, I cannot say much against you. You have taken quite a proper attitude towards me. Honor me first before you ask me to do anything. Just now, what honor do you have to give me?"

"Bear him to the Temples," cried out some enthusiasts. "Enthrone him on the altar. Let us all fall down and worship him."

"Righto!" bellowed the Donkey. "I have always thought that the gods you have worshipped are not up to my standard. Now, just worship me; and I will transform you into a nation of donkeys."

"What is this?" an old white-bearded man began to query, who, unlike others, had watched the scene not without much dissatisfaction. "Shall we discard everything that has been honored by our fathers in the past? Shall we even change our physical shape that is natural to us?"

"Even so, old chucklehead!" retorted the Donkey. "Have I not studied in America? Am I not a Philosophical Donkey? Don't I know better about reconstruction and reformation than you do? I tell you what I will do. I will tear down every house in the country so that new ones may be built. I will make every couple of you follow the American vogue and divorce each other so that your homes can be happy. I will change your skin from yellow to white. I will give you high noses; and if you are still discontent, I will give you my long ears, too. Now, this is my programme. Does it not satisfy you?"

"That may be a programme," protested the old man, "but that is not patriotism."

"Patriotism! patriotism!" ranted vehemently the Donkey, "haven't I a monopoly of patriotism? Who else, beside me, has a right to use that word? Let me tell you: anything I say and declare is patriotic; and I bar anyone of you from encroaching upon this special prerogative of my own."

At this point, the crowd began to sympathize with the old man. They whispered among themselves: "Is not the Donkey doing a little too far? Must we ourselves be deprived of our native right to love our own country?"

Then some one shouted out: "O Honorable Philosophical Donkey, you have told us what you will do. But what can you do? What have you learned from America? Tell us, tell us!"

"Look here," said the Donkey pertly, "I come here to teach, not to be examined; to lead, not to be questioned."

But the crowd would not listen to him. "Tell us what you can do, Donkey," they all demanded.

The Donkey saw that he must yield. So he said: "But what can I tell you? Or rather what can I not tell you? I can do anything and everything. I am a donkey of all trades. Otherwise, why should I be called a Philosophical Donkey at all? I might just as well be called a Musical Donkey or a Medical Donkey."

"But that is too general," tooted some one. "We want facts."

"Ah," said the Donkey in surprise. "That's something new to me. We American returned students have never worried ourselves about facts."

"But do tell us something you have learned from America," insisted the multitude.

"Well, well," yapped the Donkey in pride, "since it is your desire, it will be my pleasure to tell you all. I have learned from America the greatest art that my race has ever learned—the noble art of dangling legs. I can dance fox-trot." And he began to give an exhibition of his wondrous accomplishment on the pier.

"That's all very good," mumbled the old man with the white beard at the end. "But it cannot help us a bit. Your legs do not even have meat enough to feed us all."

"No good! No good!" bawled the multitude. "What else can you do?"

"I can dance waltz," said the Donkey, and he proceeded to give another exhibition.

But this time he was interrupted in the middle. Somebody raised his voice, "Have you nothing but legs?" Then the crowd rapped out in unison, "What else can you do?"

"I can bray," answered the Donkey, and he brayed as loud as he could so that everybody had to put his fingers on his ears to shut off the deafening sound.

"Stop! stop!" they all cried in disgust.

"What!" ejaculated the Donkey in perplexity. "You certainly are an unappreciative lot. In America, I have always been applauded in meetings of students from this country. At least, I think I have."

"A curse to your thinking!" whooped the multitude. "What else can you do?"

The Donkey was in great distress. He shrugged his ears and meditated for a long while. Then he said:

"Oh yes, I like bobbed-haired girls very much."

A guffaw followed. But soon the laughter changed into oaths of anger. "Are these all you can do?" fulminated the mob in resentment, and some of them began to brandish their canes furiously. The Donkey's master, who had sent to America, took pity on him. He approached the Donkey and said, "Don't you think you better come home with me?"

"Home with you!" the Donkey turned up his nose in a very absurd manner and interjected. "What am I to do with you?"

"You may turn the mill in the farm as you used to," said his compassionate master.

"The idea!" snapped back the Donkey, "I, a Philosophical Donkey, an American Returned Donkey, to go round and round again a commonplace vulgar mill? No, not I."

The master kept his calm and remonstrated, "At least, you may come back to my home just now, and have a rest at the stable in which you used to dwell."

"The old stable?" brawled the Donkey in terrific indignation. "And with your horses, mules, pigs, and what-nots once more. Why, that's like an International House. There you have neither society nor solitude. No, that's not a place for me. I am not going with you."

The master could not suppress his anger any longer. "You long-eared rascal," said he, "have I supported you through these years in America simply to get your scorn as my reward? Have I

educated you so that you may return me with spite? Have I given you new things so that you may despise the old?"

"Traitor! Ingrate!" roared the multitude, "Beat him! Hang him!"

The master was, however, too kind to heed their advice. He only becked some people to help him fasten the Donkey to his carriage by the side of his horses. But when the master ascended his seat and the horses began to pull forward, the Donkey turned his head and dragged backward.

"Can't you pull together with us," neighed the horses.

"How can I?" said the Donkey haughtily. "You don't even know what cooperation means. You must learn that from an American Returned Donkey."

"What is cooperation?" asked the horses humbly, browbeaten by the Donkey's grand manners.

"Why, that means you all must follow me."

At this juncture, the master became sore against the horses' unusual tardiness. He snapped his whip on their backs and shouted, "Forward! forward!" But this time all the horses followed the Donkey's leadership and they ran backward in such an amazing way that the carriage was at once turned topsy-turvy and the master was sent tumbling down headlong upon the street.

"You long-eared rascal," stammered the master in a rage as he got himself up from the dust, "you are not only good for nothing; but you are also a hornet's nest of evil."

Then he shouted to the multitude that had come out to welcome the marvelous animal: "A penny for an American Returned Donkey! An American Returned Donkey for a penny! Who wishes to buy one?"

But for answer everybody turned his head and spat; and nobody said a word.

By
A writer who does not think it right to use a pseudonym here; hence by

K. C. WU.

Chinese Students' Monthly, March 1926

APPENDIX L

SOME POSSIBLE REENTRY PROBLEMS

Cultural Adjustment:
- Identity Problems.
- Expectation that home environment would not have changed much.
- Recognition of change in self.
- Insecurity.
- Different daily work routine.
- Family and community pressures to conform.
- Adjustment from individualism in U.S. life to the family orientation and group submission demands at home.
- Dissatisfaction with some ritualized patterns of behavior.
- Frustration from conflicting attitudes.

Social Adjustment:
- Erroneous or unrealistic expectations.
- Adjustment to different lifestyle.
- New, broadened and unshared interests.
- Tendency of relatives and friends to focus more exclusively on local concerns.
- Feeling or being perceived as feeling superior because of international experience and travel.
- Envy and distrust in interpersonal relations.
- Lack of amenities compared to the U.S. situation.
- Social alienation.

Linguistic Barriers:
- Adoption of verbal and nonverbal codes that are not familiar to compatriots.
- Adoption of speech mannerisms and styles of speech that are sometimes misinterpreted by compatriots.
- Absence of colleagues who speak the same professional codes.

National and Political Problems:
- Changes in political conditions an views and/or in national priorities and policies.
- Political climate not conducive to professional activity or advancement.
- Politicization of office or colleagues.
- Changes in bureaucratic leadership.

Educational Problems:
- Relevance of education received to home situation.
- Fulfillment of objectives in going abroad and changes in objectives while abroad.
- Lack of facilities and resources for application or research.
- Absence of programs, means, and channels to keep up in one's field.

Professional Problems:
- Inability to work in chosen specialty.
- Placement inappropriate to training or field.
- Entering a glutted job market.
- Need to use technical terminology not readily translatable into local language.
- Problems in communication what has been learned.
- Coworker and client resistance to change.
- Nonrecognition of foreign degree.
- Jealousy by and perception of being a threat to colleagues.
- Lack of stimulus of interaction with trained professionals in one's field.

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