Sand Mixed with Rice: Dilemmas of Chinese Nationalism and Family History

by

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Class of 2009

A thesis submitted to the
faculty of Wesleyan University
in partial fulfillment of the requirements for the
Degree of Bachelor of Arts
with Departmental Honors in History

Middletown, Connecticut April, 2009
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PREFACE
In the spring of 2008, when I started the seminar on “The Problem of Truth in Modern China” with Professor Schwarcz, I had the opportunity, almost by accident, to wander quite deeply into family history. Having recently returned from studying abroad in Hangzhou, China, I was excited to explore what I thought were the problems of “truth” in Modern China. I was unprepared to think how the problem of truth as it affected my own Chinese family.

My mother, born in Brooklyn and raised in New Jersey, doesn’t speak Chinese. My grandmother has lived in the United States since 1950 and remarried Robert Clarence Wells III, a descendant of the Mayflower generation. My grandmother seemed to me completely American, especially with the Caucasian box checked off on her marriage certificate.

Professor Schwarcz encouraged me to pursue the topic of what it means to truly be “Chinese.” Reluctantly, I started asking more complex questions about what constitutes Chinese identity and patriotism. These questions led my grandfather to send me a hefty package of books, newspaper articles, magazine articles, and historical journals written about his father.

Slowly I untied the books wrapped in brown packing paper and started to look through the pages, seeing pictures of myself, my family as well as photographs from my great grandfather’s days as president of Soochow University. Many of the texts were in classical Chinese. I quickly realized that my grandmother, mother and I were not as Americanized as I had imagined previously.

This thesis challenges my own preconceived notions of Chinese nationality, politics and Christian education. The problem of being “Chinese” became infinitely
more complex in the course of my research. Through this process, I have tried to strain out the “rice” of historical veracity from the sands of misconception in order to gain a more complex understanding of the tumultuous history that my grandparents’ have lived through.

In the summer of 2008, I began to translate the books sent to me about my great grandfather. As I worked through the texts, my grandfather started elaborating and telling me more information. An oral history project began to develop in dialogue with the written, public history we examined. We translated eulogies, diary entries, chronologies and family trees. Out of each translation emerged the breath of the living past.

Instead of merely reading generalized accounts of rice shortages during the Anti-Japanese War of 1937-1945, I heard my grandfather speak of rice shortages in Chongqing: there were rice shortages that required Americans to help distribute rice from the Burma Road. The Americans mixed sand with the rice to make it seem like there was more rice.¹ Later, reading about life in the French Concession during China’s war with Japan, I realized Shanghai had been part of a largely isolated island. Secondary sources I examined, however, did not reveal that crates of Sunkist oranges, still in the wrapper were delivered to the back door.² The voices of oral history gave my textual sources a second life. These provided details and insights that transcended political and social barriers and became part of a more personal, palpable history.

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¹ Thomas Twanmoh, Personal Interview, 23 September 2008.
² Agnes Gen, Personal Interview, 2 August 2008.
After doing research over the summer, Professor Schwarcz suggested certain key people on which to focus, for example, China’s Republican leader Wang Jingwei. Through further research, I learned that my great grandfather, Duanmu Kai, had been defense lawyer for Wang Jingwei’s wife, Chen Bijun.

Wang Jingwei had once been one of the most prominent leaders of the Nationalist government. He is now widely remembered as China’s most prominent traitor after collaborating with the Japanese during World War II to form a puppet government. Chen Bijun stood trial for both her and her husband’s so-called “crimes.”

As I began this research, I came upon an article, “Cheering the Traitor: The Post-War Trial of Chen Bijun, April 1946” by historian Charles Musgrove. This article challenged the idea of what it meant to be a “traitor” and “patriot.” Musgrove’s work, in turn, helped me to question ideas of Chinese nationalism and in doing so, highlighted certain forgotten personal history.

The Nationalist government, the Japanese occupation of Shanghai, Christian education and interactions with the West became the main foci of my thesis, much like Musgrove who showcased the complexities of Chen Bijun and Wang Jingwei’s contributions during the war.

This thesis, then, aims to complicate conceptions of Chinese nationalism, patriotism and traitorship. Through an exploration of these themes, I hope to elucidate how Chinese national identity was shaped by Christian education, Westernization, modernization as well as social, political and economic instability.
To bring this project together was very much a group effort. I’m especially indebted to my grandfather, Thomas Twanmoh (second row, fifth from the left), my grandmother, Vivian Fu-Wells (second row, forth from the right), my mother, Catherine Twanmoh, my father, Jeff Charney and my brother James, who continues modern day cultural exchange between China and the United States by working at Chubb China in Shanghai. In particular, I would like to thank Professor Vera Schwarcz, for this project would not have come to fruition without her endless guidance, support and wisdom.
INTRODUCTION

WHO ELSE BESIDES ME WILL TELL THE TRUTH
August 12, 1940, leaders of the Nationalist Party gathered for a picture in Chongqing, the war time headquarters for the Chinese Nationalist Party. Duanmu Kai, third from the left, sits in a white, Western style suit. Fifteen years earlier, he had returned from studying abroad at New York University. He had become engaged in politics and law by applying his cosmopolitan learning to helping China. In 1937, he managed to relocate his wife and six children through a series of caravans stopping off in small villages on the way from Nanjing to Chongqing. This had been a one thousand mile journey. His parents took a different route from Nanjing to Chongqing along the Yangzi River. Duanmu Kai had traveled separately. He sent his family on their way and remained in Anhui Province as a civil administrator until it was time to join the Nationalist Party in Chongqing. They were reunited after a six-month journey.

To Duanmu Kai’s right is an older man, in a traditional Chinese robe and a lengthy beard. To Duanmu’s left is a young man in a military uniform, with a strict, short haircut. This picture may be seen as an encapsulation of those defending China from Japan during World War II. The Nationalist Party drew upon older traditional scholars, younger Western educated officials and military personnel. There was not a single mold for becoming a Nationalist China patriot.

The period after the fall of the Qing dynasty in 1911 brought about cataclysmic changes in China. The traditional imperial government no longer reigned after having governed China for thousands of years. China faced Western powers rapidly negotiating their way into Chinese trade. Chinese compradors became intermediaries between China and the West. Missionaries became intermediaries
between the West and China.

The growing exchange of ideas ignited by Chinese students studying abroad in the United States and Europe coupled with the influence of Christian education proliferated throughout China creating a generation of cosmopolitan, young scholars. These scholars such as Zhou Enlai, Chiang Kai-shek, Sun Fo and Wang Jingwei were confronted with the daunting task of rebuilding China without a central authoritative government, in the midst of civil war, the Japanese occupation and World War II.

During this thirty-eight year period, from 1911-1949, Chinese nationalism and patriotism appeared in various forms depending on who was in power. The historical memory of Western imperialism, the birth of political and social movements in response to the First World War, the rise of Chinese banking and commerce, the proliferation of Christian education, Japanese occupation and the Communist-Nationalist Civil War all contributed to the shifting, complex evolution of Chinese nationalism and patriotism. Collaboration and the definition of a traitor became part of the larger Chinese national identity.

My great grandfather, Duanmu Kai’s experience in China encapsulates many themes that reflected the evolution of Chinese nationalism. He attended Christian schools in China, studied abroad in the United States, joined the Guomindang and served the government for over twenty five-years, interacted with businessmen from the West as a lawyer, helped rebuild Soochow University in Taiwan through the collaboration of the United Board and missionaries in the United States and eventually became president of Soochow University, a school founded by missionaries.
Duanmu Kai was a Christian. His children all attended Christian schools. My grandmother and her siblings went to the foremost Christian universities: Aurora College and St. John’s in Shanghai. Chiang Kai-shek and his wife, Soong Mei-ling were also Christians. Mao Zedong was an advocate of the Christian sponsored idea of physical education. The Russian Commitemn supported the Christian ideals of service and citizenship. With these disparate characters all supporting some sort of Christian education in China, why was it so hard to come to a balanced view of Christian education in China?

As a 21st century student, I had associated missionaries primarily with imperialism, ethnocentrism and the brainwashing of Chinese intellectuals by mass Western culture. Who deemed Western culture the “best” culture? The culture that deserved mass proliferation at the expense of other cultures? Chinese critics of the 19th and 20th century reinforced these views by labeling Christian education as a denationalizing force, seeing missionary schools as a training ground for Chinese traitors and imperialistic.

Before this thesis research, I, too, accepted these views, not taking into consideration the globalization of the world at the turn of the 20th century, natural exchange of cultures through immigration and trade, nor the actual work carried out by missionaries in China.

Stacey Bieler, author of “Patriots or Traitors?” addresses the issue of American-educated Chinese students’ relationship with China after studying abroad. The first group of students to study in the United States in 1871 returned to China as denationalized foreigners. These students were neither accepted in China, nor in the
United States. Bieler discusses how Western education complicated the notion of Chinese citizenship.

In my research I focus on the influence of Christian education on conceptions of Chinese nationalism through the use of oral history and archived missionary information.

In the course of my research, I began to explore Wesleyan’s Special Collections, which ultimately led me to the Yale Divinity School Archives. Soochow University was one of the fourteen Christian universities in China sponsored by the United Board of Christian Colleges in China. My great grandfather went to Soochow University and played a major role in re-establishing it in Taiwan during the 1950’s and eventually became president of Soochow University from 1969-1986. Yale archived many of the United Board records of Soochow University.

As I drove through blocks of New Haven in search of the Divinity School, the physical scenery, without my knowing it, began to prepare me for what I was about to discover. The buildings became more spread out, big oak trees in full autumn bloom of yellow, orange and red leaves lined the streets, the transition from city to the countryside happened in a matter of minutes, to present upon a hill overlooking the city, the Yale Divinity School.

The space was enclosed. I walked through a grand arched entranceway onto a green, with the chapel facing me with its large, white dome. The adjacent brick buildings with classical columns connected the space. Students laid in the grass, nobody was wearing shoes. The pathways were diagonals. Within this classical, geometric space, open-minded thinking was encouraged. Traveling through a
brightly light labyrinth underneath the library, I eventually came to the archives. Quiet and empty on a Friday afternoon, boxes upon boxes were on the table waiting for me.

I opened up the first box, “Miscellaneous Papers: Re: Finance, curriculum, United Board of Christian Colleges in China.” It contained records of all the financial statements and insurance reports regarding the war and rebuilding. Itemized were the cost of rehabilitation for students, faculty, facilities down to the furniture in the dormitories. There was correspondence regarding the need to raise faculty wages because they could not feed their families, fundraising and support from the United Board, the joy of having Christmas together with faculty and students, the need to kick out the Japanese soldiers still using the dormitories as a hospital.

Box after box challenged my negative ideas of Christian education. The work of Christian educators in China reflected the calm, academic environment of the divinity school itself. I, in addition to many other critics of Christian education had only looked at the broad picture of Western culture’s seemingly negative impact upon Asia, not the individual goals and actions of missionaries.
One house in Shanghai’s French concession helped me understand this complex history better. It’s located on 淮海中路 huahuai zhong lu. Approaching the house from the street, it is monumental, like a castle. Built by German architects Becker and Baedecker in 1926, the house is built in German Renaissance style. In its present state, there are four distinct sections that face the street. Three white and brown stucco towers rise from the center of the house, showing its depth and its height. Alternating with the pink, stucco façade and wrought iron window framings is a bank on the far right side and a business sign in the center. The bank clearly does not fit in. The dirty, red China Merchant Bank sign clashes with the pink floors above the business storefront. The pink stucco has been gutted and replaced with grey cinderblock. Its presence is confusing. It is a modern addition to a beautiful German Renaissance stucco house, but its presence seems appropriate, as a symbol to
its many-layered history.

My grandmother’s family most likely resided in a similar house, as a family involved with banking and mercantile activities, like most Chinese families living in the foreign concessions. My grandmother, Vivian Fu, described life inside the French Concession and her house as follows:  *Well the servants shopped for you! And we had three cooks; there was really no reason to leave the house. The servants and maids raised us. My parents were pretty good to the servants. One of the servant’s son was sick, so my father let him live in the house with us. Usually, the servants didn’t have any family, or their family would live in the countryside and they would send money home. By 1940, we had about 25 servants and 3 cooks. There was one whole section of the house where the servants lived.*³

Houses within the French Concession of Shanghai were self contained and isolated multi-generational communities. There was no reason for residents to leave except to go to school or work. Life inside the French Concession was drastically different from living in the rest of China.

My grandmother explained: *we were a lot closer with our grandparents than our parents, our grandparents really liked kids. We could go days without seeing our parents; the house had three floors, and a lot of land. When you walk through the front gate, there is a garage on the side and a few cars. During the war with Japan, we had bodyguards, but they mostly just accompanied us when we went for drives. The cars even had safety windows, in case we got shot at. It was a really terrible*

³ Vivian Fu Wells, Personal Interview. 11 May 2008.
Life inside the French Concession became modernized rapidly. New inventions and trends like cars, cigarettes and Western style clothing were first popularized in the international concessions. Living in this cosmopolitan area of Shanghai lent itself to my grandmother’s experience of growing up in China as one of relative isolation.

My grandmother’s family has not lived in the French Concession for over fifty years. Today, bikes crowd the entranceway to the bank, there are construction materials and plywood scattered along the side of the bank. The juxtaposition between a modernizing, ever changing China to a traditional, European “imperialistic” version of China is represented through the monumental, glass skyscraper located behind this German Renaissance House. Architecture in the French Concession is symbolic of different, changing Chinese identities.

A four lane highway runs along the front of the house, with tree lined streets and shrubbery dotting the sidewalks. The trees are strong, full and vibrant; They were probably just saplings when my grandparents lived there. There is not a single car on the road and no people on the street except those going to the bank. It is eerily desolate for being in the middle of a city with the population of 22 million.

The house has historically been located on a prominent roadway, Jaffe Lu. Jaffe Lu and the house have witnessed the change from the 1920’s to present day: carts, wagons, bikes, Ford Model T’s, military vehicles, electric scooters, premium luxury cars have all had a place on the street and purpose for those who lived there.

Who lives there now? White curtains drape every window, with air

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conditioner units jutting out of the side of the house. A storefront is in the middle of the four units. The sign reads Shanghai International, both in English and Chinese with gold lettering. Gold plated columns surround the entranceway.

This middle storefront seamlessly blends in with the architecture and time period of the house: grand, international and historical.

Walking around to the left side of the house, there is a gated, pink entranceway, I can imagine the garage on the left side within the gate, with a few cars and maybe storage for other things, as my grandmother had described. There are steps and an entranceway within the gate. The remainder of the house is not pink; it is white stucco with dark brown, wood moldings. The side entranceway seems less showy, but the doorway is gold plated, with a gold plated ceiling on the porch, with a gold lamp, and Corinthian columns detailed with gold, a symbol of mercantile wealth.

No longer home

The house remained throughout this ever changing environment. Even today, it is an oddity within a modern backdrop. It seems timeless, but its surroundings tell another tale. The house is isolated. The people living within the house had also been isolated.

Today, the house looks empty, a relic of the past. There is not a single light on, or sign of life in the house. The most bustling part of the house is the part that doesn’t fit in with the rest of the house, the bank. Money, power and
extraterritoriality allowed my grandparents to maintain some sort of order and
stability during and after the war, it also allowed them to escape a hostile China that
was no longer “home” to them.

I imagine the house in the first half of the 20th century to be a bustling, vibrant
place, with many people, guests, family and servants constantly in and out. The
house would have neighbors in similar situations: Chinese neighbors, French
neighbors, German neighbors that would make up the clean, refined French
Concession.

This thesis uses family history to gain a greater understanding of public
history by tracing Duanmu Kai’s life and how it came to incorporate larger, national
and international themes of Chinese nationalism, patriotism, Christian education as
well as political and social revolutionary thought. History comes alive through
personal narratives. Oral history offered me a more uncensored, open view of China’s
recent past. It enabled me to ask questions, to follow up, to pursue topics that are not
prominent in the general view of modern Chinese history.

As I came to write this thesis, I began to see how Duanmu Kai’s life reflects
the personal challenges of nationalism and patriotism in a growing globalized society
that mirrors today’s fast paced, modernizing China.

Who was considered a patriot in Republican China, when distaste for the
imperial government was still tangible, the Nationalist Party was forcefully taking
power and the Communist Party was still underground and very much a part of the
burgeoning intellectual community? How were foreigners viewed in China? What
was the role of foreigners’ in Chinese commerce?
How did Chinese merchants balance increasing economic growth for China while becoming more involved politically? What were the roles of missionaries in China? How did the influx of Western science and education affect Chinese students? How did the presence of the Japanese military shift these solidifying ideas of education, politics and foreign alliances with the West? What role did the Chinese intellectual community play in shaping a modern, yet traditional China?

Anti-Western sentiment still resonated after the Opium Wars (1839-1942, 1856-1860) and the treaties of the late 19th century. There was reluctance to embrace Western influences, yet China was confronted with the threat of modern warfare, technology and science with the onset of the Second World War and the Sino-Japanese War.

China was forced to condense a century’s worth of progress into twenty-five years during political, social, economic upheaval and two wars. Confronted with the daunting task of modernization, how did China modernize so quickly without abandoning traditional culture? How is modern Chinese identity shaped in a period of utter chaos and instability? Chinese youth studied abroad in Europe and the United States, attended missionary schools, combined Western and Chinese thought to serve the nation and balanced traditional ideals from their parents and applied them to new, Western ideas from their personal experiences.

These young intellectuals had the responsibility to politically, socially and economically mold China into a new, globalized world. How did this generation’s experience with the West, Christian education, a growing global economy, internal political, social and economic instability in the face of the Japanese occupation,
World War II and the Communist-Nationalist Civil War mold their idea of Chinese nationalism?

How did nationalism change over the forty years from 1911-1949 when different political groups took power as alliances with the West shifted and as Westernization and modernity increasingly became an essential component of Chinese culture?

Hu Shi, a leading Chinese intellectual and philosopher in the 20th century encapsulates China’s confrontation with modernity in the face of the unknown in his poem, *A Second Song of Endeavor*, published in *The Endeavor* on May 28, 1922. Hu Shi writes:

*A Second Song of Endeavor*

“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?
CHAPTER 1

THE ORIGINS OF WESTERN INFLUENCE IN CHINA
The start of the Opium Wars (1839-1842, 1856-1860) launched China onto the international stage. Confronted with encroaching Western powers, such as Britain, the United States and France, China was demoted from its status as a powerful presence in the midst of East Asian nations. China was pressured to modernize at rapid pace to compete and to maintain its presence in a global setting. How would China adapt to its changing, international surroundings after being sequestered for thousands of years? How would China reconcile its relationship with the West, which was the source of its embarrassment and decrease of power? What would happen to sources of information and technology that might make China strong and an international competitor? How might China balance its rich, historic traditions with its rapidly modernizing surroundings? Who was going to shape China’s future as a modern nation? These dilemmas are explained below.

The relationship between Chinese and Western education is key to grasping the complexities of cross-cultural exchange. This chapter seeks to explore the concerns that plagued China at the start of her relationship with the West and continued to influence the development of modern Chinese identity in its struggle to balance tradition with modernity.

The photograph above features Duanmu Kai as he posed at Huang Shan Mountain in 1929. He had returned from studying in the United States four years earlier. He is wearing Western clothing, a bowler hat lies on the ground next to him. At this point Duanmu Kai was teaching at the Huangpu military academy, the leading military school in China and quickly rising through the ranks of the Nationalist Party. His experience with the West and his Western clothes did not hinder his political
Before Duanmu began sporting Western suits, 天命 tian ming, the Mandate of Heaven, had been the Confucian sanction for imperial rule. Tian ming made imperial power legitimate through the cosmic embrace of both nature and humankind on earth. The principles of form 理 li were essential to organic cosmos so that imperial rule was immanent in natural things, not to be overruled by transcendent deities or laws like in the West.⁵ Imperial China upheld this sense of unity and superiority through suzerain-tributary relations, where the imperial government cooperated with regional kingdoms to maintain balance and control.

The coming of Westerners to China undercut the whole social balance of 天命 tian ming, the Mandate of Heaven. China was no longer universally superior. The Qing government was internationally weak and besieged by the influx of Western thought. War and the challenges of modernization together destroyed the legitimacy of imperial Confucianism.⁶

Throughout the 19th century, China was becoming increasingly and unwillingly globalized. The British and Portuguese had begun trading with China centuries before. But the 1830’s brought about an increase in trade, especially the illegal trading of opium. This resulted in the first Opium War (1839-1842), during which the British naval force was significantly more powerful than the Chinese and eventually forced the imperial government into negotiations of the Treaty of Nanjing in August 1841.

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The Treaty of Nanjing was the first of the Unequal Treaties to apply to China. It stipulated in article 1 that there be “peace and friendship between Britain and China,” “the opening of five Chinese cities- Canton, Fuzhou, Xiamen, Ningbo and Shanghai…for the purpose of carrying on their mercantile pursuits, without molestation or restraint,” “the island of Hong Kong to be possessed in perpetuity,” “abolition of the Canton Cohong monopoly system and permission at the five above-named ports for British merchants ‘to carry on their mercantile transactions with whatever persons they please.’” These stipulations allowed the British to carry out trade and business in five major ports without the interference of the Chinese government.

With free trade established, the British further negotiated to absolve any cost incurred to them by fighting and gaining access to China. The British essentially infiltrated Chinese ports at no cost through the Treaty of Nanjing, as further articles note: “payment to the British of a further 12 million ‘on account of the expenses incurred’ in the recent fighting, minus any sums already received ‘as ransom for cities and towns in China’ since August 1, 1841.” The treaty contained twelve articles total that called for the opening up of China, reimbursement of the British and British rights in China.7

One of the biggest gains obtained by Britain from the treaty was the ability to legally trade opium in China. The Treaty of Nanjing set the stage for foreign policy in China. The United States took note of the negotiations in China and dispatched Caleb Cushing, a congressman from Massachusetts to negotiate with the imperial

representative, Qiying, the Treaty of Wanghia in 1844. This treaty was modeled after the British treaty, with several, key additions.

This included a clause for the construction of churches, hospitals and cemeteries within the five treaty ports, opening up China to missionaries as well as merchants, that “Americans committing crimes in China could be tried and punished only by the consuls or other duly empowered American officials” and the option to renegotiate every twelve years.\textsuperscript{8} The inclusion of churches, hospitals and cemeteries became avenues for missionaries to pursue work in China. This set the stage for missionary involvement in China for the next century. Hospitals and social service organizations became the most effective method of spreading Christianity.

The extraterritoriality clause was a contentious point among the Chinese. It prevented the Chinese government from controlling certain territories and people within its borders. Despite a blow to Chinese authority, the clause also served as a safe haven for both Chinese citizens and foreigners in future conflicts such as the Japanese occupation, World War II and the Communist-Nationalist Civil War.

The French modeled their treaty and included similar demands. The “most-favored nation” clause developed by the British negotiators stipulated that “should the emperor hereafter, from any cause whatever, be pleased to grant additional privileges or immunities to any of the subjects of citizens of such foreign countries, the same privileges or immunities will be extended to and enjoyed by British subjects.”\textsuperscript{9} This leveled the playing field for foreign nations within China and was supposed to

\textsuperscript{8} H.B. Morse, \textit{The International Relations of the Chinese Empire}, vol. 1 (Shanghai, 1910), 330.  
\textsuperscript{9} Godfrey Hertslet, \textit{Treaties etc. between Great Britain and China and between China and Foreign Powers}, 2 vols. (London, 1908), 7-12.
provide equal access and rights within China to all foreign powers. The Qing Government applied their method of governance within China to foreign powers by creating a system of checks and balances through the treaty system that prompted foreign countries to control each other.

Using barbarians to control barbarians

China is a vast country: the Qing government asserted control over far regions such as Manchuria, Mongolia, Xinjiang, Tibet, the interior and coastal regions through a series of sophisticated checks and balances. Local chieftains, tribal princes, central government officials and administrators, religious and local elites, regional government officials among many others all worked to maintain a sense of order.

The introduction of Western powers to China’s borders disturbed this balance. Advanced military powers of Britain, France, Russia and Japan began to encroach on China’s borders, eventually gaining hold of the north, south and southeast regions.

The protection of the frontier greatly determined the future of China’s interior. The Qing military was weak and the government began a series of appeasements in the face of invading Western powers. They applied the “barbarian taming” method developed during the Ming Dynasty to allow all foreign states contact with China and
to treat them impartially.\textsuperscript{10} China traditionally adapted an egalitarian approach to foreign relations during weak times, which had been applied to the “most favored national clause” in the British Supplementary Treaty of 1843. Equal treatment towards foreign countries allowed China to “use barbarians to control barbarians.”\textsuperscript{11} This seemed to mimic Western concepts of balance of power and thereby removed China from the constant need to regulate the presence of foreign nations.\textsuperscript{12}

During the first twelve years following the Treaty of Nanjing, China was also suffering internal conflicts due to the great threat of the Taiping Rebellion (1850-1864). The British were hesitant to help, but realized it was in their best interest to have the Qing remain in power so as to avoid starting from scratch negotiations and diplomacy with a new government. In turn, the British adopted through the “most favored nation” clause, the American Treaty of 1844’s ability to renegotiate, every twelve years, in 1854.

The Treaty of Tianjin in 1858 included further clauses that provided for the British ambassador to live in Peking, protection of Christianity, ability to travel anywhere in China with the appropriate passport, interior transit taxes on foreign goods be dropped in exchange for a flat fee of 2.5 percent, official communications be in English, that British are no longer referred to as “barbarians” in Chinese documents and most importantly, the legalization of opium. These additions promoted the proliferation of British interests and views of diplomacy. The spread


\textsuperscript{11} Mary B. Rankin, John K. Fairbank and Albert Feuerwerker, \textit{Introduction: Perspectives on Modern Chinese History} in \textit{The Cambridge History of China} (New York: Cambridge University Press, 1990), 76.

\textsuperscript{12} Ibid.
and recognition of British culture and religion made them a permanent fixture in Chinese society. No longer were the British transient traders, but permanent residents. The Chinese did not accept these stipulations, especially permitting foreigners to live in Peking.

War broke out again in June 1859, with the British attacking two Chinese Dagu forts. Qing forces were stronger and were beating back the British. They prevented ambassadors from negotiating in Peking by arresting and executing them. The British were appalled at Dagu and sought to teach the emperor a lesson. The result was the burning of the Yuanming Yuan, the Summer Palace. The British spared the Forbidden City, calculating that destruction of the Forbidden City would be a disgrace so profound that the Qing dynasty would inevitably fall. 13 This forced the Chinese into further negotiations. The result was the “Convention of Peking” which stipulated that Hong Kong must be ceded to the British government and that the outer areas of Mongolia had to be ceded to Russia. 1860 thus marks the end of the Second Opium War and the culmination of the treaty system.

If anyone was caught going abroad, they’d be executed

Prior to the Opium Wars, Chinese residents were not permitted to go abroad. Western powers such as Great Britain, France, Russia and the United States began to pressure China throughout the mid to late 19th century for land, power, and business.

13 H.B. Morse, 671-672.
Unable to resist encroaching powers because of the Qing government’s weak army and lack of military technology, many leading intellectuals and government leaders realized the only way to compete and maintain power amongst the West was to learn from them. Top Chinese students became part of an educational mission to study abroad supported by the government. These students returned with fresh ideas, knowledge and worldly exposure to improve China. The growth and exchange of new knowledge and information through these programs led to great intellectual growth and debate in China during the late 1910’s through 1949, with the May 4th Movement and birth of new political ideologies embraced through the Communist Party and Nationalist Party.

Li Hongzhang (1823-1901) was a leading Chinese official and accomplished military general, most well known for defeating the Taiping Rebels. He instituted an education mission of Chinese students to the United States. In 1872, the first Chinese scholars were sent to Hartford, Connecticut to study, live with American families and learn English. The Opium War made us open up but at the same time, we discovered our armed forces were inferior...reform and growth was needed within the army and navy.\textsuperscript{14} China looked abroad for reform, goals of the education mission included learning valuable military information and technology to be able to defend oneself against further intrusions by Western powers. However, Qing officials were appalled that the first mission of Chinese boys sent abroad in 1872 “began to dress in Western style, abandoning their robes, and several of them cut off their queues under local pressure or mockery” with the ultimate disappointment being that “the United States

\textsuperscript{14} Thomas Twanmoh, Personal Interview, 23 September 2008.
government would not permit a select group of the students…to enroll in the naval
and military academies at Annapolis and West Point.”

Li disbanded the United States mission program in 1881, before many students had finished their college
education.

This first group of Chinese students to study abroad left China when anti-
Western sentiment was at its peak in the late 19th century. Therefore, their adoption
of Western clothes was looked upon as more extreme than students who studied
abroad in later years. Students who studied abroad in the 1910’s and 1920’s
Americanized enough to fit in, but remained steadfast in their commitment to remain
fully Chinese. Many students in the first education mission returned home as
outsiders and were viewed as “un-Chinese” because of their adaptation to certain
aspects of Western culture. Students who attended missionary schools in China faced
similar criticism due to their association with the West. The Qing government feared
Chinese students rapid Americanization would make them disloyal to China.

In 1895, China reinstituted its Western education mission and sent China’s
most promising students to France, Germany and Great Britain, where they had the
option to pursue military and naval training. Even though interactions with the West
carried connotations of imperialism, the idea of studying abroad became a crucial part
of Chinese culture and scholarship at this time. Thomas Twanmoh states: The
Manchu government was so corrupt and China was so weak that the only way to
make the country strong was to learn from foreign countries. Therefore, a lot of

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students went abroad to learn then came back to reform the country. That was the norm, you had to go abroad to study, even in my generation, the first thing you want to do is go abroad, study and come back.  

Duanmu Kai was part of the revolutionary generation to study abroad in the 1920’s. He attended New York University in 1925 and received his LSD, then returned to China to teach at Huangpu Military Academy, the most prominent military academy in China. Many students such as Zhou Enlai, Wang Jingwei, Sun Fo and Duanmu Kai were influential to China’s political future. Returning from Europe, the United States and Japan with new ideas of democracy, these students helped to shape a new, modern China that incorporated aspects of the West, but was grounded in Chinese tradition.

Whether students’ motivation for studying abroad was based on serving the country or for financial benefit, there was a distinction between becoming Western and using the West to China’s advantage. Prince Gong noted the subtlety during the “Convention of Peking.” The British troops were prompt to leave after the destruction of the Summer Palace. Prince Gong states that this shows the British “do not covet our territory and people. Hence we can still through faithfulness and justice tame and control them while we ourselves strive towards recovery.”  

The British were not looking to control or take over China, just as the Chinese weren’t looking to adopt Western culture, but merely use it for practical purposes. Chinese learning was

17 Thomas Twanmoh, Personal Interview, November 18, 2008.
the essence, but Western learning was to be used for practical development.\textsuperscript{19} 

体用 

Tiyong: essence and practicality were two key concepts developed in this context by Zhang Zhidong (1837-1901) one of the educational leaders of the Qing dynasty. He is credited with the philosophy of tiyong, which promotes Chinese learning for substance, Western learning for function.\textsuperscript{20} Zhang confronted the rapid change occurring in China by promoting Neo-Confucianism that incorporated the West, but remained inherently Chinese. This ideology confirmed that there was a fundamental structure of Chinese moral and philosophical values that gave continuity and meaning to Chinese society.

Holding onto that belief, China could quickly and dramatically adopt various Western practices that made it possible to envisage the tiyong formula in the first place.\textsuperscript{21} The Opium War forcefully opened China’s doors. China was quick to adapt to a changing environment and the cultural exchange between East and West took off, resulting in the rapid change of China from the turn of the 20\textsuperscript{th} century onward. This philosophy of remaining inherently Chinese while adopting practical Western principles applied to political, social and economic aspects of Chinese society. Chinese businessmen, due to their high exposure to the West through trade found it especially difficult to balance traditional Chinese business with a growing, globalized economy.

\textsuperscript{21} Jonathan Spence, \textit{Search for Modern China}, 225.
White people living in China were privileged

The Opium Wars were a result of British trade interests in China. The opening up of China gave foreign countries access to do business in China, but it also served as a catalyst for Chinese economic and political modernization. The influx of the West brought about rapid growth in Chinese industry, the development of the banking sector and new social elite. Traditionally, educated Chinese served as compradors, middlemen who mediated between Chinese and foreign traders. Embracing trade with the West created opportunities to develop China’s economic market and encourage the development of business. This economic success was a source of national pride and symbol that China was a global, financial competitor. In order to operate on a level playing field with Western businessmen, Chinese merchants sought knowledge from abroad to maintain control of China’s financial environment. Many merchants sent their children abroad to study business and return to help expand the family business. The rise in social mobility was often linked to a foreign diploma. With the rise of industry, it was common for merchants to set up funds or training grants for their employees and children to study in the United States or Europe.²²

As industry and trade grew, Chinese merchants became an influential part of society, resulting in a group of new social elite called, 绅商 shenshang, the merchant scholar. Chinese businessmen sought to contribute to society in ways aside from financially, such as political and social reform. The ideal of shenshang was based on a set of principles that embraced modernity and tradition: pragmatism, modernism and nationalism. The expansion of new institutions reflected this cohesion and also promoted it. The financial institutions themselves were modeled on a combination of Confucian administrative practice and the example of the West, allowing it to maintain its composite character.

Within this framework, a new social and political consciousness soon developed.

The growth of new industry and opportunity for advancement led to social and economic mobility. This newfound social mobility and desire for merchants to become politically involved challenged the traditional socio-economic order, particularly that of government officials’.

The abolition of the Civil Service Examination in 1905 gave anyone with the right connections, money and education the ability to reach for political power. Merchants of any importance, with contacts in the administration had no difficulty in obtaining suitable qualifications and responsibility. There were distinctions within the term shenshang. The shenshang capitalized in making money and transcended a rigid job description. A comprador was also a merchant; a banker was also an entrepreneur and both of them might hold official posts in the government.
The rise of the merchant class and decline of the gentry administrators led to a sudden change of authority in urban areas. The breakdown of stiff social hierarchies led to considerable and controversial change. Through financial growth, exposure to the West and the elimination of the Civil Service Exam, the traditional role of government officials became accessible to a wider range of people with other ideas and motivations than serving the Qing government.

Merchants sought to improve their working and living conditions. Many banking families moved into the foreign settlements of Shanghai. This allowed them to escape the endless disturbances in the provinces and the unfair interference of the imperial administration. They invested their wealth in banks that could not be raided by the Peking government, and in European and American companies that could not be taken over by the Chinese officials.

Living in foreign concessions gave many wealthy Chinese families the same privileges enjoyed by foreigners living there. The foreign concessions had modern facilities, a cheap supply of running water, domestic and industrial electricity and an urban telephone network. Despite the fact that they were treated as second-class citizens there, subject to taxation yet excluded from municipal benefits and extraterritoriality rights granted to foreign residents, many Chinese businessmen found living in the foreign concessions desirable.  

My grandfather, Thomas Twanmoh, recollects the benefits of living in foreign settlements as follows: we didn’t have modern sanitary equipment. Even though we lived in the French settlement, the garbage would just be piled up all over the streets.

26 Ibid., 47.
I feel sick just thinking about it. In the morning, the garbage wagon would collect solid waste and people would just throw garbage on the street...if you lived in the foreign residential area, they kept it up pretty well, but in the Chinese areas, not so much. Basic infrastructure such as garbage collection was a benefit of living in the foreign concessions. Wealthy Chinese families living in the foreign concessions of Shanghai were exposed to rapid modernization, protection of their finances and property through investing in international banks and companies in addition to more exposure and exchange with Westerners living there. Increased capital allowed Chinese bankers and their families, such as my grandmothers’ family the opportunity to capitalize off of their exposure to the West to gain more financial success.

Chinese businessmen of the 20th century adapted to this hybrid, modern society where they adopted certain aspects of Western culture like clothing, technology, architecture, education, but at the same time, were traditionally Chinese. Merchants in the 19th century had a Confucian style modernization that balanced tradition and modernity with a Chinese essence. This proved to be a difficult path for their successors.

*We didn’t wear Western clothes*

The opening up of China had the greatest influence upon scholars and businessmen. Chinese intellectuals and merchants were forced to adapt to pressures

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27 Thomas Twahmoh, Personal Interview, 23 September 2008.
from the West, and use them to their advantage to make China stronger. The methods used by the British, the United States and France to gain access to China were not amicable. This resulted in resentment and the development of intense anti-Western sentiment. Instead of allowing Western powers to merely exploit labor, goods and trade, Chinese businessmen, compradors, bankers and merchants capitalized on this situation and began to act as intermediaries between China and the West. As these Chinese businessmen adapted concepts like modern banking and began to study abroad and learn from their interactions with Western businessmen, they became more successful financially. Their wealth gave them greater impact in the government.

Qing government officials and scholars had a similar philosophy of adapting certain aspects of the West to form a new, modern Chinese identity. Through education, Chinese students learned advanced and new information about science, technology and philosophy. As students studied abroad in the United States and Europe, Western missionaries came to China and established schools and universities. Education became the principle form of cross-cultural exchange and development of modernity in both China and abroad.

Merely adapting Western thought and culture did not suffice for success. Many who were involved in the financial industry and had studied abroad and in missionary schools had to balance forming a new modern Chinese identity with Western elements within a traditional framework. With the reputation of the West as raving imperialists at the turn of the 20th century, finding this balance was not easy. In trying to establish a new modern, Chinese identity, many Chinese scholars and
businessmen were ridiculed as being foreigners, traitors and de-nationalized.

Interacting with the West proved to be a double edged sword from the end of the Opium Wars through 1949 when the Communist Party came to power. Many Chinese citizens were reluctant to embrace a key component of what had led to the downfall of their government: the West. As opinions shifted between what aspects of the West were beneficial to China, the essence of Chinese nationalism shifted. The unsteady evolution of modern Chinese national identity made all citizens of China subject to a range of labels, from patriot to traitor, depending on the popular attitude towards certain Western topics at the time. After the Opium Wars, Chinese businessmen and scholars were the first to tackle China’s relationship with the West. In attempting to find balance between traditional Chinese values and Western technologies these elites came under intense scrutiny. Ultimately, they shaped the future of Sino-Western relations because of their intimate knowledge and cultural exchange with the West.
CHAPTER TWO

YOU DON’T AROUSE THE ANGER OF THE EDUCATED CLASS
In the wake of the increasing Western presence in China, the domestic situation deteriorated rapidly. The Qing government was corrupt, weak and confronted with rebellions and pressure from revolutionaries. As more Chinese students studied abroad in Europe and the United States, the Qing became subject to more criticism as students brought back new ideas and experiences of how different governments functioned. The fall of the Qing in 1911 gave many new leaders and intellectuals the opportunity to apply their new, international knowledge to molding a modern China free of imperial corruption. These intellectuals and political leaders realized that Western learning did not mean the future embrace of all Western principles. They sought to select specific aspects of Western knowledge that would help modernize China while maintaining her core identity.

This selective acceptance of Western concepts is exemplified by Duanmu Kai’s experience as a Christian educated student. He had studied in the United States and then served the Nationalist government. He did not jump at every opportunity provided to him through his interactions with the West. He turned down the opportunity to be a central bank director, to serve the Communist Party under Zhou Enlai after 1949 and to explain to the foreign press why Chiang Kai-shek forced Duanmu out of politics. What Duanmu Kai did accept was based upon his commitment to China, the Nationalist Party and his family.

Duanmu Kai’s father, 端末 璡生 Duanmu Huang Sheng, pictured above was caught between two worlds. Duanmu Huang-Sheng, a 主人 zhuren, a provincial government official had been through the civil examination system under the Qing government and successfully rose through the ranks. Only two years after he passed
the imperial examinations, this Zhuren left the security of an official post to fight the
corruption of the government that had given him status, the Manchus. Originally,
*Duanmu Huang-Sheng was devoted to teaching, but the Manchus were so corrupt
that he changed his mind and joined the revolution.*

Duanmu Huang-Sheng joined the Zhong Guo Tong Meng Hui, a revolutionary
military organization intent on overthrowing the government. Duanmu, the
“revolutionary” appears in a traditional military uniform. This picture is taken after
1911, after the fall of the Qing. His jacket is adorned with ornamental shoulder
details, draped off his jacket buttons are epaulettes denoting rank, his jacket cuffs are
richly embroidered with silk and his hands are gloved, casually holding a sword.

He is neatly dressed, his mustache is carefully trimmed and his gaze is strong.
Duanmu rests his hand on top of the richly colored mahogany table. He projects the
image of a strong, righteous leader. This image does not suggest that Duanmu is part
of a revolutionary group, but instead that the revolutionary group is the legitimate
authority of China. Many intellectuals had united to revolt against the government,
against corruption. The Qing government was not overthrown by wild bandits, but by
men educated through the Qing Civil Service Examination system like Duanmu who
sought a different idea for China’s future.

The exchange of knowledge between Chinese students and leaders and the
West raised key questions about China’s political future. How would China reconcile
its history as an Imperial government and embrace future ideas of democracy,
socialism and communism? How would Chinese students react to the West and

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*28 Thomas Twanmoh, Personal Interview, 18 November 2008.*
Japan’s continuous disregard for China’s autonomy, such as through the Twenty-One Demands Treaty after World War I? How would the fury of intense intellectual debate develop into organized political parties and how would these parties interact amongst each other and within their own political entities? How would politicians balance their commitment towards intellectual principles and the need to compromise their beliefs in order to engage in the politics of power? These questions arise out of the increasing number of Chinese students’ exposure to Western politics and the pressure to reform China under a new, modern government while maintaining order in the face of internal and international pressure.

*It all started with the intellectuals*

The last decade that the Qing government was in power (1900-1911), the imperial regime attempted to adopt modern political policies into an imperial framework, such as becoming a constitutional state. Incorporating modern ideologies within a dynastic system represented the Qing’s attempt to modernize, but also brought to light the complexities that China’s future leaders would face in modernizing a country with such a rich, unique, insular history. Finding a balance between incorporating modern and Western aspects while maintaining China’s traditional values became a contentious issue affecting national identity for the next fifty years as China became more globalized.
The turn of the 20th century in China brought about progressively more internal fragmentation, intense intellectual debate and pressure to reform. Between 1905 and 1911, the Qing government attempted to implement some governmental reforms and a constitutional government. The imperial government was subject to harsh criticism from multiple groups. Intellectuals became fractured into different political factions, advocating various options for the political future of China. Political schisms initially had centered around leaders such as Kang Youwei (1858-1927) who led the constitutional monarchists and Liang Qichao (1873-1929) who led the self-strengthening movement based upon cultural reform. Later, various groups of anarchists and Marxists gathered around Sun Yat-sen (1870-1925) who held together the Revolutionary Alliance.29

Many revolutionary and anti-Qing groups, such as the *New Era* anarchist group founded in Paris, eventually came under the direction of Sun Yat-sen. Sun’s ideals were nationalist and republican, but also incorporated elements of socialism.30 The Revolutionary Army founded by Sun combined ideology, charisma and military force to break down Qing authority.

During the first decade of the 20th century, anti-Qing revolts spread throughout China, challenging the Qing military under the leadership of Yuan Shikai. Duanmu Huang-Sheng was a leader in revolutionary army trying to overthrow the Qing. As my grandfather, Thomas Twanmoh recalls: *In 1905, Duanmu Huang-Sheng met Dr. Sun Yat-sen. My grandfather was the one who attacked Zhen Jiang, the*

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30 Thomas Twanmoh, Personal Interview, 18 November 2008.
capital of Jiangsu province. He occupied the fort, recovered it from the Qing dynasty and later was appointed as a military commander in Nanjing. He was defeated by a warlord and then he retired from politics. Duanmu Huang-Sheng was educated through the Qing Civil Service Examination system, but realized the inequities and corruption in the Qing government and need for new leadership under Sun Yat-sen. Sun Yat-sen’s broad principles of democracy, socialism and nationalism attracted all types of intellectuals, from older, imperial educated men to young students newly returned from Europe, Japan and the United States.

The Twelve Demands were addressed by Japan to the Qing government in October 1911. These demands required the Qing to:

Establish a parliament within the year, to promulgate a constitution through that same parliament, to elect a premier and have him ratified by the emperor, to deny the emperor all the rights of summary execution of criminals, to declare a general amnesty for all political offenders, to forbid members of the Manchu imperial clan from serving as cabinet ministers, and to have the parliament review all international treaties before they were approved by the emperor.

Within a week, most of these demands were met and Yuan Shikai had been elected premier of China.

These demands led China to reform faster and toward a constitutional government within the preexisting Manchu controlled imperial regime. This fostered a certain level of stability by keeping the government intact, while simultaneously instituting drastic reform. This was a transitional step toward a constitutional government by incorporating modern aspects of Western governments into the imperial government.

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32 Jonathan Spence, *Search for Modern China*, 265.
Even though negotiations between the Revolutionary Alliance and the imperial government were amicable, both groups still sought power. Thomas Twanmoh recalls his grandfather’s situation as increasingly complex and dangerous as being part of the Revolutionary Army: *By 1910 he was identified as a revolutionary by spies, who wanted to kill him. The Qing government had 2,000 silver dollars for his head. In 1911, Sun Yat-sen was elected to the Temporary Government as the first president. In 1912, on New Years Day, Sun Yat-sen was inaugurated as Temporary President of China. My grandfather at that time was the Defense Commander of Nanjing. In 1913, my father was 11 years old, at that time, my grandfather’s friend, Yuan Shikai declared himself as emperor.* Duanmu Huang-Sheng had worked closely with both Sun Yat-sen and Yuan Shikai. Yet despite his relationship with Yuan, the Qing government was intent on finding him.

His only option was: *To move the entire family from Nanjing to Shanghai. My grandmother was very capable at that time, she hid my grandfather in a rice warehouse and dug a hole in the middle and added support beams to prevent it from collapsing. He hid there for some time until he could escape to Shanghai. He couldn’t be arrested in the foreign settlement of Shanghai because of the extra-territoriality clause. My grandmother used the same method of escape and eventually went to Shanghai where they reunited, as political refugees.* The foreign concessions of Shanghai were the only areas that provided protection from Chinese political enemies. This level of safety remained constant in the foreign concessions until 1949.

33 Thomas Twanmoh, Personal Interview, 18 November 2008.
Duanmu Huang-Sheng moved his entire family to this enclave in Shanghai for protection. His son, Duanmu Kai would use the same method of ensuring his family’s protection from the Communists after war with Japan by moving into the French Concession from 1945-1949. The extra-territoriality clause featured in the unequal treaties spurred debate and resentment towards foreigners for having special treatment in China. Despite its unfairness, it served as a safe haven for many political refugees from the fall of the Qing up through the Communist takeover in 1949. The West, which served as a catalyst for revolutionary thought and action and was itself a target of revolutionary angst, also served as a safe haven for China’s outspoken revolutionary leaders.

In November and December of 1911, Yuan Shikai’s Beiyang Army managed to recapture Hankou and Hanyang, but Jiangsu, Sichuan and Shandong Province all declared independence from the Qing government. The fall of Nanjing to the Revolutionary Alliance was symbolic. Nanjing had served as China’s capitol in 229 A.D. for the Wu Kingdom, during the Jin Dynasty and the Tang Dynasty. Historically, Nanjing was a representation of imperial power and now it served as the capitol for the Revolutionary Alliance. Sun Yat-sen was elected the Provisional President of the Chinese Republic on December 29, 1911. China now had two forms of government: the remnants of the imperial government and a modern, democratic government. This set up the next forty years of political tension between conflicting political parties, conflict within political parties and struggle between imperial China and modern China.
The balance between imperial and modern China was difficult to maintain because imperial China was associated with tradition whereas modernity became linked with the West. Although the Qing government was also synonymous with corruption, corruption seemed to be a better option than objectification. During this time, anti-Western sentiment was vehement. Many Chinese traditionalists saw the growing presence of Christian education, foreign trade, Western medicine and even Western material culture so basic as cigarettes, clothing and hairstyles as an affront to tradition Chinese culture and a threat to Chinese national identity.

Even to this day, change is a constant

Ironically, the deepest threat came from within, as can be seen from the May 4th Movement of 1919. This movement marked a turning point in Chinese history and the growth of a political, ideological and cultural revolution in China. The May 4th Movement was an anti-imperial, cultural and political student movement sparked by the weak response of the Chinese government to the Treaty of Versailles. It led to a surge in Chinese nationalism and the mobilization of not just intellectuals, but also laborers, students and workers.

The May 4th Movement refers more broadly to the period from 1915-1921. As Thomas Twanmoh recalls: The May 4th movement started with the First World War. Japan demanded to control parts of China with the Twenty-One Demands Treaty. Students rebelled. They thought it was a disgrace that China agreed to such a
treaty. It was the start of a huge student movement; my father was involved with it along with Fu Sinian, Hu Shifu, all those people in the period were involved. It was pro-science and democracy. I would say this was the turning point of China being so backwards, it was the starting point of modernization. Even to this day, change is a constant, change is everything.\(^\text{34}\)

This movement fostered the creation of a new China based upon Western values including democracy, science and the reevaluation of classic Confucian ideology. The May 4\(^{th}\) Movement engaged students who had studied abroad or had attended Christian Universities in China. All students, despite their background or exposure to the West, expressed a commitment to fight the foreign powers and to correct unfair use of China during post-war negotiations.

Democracy was a unifying idea that May 4\(^{th}\) intellectuals believed could move China forward. The concept of democracy developed closely with the ideals of socialism. In attempting to reach democracy, the Nationalists sought socialism, which was believed could fulfill democratic ideals. In resurrecting Chinese culture, society and politics, many radicals promoted what they defined as democratic values: liberty and equality.\(^\text{35}\) Political revolutionaries made a sharp dichotomy between traditional Chinese culture and democracy; traditional Chinese culture seemed identical with feudalism, a weak government, and China’s sacrifice for the imperial family whereas democracy symbolized freedom, equality and individualism. The two could not coexist.

\(^{34}\) Thomas Twanmoh, Personal Interview, 28 November 2008.

Chen Duxiu (1879-1942), a leading figure in the May 4\textsuperscript{th} Movement addressed this disconnect with traditional values in the following words: “Some people charge us with the crime of destruction: the destruction of Confucianism, ritual, national essence, chastity…and finally, the existing political system. We admit the charge, but still insist that we are innocent. It is our love for Mr. Democracy and Mr. Science that leads to these towering crimes.”\textsuperscript{36} Chen Duxiu and other intellectual leaders’ dismissed traditional values and embraced Western science and democracy. They claimed that change was not a crime.

The May 4\textsuperscript{th} Movement put modernization in the form of a binary tension: to disparage traditional, Confucian China was to modernize. To embrace science and democracy was also key to this modernization. The democratic West and traditional China were thus seen as opposites.

To associate with traditional China was to be unpatriotic. Yet certain associations with the West, such as capitalism and Christianity were also unpatriotic. Christian schools became the main vehicle for Western science and education, the same principles embraced by nationalistic student activists. Supporters of May 4\textsuperscript{th} managed to dissociate religion from the missionaries’ motivations in order to gain access to their science programs. Foreign Christian educators came under extreme pressure to leave China. Instead, they adjusted their goals and welcomed the added attention towards science programs and made attendance at religious services optional. The May 4\textsuperscript{th} Movement had risen out of anti-imperialist sentiment. Yet in order to create a stronger China, student leaders looked to the West, the very source

\textsuperscript{36} Ibid., 24.
that had instigated social and political discontent.

Democracy originated as a lofty, idealistic term. Many Chinese intellectuals, such as Zhou Enlai (1898-1976) and Deng Xiaoping (1904-1997) who studied abroad in France from 1920-1924 and 1919-1926 respectively, were exposed to political ideas such as anarchism, communism, Leninism, Marxism and democracy. Dr. Sun Yat-sen studied in Hawaii and began to study Christianity, eventually was baptized by an American missionary in Hong Kong, acquired an American passport and spent sixteen years in exile traveling throughout Europe, the United States, Canada and Japan.

Western democracy as bourgeois

These Chinese intellectuals returned to China with a new political outlook and a determination to integrate Western politics into a new model of the Chinese revolution. Chinese radicals were aware that democracy carried certain negative elements and had “a strong desire to avoid repeating the mistake that the industrial Western countries had made.”37 Despite political affiliations, Sun Yat-sen, Liang Qichao and anarchists all explored socialism as a possible option for China’s social-economic transformation.38 Western democracy came to be seen as bourgeoisie. Its capitalism was blamed for the economic and social inequality that Li Dazhao, Chen

37 Ibid., 29.
38 Ibid., 29.
Duxiu and others strove to eliminate.

In working towards democracy, many Chinese intellectuals adapted a version of democracy that fit their ideals. Li Dazhao elucidates the distinction as follows: “The victory of Bolshevism is a victory of democracy” and “the victory of the working people.” Li believed that socialism was a more egalitarian type of democracy: “As the bourgeoisie has already obtained their democratic rights, we should strive for socialism. Socialism does not deviate from democracy. Instead, it is a step forward in democratic development.” Chinese intellectuals adapted a socialist version of “democracy” that attempted to distance its capitalistic connotations.

New components of the May 4th Movement were further developed in the Communist ideology of Li Dazhao and Chen Duxiu. Li and Chen recognized the need to reform China’s education system, especially through the development of science programs. The strongest science programs were offered through Christian schools. This led to a conflict of interest within the Communist Party. Revolutionaries had grown accustomed to associate missionaries with imperialism and capitalism. Yet they also desired to study advanced science offered primarily through Western educators. Chen had expressed the explicit rejection of a capitalist democracy model for China as follows: “Nationalization of capital could bring about happiness and equal opportunity of development to every individual… China should not follow in the footsteps of the West, whose wealth had been created at the expense

\[39\] Ibid.,29.
Li had argued that “our educational system is backward, and our people are weak and ignorant, we must establish some institutions which serve the purpose of the working class education.” China’s weak educational system in turn resulted in a feeble and ignorant population.

Chinese leaders looked abroad to the U.S. and European exchange programs as well as Chinese Christian education as a way of solving the Chinese education dilemma. In the development of Chen and Li’s ideology, integration of the working class with “democracy” became essential. Christian colleges in China were seen as one pathway for the lower classes to obtain education. Although Christian colleges, such as St. John’s University and Soochow University often catered to wealthy families, they admitted many other Chinese students upon tests and the Civil Service Examinations.

Christian colleges were the first to provide education for women and the first to breakdown social barriers that government schools unofficially upheld. This model of helping the poor and disparaging the wealthy became a key feature of Communist ideology.

The May 4th period was, thus, a period of romanticized revolution. Chinese intellectuals were called upon to guide the future of Chinese politics and social order. Duanmu Huang-Sheng, an intellectual who rose through the ranks of the imperial system took part in the first revolutionary movement under Sun Yat-sen in the early 1900’s to overthrow the imperial government. His son, Duanmu Kai, twenty years later, was part of the May 4th Movement as a Western-educated Christian who helped

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40 Ibid., 31.
41 Ibid., 31.
influence future Chinese politics that his fathers’ actions helped make possible.

Before factionalization and divisive political parties plagued Chinese society and further weakened China, the May 4th period had made room for true intellectual debate.

_All the Bending Made the Intellectuals Suffer_

Divergent points of view were apparent in all aspects of Chinese politics: whether the label was Communist, Socialist, Anarchist or Nationalist, intense debate was the norm among different political groups. The Nationalist Party was subject to bitter factionalism that plagued its existence through its retreat to Taiwan in 1949. The years of service and dedication to the Nationalist Party did not shield anyone from expulsion. The lack of bureaucratic structure and ultimately, Chiang Kai-shek’s (1887-1975) absolute power, put any GMD officials’ political future in Chiang’s control, such as Duanmu Kai’s.

Sun Yat-sen became the unifying figurehead of the GMD. Dr. Sun Yat-sen’s death on March 12, 1925 brought about a struggle for power and a succession crisis that would never fully be settled. Chiang Kai-shek became Sun Yat-sen’s successor, but experienced and capable leaders such as Wang Jingwei (1883-1944) and Sun Fo, (1891-1973) Sun Yat-sen’s son would continue to challenge Chiang’s authority and try to shift Nationalist Party goals towards their own. The Guomindang’s negligence in instituting a bureaucratic governmental framework plagued the Guomindang
through the 1930s and 1940s. The lack of regulations and legitimacy created tenuous relationships among key leaders within the GMD and their followers, which further factionalized members within the GMD. Duanmu Kai worked closely and had personal ties with Sun Fo, Wang Jingwei and Chiang Kai-shek. Duanmu had to balance his political views and personal relationships with these three polarizing figures, while all working together towards one goal.

In 1924, Sun Yat-sen had reorganized the GMD based on a Leninist model that incorporated the Communist Party. The Comitern agent Mikhail Borodin arrived in China in 1923 and began to help reorganize the GMD along the lines of the Communist Party in the Soviet Union. The Comitern provided less aid to the Chinese Communist Party. It encouraged Communists to join the GMD while maintaining their separate identities, resulting in the first United Front. The Soviet Union viewed Sun Yat-sen as a charismatic, capable ruler. Lenin believed that the GMD was in a better position to benefit from the Comitern support than the Communist Party. 

The reorganization of the GMD in 1924 and collaboration with the CCP instigated animosity and further divisions within the party. The left-right alignments among party leaders and their supporters reflected a pro-and-con stance on the GMD-Communist collaboration that divided them right down to the lowest level of party affairs. Wang Jingwei and Liao Zhong-Kai led the left wing group and adopted a reformist line in favor of allying with the Communists. The right-wing party politicians, exemplified by the Western Hills group, distrusted the Communists and

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saw the changes of 1923-24 as a major threat to the survival of the Guomindang. Leaders within the party focused on doctrinarism and ideology to gain a greater following.

From 1928-1937, Chiang Kai-shek, Sun Yat-sen’s protégé, moved into the commanding role. Sun Yat-sen’s comrades like Wang Jingwei, Hu Hanmin, and many regional leaders challenged Chiang’s power. Wang Jingwei had been an influential revolutionary against the Qing government and a close confidant of Sun Yat-sen’s. He had studied abroad in Japan as part of the Qing educational mission and returned strongly opposed to colonization and westernization. His loss of power to Chiang Kai-shek after Sun Yat-sen’s death set the two leaders up for a lifetime of clashing.

Eventually Wang Jingwei came to lead a separatist government in the name of a Pro-Peace movement with Japan during the Second World War. Wang’s collaboration with the Japanese as a puppet government in Nanjing earned him the “honor” of being one of the greatest “traitors” in modern Chinese history. After Wang’s death in 1944, his wife, Chen Bijun stood trial for her and her husband’s crimes in the post war trials of 1946.

Duanmu Kai had left the GMD after 1945. He returned to Shanghai to practice law and served as Chen Bijun’s trial lawyer. A commitment to a “fair” trial and full representation of his colleague’s wife and family had outweighed the risks Duanmu Kai took by representing the wife of China’s number one traitor.

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The fall of the Qing in 1911 had led to the devolution of the legitimate, imperial government. Power became decentralized and many regional leaders relied increasingly on military power to assert authority.\textsuperscript{44} The Nationalist government gained control in the midst of chaos. The Leninist model adopted by Sun Yat-sen was not effective. It focused on a narrow group of people that limited mass mobilization due to the lack of institutional bureaucracy.

This lack of bureaucracy created a never-ending cycle of underground alliances simply to get policies implemented. Leaders relied on the military support or a higher party member’s support to pass legislation. The lack of structure in the government led to the lack of stability in China as a whole. Because the government did not have a clear vision, the rest of China’s citizens were subject to the constant changes of the government. National attitudes changed based upon who was in power and who helped Chiang rise to power. This instability reverberated in the community, as embracing Christian education could make one a patriot one day and a traitor the next. This quick shift in attitude instigated fear and resentment as China’s national identity mimicked the Nationalist government’s ever changing idea of Chinese nationalism.

Chiang Kai-shek capitalized on this lack of stability and structure by asserting his authority militarily. The weakness of the GMD as a political institution facilitated

\textsuperscript{44} Ibid., 22.
the growth of the military. Therefore, the rising military power under Chiang undercut the party’s ability to function as an effective political organization.45 The more disorganized the GMD was, the more power Chiang had as a dictator. If a legitimate, constitutional, efficient government was established, Chiang’s power would be dispersed among people who disagreed with him. Even though Chiang seemingly had absolute power in the GMD, he recognized that it was in his and the party’s best interest to tread lightly on Wang Jingwei and Hu Hanmin’s disdain to maintain the delicate balance of the party.

Chiang gained power not only militarily, but also financially. Chiang formed alliances with family, schoolmates, neighbors, and clients to form a network of wealth to fund the GMD’s continual power. Chiang capitalized on his connections to Zhejiang and Jiangsu province merchants, industrialists, and Shanghai bankers and rewarded their financial support with political power. Chiang formed a web of alliances to keep him in power. His competitors lacked the money and connections to threaten his authority.

The GMD functioned as a government under Chiang Kai-shek in the short term, but the GMD failed to provide a legitimate government for China’s future: “although the presence of a dominant factional system permitted Chiang and the Kuomintang to secure momentary control over China’s chaotic situation, it severely undermined the party’s chance to rule the country as an effective and independent political institution.”46 The Guomindang’s shortsighted focus on power undercut the

46 Ibid., 32.
overall goal for reform and revolution: factional power provided fleeting control to a movement with no social foundation.

_We can tolerate different opinions on the inside…_

The power struggle within the GMD made navigating the political waters dangerous and complicated. Chiang Kai-shek was the most powerful figure in the GMD, but he was also the subject of debate and polarized disagreement. His relationship with Sun Fo (Sun Ke), Dr. Sun Yat Sen’s only son was especially tumultuous. Sun Fo was appointed Mayor of Guangzhou by his father; this was the Nationalist government’s first capital that was headed by his father.\(^{47}\) Sun continued a career in politics and education. He served as President of the Executive Yuan from 1931-32 and President of the Legislative Yuan from 1932-1948 and he helped to frame the 1947 Constitution.\(^{48}\) Sun was an outspoken liberal and aligned with Wang Jingwei, one of Chiang’s most vocal opponents. Sun became known as having an “iron neck” by speaking out against Chiang Kai-shek’s dictatorial habits. Sun had the kind of protection many other party members did not, he could not be purged from the party because he was Sun Yat-sen’s son.


\(^{48}\) Ibid., 129.
My great grandfather, Duanmu Kai and Sun Fo worked closely together in Nanjing, Chongqing and Taiwan. Duanmu Kai served the Nationalist government in Nanjing as a committee member for the creation of the national constitution, served as Civil Administrator in Anhui Province in 1937 and then Budget Director in Chongqing. Duanmu Kai began his law practice again in Shanghai after World War II in 1945 and loosely worked with the government.

In 1948, as the Communists were gaining power, Sun Fo became prime minister of the Republic of China and asked Duanmu Kai to serve as Secretary General. Since the end of WWII, the GMD repeatedly asked Duanmu Kai to become more active and he always refused, but this time, he accepted the position.

As Duanmu Kai and Sun Fo began planning for the evacuation to Taiwan in 1948-1949, Duanmu Kai became entangled in diplomatic relations pertaining to airplanes left in Chongqing by the GMD after the war. Sun Fo exiled himself to Hong Kong after the Civil War in 1949 and Duanmu moved to Taiwan with his family. Duanmu Kai and Sun Fo both left their political careers at this time - Duanmu was excommunicated while Sun Fo retired. Their relationship would resume as Sun Fo moved to Taiwan in 1965 and served on the Board of Trustees at Soochow University in Taiwan from 1966-1973 where Duanmu Kai served as president from 1971-1986.

Chiang Kai-shek and Sun Fo had also relied upon each other, despite differences, for the preservation of the GMD. During the Second National Congress of the Guomindang, Chiang Kai-shek wrestled with the idea of restructuring the GMD. He was faced with maintaining “a legacy handed down by Dr. Sun and
members of the Congress should refrain from doing anything contrary to the wishes of the late Tsung-li (Dr. Sun).”

Chiang had discussed the question of party unity with Sun Fo and agreed that discussion in relation to the Western Hills Conference of November 1931 should be postponed because to “expel the old comrades in order to enable a few to tighten their control of the party, to monopolize the party’s activities, then we must bear the responsibility for having sabotaged the nation revolution.” Both Chiang and Sun knew that the future of the GMD was in jeopardy during the Western Hills Conference. Despite their wishes to maintain the current party structure, many GMD comrades were purged, resulting in further discourse within the party and the opportunity for the Communist Party to capitalize on the Nationalist’s political unrest.

The Chinese Communist Party capitalized on the GMD’s infighting and launched an “anti-Chiang campaign.” The CCP Central Executive committee in 1926 laid out the divisions of GMD into four categories of social forces: The Reactionary rightists such as Tse-ju, Ma Su, Sun Fo and Ku Ying-feng represented the first category of warlords, compradors, bureaucrats, old and new gentries. Communists represented the second category that included workers, peasants and students; the leftists, Wang Jingwei and Kan Nai-kuang represented the third category of medium and small merchants; and the new rights or centrists like Tai Chi-t’ao and Chiang Kai-Shek represented the forth category as reformist elements within the

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50 Ibid., 165.
bourgeoisie.\textsuperscript{51} Despite these schisms, the GMD continued to be led by Chiang Kai-shek.

The lack of bureaucratic structure allowed the GMD to rely on authoritarian power, which stifled independent thinking and put those who challenged authority at risk. This parlayed into two ways to be politically active: to challenge authority with the cloak of political or social protection like Sun Fo, or to challenge authority at one’s personal risk as done by Wang Jingwei. The second method was to follow orders and compromise one’s personal beliefs for the sake of agreement. There were politicians who were based on principle and those who were based on politics. This political dynamic was universal and endemic to the authoritarian structures of the GMD and CCP.

Zhang Shenfu had been one of the founding members of the Chinese Communist Party, which originated in France during the 1920’s. He was involved in the political power struggle within the Communist Party until he was eventually expelled. His removal was not the result of misbehavior, but the result of his commitment to independent minded principles and values. Zhang Shenfu explained: “I’m the kind of man who would rather break than bend, ning zhe bu bian.”\textsuperscript{52}

Zhang had given voice here to a key issue that plagued politics, the tension between upholding one’s opinions and compromise for the sake of gaining some other end. There were other politicians such as Zhou Enlai, whom Zhang described as

\begin{center}
\textsuperscript{51}Ibid., 191. \\
\textsuperscript{52}Vera Schwarcz, \textit{The Time for Telling the Truth is Running Out: Conversations with Zhang Shengfu}, (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1992), 15.
\end{center}
“the kind to always bend without ever breaking.” Sun Fo and Wang Jingwei opted to break rather than bend. My grandfather, Thomas Twanmoh explains that all the bending made the intellectuals suffer, that men like his father lived their lives based on principle, not politics.

My great grandfather, Duanmu Kai had indeed turned down many key political positions. Duanmu’s goal was not to climb the political latter, but to accept those positions that he deemed were right for him, for his family and for China. Early on in his career, Chiang Kai-shek invited Duanmu Kai to serve as dean of Huangpu Military Academy. But he turned down this position. His later role as budget director of the government in 1938 put him in the position of establishing many contacts. As a result, Kong Chang Xi, asked Duanmu to serve as National Central Bank director. Yet he refused in order to help Chiang Kai-shek.

After the Second World War, Chiang again asked my great grandfather to join the government, but he refused. It was only until 1948-49, when Dr. Sun Yat-sen’s son, Sun Fo became premiere of the Republic of China and was trying to establish a cabinet, that Duanmu Kai accepted Sun Fo’s invitation to serve as Secretary General of the Republic of China.

This was in 1950. One year later Duanmu Kai was expelled from the Nationalist Party by Chiang Kai-shek. Despite this excommunication, Duanmu respected the party and did not challenge the decision. At this point, Duanmu Kai’s position in the GMD was not a matter of prestige, but of serving the country by helping evacuate Chinese citizens to Taiwan.

53 Ibid., 15.
54 Thomas Twanmoh, Personal Interview, 7 August 2008.
The Duanmu family worked for over five decades to bring about China’s revolution. Beginning with Duanmu Huang-Sheng’s involvement in the Revolutionary Alliance and his role as military commander in Nanjing during the last years of the Qing dynasty to his son’s commitment to study abroad and gain Western knowledge to better serve his country, we can see these two men who sacrificed political safety for the well being of the nation.

In the period following the fall of the imperial government in 1911, China’s leaders and scholars all strove to shape China’s future as a modern nation. Many of China’s leaders during this time period had been educated in missionary schools and studied abroad in Europe, Japan and the United States. These students had brought back worldly knowledge and tried to form a new, nationalist government that embodied ideals of democracy and equality while remaining distinctly Chinese. The struggle for political power that ensued and the intense intellectual debates surrounding China’s future prevented the Nationalist government from instituting a bureaucratic system that would ensure stability, control and authority.

The lack of a stable government as well as an ambiguous stance on Christian education, modernity and foreign trade made international relations and interactions with the West especially volatile. Not only did this volatility affect foreigners living in China, but also those who interacted with them. This was especially pertinent to Chinese students who had attended Christian schools. These students were subject to the government’s fickle attitude towards missionaries. As a result, many suffered fervent taunting as traitors and were not promoted within the government or the military.
CHAPTER THREE

IT TAKES TEN YEARS TO GROW A TREE, ONE HUNDRED TO EDUCATE

THE NEXT GENERATION
Christian education played a central role in the exchange of information between China and the West. It was generally accepted that learning from the West was beneficial to China’s future. Topics and methods of learning from the West, however, were contested. How would Christian educators and their schools be received in China during the 1920’s and May 4th era when anti-imperialism movements were connected with pro-science and democracy movements? What were the differences between sending Chinese students to study abroad in Europe and the United States versus having European and American missionaries establish schools in China? How did foreign educators respond to anti-Christian, anti-Western movements? How did their goals and education programs adapt to changing attitudes toward the West?

How were Chinese students who attended Christian schools received in Chinese society and how did their exposure to the West influence their identity and relationship within China? What were the goals of missionaries in China and what principles were they trying to instill? How did foreigners respond to the Japanese occupation and start of World War II? What role did foreign schools and foreigners’ presence play during periods of violent instability? How did they rebuild after World War II and the Communist-Nationalist Civil War? These are some of the themes explored in this chapter.

The role of Christian educators and foreign schools in China were subject to the ever-changing attitudes of the Chinese government toward the West. Foreigners and missionaries adapted to a largely hostile environment by adjusting goals, programs and curriculum. Missionaries were subject to anti-Western sentiment just
as their students were persecuted for being associated with foreigners and with religious education. Ultimately, Christian workers’ resolve to stay in China despite unpredictable social and political environments allowed them to contribute and aid China during the war. Christian schools shaped a generation of cosmopolitan students to lead China after foreigners were expelled in 1949. They also contributed to a new sense of Chinese nationalism by producing students who interacted with and learned from the West.

The photograph on the title page of this chapter shows the central gate into Soochow University. It reads, 東吳大學, Dongwu Daxue, Dongwu College, the original name of Soochow University. Through the gate is Allen Hall, one of the original buildings of Soochow University. A tree lined path leads to the main entrance. The trees have grown throughout the fifty years that the university occupied this space. Now, they are higher than the gate and provide shade along the path. They have remained as the Japanese destroyed the gate in the late 1930’s.

These trees have witnessed the many different functions of Allen Hall, from its use as a chapel and classroom building, to being occupied by the Japanese and its use as a hospital during World War II. In 1946, the United Board and Soochow University alumni and leaders rebuilt an identical version of the original gate. To enter through this gate is to enter into a safe space of academia and to witness the resilience of Chinese students. Christian educators rebuilt after the war and integrated Soochow’s history during the Second World War into a vision of education that would serve China’s future.
Missionaries offered China a number of social services, including the establishment of Western medicine and hospitals, but also education. Missionaries provided educational reform to China’s Civil Service Examination system. Missionary schools accepted both men and women and made education more accessible. By the 1880’s, missionaries found that secular education was a viable medium to advance their evangelical agenda.

In 1922, the United Board of Christian Colleges in China formed to unify disparate Protestant missionaries under an organized, efficient program that would standardize Christian colleges in China. As the United Board, Christian colleges in China thrived through foreign financial support, the establishment of consistent elementary, secondary and university level schools and standardized curriculum. In the 1920’s the United Board recorded that 200,000 students attended 6,900 primary schools, 15,000 students attended 300 secondary schools and 2,000 men and women attended sixteen colleges and universities.

Those sixteen universities were: Fukien, Ginling, Hangchow, Huachung, Hwa Nan, Nanking, St. John’s, Shanghai, Shantung, Soochow, West China and Yenching.55 The United Board remained a powerful force in China from the 1920’s through 1950. After 1951 and the evacuation of foreigners from China, the United Board reorganized their mission to include greater Asia, molding into the United Board for Christian Higher Education in Asia. The Yale Divinity School Library houses the United Board archives. Visiting the Yale Divinity School provided me with rich details, insight into the passions and emotions of missionary’s goals in

China, as well as the heartbreaking saga of rebuilding educational institutions after the Japanese occupation, then again after the Communist takeover in 1949.

Duanmu Kai attended Soochow University and received his LLB in 1920. He, along with several other alumni also led the mission to rebuild Soochow University in Taiwan, which he later served as president from 1971-1986.

Christian schools provided modern, Western education and a sense of Christian values for non-Christian students. Missionaries believed that “a school without Christianity…fails as a rule to prepare public spirited, honest and efficient leaders.” Missionaries hoped that their education would provide China with versatile, strong leaders, just as Confucian schools had done so in the past. By propagating Western values to China’s youth, in an environment that was already weary of foreigners, missionaries and Christian education became subject to intense criticism and the target of many nationalistic, revolutionary movements.

_The only way to make our country strong was to learn from foreign countries_

Studying abroad became a crucial component of modern Chinese education. Europe and the United States offered different aspects of knowledge that Chinese students learned and then returned to China to institute reforms and political change. Duanmu Kai took part in this movement. According to my grandfather, Thomas

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Twanmoh: as a young boy, my father, Duanmu Kai studied in a British middle school. Because he was involved in politics, he was expelled from that school and transferred to another middle school. He majored in law and political science at Fudan University and attended Soochow University law school. During the day he studied in Fudan, at night he studied in Soochow. He studied very hard and after graduation he went to America to study at NYU where he received his GSD degree. At this time, China was having a lot of trouble so he came back to China to serve in the government... Advanced education was not just for personal growth, but the improvement of one’s knowledge in order to help his/her country.

Service was a key aspect of Christian learning that was also embraced by the Chinese government. Duanmu gave back to China through education and government service. Education and patriotism were closely connected. The continuation of higher education was crucial to the continued growth and advancement of China. Thomas Twanmoh explains the importance of spreading newfound knowledge through education as his father did. He recalls: When he came back from America, he was a lecturer at Huangpu Military Academy and later went on to Anhui University to become dean of the law school, the next year he went to Fudan, Soochow and Jinan. He was a very good professor; all the students liked his teaching style. Sometimes there would even be auditors outside his window to listen to his lecture. The excitement for learning during this time period was pervasive. China’s youth was passionate about helping their country through the advancement of education.

The missionaries were bad apples

Interactions with the West gave rise to an influx of new ideas through missionaries, merchants and Chinese scholars. Missionary schools conveyed new science, technology and culture to young people seeking modern education. The public school system in China was inadequate. The government tried to force missionary schools to close, but the alternative public education system was disorganized and no match to private, missionary schools.

In 1900, the Qing government overhauled the Chinese education system and ordered that new schools be established in the county, prefectural and provincial levels. In 1905, the government created the Ministry of Education and in 1907, ordered public schools for girls to be established. 58 The curriculum of the new schools tried to combine Western subjects with traditional Chinese values, Confucian classics and ethics.

The establishment of public schools threatened missionaries’ role in Chinese education. Additionally, the government rarely employed Western missionaries in the new public schools. Government schools did not acknowledge missionary school graduates and prevented them from obtaining jobs in the government. China’s new initiative to establish government schools had limited funding. There was no educational budget on the national or local level and money was often lost through corruption or siphoned off for military spending. However, what government schools had that missionary schools did not was cultural authority.

58 Gael Graham, Gender, Culture and Christianity, 160.
Merchants, traders, and business owners also had a vested interest in Western education. Christian education was viewed as a way to get ahead by adapting Western industrialization technology and applying it to Chinese factories and commerce. Western education was an investment in the future. Whether abroad in the U.S. or Europe or at Western universities in China, like St. John’s, students learned management techniques, engineering, economics and English. Factories set up training grants for employees and family members to go study in Europe or the United States.59 Bankers, merchants, compradors and Chinese businessmen served as mediators between East and West. Their patriotism and commitment towards China would be called into question throughout the 20th century due to their extensive interactions with the West and commerce.

Christian education was a cultural dilemma for Chinese students. These schools were associated with the indoctrination of Christianity and the West. By focusing young students, these schools shaped and influenced the next generation of Chinese leaders. These Chinese students had the difficult task of balancing Chinese values with new Western knowledge in order to form a cohesive, modern national identity.

Missionaries’ presence in China became increasingly hostile during the 1920’s. Christians were targeted as denationalizing forces and Chinese students who attended missionary schools were labeled as unpatriotic and un-Chinese. In 1922, the 反基督教运动 Fan Jidu Jiao Yundong, Anti-Christian Movement developed out of sentiments from the May 4th Era, where pro-science and pro-secular attitudes combined with heated Chinese nationalism. Anti-Christian sentiments continued throughout the 1920’s and culminated in 1927, with the Nanjing Incident.

The Nanjing Incident is looked upon as the end of the missionary era, even though missionaries remained in China until 1951. Missionaries were the cause of strained China-West relations due to a number of factors. They were seen as a denationalizing force, imperialist, corrupt and associated with wealth and power. Despite higher goals, Christian education was denigrated to the point where social reform was reduced to philanthropy and liberal arts education was in danger of becoming more of a means to high social status than to social service.  

Despite noble intentions, missionaries set in motion revolutionary forces they could not actually be a part of. Their students were, however, with leaders such as Sun Yat-sen, Chiang Kai-shek and Duanmu Kai coming out of Christian universities and returning from Europe and the United States to actively lead the revolution. In an effort to remain neutral, missionaries’ inaction brought about even more hostility.

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During this period, Chinese nationalism was being redefined. On the surface, missionaries’ presence and actions did not have a place within the realm of this new China.

Missionary schools provided Western education to predominately Chinese students, creating an incoherent identity for those children attending Western schools. Schools have traditionally been a means for providing education, but more importantly, a cultural education. Missionary schools taught religion, traditional Chinese, Western and science classes.

Christian educators hoped that by providing a comprehensive education, their students would grow to have influential roles in Chinese society and bring with them Christian values and practice. However, many students were conflicted about their role as Chinese students in missionary schools. Western missionaries attempted to deal with their student’s conflicted identity by espousing that “a key purpose of Christian education was to awaken a sense of service within the students.”

Service was an option aside from protesting to show patriotism. Many girls adhered to the idea of community service as a way to give back to their country. Boys participated in protests, despite being disparaged by other students. “Students from government schools taunted mission school students with epithets ‘running dog of the foreigner’ and ‘foreign slave.’” Mission schoolboys were stuck in a world where they were not Western enough, nor Chinese enough. Missionaries were also stuck in a difficult position over whether to actively support student movements or silently condone them.

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61 Gail Graham. *Gender, Culture and Christianity*, 120.
62 Ibid., 120.
Missionary schools were often conflicted between what they strove for, and what was actually implemented in their programs. As a religious institution, they promoted secularization over Christianity. A principle goal they promoted was citizenship and service, but this often fell on deaf ears as children of businessmen used their knowledge for financial success instead of giving back to their community. Creating policies consistent with their actions was difficult to carry out in an ever-changing society.

Anti-Christian supporters capitalized on the missionary schools’ deviation from core principles in their practice. Mission schools often catered to wealthy students. The National Student Union charged that: “The YMCA and other Christian organizations and their officers are the hawks and hounds of the imperialists…they utilize the name of prominent men and work together with officials and wealthy people…Their aim in doing so is to poison the spirit and deceive the minds of the Chinese youth.” 63 Student groups criticized the YMCA and Christian organizations as being the “upper class club” and disregarding, if not creating additional labor issues. 64 Both of my grandparents attended Christian schools, but their wealth and residence in the French Concession shielded them from this type of antagonism. The shelter provided by wealth and political power perhaps incited even more rage amongst non-Christian educated students because their anger and anti-Western sentiment was not even reaching those students attending Christian schools.

64 Ibid., 173.
The YMCA and Christian institutions became engulfed in the May 4th Movement’s “agnostic, rational, iconoclastic tide in which first Confucianism and then Christianity were condemned as superstitious and useless.”65 Organized movements against Christianity, including the anti-Christian movement of 1922 featuring anarchists, communists and the left wing of the GMD became more prevalent, linking Christianity with imperialism and capitalism. 66

Can Christians identify with the people’s revolution?

Anti-Christian propaganda by groups such as the Association of the Non-Christian Students launched articles in the newspaper slandering the YMCA as: “The capitalists of all nations…are taking steps, one following the other, to rush into China to carry out their plans of economic exploitation. And present day Christianity and the Christian Church are the vanguard of the exploitation…Those nations who have established the YMCA in China have as their object nothing more than to rear up good and efficient bloodhounds of the capitalists…how can we not rise and oppose them when we see with our own eyes these bloodhounds of the capitalists holding a conference to discuss how to decide our fate?”67 These accusations undermined the actual work carried out by Christian educators and the YMCA and remained active stereotypes associated with foreigners in China. The YMCA sponsored the physical

65 Ibid., 172.
66 Ibid., 173.
67 Ibid., 174.
education program at Soochow University and worked closely with other Christian associations in China to sponsor libraries, buildings and school programs. Through accusations by anti-Christian activists, the YMCA’s relationship with other Christian associations had appeared to be inextricably linked to capitalism and imperialism.

Anti-Christian students capitalized on the negative aspects of all missionary activity in China, especially the increasingly popular physical education classes and sports programs. Students proclaimed that the “YMCA’s constant use athletics, popular education, etc., to do evangelistic work so as to smother the political thoughts of the youth. They are a detriment to the patriotic movement...a training ground for traitors to China.” 68 Even though the GMD supported the YMCA, nationalized the boy scouts program and used Christian educated students as drill and military leaders, the left wing of the GMD launched a virulent anti-Christianity campaign. Some of the most involved anti-Christian advocates were actually ex-Christian workers and students.

The growing anti-Christianity sentiment and the sanction by the GMD put Chinese students involved in Christian organizations in a difficult situation. If they remained outside the party, they would be stigmatized as Christians and anti-revolutionary, while if they entered the party, they would be joining an anti-Christian unit. The central question for these activists was: “How can we as Christians identify ourselves with the People’s Revolution without compromising or repudiating our Christian loyalty.” 69

Revolutionary disdain towards foreigners and Christians escalated into two

68 Ibid., 180.
69 Ibid., 182.
key incidents: the May 30th Incident of 1925 and the Nanjing Incident of 1927. May 30th was the turning point in the relationship between missionaries and the Chinese. On May 30th 1925, the death of a Chinese worker at the hands of a Japanese foreman in a Japanese owned cotton mill in Shanghai incited student protests. Police from the International Settlement, a district protected under the extra-territoriality clause, tried to disperse Chinese who were attempting to hold a memorial service. A group of students took to the streets to provoke public opinion against the police of the International Settlement and the Japanese. A number of students were arrested and were being held in a precinct when an angry mob gathered and demanded their release. A British officer ordered the police to fire on the crowd. Eleven Chinese were killed on the spot; others died later from their injuries.70 This incident had huge repercussion at the local, national and international level. The issue of extra-territoriality was brought to the forefront and missionaries were included among other foreigners as direct beneficiaries.

During the May 4th Movement of 1919, missionary schools were directly affected by a reinvigorated sense of Chinese nationalism. Students did not go to classes; there were mass parades and boycotts of foreign goods. Government schools tried to persuade students to leave Christian run schools and denounced missionary sponsored education as unpatriotic. These sentiments culminated later in the Nanjing Incident.

The Nanjing Incident of 1927 served as the final turning point for missionaries’ role in China. On March 21st, the GMD entered Nanjing and began

70 Gael Graham, Gender, Culture and Christianity, 129.
looting foreign schools, churches, businesses, and counsels and injured and killed many foreigners in order to take over the city. Many American missionaries left Nanjing and handed over control of their schools to Chinese Christian educators. 1927 marked the devolution of foreign missionaries’ power over Christian education.

During the 1910’s and 1920’s, missionaries in China were the target of revolutionary criticism from students, politicians, scholars and organizations. Although some aspects of Christian education were embraced, such as science, their presence was still contested as being an ambassador for foreign capitalists and imperialists.

Despite the violent incidents of May 30th and the Nanjing Incident, missionaries remained in China. Their stable presence, devotion to teaching and to their students during the Japanese occupation and Communist-Nationalist civil war provided support, safety and aid. The dedication of foreign Christian educators to China throughout the war changed public perception of the foreigner as imperialist to the foreigner as a savior. China, Britain, Russia and the United States’ collaborated during the Second World War and thereby forced revolutionary radicals to pause their ideological war against the West.

WWII and the Communist-Nationalist civil war greatly altered China’s relationship with the West. No longer were Chinese students who attended Christian schools denounced as traitors. Missionaries were no longer encouraged to return home. The West became an ally, as China looked inward to define what it meant to be a Chinese patriot in the face of Japans’ invasion and political infighting.
CHAPTER FOUR

CHRISTIAN EDUCATION AWAKENED A SENSE OF SERVICE
Why did missionaries stay in China when they had been subject to anti-foreign protests, labeled imperialists and forced to compromise their goals in the midst of revolutionary politics? Missionaries had attempted to remain neutral while their students became involved in revolutionary activism. Soon they were criticized for their lack of support to their own students. They had the impossible task of being part of a revolution without actually participating in it.

The photograph above features Duanmu Kai, center-left, as president of Soochow University in Taiwan during the 1970’s. He is surrounded with students in Scout uniforms. Boy Scouts originated in 1908 in Europe as a youth group for young children to develop character, citizenship, and personal fitness. Boy Scouts developed in China during the 1920’s, along with the YMCA and Christian schools who also promoted similar ideals. These organizations were criticized for indoctrinating China’s youth with Western values. After nearly a century, however, these organizations still remain strong. The principles of citizenship, health and character remained important, not the negative connotations of the associations that promoted them.

Missionaries sought to adapt their goals in this changing environment. As pioneers of social reform, they put forth ideas that would later be embraced by the Communist government and endorsed by comitern representative, Mikhail Borodin. Missionaries were social reformers and agents for Western science and ironically, secularization.

Common elements of social reform were embraced by Marxists, Leninists and Communists such as the spread of literacy, publication of written materials in the
vernacular, education and equality for women, the end of child-marriages, stressing citizenship over family obligations, the creation of student organizations to promote physical recreation and moral guidance. These political groups also sought to acquire, yet demonize Western knowledge for remolding Chinese life. Mikhail Borodin was quoted saying “You understand the behavior of the Protestant missionaries, don’t you? Well, then, you understand mine!”

Science and religion were intertwined aspects of Christian education, but science managed to separate itself from the inherent religious message of missionary work. Christian administrators removed religion from the curriculum and made religious services optional. The presence of missionaries became linked to modernization instead of religion. “Western science offered the exciting vision of a new society and a powerful weapon in the education and mobilization of the youth and the masses…they were swept up in the tides of secularization.”

By the end of the 1920’s the debate was clearly won by science. The one error Chinese intellectuals, including Christians, had tried to avoid was the charge of being unscientific. Religious experience was justified by converts in scientific terms. Being scientific was linked to being patriotic. Science took precedent over religion and became one of the allures to attending missionary schools. Attending Christian schools was once looked upon as unpatriotic due to their associations with the West and imperialism, but the prospect of learning advanced science and technology made attending these schools a component of Chinese nationalism sanctioned by the

71 Philip West, *Yenching University and Sino-Western Relations*, 6.
72 Ibid.
73 Ibid.
Nationalist Party.

The promotion of science and service by Christian leaders in China was closely aligned with the same ideals of citizenship, leadership and advancement embraced by Chinese politicians and student activists. These components of Christian education justified their presence and encouraged Chinese students to attend their schools and programs. As missionaries adjusted their goals, their presence became linked with aspects of Chinese patriotism.

_I don’t teach subjects, I teach boys_

Missionaries responded to the May 30th incident, the Nanjing Incident as well as to rising anti-foreign sentiments. Instead of becoming obsolete, Christian educators adapted to China’s hostile environment. In a conference held in New York City on April 6, 1925, the International Missionary Council and the Foreign Missions Conference of North America met to discuss Chinese Christian education in terms of their purpose and future in the wake of political attacks.

The conference acknowledged the rising anti-Christian sentiment and the criticism directed towards them as being “a denationalizing force,” “as imperialistic and pacifist,” “as setting up a rival system {to public schools},” “as an agency for propagating religion” and “as undemocratic.”74 In three sessions, leading Christian members discussed ways to reorganize their agenda and dispel the criticisms targeted

74 Chinese Christian Education: Conference held in New York City, April 6, 1925, 5-7.
toward them. Educational leaders strongly agreed to “see to it that our schools are free from the least suspicion of denationalizing or foreignizing tendencies.”\textsuperscript{75} In doing so, many sponsors of Christian schools argued for the integration of Chinese students into the schools, and the transition of authority to Chinese administrators and teachers. The general attitude was that “what has happened in China is only what most of us would ourselves do under the same circumstances, and that while the anti-foreign, anti-Christian elements are unfortunate and embarrassing, they are not necessarily a permanent in the movement.” Christian education supporters were aware of China’s unstable environment and accepted that they would be subject to negatively. However, this did not deter them, as they perceived negative attitudes towards Christian education would not always be a constant factor of Chinese political movements and identity.

Sympathetically, Christian leaders attending this conference praised “the fact that China is demonstrating her ability and desire to work out her own education problems with efficiency and good hope of success if one that gives satisfaction and encouragement to all interested in her progress, and although the immediate stage may be somewhat difficult, everything will depend on the patience and sympathy with which we act.”\textsuperscript{76} The conference did not propose to “Westernize,” impose American values or “imperialize” China. In fact this conference reflected a desire to ultimately transition the responsibility from American missionaries to the Chinese.

At the end of the conference the goals were restated: “To increase continually the amount of responsibility placed in Chinese hands, both in teaching and in

\textsuperscript{75} Ibid., 7.
\textsuperscript{76} Ibid., 18.
administration…to make schools and courses more vocational in character, and adapted more fully to the needs of Chinese life…to strengthen the courses of study in the Chinese language and literature with genuine appreciation of Chinese history and culture…to seek government registration or recognition of Christian schools…” The conclusion of the conference reflected Christian educators’ will and desire to transfer power over to the Chinese and to make Christian education beneficial for the common Chinese citizen with vocational programs and support from the government.

There was even a clause debating whether or not “missionaries should invoke special treaty protection and extra territorial privileges not reciprocated to Chinese in the homelands of the missionaries.” This clause, granting special privileges to foreigners living in China, has historically been a source of contention, especially after the May 30th Incident. The consideration to surrender this privilege reflected missionaries’ desire to distant themselves from the stereotypes of privilege and imperialism.

Efforts were made to make Christian education “Chinese.” Christian education leaders acknowledged that: “Our concern is not to transplant Western ideas or institutions into China, but to plant Christ’s Gospel in the hearts of the Chinese people…to attain this end, we must be prepared to adventure greatly in placing responsibility on Chinese workers, confident in the power of the Holy Spirit to find full expression in the lives and genius of the Chinese people, although this may seem to involve temporary loss of efficiency and even of character, as viewed through our

77 Ibid., 101.
78 Ibid., 102.
Western eyes and as compared with Western organization.” Christian educators in China did not covet power. They compromised their goals in accordance for what was ultimately best for Chinese students. Missionaries hoped to improve the lives of their students through the presence of Christianity and spirituality. They were not the denationalizing, capitalist forces they were accused to be.

Soochow University, one of the fourteen Christian universities in China founded by the United Board, was a representative Christian college entangled in the debate between Chinese and Christian education. Soochow was severely affected by the rising anti-Western sentiment in the 1920’s as well as by the Japanese occupation and Communist-Nationalist civil war. Throughout these challenges, Soochow adapted to its environment and managed to remain a strong, visible university still active today in Taiwan and on the mainland in Suzhou.

Transition to Chinese leadership

Soochow University was founded in 1900 by Tennessee Methodists. Overtime, this institution came to exemplify the changing role of Christian education during political strife, war, and rehabilitation. The adjustment in curriculum and activities at Soochow University reflected the trying time period and the need for adaptation to a rapidly changing environment. As a result, students of Soochow University were subject to varying attitudes towards Christian education from 1900

79 Ibid., 103.
through 1949, which influenced their identification with China and acceptance as Chinese patriots.

Soochow University’s curriculum included physical education, science, language and traditional Chinese studies. It took a liberal arts approach towards education. Physical education included military drill courses as well as sports. This was a new phenomenon in China, where exercise was not something educated people previously took part in. With the growing military presence in China during the 1920’s, the physical education programs offered by Soochow and other Christian colleges became more desirable. Mao Zedong in a speech written in 1917 argues that: “The development of our physical strength is an internal matter, a cause. If our bodies are not strong we will be afraid as soon as we see enemy soldiers, and then how can we attain our goals and make ourselves respected? Strength depends on drill and drill depends on self-awareness. The advocates of physical education have not failed to devise various methods. If their efforts have nevertheless remained fruitless, it is because external forces are insufficient to move the heart...” 80 Improved physical fitness was a quality valued by the military. Mao credits missionaries as advocates of physical education. The failure of the physical education movement was seen not as the fault of Christian educators, but rather of individuals. Both Mao and Chiang recognized the importance of a strong individual in the creation of a strong army.

The Nationalist government took power in 1927 and required military drill in all colleges and middle schools. Chiang Kai-shek was a Christian and nationalized Boy Scouts program while developing his own policy, the New Life Movement in

September of 1934. Chiang Kai-shek and his wife, Soong Mei-ling, integrated Western, Christian concepts of service with traditional Chinese ideals of Confucian self-cultivation. The New Life Movement was similar to Boy Scouts, the YMCA and other youth groups in Germany and Europe. It promoted order and cleanliness, while trying to weed out negative traits such as laziness, weakness, irregular routines and bad eating habits.\(^81\)

Chiang sought to develop patriotism and modernity through the strengthening of the individual. The New Life Movement started from the top down in an effort to boost morale and promote nationalism.\(^82\) This campaign had limited impact and focused on factions that shaped the philosophy of the GMD. While focusing on women, modernity and self-improvement, the GMD neglected the rural, less educated sections of society. The GMD lacked unity and cohesiveness in individual policies and this contributed to the lack of unity within the party itself. Despite the New Life Movement’s inefficiency, this movement linked modernity with Christianity and justified missionary presence in China. Many students from Soochow University became leaders in these nationalized athletic programs due to their experience in Christian schools.\(^83\)

Soochow emphasized science as core part of the curriculum. As the university developed, its science offerings became more popular than its religious services and classes, which became optional. In 1901, mid way through its first year,

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the university already had two American professors on staff to help form and standardize the science program. Soochow produced the first Chemistry Master’s Degree in all of China in 1917. The science department continued to grow and develop, including majors in botany, biology, chemistry, physics and engineering. Especially during the Japanese occupation and the political battle between the GMD and CCP, science remained largely unaffected by the unstable political environment. Science was linked to modernity. The May 4th Movement had promoted science and democracy. Science was progressive, apolitical and patriotic and continued to develop throughout the war years with even more support after the war.

As the political environment made way for the growth of the sciences, it had the opposite effect upon religious services. For the first 25 years at Soochow University, church services and daily chapel attendance was required. After the May 30th incident in 1925 however, Walter Hearn, Professor of Religion and chairman of religious activities recommended “all courses in religion …[be] elective and attendance at services of worship voluntary.” Despite optional religious services, students, even non-Christians, still attended services. Both government and Christian universities were shifting their focus towards science, medicine and law, but the sense of service remained especially ingrained in Christian universities.

When asked the question, “what do you teach?” a famous Tennessee Christian educator replied: “‘I don’t teach subjects, I teach boys.’ What he meant of course, was that the supreme aim of education is the harmonious development of human personality, not only intelligent, but responsible.” What government education lacked

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84 Ibid., 52.
85 Ibid., 117.
was a “concerted program for the development of responsible citizens.” Although religious aspects of Christian education were often considered taboo subjects, missionaries’ persistent effort to adjust to China’s changing political climate eventually led to Chinese politicians’ embrace of Christian leadership. Looking past the label of Christianity to what it actually offered: a sense of service, dedication and citizenship, Chinese politicians and leaders soon incorporated these aspects of Christian service into military and national youth groups.

The rapidly changing political environment caused the United Board and associated missionaries to reevaluate their programs and goals for education in China. Following the 1925 International Missionary Council’s Foreign Missions Conference in New York, Christian Colleges began implementing their suggestions. Many adapted a similar protocol to Soochow University, from the administration down to the students. Administration and teaching staff gradually shifted over to Chinese leadership. The sciences, law and medicine received generous funding and attention. And Soochow University itself accepted both Christian and non-Christian students in addition to eliminating mandatory religious services.

Through these changes, Christian education became a medium for modernity and secularization, no longer framed by religion alone. By transferring power over to Chinese leaders and by promoting science and limiting religion, Christian colleges minimized the opportunities for critics to charge them as being imperialistic. By redefining their goals, missionaries managed to remain an influential force in China.

86 Ibid., 119.
The nuns stayed

Missionaries remained in China through the Japanese occupation and the civil war between the Nationalists and the Communists up until 1951. Amidst war, political, social and economic turmoil, many Christian universities and schools remained relatively stable. Due to extra-territoriality, many functioned as hospitals, refugee camps and safe havens during the war. Soochow continued to function as a university throughout the Nationalist regime in Nanjing, the Japanese invasion and up until 1949.

When the Japanese attacked Shanghai in August 1937, President Y.C. Yang and Soochow University prepared for the inevitable occupation of Soochow’s campus as Chinese forces moved to defend Nanjing from the Japanese. Soochow University relocated to several nearby middle schools, but as soon as the Japanese entered Suzhou, a month later, members of the university split up, some going to Chongqing, others to Chengdu, Yunnan, Guizhou and the international concessions in Shanghai. Soochow, St. John’s and Hangzhou University all relocated in Shanghai. Documentary evidence at the Yale Divinity School Archives reveals how these universities had pooled their resources to continue providing an education for their students. As the Japanese occupied Shanghai, Soochow utilized different guises such as “make up classes,” utilized public middle school classrooms during off hours and even evacuated to Chongqing in order to survive and continue offering classes.  

Many of the Christian colleges supported by the United Board were in

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emergency mode. The United Board realized the graveness of the situation and began the Emergency Financial Campaign in November 1937. By the end of the fiscal year in June 1938, nearly forty five hundred gifts had brought in $307,017. The largest gifts came from two foundations: $50,000 from the Harvard-Yenching Institute and $85,000 from the Rockefeller Foundation. All gifts, with the exception of $8,840 designated for emergency activities, were transmitted in full to the colleges. The National Emergency Committee continued to expand their campaign and solicit new donors during the following years.

In 1940, United China Relief was organized with prominent board members such as Charles Edison, Governor of New Jersey, J.P Morgan, Theodore Roosevelt, John D. Rockefeller and Alfred P. Sloan. United China Relief provided $800,000 a year to support emergency and sustaining funds for Christian colleges in China. Financial relief from the United States increased throughout the war, especially after the U.S. became involved after the Japanese attacks on Pearl Harbor. As conditions in China worsened, funding increased. The Sustaining Fund, which was little over $250,000 in 1940-41, rose to more than $450,000 in 1941-42, to $660,000 in 1942-43, $840,000 in 1943-44, and over $760,000 in 1944-45. This aid was in addition to $750,000 to $800,000 yearly from endowments, mission boards, and the Associated Boards’ own fundraising. The United Board and U.S. supporters provided financial backing for Christian colleges in China to remain as active as possible during the Japanese occupation and the Second World War.

89 Ibid., 43.
90 Ibid., 45.
Soochow University was on the brink of survival from the mid 1920’s through 1951, when foreigners were forced to leave China. Soochow University had the daunting task of reconstruction twice: first after the Second World War and then again after the Communists took power in 1949.

Nothing left except empty buildings.

Soochow University students, faculty and administrators returned to Soochow after WWII ended and began reorganizing, assessing damages and taking steps necessary to make Soochow a functional university once again. According to notes taken by William P. Fenn in 1947, “the Japanese have been using the buildings in Soochow as a hospital. Buildings are intact, but walls have been torn down and partitions removed. Most of the equipment is gone, except for what has been used in Shanghai.”

Acting President Robert Sheng and Joseph Chow, Dean of Administration, submitted a brief financial statement concerning rehabilitation costs and the status of Soochow. On September 21, 1945, Soochow University officially reopened its doors, after returning to a campus that was still in occupation by a Japanese military hospital unit. The church was found to be in bad condition. The roof was leaking and there was no equipment, nor any of the facilities sorely needed for normal operation.

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of a university. Soochow spent about $28,000,000 of the gifts from the alumni and other funds to make the school operational, even though everything was makeshift and far from being satisfactory.\textsuperscript{92}

Upon opening their doors, Robert Sheng, Acting President and Joseph Chow, Dean of Administration, recorded nearly eight hundred students came for instruction on the opening day. Strenuous efforts were made to evict the Japanese from the campuses in Shanghai and in Soochow. On November 23, Soochow leaders forced the Japanese to leave. On December 1, Soochow University regained part of the campus, including Allen Hall and two missionary residences. Repair work began at once. Because of the possible danger of occupation by the Chinese army or refugees in Soochow, steps were taken to occupy the buildings by Soochow University faculty and students. The Japanese broke and sold most of the fixtures and furniture of the University left on campus eight years ago.

The cost of rehabilitation was beyond belief, not only because of the physical rebuilding process, but the unstable economic environment and unpredictable inflation. Sheng and Chow recalls, at the end of 1945, a laborer got $500 a day, but four months later, he was paid $6,500 and $9,000 by May. With the extensive damage and loss, coupled with the monthly increase of workers’ wages, the reconditioning of the law college campus alone had already cost $136,351,320.\textsuperscript{93} Soochow University faced recuperating students who were eager to start college after the war, a smaller, underpaid, rehabilitating staff, recovering campus and striking inflation. These

\textsuperscript{92} Robert Sheng, Joseph Chow, “Brief Statement on the Financial Need of Soochow University, November 15, 1946” (Yale University Archives: UBCHEA Archives College Files, Soochow Publicity Reports 1932-1956).
\textsuperscript{93} Ibid.
factors made rehabilitating Soochow University a nearly impossible task.

Robert Sheng and Joseph Chow break down the cost of rehabilitation of both the university and middle school. Sheng and Chow cite expenditures to be:

- $22,000,000 from the church
- $50,000,000 from the Ministry of Education
- $5,000,000 from the Wushing Middle School Alumni Association
- $5,000,000 from the China Christian Education Association
- $56,277,200 from the U.S.A. (associated boards)
- $5,500,000 from the United Service to China

Borrowed:
- $5,863.59 U.S. from Law Library Fund
- $39,677.65 U.S. from the Alumni Association

Looking at the donations for the rehabilitation of Soochow University, the Chinese government’s Ministry of Education donated just slightly less than the Associated Board from the United States. The remaining funds came predominately from alumni, revealing their dedication to China and education despite propaganda that implied attending a Christian school made one un-patriotic. The rehabilitation of Soochow University was a group effort by the church, the United Board, the Chinese government and Chinese citizens. Together, they rebuilt Soochow and other institutions destroyed during the occupation.

The swiftness and dedication in rebuilding Soochow reflects the willingness to rebuild China as a whole. In taking on such an overwhelming task, Soochow University supporters demonstrated the importance of rebuilding and reestablishing their presence and reconnecting with their history on campus in Suzhou and within China at large. Reclaiming space formerly occupied by the Japanese and restoring it shows the resilience of the Christian spirit of service and dedication to education for

94 Ibid.
the greater rebuilding of China.

Soochow University progressed, despite the daunting task of rebuilding. In a letter written by D.L. Shertz on December 12, 1947, he reflected on the past two years positively. Religious work at Soochow grew steadily. Religion classes became more popular than philosophy. With the vivid memories of war and devastation in the minds of students, spirituality served as a sense of hope and comfort that couldn’t be achieved through secular classes. It was not only this newfound spirituality, but also this sense of giving back and citizenship that re-emerged among students as Soochow University rehabilitated.

As Christmas approached, “with it to many, many non-believers a revelation of Christian joy, and to many, many Christians an experience that ten years of war and refugeeing had no counterpart.” An increasing number of students became involved in Christian Fellowships and by 1947 over 1,400 students had enrolled in the religious program that worked with the youth department and choir at St. John’s and at Sunday school for underprivileged children. Shertz’s optimism was present throughout her letter, she acknowledged: “Our university and middle school still have needs of many kinds. But our thankfulness will always overflow so long as the religious side of our work is such that we can really believe individuals are coming to know our Savior and enter into the life that he came at Christmas time to give to each of us.”

In contrast to Shertz’s optimistic tone, an underlying fear of the impending

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95 D.L. Shertz, “Religious Work on Soochow University Campus, December 10, 1945- December 10, 1947” (Yale University Archives: Soochow University Miscellaneous Papers- re: finance, curriculum, UBCCC, box 68 1811).
96 Ibid.
Communist rise to power is prevalent in many other documents written by Soochow University administrators. A letter from J.W. Dyson on November 7, 1948, for example, describes a recent visit by Leighton Stuart, U.S. Ambassador to China and former President of Yenching University. Dyson recalls:

Papers are pointing out the change of tactics by the Communists in their occupation policy in northern cities, where they have urged all foreigners (including Americans) to remain and they will be undisturbed in their work…. Dr. Stuart felt that the occupation would proceed from the north south-ward, thus giving ample warning if an evacuation policy were needed…No one is alarmed or dislocated as yet; we expect to go along normally with our work…This is meant to reassure, rather than disturb you, since the newspaper accounts are likely to overstate the case. The other foreigner diplomats are not taking “so drastic” action as the Americans have but there is the difference that the Americans are in bad with the commies. 97

Dyson further reports that school operations were running smoothly and work to rebuild was progressing steadily. Soochow University bounced back quickly after ten years of instability and exile, only to be forced to relocate and rebuild once again after Soochow University officially closed on the Chinese mainland in 1952.

They began rebuilding

As mainland China came under Communist rule in 1949, Soochow University and those associated had the difficult task of how to rescue their school. In 1951, all foreigners were ordered to leave China. The United Board of Christian Colleges in China had to reevaluate its mission. It was no longer the United Board of Christian

97 J.W. Dyson, “Soochow University, November 7, 1948” (Yale University Archives: Soochow University Miscellaneous Papers- re: finance, curriculum, UBCCC, box 68 1811).
Colleges in China, but rather the United Board for Christian Higher Education in Asia. The United Board shifted its priorities to other Asian venues, like Taiwan and Korea and encouraged Chinese students to come to the United States to study instead.

The United Board had a difficult decision to reorganize their goals and mission in China. Mansfield Freeman, a prominent China scholar and one of the original founders of AIG represented the United Service to China organization in a speech delivered in 1949. He spoke optimistically that under Communist rule: “Christian Colleges will be one of the few places in the world where ideas can be exchanged, where fact can compete with propaganda, where democratic methods of thought and action can he compared with their Communistic counterparts.”98 The need for Christian education was imperative.

Christian colleges compromised their objectives in the past, just as Mansfield Freeman suggests they should do in the wake of the Communist government coming into power. Freeman states Christian colleges: “Must insist upon certain essentials of teaching and that they must know definitely the limits beyond which compromise cannot go. The purpose of one of these institutions according to its charter is the training of capable and consecrated leaders for the Christian Church and for the community in China. That is a high ideal under any conditions.”99 The threat to Christian education under the Communist regime did not deter educators from striving towards that goal. Remaining in China and rebuilding elsewhere remained a priority for the United Board and its supporters.

98 Mansfield Freeman. “Speech by Mr. Mansfield Freeman of United Service to China,” Yale Divinity School Archives: United Board for Christian Higher Education in Asia Box 44. 1141A Freeman, Mansfield, (1950-1958)
99 Ibid.
The spirit of rebuilding traveled with Soochow University alumni, who were quick to reestablish their alma mater in Taiwan. They received early funding from the United Board to help rebuild their library collection. By 1966, Soochow University with the help of alumni and American Methodist supporters became a full-fledged university recognized by the government. This recognition prompted the United Board to deem Soochow an “associated” college, eligible for occasional grants, but not constant support.\(^\text{100}\) The robust dedication of Soochow University alumni allowed the university to be self-sufficient and independent of outside sources for funding.

In a speech written by Duanmu Kai as President addressing foreign students studying at Soochow University in 1976, Duanmu states the resilience of all those involved in the rebuilding of Soochow University in Taiwan. Duanmu states: *Unlike most American universities, in this 75 year history, Soochow University lost its entire physical plant twice. It lost all buildings, laboratory equipment, library books and records, first to the Japanese and a second time to the Chinese Communists. The second time it lost not only its physical plant but all gifts and endowments, even those that had been sent to the United States for safe keeping... refugee alumni on Taiwan, as soon as they could feed their families, began the difficult task of rebuilding the entire university. We received important but limited support from American friends, although some tried to persuade us to give up the attempt lest we become a heavy* 

After Soochow University officially closed in 1952, it was uncertain whether they would be rebuilt again. Within six years of its re-opening after World War II and endless support of alumni and U.S. funding to rebuild, Soochow was lost once again, only this time foreigners were not allowed to remain in China. It was the sense of service and dedication of Soochow University alumni and the commitment American missionaries had towards Christian higher education in Asia that led to re-establishment of Soochow University in Taiwan.

My grandfather, Thomas Twanmoh recollects the rebuilding process in Taiwan: *After the fall of mainland China, Soochow University remained in Suzhou. After a few years, maybe in 1956 or 1960, they established a night school for Soochow University “Soochow buxi” in Taiwan. In those days when students tried to get into college, but they couldn’t, they fell into that sub class, the Soochow buxi ben helped them get into college. The night school changed into law school to allow students study at night. Eventually the law school became a full-fledged university.*

Soochow was built progressively over a long period of time. Alumni focused on re-establishing the most essential components of Soochow University first, starting with small classes, then the law school.

Twanmoh continues that: *At that time Southern Methodists didn’t send money to Mainland China, they sent money to Taiwan. Taiwan received money to re-establish Soochow. There were several presidents before my father. At that time, Soochow was having a hard time raising money. There were a lot of financial burdens to them...*\(^{101}\)

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\(^{101}\) *Duanmu Kai jiao chang ji nian ji: ji nian xian sheng yi bai jin yi sui ming dan. Commemorating Dr. Joseph K. Twanmoh Compiled for the 101th Anniversary of Dr. Twanmoh’s Birthday, (Taipei: Dong Da, 2004), (Taipei: Suzhou University Publications, 2004).*
difficulties. At that time, my father was 65, 68, no close to 70. My father was Chairman of the Board, he wanted to help, but there was only so much he could do. Finally, the faculty elected him to be the president. The constant financial support of the United Board allowed Soochow University to continue functioning as a university from 1900 to present day. Even with foreign aid, providing a livable salary, rebuilding facilities and running the university required sacrifices from multiple departments, just as faculty and staff compromised their wages in the face of rebuilding after the war with Japan.

Duanmu Kai realized the need for a competitive salary to keep and attract the most qualified professors. When he became president, the first thing he did was double the salary for the entire faculty, including all staff. The accounting people said, where did you get all this money, he said “don’t worry; I’m responsible for the finance of the school.” He went to different places, he was very well known in Hong Kong. There were old students from Soochow who settled in Hong Kong, they were merchants, businessmen, etc. His old classmates would donate a lot of money to him. That way my father could donate his full time to the university and not worry about raising money. Eventually, the church stopped donating to Taiwan Soochow and instead gave the money to Mainland Soochow in the 1980’s. The cessation of aid from the United Board proved that Soochow University in Taiwan was financially viable, independent and successful in rebuilding.

Soochow University in Taiwan was physically removed from anti-Christian, anti-Western and anti-Japanese sentiments that had overwhelmed mainland China.

102 Thomas Twanmoh, Personal Interview, 14 October 2008.
After rebuilding for a second time, Soochow University had a new start on an island relatively isolated from war, politics, and social instability. Without the distractions of anti-Christian protesters or the physical instability of violence, Soochow was rebuilt without the worries it formerly faced. With this somewhat fresh start, issues caused by forty years of instability could finally be resolved.

After two decades of peace and stability in Taiwan, new attitudes began to emerge in relation to the tension between China and Japan and between nationalism and Westernization that had once plagued Soochow University on the mainland. Two speeches written by my great grandfather, Duanmu Kai, while he was president of Soochow reflect the relationships among Asian nations and cross-cultural studies. In one speech made on August 25, 1973, conferring an honorary doctorate upon Spark Masayuki Matsunaga, Duanmu describes Matsunaga’s academic contribution to the field of law as well as his contribution to the great cause of justice and humanitarianism. Matsunaga, senator of Hawaii helped fight: “Racial discrimination against American citizens of oriental parentage…through legal procedures.” This is important because “as a Christian educational institution, Soochow University is closely associated with American faith and tradition…they have done much to stimulate cultural exchange between East and West.”

Matsunaga received the third honorary doctorate that Soochow University ever granted. This is significant because Matsunaga was of Japanese descent and in Duanmu Kai’s speech he praised Matsunaga for fighting against the discrimination of

103 Duanmu Kai jiao chang ji nian ji, Commemorating Dr. Joseph K. Twanmoh, 30.
Asian Americans, which unites Chinese, Taiwanese, Japanese and Koreans together. Twenty years before, they were disparate, vehemently battling groups. Now they are seen as united in combating racism abroad. Duanmu Kai further praises missionaries, American faith and the cultural exchange of East and West through their crucial role and presence in Soochow University.

This is coming from the man who was expelled from a missionary school when he was a young man for being involved in politics. During the first half of the 20th century, missionaries in China were generally the target of criticism, yet their persistence and devotion throughout all the turmoil of the past century makes their goal realized today: the intellectual gift of cross-cultural exchange between East and West.

In another speech, my great grandfather addresses foreign students studying at Soochow University and cites the importance of multi-cultural exchange. He argues that “cross-cultural studies” is the final step in one’s formal education and hoped that students’ “contact with foreign culture” will allow for them “to make major contributions to American education”104. Soochow University, since its founding by Tennessee Methodist missionaries in 1900, has had a long relationship with American cultural institutions through its development, survival and ultimate success. The importance of cultural exchanges between both Chinese students and Americans is clear throughout Soochow University’s history and continues to be. Christian schools were the first vehicles for cross-culture exchange in China. Their dedication to cultural awareness and exchange is exemplified in their students, who are making

104 Ibid., 46.
contributions to an increasingly globalized world.

The Japanese occupation, WWII and the Communist-Nationalist civil war forced the negative connotations associated with missionaries to be reevaluated. During times of violent instability, Christian educators offered financial support, security and stability. The actions of many Christian leaders in China during the war was heroic and showed their dedication and commitment to helping Chinese students during times of instability. Their willingness to keep pace with China’s rapidly changing political climate made them useful during the war and a source of stability after WWII and as the civil war ended.

The loyalty of Christian educators to China was ingrained in their students. Both the United Board and Soochow University alumni became committed to rebuilding China and Chinese Christian education after the war. Christian schools had created a generation of Chinese students who filled the ranks of military and political leadership. Their knowledge of Western information, science, technology and their commitment to the values of service and citizenship shaped Chinese national behavior during the Second World War. It also helped to establish a new Chinese identity after the Communist Party came to power in 1949.
CHAPTER FIVE

WE FOUGHT WITH PURE GUTS
The start of the Sino-Japanese war in 1937 united warring Chinese political parties, the Nationalists and Communists, together as a cohesive force against Japan. War is a unifying emergency that defines dedication and patriotism in clear, concrete terms. To serve one’s country in terms of military service, financial aid and social services leads to a stronger, united nation.

The prospect of a greater enemy than those within does not, however, eliminate internal animosity. How did war with Japan change the way that missionaries and foreigners were viewed in China, especially in terms of their service and commitment to remain in a war torn country? How were political ties to the Nationalist Party and Communist Party affected by war with Japan? How did those not involved with the government show their patriotism and dedication to China? How were bankers and merchants who lived in Shanghai affected by the Japanese occupation? How did they continue to survive financially with little to no political stability?

How did the United States’ involvement in World War Two and in the China theater after the attack on Pearl Harbor affect attitudes towards the West? How would relationships within and between the Nationalist Party and Communist Party change after WWII? How do the memories of war influence national identity and shape the meaning of service and patriotism? I will address these concerns below.

The period from 1937-1949 was especially violent for China. Political, economic and social instability in the face of a global war and on a national level altered the meanings of Chinese patriotism and service from the pre-war period.
The photograph featured above was taken by a missionary living in Nanjing named Ernest Forrester. Forrester was an educator working at St. Paul’s Episcopal Church when the Nanjing Massacre occurred. He wrote letters, reports and visually documented evidence of the atrocities that occurred during the five months from December 1937 to May 1938. Chinese refugees in the photo above, many of them children and orphans found safety at Ginling College for Women, one of the fourteen Christian universities founded by the United Board.

Within Ginling’s gates there was safety, security, food and healthcare. Ginling was protected by its status as a foreign university under the extra-territoriality clause. Even though it was subject to searches and violence on campus, those incidents were minimal compared to what happened outside its gates. A bastion of hope, the university maintained well preserved buildings and green grass in contrast to the looted, burnt buildings outside the Ginling campus where blood was running through the streets. The missionaries’ decision to stay in Nanjing was heroic and shifted public opinion in favor of Christian principles and the presence of Christian educators in China.

*Dictators always ask you to sacrifice your life*

The Japanese invasion of China markedly changed the internal political conflict within China. As Chinese politicians and intellectuals were debating the future of China politically in the 1920’s and 1930’s, the prospect of war violently
shifted priorities from intellectual discourse and political categorizations to a unified
nation against Japan. Chinese identity was no longer shaped along political beliefs,
education or exposure to the West, but upon service and commitment to defending
China. The West was no longer the enemy threatening Chinese nationalism and
identity. The Japanese military was a physical, palpable force quickly invading China
from the north that shaped the notion of modern Chinese patriotism and nationalism
from 1937-1945.

There were numerous incidents that led up to the Marco Polo Bridge Incident
on July 1937 and the start of the Second Sino-Japanese war. Japan had systematically
invaded and annexed Manchuria in 1931 and had begun to occupy parts of northern
China. The Japanese presence was alarming and rumors of attack circulated widely.
July 7th was a humid, summer night and Japanese troops were conducting field drills
near Marco Polo Bridge when shots were fired. The Japanese tried to account for all
their troops and found one man missing. They demanded entry into the town of Wan-
p’ing to search for him. The Chinese provincial government refused to let them enter.
The Japanese attempted to storm the town, to no avail. The missing solider turned up
soon thereafter, without having any contact with the Chinese. Whether the Japanese
intended to or not, the Marco Polo Bridge incident, a small skirmish, became the
turning point that led to a full out war between the Japanese and Chinese.105

On August 7th, 1937, Chiang Kai-shek and his advisers formally announced an
all-out war of resistance. Chiang made a huge strategic gamble, shifting the focus on

the war from northern China to the Shanghai-Nanjing region. His rationale was that Shanghai’s restricted area would limit Japanese tanks, artillery and fire power more than the open fields of northern China would. This, in turn, would draw international attention and Western support because of Shanghai’s International Settlements. National support would also increase due to the government’s location in Nanjing.\textsuperscript{106}

The Japanese stormed into Shanghai through the Yangtze and Whangpoo Rivers and obliterated Chinese forces with new, technologically advanced warships and weapons. Within three months of fighting, 270,000 Chinese troops were injured or killed (approximately 60\% of the Nationalist defenders.) There were thousands of civilian casualties and devastation to most of the city, except for the international concessions. There were more than 40,000 Japanese casualties. In November, the Japanese swiftly moved from Shanghai through the Hangzhou bay and took over Nanjing, the Nationalist capital of China on December 12-13, 1937. This resulted in the Nanjing Massacre.\textsuperscript{107}

The Japanese invasion shifted China’s developing modern identity into concrete terms of service and commitment to China. Japan’s interactions with missionaries and foreigners living in China also encouraged many Chinese critics to see Christian foreigners in a different light. Missionaries’ dedication to remain in China during the war and provide aid dispelled capitalist, imperialist connotations and showed the Christian principles of service and citizenship at work.

\textsuperscript{106} Ibid., 551.
\textsuperscript{107} Ibid., 552.
The fall of Nanjing in the autumn of 1937 led to one of the most brutal incidents in the Sino-Japanese war and one of the most horrific war crimes in history: the Rape of Nanjing. Within three months, from December 13, 1937 to March 1938, the Japanese army had killed over 300,000 Chinese civilians and raped up to 80,000 women in the city of Nanjing. About twenty missionaries remained in Nanjing during the war. Of those twenty, nine were American. Letters to their families, friends, newspapers, the government and Japanese embassy are preserved at the Yale Divinity School archives and reveal the most violent, unthinkable moments during the Rape of Nanjing. These records provide some of the first original English documents from the war.

The missionaries’ presence during the war, especially during the Nanjing Massacre provided some neutrality and a bit of protection for the Chinese. As foreign Christians became scapegoats for China’s incoherent identity, being charged with schools that were seen as a training ground for traitors and imperialists, their devotion to fostering service and citizenship did not waver from their actions during the war. As the Nationalist Government fled to Chongqing, leaving their national capital and its citizens behind, missionaries remained, even though it was a grave detriment to their own safety. These Christians exhibited an ethos of service and dedication to China that surpassed that of the Nationalist government.

Letters and photographs are compelling pieces of evidence that convey the details and emotions of those affected by the Rape of Nanjing. An excerpt from a letter written to the Japanese Embassy in Nanjing by M. Searle Bates, an American academic commissioned to teach at the University of Nanjing through the United Christian Missionary Society states on December 14-15th: “In our new Library Building, where we are taking care of 1,500 common people, four women were raped on the property, two were carried off and released after being raped; three were carried off and not returned.”

Robert O. Wilson, a doctor at University Hospital, Nanjing elaborates in letters to his family that: “I could go on for pages telling of cases of rape and brutality almost beyond belief. Two bayoneted cases are the only survivors of seven street cleaners who were sitting in their headquarters when Japanese soldiers came in and without warning or reason killed five or six of their number and wounded the two that found their way to the hospital… Today marks the sixth day of the modern Dante’s Inferno, written in huge letters with blood and rape. Murder by the wholesale and rape by the thousands of cases.”

Correspondence from the American missionaries who remained in Nanjing is filled with similarly horrific incidents that took place in December of 1937. Minnie Vautrin, one of the few women missionaries who remained in charge of Ginling College for Women, a Christian university describes herself as holding “down the fort there with several thousand women.”

Christian universities and hospitals were turned into refugee camps. Foreigner’s homes and grounds, like that of German John

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109 Letters from Searle Bates to the Japanese Embassy are contained in the Miner Searle Bates Papers, Record Group no. 10, Box 4. Yale Divinity School Archives.
110 Robert O. Wilson, Archives of the United Board for Christian Higher Education in Asia, Record Group No. II, Box 229. Yale Divinity School Archives.
111 Ibid.
Rabe housed six hundred people. Another missionary wrote that his house “is really packed like sardines.” 112 3,000 Chinese took asylum in Ginling College dormitories and hallways, with over 10,000 refugees on the worst days of December.

28,000 refugees were housed in the University of Nanjing campus. 113 Between missionary’s homes and foreign institutions, only a miniscule portion of the population managed to retreat into refugee camps or safe havens. These places were still prone to violence and rape by the Japanese military. The Nationalist government and Chinese armies left Nanjing to the Japanese and moved to Chongqing in southwestern China. The missionaries remained as the only voluntary force to assist a helpless citizenry.

As the Nationalist government abandoned Nanjing and the coastal region to the Japanese, foreigners used all their political power to get in contact with the Japanese and American embassies to put an end to the brutalities occurring in Nanjing. With the advantage of extra-territoriality, the missionaries and foreign concessions were able to provide a safe haven for a small portion of the population. Those remaining after the Nationalist Government drew upon any resources they had such as legal privileges, money and property in the foreign concession in order to survive.

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The war with Japan united battling Chinese political groups and the Western Allied powers against Japan. From 1937-1941, the CCP and GMD formed a United Front against the Japanese. The failure of the first United Front from 1923-1927 under the encouragement of the Soviet Union and the Communist Party’s vehement distrust and dislike of Chiang Kai-shek made for an uneasy relationship and compromise between the two parties. The Second United Front was necessary to unite China in fighting against the Japanese. The Communists’ rationale for cooperating with the GMD was opportunistic: under the national banner of defeating the Japanese, the Communists would gain some authority under GMD rule and gain relief from internal fighting.

The Communists capitalized on the lull in internal struggles to begin to build their power while the Nationalists devoted more energy to fighting Japan. The turning point for instituting the Second United Front was the Xian Incident. On December 12, 1936, a young field marshal, Zhang Xueliang, kidnapped Chiang Kai-shek. It was unanimously agreed upon by the CCP, USSR and Chiang’s captors that assassinating Chiang would defeat the purpose of striving towards a United Front. After Chiang’s safety was ensured, leaders such as Zhou Enlai negotiated for cooperation with the GMD and called for a: “reconciliation between erstwhile
enemies and future friendship, unity and struggle."^{114}

Thomas Twanmoh described the United Front as follows: *we knew we couldn’t evacuate anymore, we couldn’t give up any more. The Communists and Nationalists decided to give up their differences and form a united front against Japan…but the Communists used that time to rebuild and strengthen, they didn’t really want China to be unified and peaceful. There is a saying that poverty is a warm bed for Communism.*^{115} Despite both the Communist and Nationalist Parties higher calling to unite and cooperate in order to defend China against the Japanese, neither political organization was as honest or cooperative as believed to be. The Communists were working to build up their own party base while the Nationalist Party sent spies within their compounds and carried out undercover attacks.

Does the lack of cooperation in the face of China’s downfall make the Communist and Nationalist Party and their members unpatriotic? What about those citizens who were not involved in the government and did not contribute to internal fighting? How was patriotism and nationalism shaped in the face of a common enemy? How did Chinese citizens with conflicting loyalties view each other?

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^{115} Thomas Twanmoh, Personal Interview, 28 October 2008.
If you’re privileged

Not all Chinese citizens were involved in the government or military during World War II. What happened to those citizens who remained on the coastal regions of Shanghai and Nanjing during the war when the Nationalist government moved to Chongqing? How was their patriotism and nationalism defined with daily confrontations with the Japanese military who were occupying Shanghai? How were these families able to survive and continue their livelihoods in an occupied city? And how would their interactions with occupying forces shape their identification with modern China after the war ended? Despite all these factors contributing to modern Chinese national identity, the underlying aspect that determined one’s patriotism ultimately belonged to Chiang Kai-shek. As seen through Chiang’s increasingly dictatorial role in the GMD, those involved in the military, government and private sector were all subject to Chiang’s changing ideas of Chinese nationalism and service.

Agnes Gen, a childhood friend of my grandmother’s, Vivian Fu, both attended Morning Star High School and Aurora College, both Christian boarding schools, while growing up in Shanghai. Both of their families were involved in banking and remained in Shanghai throughout World War II. Agnes describes: During the Japanese occupation, my whole family escaped by moving to Shanghai, my brother’s family, my half sister from Qingdao, in total there were 20-30 more people in our house including over fifty servants. It was difficult just to get rice to feed everyone. Peasants would come to our back gate and sell rice. It was very difficult to get things
on the open market, everything was rationed. The Japanese controlled the traffic, rationing, route, price, everything! Everything had to happen under the table, provisions were all supplied at night. And if the Japanese caught you, you were killed. There was a shortage in Shanghai, but it was nothing like the interior. We were on the port, food always was brought in. We would get Sunkist oranges and golden delicious apples from the U.S. They would give whole crates to my father, with all their paper wrappings. If you're privileged, you're privileged; we never were short of food.\textsuperscript{116} Acquiring food and basic necessities was easier for those with money living in foreign concessions, but obtaining political and social security would prove to be a greater challenge.

For those who remained in Shanghai under Japanese occupation, the struggle for survival manifested itself in various forms. Shanghai was an international city, known for its merchants and bankers. All levels of society were involved in this struggle, from wealthy bankers to poor migrant workers. Living in an occupied city required constant balance between Japanese occupying forces and the Chinese government.

My grandmother’s family, the Fu family lived in the French Concession of Shanghai. Heavily involved in banking, the Fu’s had the financial stability to retire from banking in 1927, at the start of the Nanjing Decade and the establishment of the Nationalist government in Nanjing. Being financially viable and living in the French Concession provided safety, relative stability and isolation for the family during the next two decades of war. Complex relationships developed during the Japanese occupation.

\textsuperscript{116} Agnes Gen, Personal Interview, 2 August 2008.
occupation in Shanghai in order to survive and ensure basic necessities. These relationships would later manifest themselves in vehement trials and accusations over who was a collaborator, who was a traitor and who had been a patriot after the Second World War ended when the Nationalist government tried to regain power through fear and force.

During this period, many businessmen embraced their new role in commerce, as well as in politics and philanthropy. The rapid growth of Shanghai in terms of business, international trade, and reformed school systems blurred the lines between traditional categories such as scholar, government official and businessman. Businessmen found themselves engaged in all three communities and pressured to take a more nationalistic role in the face of national conflict, like that of the shenshang. With a Western education, influence in international relations and trade and the waning power of the Nationalist government, Chinese businessmen stepped in to take on civic responsibilities.

In an annual conference held in 1921, for the Federation of Chambers of Commerce, prior to war with Japan, Tang Fufu, a prominent Shanghai merchant passionately declared:

It was no longer a question of simply supporting such and such a party or of depending on such and such a strong man… it is now the time for merchants to renounce a time worn tradition of not participating in politics… We refused to become involved in what we called ‘dirty politics.’ If politics are dirty, it is because we have permitted them to become so…. Are we slaves and traitors? I say no! The merchants of China will save this country. It is the duty of our businessmen to get together and devise every way and means to force our government to improve our internal affairs. We believe that only by so doing can we find hope in the recovery of the business of our country and that our failure to take such steps will result in the complete failure of all business, the
impossibility for our people to make their livings, and finally the destruction of our nation.\textsuperscript{117}

This patriotic sentiment persisted throughout the Republican era through the Sino-Japanese War and civil war, even as the commitment to patriotism became more complicated.

Shanghai bankers, merchants and the wealthy were also targets of anti-imperial sentiment. Their wealth, which was often the product of industry and commerce, was a point of contention because of its reliance on foreign trade and capitalism. However, these businessmen’s wealth provided financial support to the local government and most often, the GMD. Chinese bankers were in a political position of strength due to the central government’s faulty finances and foreign banks were unwillingness to provide loans. “The modern Chinese banks were excluded from the financing of external trade by the foreign banks, and from the circuits of internal trade by the 錢庄 qianzhuang, old style private Chinese banks, so now they seized the opportunity to advance a large number of loans to the government.”\textsuperscript{118} In doing so, bankers were able to assert power financially and influence government actions.

\textsuperscript{117} Marie Claire Bergere, \textit{The Golden Age of the Chinese Bourgeoisie}, 208.
\textsuperscript{118} Ibid., 222.
The golden age of the Chinese bourgeoisie

Many bankers had some political connection and used this opportunity as a chance to “clean up Chinese public finance.” For example, the National Federation of Bankers’ Associations warned the government that if it wanted funds from them it would have to cut down on its military expenditure, readjust internal loans and reform the monetary system. As Chang Kia-ngau (Zhang Gongquan) put it, the intransigence of the bankers was simply an expression of their patriotism. Chang Kia-ngau stated: “We will support most heartily any public loan that really aims at the benefit of the country.” Bankers continued to influence the government throughout the 1920’s, but were often met with futile results. Disheartened, the once fervent merchant community turned towards apathy.

The banking community had a long relationship with Chiang Kai-shek. When Chiang came to power in 1927, as Marie Claire Bergere points out in her work, The Golden Age of the Chinese Bourgeoisie, many Shanghai bankers offered financial support. At first with two loans of 500,000 dollars, enough to finance half of the sum needed for the first phase of the GMD’s Northern Expedition. Through a few select community members such as Chen Guangfu, the President of Shanghai Bank of Trade and Savings and Chang Kia-ngau, Vice Governor of Bank of China, the Shanghai banking community was mobilized to support Chiang Kai Shek. Chiang Kai-shek asked for a loan of 30 million dollars and within three months the loan was

119 “Formation of a Chinese Banking Consortium.” CWR, 29 January 1921, 47.
Chen and many in the Shanghai business circles offered such financial support believing that the Guomindang would bring peace and prosperity to the country.\textsuperscript{121}

Chiang strategically choose to work with Chen Guangfu and Qian Xinzhi because of their power within the banking sector, international education and close ties to political figures. Chen was the main policymaker for the “three southern banks” and was educated in the United States. Qian was educated in Japan like Chiang Kai-shek and had great influence amongst the “four northern banks.” Qian and Chen were originally close friends in Shanghai. They are linked to the Soong family and the future minister of finance and Soong Ailing’s husband, H.H. Kung.

Many key figures in finance and the government were educated abroad or in Christian schools, like Chiang Kai-shek and the Soong family. Their knowledge of the West allowed them to excel in international business and government, and thereby have a mutual link and understanding of China’s modern role in a global environment. Among these leaders, Christian education and interactions with the West did not result in being labeled as traitor. Instead, they developed successful careers as Chinese patriots.

As Chiang Kai-shek arrived in Shanghai on March 1927, he immediately went to the Shanghai General Chamber of Commerce to get a loan. Shanghai bankers financially supported Chiang’s army and the Green Gang, a mafia organization headed by Du Yusheng, began to suppress the Communist Party as Chiang gained power.

\textsuperscript{121} Ibid.
In return, Chiang appointed Qian Xinzhi as Minister of Finance and Chen Guangfu as the Director of Jiangsu and Shanghai Finance Committee when the Nationalists took power on April 18, 1927. The exchange of money for power and power for money led to a temporary agreement. As Chiang demanded more and Shanghai bankers gave less, Chiang resorted to other measures to secure loans. The Shanghai bankers’ efforts to restore the GMD’s strength would soon turn on them, leaving them subject to exploitation and little political authority.

As Chiang Kai-shek gained more power, he demanded more funds. Chiang used “extortionate demands and blackmail and subjected the merchants to a veritable reign of terror” in order to get his way.\textsuperscript{122} Chen Guangfu broke off all contact with the Nationalist government. Chang Kia-ngau (Zhang Gongquan) openly disagreed with Chiang about the future of Chinese banking. Chang Kia-ngau believed that government banks and private banks should be separate entities.

Chiang and T.V. Soong pressured Chang, Vice Governor of Bank of China, to turn his bank over to the government. Chang refused. Chiang pressured Chang for more and more money. He requested from Bank of China’s Shanghai branch a loan of 1 million yuan. Song Hanzhang, the manager of the branch upheld protocol and required a security deposit. Chiang was infuriated at this request and increased his demand from 1 million to 5 million yuan in silver dollars to demonstrate to Bank of China that he was in control.\textsuperscript{123}

Chiang was outraged that Bank of China applied the same rules and


\textsuperscript{123} Zhaojin Ji, \textit{A History of Modern Shanghai Banking: The Rise and Fall of China’s Finance Capitalism}, (New York: M.E. Sharpe, 2003), 175.
regulations to Chiang as other customers. This prevented Chiang from obtaining unlimited funding. Chiang ousted Chang Kai-ngau from the banking network entirely by appointing him as Minister of Railways. T.V. Soong shortly thereafter gained control over the Shanghai banking circles. Chiang’s role as a dictator developed through his leadership during the Nanjing Decade (1927-1937) and only grew throughout his career. Confronted with protocol and diverging opinions forced Chiang to use his own methods to get his way, often at the expense of others who did not share his opinion.

Like Chen Guangfu and Chang Kia-ngau, many other Shanghai bankers were manipulated and relegated to other areas of service in order to allow Chiang to have ultimate power over finance and funding for the GMD. What began as an amicable, patriotic partnership to support the Nationalist government evolved into a dictatorship as soon as a disagreement developed between Chiang and the people he was doing business with.

By remaining steadfast in their ideas, practices and protocol, Chinese bankers lost their livelihood, autonomy and power. As the French historian Marie Claire Bergere put it:

The bourgeoisie was no longer rebelling against the abuses of power such as these which, at other times and in other places, it had so vigorously condemned and resisted, for now they were serving the direct interests of the majority faction. The 1927 betrayal was not so much a betrayal of the proletariat by the bourgeoisie as a betrayal of the bourgeoisie by itself. By abdicating its political autonomy, the bourgeoisie laid itself at the mercy of the State power that it had itself helped to restore.124

The Shanghai capitalists, including my grandmother’s family remained at the hands of the GMD throughout the Nanjing decade. By maintaining a low profile and remaining insular within the French Concession, the Fu family was able to avoid political entanglements that caused strife for neighbors and friends. The bankers and merchants in Shanghai were caught in a difficult relationship where their wealth was being drained by crime, extortion and blackmail in exchange for the false promise of gaining political influence.

*Are we slaves and traitors?*

The Japanese invaded Shanghai in the summer of 1937, leaving the International Settlements, French Concession, the financial center on the Bund and the famous shops on Nanjing Road mostly unoccupied. This created a “solitary island” in the middle of Japanese-occupied China. Shanghai was already a divided city. This artificial safe haven further intensified this division.\(^\text{125}\) The Japanese wrecked havoc on Shanghai and the surrounding areas. They destroyed or confiscated industrialists’ plants, looted and destroyed merchants’ shops and closed commercial routes. Shipping along the Yangzi and railroad traffic ceased.\(^\text{126}\) Shanghai capitalists’ losses depended on where their livelihoods were located. Those


\(^{126}\) Ibid.
with factories or stores on the outskirts of Shanghai dealt with complete loss whereas those who were located within the International Settlement, the Bund and Nanjing Road were largely safe. Most Shanghai businessmen tried to salvage what they could and relocate what was left into the “solitary island.” Extra-territoriality allowed businesses located within the “solitary island” to remain open and continue trade, often bringing in new capital from the war. Refugees also served as cheap labor for surviving industries. The ability to maneuver clandestinely and quickly allowed some businessmen to prosper during war.

The Rong Family is a classic example of a Shanghai industrial family empire that found success during World War I in the flour industry and faced severe compromise, loss of power and disintegration of their business in the presence of the Japanese occupation. The Rong Family capitalized on the need for flour production in China during World War I. In 1914, thirteen flour mills existed in Shanghai, six of which were owned by the Rongs. By 1921, the Rong’s increased their ownership to eight mills and rented six to other producers, resulting in the production of 23.4% of all flour produced in China. The Rong Family business was organized along traditional Chinese patriarchal values. It started with the father, Rong Xitai and was passed down to his two sons, Rong Zhongjing and Rong Desheng and from there power was divided among their growing empire to sons, cousins, and brothers-in-law.\(^{127}\)

When the Japanese took over Shanghai in 1937, only three of the Rong family’s mills, which were located in the solitary island, remained under their control.

\(^{127}\) Zhaojin Ji. *A Modern History of Shanghai Banking*, 112-116.
They quickly registered them as foreign companies. In 1938, three mills located in Zhabei became occupied by the Japanese Mikyo Flour Company. The remaining mills sustained heavy damages. Despite only having three operable mills, the demand for flour was so high among the refugees entering Shanghai that the Rong family sustained a profitable business during the early part of the occupation.

The Rong’s avoided any interactions with the occupying forces, even though finding wheat and raw materials to continue production became increasingly difficult as the Japanese gained more control. In 1941, Japanese authorities arrested the manager of one of the Rong mills, Wu Kunsheng and his son and held them in prison for over a month until the Rong’s paid a substantial bailout. When the Pacific War erupted in December of 1941, any protection provided by the foreign concessions disappeared. In fact, the registration of the Rong business as a foreign business proved to be more detrimental than had it been left as a Chinese business. The remaining Rong mills in the solitary island were seized and occupied by the Japanese.

Originally adamant against working with the Japanese, the Rong family began hiring managers and appointing board members who had studied abroad in Japan and spoke Japanese. In 1942, the Rongs’ entered negotiations with the Japanese to regain control of their mills. Okawa Shumei, a radical right Japanese politician argued it was easier for the Chinese industrialists to resume production than to implement new Japanese industries within the old frameworks.

This would lead to quicker production and new supplies and food much needed by the Japanese military. Seven of the occupied mills were returned to the Rong Family. The Rong family attempted to regain other mills lost to the Japanese
military and Wang Jingwei government, but was met with disappointment as many mills had been turned into different factories or were so badly neglected that they were unusable after their five years of occupation under the Japanese.\footnote{Parks M. Coble, \textit{Chinese Capitalists in Japan’s New Order: The Occupied Lower Yangzi, 1937-1945} (University of California Press, 2003) 125-130.}

The collaboration of Chinese capitalists with the Wang Jingwei government and the Japanese military to regain property and carry out business did not yield great economic results due to the unstable economic system and uncontrollable inflation. With the abrupt end of the war in 1945, many Shanghai capitalists did not gain any financial benefits from collaboration and were charged with war crimes. As a result, their properties were once again, confiscated.

The Shanghai bankers and merchants apolitical approach to World War Two did not shield them from political criticism after the war ended. Efforts to maintain their livelihood and proximity with the occupying force put many Shanghai businessmen in a collaborative position. After the war ended, the Nationalist government would use their “collaboration” against them to assert order, control and form a national identity free of traitors and collaborators. Those citizens who provided direct service to the government and who served in the military were not exempt from Chiangs’ purge after the war to create a unified Chinese nation.
You can never say you’re not involved

The Duanmu family relocated to Chongqing at the start of the Japanese occupation. Duanmu Kai’s leadership in the GMD allowed him to mobilize his family before the Japanese military invaded Nanjing. He followed them soon after finishing his responsibilities in Anhui province. The GMD provided protection during the war to the Duanmu family, like wealth and the foreign concession provided protection to the Fu family. However, Duanmu Kai’s seniority in the GMD did not shield him from disagreements within the party. After twenty-five years of service to the Nationalist Party, Duanmu Kai was still subject to Chiang Kai-shek’s temperament.

Thomas Twanmoh recalls that: At the start of the war, I was in Nanking, and then the government decided to move to Chungking, my father at that time was appointed as civil administrator of Anhui province. My mother, the children and siblings didn’t go with the government to move to Chungking directly. We took a different route. My mother took my siblings, including myself to Hankou. Hankou was a major port along the Yangtze River. From Hankou we moved to Changsha, to Yiyang and then we caught up with the government in the move to Chungking in Guiyang, capital of Guizhou province. We stayed there for three or four months. Finally, an empty truck came along and we boarded the truck to Chungking. We would try to go to school, but when there was no school, we just stayed home. Of course in Chungking, we went to grammar school. When the war started I was in 5th grade and I graduated in Chungking and went to Nankai Middle School. In Nankai
there was a concentration of government officials’ children.\textsuperscript{129} As Chinese citizens traveled to the interior, schools were quick to follow. Christian universities, including former faculty of Soochow traveled with the Nationalist government. It was essential to enroll students, especially government students in Christian schools in order to educate the next generation.

In 1937, the Nationalist government declared a national wartime mobilization, moving the population, government, schools and factories from the coast to the interior. Modernization of the Nationalist army was not nearly complete by 1937 when the Japanese arrived.\textsuperscript{130} The Communists were stationed in Yan’an and the Nationalists moved to Chongqing. These areas were remote and less vulnerable to Japanese occupation than coastal cities and gave the GMD more time to strengthen their army.

The journey was long and many who could not afford to leave remained on the coast subject to Japanese rule. The other sector of the population that remained was wealthy bankers and merchants who were peripherally protected by living in the International Settlement and French Concession of Shanghai.

As the Nationalists abandoned Nanjing to the Japanese in 1937, they attempted to re-establish authority and control in Chongqing. The mass mobilization of factories to the interior was essential for the Nationalist government to maintain production of war time goods. Factories were disassembled and shipped in whatever way possible, amounting in 639 private factories, 115 textile factories, two steel mills

\textsuperscript{129} Thomas Twamoh, Personal Interview, 27 November 2008.
and over 42,000 skilled workmen.\textsuperscript{131}

During the Nanjing decade from 1927-1937, Chiang Kai-shek stressed the importance of a modern military. With the impending threat of the Japanese, Chiang recruited German advisers to help revamp the army, but the Nationalists lacked a developed defense industry to maintain a modern army. Chiang imported German weapons and preliminary components of the air force; he had German officers training a modern troop. The Qing government experienced similar issues with a weak army confronting a modern military superpower. Starting with the Opium Wars, the Chinese government began to look to the West for ways to improve their military technologically and strategically.

Educational missions began in 1871 by the Qing government and continued through the Nanjing Decade to reform and expand Chinese education. Military knowledge was a major component of studying abroad. Chinese students brought back new technology, but fifty years was not enough time to modernize an army strong enough to defend all of China. Additional aid provided by the German military was still inadequate in the face of a two front war against the Communists and the Japanese.

Wuhan and Canton fell to the Japanese of October 1938, but the Nationalist did not surrender. The war had drawn to a stalemate, partially due to the Nationalist’s preoccupation with controlling the Communists and trying to stifle their growth. The Japanese began to use air raids, indiscriminately bombing civilian and military areas and infrastructure to bring a halt to any sort of transportation.

\textsuperscript{131} Ibid., 563.
Chongqing was bombed a total of 268 times from 1939-1941. The city was destroyed and over 4,400 people were killed in just two days of heavy raids in May 1939. My grandfather recalls the bombings of Chongqing. He, along with his siblings, mother and grandparents stayed outside of Chongqing, where it was safer. Duanmu Kai lived in the city. Thomas Twanmoh explains: By May 4th, 1939-40, the Japanese had an heir of superiority over China; they could bomb any city they wanted to. At that time, my family was in a small remote town called Beipei, my father was in the office when the bombing happened; he was a few hundred feet from the bomb explosion, every one in the shelter thought he was dead. That’s how close to disaster my life was. Lucky yet so unlucky. They bombed Chungking day and night, they thought they could use brutal force to force us into submission. Like I said, if you ever arouse the anger of educated class in China, god help you.”

Chongqing was in a state of military, political and economic distress. The constant bombings blocked supplies from entering China. The only way to get supplies was from outside of China, mainly from the Burma Road or Russia. Thomas Twanmoh recounts that: Yes there were a lot of shortages and blockades. The Burma Road, we had to get everything from Burma, it was a highway. The British at the time blockaded the Burma Road for three months and we had nothing, nothing luxurious, no coffee, and no imports. We had no choice but to make do, we tried to use substitutes. My father usually drank coffee, so instead he drank black tea in the

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133 Thomas Twanmoh, Personal Interview, 28 October 2008.
morning. Gasoline was substituted with diesel. We canned a lot of food to store for the future.

Rice from the Americans

My grandfathers’ family had the economic means and political status to obtain basic necessities such as food, clothing and shelter. Wealth provided basic comfort, but being a student also gave Chinese youth access to education, food and shelter. Education was an important aspect of life that remained consistent despite changing political and social situations. To neglect education during times of instability only set future generations up for failure. Twanmoh describes: There were shortages everywhere- rice was controlled by the government. There were two ways you could get rice, you could use the black market and get rice from the Americans. But the Americans were very greedy, so they put a lot of sand in the rice. You had to pick out the sand before you cooked it. Or, if you were a student lucky enough to pass the exam and be admitted into college, the government supported you. They paid for food, room and board. One student had appendicitis and when they opened him up, they found all this sand. That’s how bad it was. In Chungking we went through a lot, but luckily some of us survived.\(^\text{134}\)

War tested the ideals of Chinese patriotism in ways that political and intellectual debate could not. Those who traveled to Chongqing risked the lives of their family and stability of work and home to support

\(^{134}\) Thomas Twanmoh. Personal Interview, 9 September 2008.
the government. Chinese patriotism was no longer a battle of thoughts and ideals, but one of serious, dire consequences that determined the future of China as an independent nation.

The Chinese army was weak. In 1938, agreements between the United States and China for airplanes fell through. At the same time, Russia decreased aid to Chiang’s air force and withdrew volunteer pilots due to the events in Europe. Chiang’s German and Italian advisors had both left and the first airplane production factories created with the help of Italian aid were quickly bombed and destroyed by the Japanese. In 1940, the Chinese only had 37 fighter planes and 31 old Russian bombers compared with the 968 planes the Japanese had in China alone.¹³⁵

Chiang’s army was spread thin throughout China, but the attack on Pearl Harbor on December 7, 1941 gave China new optimism that the United States and Great Britain would provide more support in defeating the Japanese. In light of the New Forth Army Incident that dissolved the United Front in January 1941, the Nationalists were in need of support. The New Forth Army Incident was a battle between the Nationalists and Communists during their supposed cooperation during the war against Japan. It is still arguable who is at fault, but both sides suffered striking losses and Chiang Kai-shek dissolved the New Fourth Army for insubordination. Communication between Chongqing and Yenan came to a halt as the Second United Front disbanded.¹³⁶ Chiang secretly began sending his best troops to Northwest China to blockade the Communist troops and was again, engaged in a

¹³⁵ Jonathan Spence. *Search for Modern China*, 467.
two front war between the Communists and the Japanese.

Before Pearl Harbor, the United States remained loosely involved in China and offered aid through a lend-lease program. Thomas Twanmoh recalls the difference before and after Pearl Harbor. He recollects: *Back in 1940’s, the early 1940’s, General Chennault, an American colonel became involved. I think Chiang gave him money to recruit pilots and airplanes. At that time, Americans didn’t want to officially support our war. It was just a lend-lease agreement. Aid came in different forms. After Pearl Harbor, they sent Stilwell to China, he discovered China’s army was underfed and ill trained. He recommended a lot of reform. Chiang didn’t like being told what to do because he was the supreme commander of China. He had Stilwell removed and appointed Wedemeyer, who was rather sympathetic with Chiang. We received hundred of millions of dollars of American aid at the time, but most of it was just wasted.*

Unlike Christian organized relief missions such as the United Board, who also sent millions of dollars to China during the war, the United States military did not have the foundation or organization in China as the missionaries did. Money provided through private donors and religious organizations was spent efficiently and effectively because of the network of Christian schools, churches and hospitals in China.

The U.S. government sent money to China without strict directions or follow-through. Therefore, Twanmoh recalls: *The army was still ill fed and under trained. The system was no good, you give the money to the division head, but the head gives the money to each step and at each step you collect commission, so by the time the*

137 Thomas Twanmoh, Personal Interview, 27 October 2008
money got to the soldiers, it was so low that you couldn’t do anything with it. That was the main problem of the Chinese army. At that time, I don’t think China had the man-power or weaponry; we fought with pure guts. If Pearl Harbor didn’t happen, things would be entirely different. You noticed a difference after Pearl Harbor. At one time the morale was so low, but after Pearl Harbor when more American aid came, you realized things were going to get better. Moral became higher.\textsuperscript{138}

American support meant an American army and American funding. The U.S. army was a sign of hope and strength. The United States would not let China fall to Japan because that would be a loss for America as well. No more than a decade prior to the involvement of the United States in WWII, its presence in China was disparaged. Now, however, “capitalism” seemed to have a direct benefit to China. No longer were America and its Christian representatives seen as a denationalizing force. Rather, they were cheered as national saviors.

A major problem with the Chinese army was that incompetence started with the highest officers and trickled down. In 1944, General Albert C. Wedemeyer, senior American officer in China described the Nationalist officers as: “incapable, inept, untrained, petty, altogether inefficient.”\textsuperscript{139} The soldiers were malnourished and often too weak to march or fight effectively. According to army regulations, each soldier was to be issued 24 oz of rice a day, a ration of salt and a total monthly salary, which, if spent entirely on food would buy a pound of pork a month. A Chinese soldier might have subsisted nicely on these rations. In fact, however, he actually received only a fraction of the food and money allotted to him, because his officers

\textsuperscript{138} Ibid.
\textsuperscript{139} Wedemeyer, Albert C. \emph{Wedemeyer reports!} New Hork: Henry Holt, 1958.
regularly “squeezed” a substantial portion for themselves.\textsuperscript{140} The corruption and lack of regulation amongst officers had a domino effect in the Nationalist army, leading to a weak army that would never become stronger without an overhaul of the entire Chinese military system.

The United States had given China approximately $200 million in aid from 1937-1941. In late 1941, the U.S. began sending arms and other materials under the Lend-Lease Act, including the American volunteer pilots, known as the “Flying Tigers” under General Chennault. Up until 1941, aid provided to China by the U.S., England and France combined, equaled that of the support provided by Russia.\textsuperscript{141} General Joseph Stilwell was assigned to the China Theater. Stilwell and Chiang had heated disagreements and could not amicably work together. Stilwell remained in China until 1944, with goals to reorganize China’s “underfed, unpaid, untrained, neglected and rotten with corruption”\textsuperscript{142} army to take an offensive role towards the Japanese, but faced utter disapproval from Chiang.

Chiang capitalized on his relationship with Claire Chennault, who was in charge of the “Flying Tigers” and worked to strengthen the air force. Chennault stated that in October 1942, with 105 fighter planes, 30 medium and 12 heavy bombers, “he would ‘accomplish the downfall of Japan…probably within six months, within one year at the outside.’”\textsuperscript{143} Stilwell vehemently opposed this plan, but Roosevelt backed the Chennault plan and by November 1943, an air offensive had begun.

\textsuperscript{142} Ibid., 579.
\textsuperscript{143} Ibid.
My grandfather was involved with the Flying Tigers while living in Chongqing. He was sent to Chengdu to serve as an interpreter for the U.S. air force from 1944-45. My grandfather recalled that, *because I attended western schools and could speak English, I worked as a translator at these U.S. air force bases. They would fly out during the day into Japanese territory and come back at night. They had a pretty good life; they had their laundry done; ate U.S. food; they were treated pretty well. They were very nice; I worked for what’s called the War Area Service Corp.*

The War Area Service Corp was one of many relief organizations that formed as a branch of the New Life Movement and was staffed by men trained in this organization. This corp was a crucial intermediary between the U.S. and Chinese military. There were thirty-one stations established in strategic military zones to provide service for 1,445,460 men in uniform. Services included food, rest, accommodations, and correspondence with families, health care for the wounded and entertainment.

Chiang Kai-shek and his wife, Madame Chiang, established the New Life Movement in 1934. Modeled after the YMCA, boy scouts, and European youth groups, the New Life Movement found a second life in providing service to the military during the war. In the 1920’s, this movement was viewed as ineffective and a poor attempt to bolster nationalism. Values of citizenship and service were actively used in organizing relief missions during the war. Many of the participants of the War Area Service Corps were Christian educated Chinese students like my

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144 Thomas Twanmoh, Personal Interview, 23 March 2008.
grandfather.

Christian schools taught English and instilled a sense of service and citizenship in their students. Volunteering in war relief organizations was a patriotic way to serve China in ways other than joining the military. The War Area Service Corps served American air bases and was an emissary between China and the United States, just as missionaries had been on a larger scale between Chinese and Western education, which was a direct influence of the New Life Movement.

General Chennault’s air attacks were highly effective, but incited a vehement response from the Japanese, precisely as Stilwell had feared. In April 1944, the Japanese launched the Inchigo offensive. In this process, they systematically attacked major Chinese cities westward to the interior of China, destroying all U.S. air force bases, with futile resistance by the Nationalists. When it seemed that Chongqing, the Nationalist base, was about to fall, the Japanese stopped moving westward in 1944, declaring their mission complete. They had destroyed every U.S. airbase, but did not have the intention of destroying the Chongqing government.146

The Nationalist army, after eight years of war, lacked the will to continue fighting. Chiang had lost authority and the Nationalist army was largely demoralized and spiritless. The Nationalists did the majority of the fighting after the dissolution of the United Front, whereas the Communists remained largely uninvolved in the war and committed to rebuilding and strengthening their army. This set the Communists up to be in a position of power after the Second World War.

If I stayed, they would qingsuan me

After WWII ended, China looked inward to fighting once again. With a common enemy, the Japanese, removed, political infighting between the Communist Party and Nationalist Party resumed. Both the Communist Party and Nationalist Party, however, were still addressing issues of patriotism and war crimes that occurred during World War Two. Engaging in the recent memory of the Japanese occupation while trying to mold a new Chinese identity based on the pain of the past seven years was the new challenge. The West was no longer a target, but an ally.

How would the failure of the Second United Front affect the relationship between the Communist and Nationalist Parties after the war? How would both parties define unity in China when both the GMD and CCP were secretly fighting against each other? From 1945-1949, China was unstable, war-torn and stricken by civil war. These concepts of Chinese nationalism and patriotism shifted once again after the Communist Party took power in 1949 and the Nationalist Party fled to Taiwan. How did the Communist Party finally express its power in China and its definition of Chinese nationalism? What implications did losing the war have for the Nationalist Party’s identity with China?

Thomas Twanmoh recollects the complexity of this political situation and the implications of his own political involvement had he stayed in China after 1949 as follows: *I was in the GMD youth group, I was the secretary; it was a highly political position. If I stayed in China, they would qingsuan, use it against me. My father was very clever, I wanted to join the Nationalist army and he was the one who*
dissuaded me not to join. He said, those are dictators, they always ask you to sacrifice your life, not theirs. Of course as I grow older, I realize all these things. Young people are easily fooled, they’re idealistic. I disliked the Communist party, of course because of my family’s status; I was becoming the center attraction at university. My friends wanted me to join the Communist Party, not because I was valuable, but because of what my family name was. Hindsight is 20/20; I knew I was being used. It took a long time to clarify and consolidate though. Twanmoh’s situation was not uncommon. The Communist Party and Nationalist Party were not as divided and isolated as they were portrayed to be. There was overlap and crossing over, especially in the periods before and after war with Japan. Often, the prospect of power overwhelmed an individuals’ opinions and principles.

The Communists and Nationalists remained engaged in revolutionary thought and behavior from the fall of the Qing to the Communist victory in 1949. Both Communists and Nationalists were part of an intellectual group of scholars engaged to seek the best future for China. Through forty years of competition and periods of unification, 1945-1949 brought on a final, full scale war between the two factions to determine who would be in power.

After WWII, my grandfather’s family returned to Shanghai. He describes the return as follows: “My father flew from Chungking to Shanghai and started his law practice there after the war. My family including my grandmother went along the Yangtze River to Nanjing. I don’t remember because I was at Qilu University in Chengdu while my family moved from Nanking to Shanghai. I was traveling with a
group of students through the highway back to Shanghai." The Duanmu family moved into my grandmother’s, the Fu family house in 1946.

My grandmother, Vivian Fu Wells describes, that at this time, housing was very difficult to come by, especially “suitable” housing. She recollects that during the war, a lot of people were evacuated and would stay with us. The Duanmu’s lived with the Fu’s until 1949. My grandfather adds that the government was trying to confiscate the Fu family house. Duanmu Kai, an accomplished politician offered political safety over the Fu’s house. Between the Fu family’s wealth and the Duanmu’s political status, both families managed to survive as best as they could during this turbulent period. Thomas Twanmoh describes the fall of the GMD, the complexities of the political situation after World War Two and the United States’ ineffective involvement as follows: There was really no peace after WWII because back in 1946 or 1947, Marshall, the ambassador to China, he wanted to unify Communists and Nationalists. I don’t blame his effort, but I think the so-called China expert such as Latimore and many others were fooled by the Communist propaganda. Communists claimed they were reformers. They didn’t realize they were such a dictatorship. A lot of people sympathized with Communist China, just like Cuba, they thought it would get better. One thing about American public is that they’re very easily persuaded by the media. A lot of famous Americans went to Yenan, the capital of Communist China, so the Communists showed their best and we, the Americans, were impressed. American’s ineffective role in China stemmed from their misunderstanding of Chinese politics. Especially during this time period, Chinese

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147 Thomas Twanmoh, Personal Interview, 28 October 2008
148 Vivian Fu Wells, Personal Interview, 11 May 2008
politics was based upon 关系guanxi, relationships, not a bureaucratic structure.

The rivalry between Chiang Kai-shek and Mao Zedong spanned over thirty years. Both aimed to create a new, modern China. After thirty years of internal discourse, an international war and a civil war, Mao Zedong took China in the direction of Communism. Both had dictator qualities stemming from the lack of bureaucratic structure in both the Communist Party and Nationalist Party. The difference was that: “Mao knew how to utilize his army. Chiang was like Hitler, any division or movement had to be approved by him. There were a lot of spies in the GMD government; every move was being decoded. People say history repeats itself; looking back I really believe it. In China, you become a high official first then you make a fortune: Western democracy is the other way around; you make a fortune first then serve the government. Traditional Chinese philosophy is that it’s best to serve the government; it’s considered the highest honor. Aside from infighting, corruption and dishonesty, all members of the GMD and CCP were serving the government because they viewed their role as Chinese citizens as a priority. This sense of service, represented by government sanctioned educational missions to Europe and the United States, students service to the government and the ideals of citizenship conveyed by Christian education were all incorporated into the making of modern Chinese identity.

Thomas Twamoh recalls the origins of the Chinese revolution, and the imminent fall of the Nationalist Party after thirty years of war in the following terms: When Dr. Sun Yat-Sen first started the revolution, it was more or less influenced by Communists. The revolutionary government was full of people for the GMD or for the CCP. By the late 1940’s, we knew the situation was helpless. We were losing one
city after another, losing battles every day. Chiang was merely trying to prolong the
death of a government by reform, reform, again and again. Everyone knew the
Communists were going to win. We went from Shanghai to Taiwan with my siblings;
my grandmother came in early 1948. In politics, you can never say you’re not
involved. All residents in China watched closely as the Communist Party gained more
and more control. Foreign residents, Nationalist Party members and wealthy Chinese
businessmen all prepared for the inevitable decision to remain in China or take
asylum abroad.

Those with the political and economic means to leave China were faced with
the difficult task of leaving their homeland for safety. Twanmoh explains: In a
nutshell, my life was fortunate and unfortunate, unfortunate because I was born in
turbulent period, fortunate because I was sheltered, living in a kind of separate
society. ¹⁴⁹ As my grandfather’s family fled to Taiwan, Duanmu Kai performed his
last political duty as a GMD member. In 1949, as the Nationalists were preparing to
move to Taiwan, Dr. Sun Yat Sen’s son, Sun Fo was invited to form a cabinet, and he
invited Duanmu Kai to be secretary general. Again, he was reluctant to take the
position, but was persuaded by a friend to do so. He supervised the evacuation from
mainland China to Taiwan. Duanmu Kai was working in the Canton at the time and
was involved in airplane negotiations between the United States, the Communists and
Guomindang, which would later lead to his expulsion from the Nationalist Party by
Chiang Kai-shek.

¹⁴⁹ Thomas Twanmoh, Personal Interview, 28 October 2008.
CHAPTER SIX

PRESIDENT'S ORDERS, THAT'S CHINESE POLITICS
The corrupt Chinese bureaucracy from 1911-1949 made politics dependent on relationships, not laws. As shown by Chiang Kai-shek and Mao Zedong’s rise to power, both the GMD and CCP were in the hands of autocrats. Chiang and Mao’s decisions shaped the entire country. No one was safe who disagreed or challenged their actions. How would this instability and fear affect the general attitude toward government? How was allegiance and dedication to one’s country shaped when it had a different meaning every few years? After war with Japan, how were those Chinese citizens charged with traitorous acts and collaboration treated by friends and family? How did they identify with China after being charged as an enemy to China?

How did contentious issues like Christian education, the West and commerce play into China’s new definition of modern nationality after WWII and after 1949? After nearly a century of trying to reconcile China’s relationship with the West by creating a modern, Chinese, global identity, the painful and contentious memory of the past influenced greatly China’s developing sense of nationalism and patriotism during 1950.

The photograph featured above is Duanmu Kai shown participating in a general election during the 1930’s. The sign on the front of the box says: 投票 toupiao, vote. The concept of democracy was present during this time period. The impact of Duanmu’s vote, however, along with the others who performed their civic duty is questionable. Although egalitarian systems were set in place, it was not enough to curb the authoritarian power wielded by Chiang Kai-shek and Mao Zedong. The lack of organization and bureaucracy prevented a strong, balanced government from developing.
Duanmu Kai had an uneasy relationship with Chiang Kai-shek. Despite twenty-five years of working closely with him, Duanmu’s relationship with Wang Jingwei, Sun Fo and his critical disposition towards Chiang’s dictatorial habits made him a threat. Duanmu valued principles over politics and was not afraid to voice his opinions or act independently.

His last political act for the GMD resulted in his excommunication by Chiang. My grandfather, Thomas Twanmoh describes the situation: *There were two official airlines in China, one was called China Airline, the other was called Chinese Central Airline. They had a lot of planes that would fly from Hong Kong to Shanghai and from Shanghai to the interior part of China. When the Communists almost took over China, the staff of those two airline companies were pressured by the Communists and started to ground all the airplanes in Hong Kong. At that time, Hong Kong was part of British government and they confiscated the airlines, about 200 of them. My father was in Canton and later went to Hong Kong. Chiang Kai-shek was already in Taiwan. My father was negotiating with the Hong Kong government for two million dollars to get back all the airplanes. Before he signed an agreement, he wired the proposal to the chief of staff, and the chief had Chiang Kai-shek approve it, and wired it back from the presidential office. When it reached my father, he gave the two million dollar check to the Hong Kong government. The planes were released.*

Duanmu’s experience abroad, education in Western schools and extensive diplomatic experience through leadership positions in the GMD made Duanmu a point person to address this international military issue. Many other leaders, including Chiang Kai-shek had already retreated to Taiwan. Duanmu’s expertise in
law allowed him to carry out this deal efficiently, swiftly and quietly. He served the government and China in whatever capacity he could and did not depend on narrow job descriptions to prevent him from taking initiative.

Others did not have this holistic approach to serving China and thought Duanmu was overstepping the boundaries of his position. Twanmoh recalls: *The foreign minister, Yei Gong Tao, he was somewhat jealous of my father because he thought this was a diplomatic problem. He was incapable of doing such negotiations, so instead he badmouthed my father to Chiang Kai-shek. One day Chiang was in his office and he discovered this two million dollar check! He was angry. The chief of staff said you approved it. He didn’t believe it. The chief showed him his signature on the agreement. He became angry, really angry! The chief of staff said okay, if you don’t like what I’m doing, I’m going to resign, Chiang said, no, I’m going to fire you!*

*My father was not a new official. Chiang could not fire him, so instead he ex-communicated him. My father was in Taiwan at that time, by then he had moved back from Hong Kong. The next day’s paper showed my father was ex-communicated and that the chief of staff was fired. There were some limits to Chiang’s power.*

Duanmu’s experience in the GMD and relationship with other high officials prevented Chiang’s complete dismissal of Duanmu from the party. Instead, he forced him into a dishonorable retirement and revoked privileges of citizenship such as the right to travel. Duanmu was forced to remain in Taiwan, subject to Chiang’s power. *For ten years, they wouldn’t let my father leave Taiwan, not even to go to Hong Kong or Japan. My father liked to travel a lot. When you leave Taiwan you needed a permit and he was always rejected. Finally, after ten years, Chiang allowed him to leave*
Duanmu’s treatment in Taiwan depended on who was in power. Party members understood Chinese politics as unstable and based upon connections, emotions and power. After twenty-five years of service, it was surprising how well Duanmu negotiated his role through the Nanjing Decade, WWII and the civil war. Chiang Jingguo, Chiang’s son understood the whole thing. When Chiang Kai-shek died, on the next election, Chiang’s son became president and immediately bestowed favors upon my father. He invited him to the presidential palace and would give him gifts. He told the education minister to be respectful to him. When he went to the education minister for business, he would open the door for him, my father would say “you don’t have to be so nice to me” and he replied “president’s order.” In China, Chiang or Mao had absolute power. Duanmu Kai was treated poorly for ten years under Chiang Kai-shek. As soon as his son, Chiang Jingguo took power, Duanmu Kai was treated in a completely different manner. This treatment extended beyond personal relationships, it became a mandate, as shown by the compliance of the education director.

Duanmu Kai devoted approximately three decades of his life to Chiang Kai-shek and the GMD party. As the Communist Party took over, Zhou Enlai sent an emissary to Duanmu Kai asking him to stay in China. They had worked together in Chongqing on the United Front, but never risked communicating with each other, even though they lived in the same apartment building. Duanmu Kai hated communism, the way they did things, by killing people. He couldn’t accept the offer.

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150 Thomas Twanmoh, Personal Interview, 14 October 2008.
151 Ibid.
He told the messenger to thank Premier Zhou for his kindness, but he cannot accept. Duanmu Kai believed the Chongqing government was the only legitimate government. Several months later, Chiang Kai-shek excommunicated him from the GMD. The United States approached Duanmu Kai, asking him to tell the truth about the incident. Duanmu Kai explained this is Chinese politics; I don’t want to involve foreign countries. He never argued with Chiang’s decision. Does Duanmu Kai’s ex-communication make him a traitor? Does Kai’s misunderstanding with Chiang change what his past twenty-five years of service to China mean, or his dedication to rebuilding Soochow University?

Duanmu Kai’s experience in Chinese politics is not unique. During the Sino-Japanese war, the Communist-Nationalist war, the influx of Western ideas and culture and China’s rapid modernization, nothing was constant. What was considered patriotic and beneficial one day could mark you a traitor and lackey of the West the next. Any action or decision involved risk; any inaction could make you a collaborator. People living in China during this time period were in an environment of social, political and economic instability. There was little one could do to ensure his or her safety.

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152 Thomas Twanmoh, Personal Interview, 2 September 2008.
153 Ibid.
Not such a dichotomous world

Despite Chiang Kai-shek’s reputation as a dictator, there was lively discourse within the GMD, especially during the war with Japan. Many leaders, especially Wang Jingwei had different opinions of how to address the Japanese invasion. After the war ended and Chiang remained in power, those who disagreed with him and with GMD policies faced an uncertain future. Chiang sought to purge any traitors to Nationalist China after WWII, namely people whom he viewed as unpatriotic. The scapegoat for the entire Nationalist Party during and after the war against the Japanese was Wang Jingwei. Wang not only actively challenged Chiang’s power, but went so far as to form a separate, Nationalist government in Nanjing during the Japanese occupation.

Wang Jingwei was a left wing member of the Guomindang and held the position of Chairman of Central Executive Committee of GMD from 1931-1933. He was also the premier of the Republic of China from 1932-35. He was avidly anti-Communist, a close friend of Sun Yat-Sen and a competitor of Chiang Kai-shek. However, Wang Jingwei is most remembered for his collaboration with the Japanese during the Sino-Japanese war. Wang’s separatist, puppet government during the occupation operated under the slogan of pro-peace. In pursuing peace instead of resistance, Wang is remembered as a 汉奸 hanjian, traitor: a traitor to the Han Chinese.

Wang’s legacy as China’s number one traitor and thus his wife and family’s legacy as traitors are more complicated than a simplistic label would suggest. Chen
Bijun, Wang Jingwei’s wife was tried as a traitor during the post war trials in 1946. My great grandfather, Duanmu Kai was her legal advisor. *He advised her not to spend too much money to defend herself because the decision was already made. All she had to do was appear in court. She was sentenced life in prison. While she was in prison, she copied some of Wang Jingwei’s poems and gave them to my father. The original copy is archived at Soochow University in Taiwan.*

A narrow view of Wang Jingwei categorizes him as a traitor. A more comprehensive view of Wang Jingwei includes that he was a passionate patriot and worldly intellectual who dedicated his life to China’s revolution. Was being labeled a traitor an actual betrayal to China or a betrayal to Chiang Kai-shek’s authority?

The prospect of negotiations with the Japanese was debated during the Nanjing Regime under Chiang from 1927-1937. After 1931, Japan and China engaged in a series of negotiations for the economic development of both countries under the concept of Pan-Asianism, or the Greater Asia Co-Prosperity Sphere. Cooperation appeared more beneficial than mutual hostility, especially in the presence of European influences, which were seeking Japan’s approval in helping China financially. Wang Jingwei was foreign minister at the time and an influential proponent of greater China-Japan cooperation.

As the Japanese government continued to expand in northern China, it proceeded to suppress the expression of anti-Japanese sentiments. This disregard for international agreements greatly damaged the credibility of Japan and its relations with foreign powers. Chinese students began protesting the Japanese presence and

\[154\] Ibid.
political leaders called off conciliatory agreements with Japan in 1935. Britain, Russia and Germany all began to support Chiang Kai-shek and perceived China as a viable investment. Japan, stunned by this economic downturn continued to expand in China until war broke out in 1937.  

Wang Jingwei fled Chongqing on December 18, 1938 to establish a reformed Nationalist Party in Nanjing, under the motto of “pro-peace.” Chiang Kai-shek was not concerned, saying this “marks a turning point in our struggle from the defensive to the offensive.” By March 1940, Wang had formed a government, largely controlled by the Japanese. Although Wang was now president of this new regime, he still was vying with Chiang for authority in the GMD. As Wang was trying to negotiate for peace with the Japanese, Chiang was already engaged with the secret “Operation Kiri.” Through intermediaries in Hong Kong, Japan and Chiang’s government discussed mutual interest in “peace.” Although this agreement never came to fruition, it kept Wang waiting, further discrediting Wang’s authority.  

Thomas Twanmoh recalls when Wang Jingwei formed a separatist, Nationalist government. He states: *He became a puppet of the Japanese empire. I was in Chungking at the time; we all felt we should have solidarity against the Japanese empire; of course we all have different opinions. We can tolerate different opinions on the inside, but not outside. He showed his difference of opinion and*  

formed a separate puppet government in Nanking. In many people’s eyes, he was a traitor. Wang’s severance from the Nationalist government was not only a personal blow to Chiang Kai-shek, but he made the Nationalist Party appear weak and disunited in a time where unity was essential for survival. Not only was the Nationalist Party still engaging in battle with the Communist Party during World War Two, but now they were fighting with a separatist government claiming to be the Nationalist Government. Wang’s collaboration with the Japanese military to create a stable, puppet government compromised party unity, but was what Wang believed to be the right course for China.

Wang Jingwei passed away in 1944 before WWII ended. His wife, Chen Bijun, and family in addition to many followers and leaders of the Wang regime were persecuted and charged with war crimes. Duanmu Kai was Chen Bijun’s lawyer. His dual role as an official in the GMD and as legal counsel for Chen Beijun was presumably a conflict of interests, as he was defending a woman who supposedly betrayed the nation he was working to defend. Twanmoh elaborates this complexity: 

*In the case of Chen Bijun, you’re presumed to be innocent until proven guilty; therefore it was okay to associate with her. The government had retained all her children. My father came out and said “the defendant may or may not be guilty of any crime, but the children should not be involved.” Wang Jingwei’s wife was grateful for sparing their children.*

Chen Bijun was also grateful for Duanmu’s professionalism in separating his political career, professional law career and relationship with her husband as isolated entities.

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158 Thomas Twanmoh, Personal Interview, 23 September 2008.
159 Ibid.
As Chen Bijun entered the Suzhou Superior Court on April 16, 1946, she came prepared to make a speech, pleading not to be judged. Chen Bijun was being tried not only for her actions, but also for those of her husbands. She defiantly defended herself and her husband. She denied that they had been traitors. Instead she claimed that the Nanjing government had helped to save people in the occupied areas from greater misery. Chen Bijun and Wang had worked selflessly for the good of the country when its cowardly leaders fled to Chongqing, leaving behind those who could not afford to flee.

She confronted her accusers while she pounded her fists on the table. Chen claimed that they were the true traitors, selling out to American and British interests. During her torrential and nonstop defense, she lashed out at the authorities and sometimes ridiculed the courts itself. The judges were exasperated, the prosecutor visibly agitated. The most uncomfortable moment for these men probably came when the audience actually applauded her accusations of National government corruption and incompetence.¹⁶⁰

Chen Bijun’s trial was supposed to mark her and her husband as traitors, scapegoats and the reason for China’s weakness in the face of Japan. The purging of such individuals would presumably make Nationalist China stronger. Yet the black and white definitions of traitor and patriot were being challenged in Chen Bijun’s case, in the same way they had been by Christian education during the Nanjing Massacre. The audience came to ridicule Chen. National sentiment towards collaborators and traitors was vehement, yet the audience instead sympathized and

agreed with Chen’s accusations: “It must not have been such a dichotomous world after all.”

Puppets turned into patriots

The Nationalist Party used these post-war trials as show trials to strengthen party morale. With the CCP-GMD civil war looming, the purging of Nationalist traitors made the GMD stronger. The trials did not start immediately after the war. After the nuclear bombings of Nagasaki and Hiroshima in August 1945, Chiang needed time to reassert control and make sure the Communist Party did not gain any ground during the transition. Therefore, Chiang enlisted the remaining Japanese troops in China as well as collaborators to hold their positions until GMD troops could be deployed. In return for their cooperation, Chiang offered these participants immunity from prosecution as being part of the GMD resistance underground movement. The most blatant “traitors” and “collaborators” had instantly become part of Chiang’s political safety net. Meanwhile, those 4,692 “traitors” arrested in 1945 such as Chen Bijun and Wang Jingwei’s companions, Chen Gongbo, Zhou Fohai and Chu Minyi had been rounded up and awaited trial.\(^{162}\)

Chen Bijun’s case blurs the lines between what it means to collaborate and to resist. Her speech about “nurturing the people and supporting her husband”

\(^{161}\) Ibid.
\(^{162}\) Ibid.
complicated what was supposed to be a clear-cut trial. Because nearly anyone or any action could be construed as collaborative nature, the lack of a concrete, tangible and consistent definition of a traitor leads the argument of what is a traitor and what is a patriot back to a theoretical debate. If basically anything could turn someone into a “traitor,” what actions and ideas turned someone into a patriot?

In her own defense, Chen Bijun focused on an initiative that she and the Wang regime carried out that reduced rice prices. Under her and Wang’s leadership, the price of rice fell from 12,200 to 5,200 yuan during the Japanese occupation.163 The price of rice and food shortages is an example that is concrete and showed Chen and Wang’s devotion to ameliorate the lives of people living in China, yet Chen’s patriotism could still be called into question. It seems unfair to label the lowering of prices of food as traitorous when most of China was suffering from widespread malnourishment and food shortages. Can even the provisions of food be stretched to cooperation and communication with the Japanese and therefore collaboration?

The rice shortage affected everyone, regardless of class, region and political ties. My grandfather described this predicament as follows: *there were two kinds of ways you could get rice, you could use the black market and get rice from the Americans* or rely on government subsidies. The rice provided was not of good quality: *they put a lot of sand in the rice* to the point where a student contracted appendicitis because of the sand that was unable to be removed from the rice.164 In Chongqing, everyone relied on imports coming from the Burma Road, which was blockaded for months. My grandfather explained, *What we did was make do, we*

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163 Ibid.
164 Thomas Twanmoh, Personal Interview, 23 September 2008.
tried to make substitutes. But finding substitutes was not easy for the general population since most citizens did not have the money and political ties that families in the government did.

Similarly, in Shanghai, the rice shortage permeated all classes and districts. Agnes Gen, a schoolmate of my grandmothers at Aurora College who also lived in the French Concession explained that: during the Japanese occupation...it was difficult just to get rice to feed everyone. Peasants would come to our backgate and sell rice... The Japanese controlled the traffic, rationing, route, price, everything! Everything had to happen under the table. Provisions were all supplied at night and if the Japanese caught you, you were killed. There was a shortage in Shanghai, but it was nothing like the interior. We were on the port, food was always brought in.165

My grandfather and Agnes Gen’s experiences were markedly different from the majority of people living in China. They had the means to cope with food shortages, but most ordinary Chinese were not equipped in the same way. Chen Bijun’s efforts to control the price of rice had a direct influence on the wellbeing of these ordinary citizens. She helped ensure that basic necessities were met, which exhibits both components of Chinese patriotism: 爱国 ai guo, to love one’s country and 救国 jiu guo, to save one’s country.

Chen Bijun in her efforts to alleviate inflation and decrease the price of rice was trying to protect and save her country’s people. Chen Bijun’s efforts focused on the common people, the 老百姓 laobaixing. These were the people who did not have the economic means to flee from the Japanese to the interior. They remained in their

165 Agnes Gen, Personal Interview, 2 August 2008.
respective towns and cities as the Japanese siphoned off their food, destroyed their livelihood and the Nationalist government watched distantly from Chongqing. As historian Charles Musgrove points out: “Brutal coercion became the primary tool of control throughout the Japanese occupation of central China. Economic exploitation was also common. Rice was confiscated in order to feed the Japanese army; Japanese citizens controlled major industries and received special treatment in commerce that made it hard for Chinese shop owners to compete.”

Chen and Wang’s efforts focused on the common people who did not have the political connections, the money or education to survive on their own. Their presence in Nanjing and Shanghai was recognized during the Japanese occupation as beneficial by the ordinary common folk. Missionaries also helped ordinary citizens by remaining after the GMD left in 1937 to continue running schools, providing relief and offering shelter. These were some of the few remaining signs of stability and order. The Wang regime was the only relic of the Nationalist government in the area and remained a symbol of Chinese normality and hope. Such sentiments were expressed during Chen Bijun’s trial and were reflected in the native reactions to her testimony.

When looking at individual cases, it might appear easy to say that an act is patriotic or traitorous. Nonetheless, one needs to look at a broader picture. Ultimately, people living in China during war with Japan were trying to survive and meet basic needs such as food and shelter as well as struggle for their economic, social and political survival. As seen through the children of wealthy, successful and

166 Charles Musgrove, *Cheering on the Traitor: The Post-War Trial of Chen Bijun, April 1946.*
educated families in China who attended missionary schools, their views of citizenship and patriotism were multi-layered and complex. The more education, money and political presence, the more complicated “survival” was. Chen Bijun’s trial highlighted the fact that her actions had been for the benefit of the country, but that these actions had become misconstrued. Although Chen was tried and convicted as a traitor, her defense made people realize that her position was far from clean cut and that the GMD’s role was not as heroic as it was portrayed in official propaganda.

One group of Chinese wants to kill me

On March 30, 1940 when Wang Jingwei had become head of state of the Government of National Salvation, he focused on three principles: Pan-Asianism, anti-Communism and opposition to Chiang Kai-shek. When Wang left Chongqing to start his own government, he caused a backlash of intense anti-traitor sentiment. In response, the Nationalist government in Chongqing issued a statement saying “Since the beginning of all-out war with Japan, there is not a single one of the soldiers and civilians of the entire country who does not share a bitter hatred for the enemy. Taking the nation and the people as the foundation, they steadfastly resist and vow never to waver.”167 Chiang Kai-shek’s military mantra was to support aggression or resistance. Through force, China would win the war against the Japanese, not

through compromise and negotiations. Chiang’s unwillingness to compromise in a military setting reflects his unwillingness to take any direction from other people.

For an authoritarian regime, it was easier to purge members who disagreed than negotiate with them. Chiang addressed Wang’s new government as: “Now, there is a small number of perverse and demented followers who are willing to be used by the enemy invaders to slavishly serve the foe like a ghost for the tiger in an utterly loathsome way...now, just as the circumstances of the War of Resistance take a turn for the better, the Japanese invaders have one layer of crafty schemes after another. If we don’t root out the scoundrels, then how are we going to maintain social order?”\(^{168}\) The Nationalist government believed rooting out the “scoundrels” would make the nation stronger. The negative labels applied to those who had different opinions than the government was a popular political strategy. By labeling missionaries as imperialists and Wang Jingwei’s followers as scoundrels, the Chinese authorities scared citizens into conformity.

Intellectuals of the May 4\(^{th}\) Movement and the early 20\(^{th}\) century had engaged in political discourse without falling into narrow political categories such as Communist or Nationalist. These categories stifled free thought and individualism from 1927 onward. Wang and his compatriots, as romantic idealists, had engaged with this dynamic academic exchange when they were abroad in Europe and during the political underground activity of the 1910’s and 20’s. Wang’s secession from Chiang’s government in Chongqing was an assertion of those intellectual values and the diversification of ideas that had been prevalent two decades earlier.

\(^{168}\) Ibid.
Wang acknowledged that so long as there were national heroes, there were also so-called traitors, even though both Wang and Chiang considered themselves national heroes. “The fact of the matter was that whether or not one ended by being a national hero depended on whether one ended by saving the country, \textit{jiuguo}.”\textsuperscript{169} Wang and his followers believed that the only sure way to save the country was to seek a peaceful solution: “If I end up a national hero, then there will forever be peace between China and Japan. If I end up as a traitor, then we will never be able to resolve the discord between China and Japan.”\textsuperscript{170} Wang pursued a pro-peace movement by negotiating with the Japanese. Yet even his relationship with Japan was uneasy. Wang was caught between two conflicting worlds, he explained on September 2, 1940 “One group of Chinese wants to kill me. One group of Japanese also wants to kill me. Each has their own evidence to justify this. This proves my position correct. The Chinese wanting to kill me proves that I am not advocating a war of resistance. The Japanese wanting to kill me proves I am not a traitor.”\textsuperscript{171} Wang sacrificed his reputation and safety to uphold his beliefs, improve the lives of Chinese citizens and work for the future of China.

Small, but hopeful changes occurred during Wang’s short reign as head of the Nationalist Government in Nanjing. Efforts to repair damages to cities were increased, the Chinese military and police forces had a larger presence, Japanese residents had to pay Chinese taxes and obey Chinese laws and the Chinese no longer had to bow to the Japanese on the streets. Wang’s return to Nanjing with the

\textsuperscript{169} Ibid., 312.
\textsuperscript{170} Ibid.
\textsuperscript{171} Ibid., 313.
Nationalist flag gave hope and stability to those people still living there. For his efforts to try to save China through peace, Wang Jingwei will be remembered as one of modern China’s greatest traitors.

*Chiang had his dark side too*

Those involved with politics were not the only ones subjected to harsh categorizations such traitor, patriot or collaborator. Stacey Bieler elaborates on these classifications in her book, “Patriots of Traitors?” which captures the struggle Chinese students faced studying abroad in the United States and when they returned to China. In carrying out the patriotic act of studying abroad and learning from the West, these students were deemed foreigners and denationalized when they returned home. The struggle to fit the mold of China’s new, modern, ever-changing national identity affected everyone living during this time period.

Foreigner’s motivations for being in China had also been questioned. Missionaries were labeled as capitalists. Their schools had been seen as denationalizing forces. The introduction of new religion into Chinese culture was deemed controversial. The hypocrisy of taking certain aspects of missionary education programs such as the YMCA, drill classes and science, while denouncing the Christian presence matched the ridicule faced by Chinese students and leaders who participated in those programs. There was overlap between East and West, each contributing something positive and important to modern China.
In the first half of the 20th century, China was changing so rapidly that it was difficult to establish firm ethical and cultural norms. Politically, economically, socially and intellectually, the future of China was a matter of intense debate. Those who were exposed to Western education and to foreigners were especially targeted as being un-Chinese because they had been dealing directly with “denationalizing” forces. The definition of nationalism tended to have a binary structure. To be involved with the West equaled to be less involved with China. To be involved with modern science and technology made oneself untraditional. It was challenging to balance change with tradition.

Wealthy, educated Shanghai citizens found themselves in a confusing, complicated world between East and West, traditional and modern society. Their roles were sometimes seen as those of a patriot, collaborator and traitor. Commerce increasingly relied on the international community and projected Shanghai businessmen to the forefront of confronting Western ideals and “modernity.” Westernization was linked to modernity, and in doing so, the growth of modernity was correlated in the eyes of some political activists, as the rejection of traditional Chinese practices.

Westernization and modernity physically and materially pervaded China as exemplified in the use of cars, Western style clothing, bi-lingual students, European architecture, cigarettes and horse racing. Did the adoption of these material things express the changing inner value of the Chinese who used them? How were ideological changes accounted for? This exposure to modernity changed the whole dynamic of the Chinese businessmen from the “scholar-official” to the Western
educated intermediaries.\textsuperscript{172}

Most Chinese bankers and business owners employed family and passed the business down through their lineage, such as the Rong family. The Rong family owned the most flourmills in Shanghai and operated their business through a traditional Confucian patriarchal structure typical in agricultural societies. Becoming modern in China was not just a matter of becoming Western. It implied adapting to new thought processes while maintaining certain traditional values. Modernization and Westernization may have been condemned as unpatriotic, but the success of Chinese commerce increased national pride, encouraged more Chinese to go abroad to study and to continue to elevate China’s role in a global, economic context.

At the turn of the 20\textsuperscript{th} century, Chinese scholars were sent abroad to the United States to study and bring back Western knowledge in order to reform China. Merchants too sent their children abroad to study and bring back new business techniques and expert knowledge. Sending children abroad was an investment for the future and a promise of success. New social elites came to the forefront, especially the shenshang, the “merchant-scholar” who valued pragmatism, modernism and nationalism.\textsuperscript{173} This group was often caught between two worlds, trying to hold up Confucian values while engaging in a rapidly changing, modern world. Businessmen were often targeted for being too modern and not patriotic enough. The 1920’s brought about a change in attitude and pressure for merchants to become involved in politics.

The Chinese bourgeoisie supported financial and intellectual government

\textsuperscript{172} Marie-Claire Bergere. \textit{The Golden Age of Chinese Bourgeoisie}, 41.
\textsuperscript{173} Ibid., 38.
reform. Merchants and businessmen had also provided a forum and a means of communication for the new associations of industrialists, educationists and craftsmen, which the revolution had encouraged to grow. This group constituted a key piece in the society that was beginning to take shape. Through them, groups hitherto excluded or ignored by the government had become engaged in political life.\textsuperscript{174}

The Shanghai bankers’ financial support of the government quickly became exploited. They became trapped in a cycle of giving money, without receiving any voice in the government. During the Japanese occupation of Shanghai, many bankers and businessmen were put in a difficult situation of trying to maintain their businesses without interacting with the Japanese, who essentially controlled or destroyed anything relating to trade or industry.

In the heightened fervor of expelling the traitor movements orchestrated by the GMD, many people living in occupied zones had become susceptible to being labeled as traitors for their interactions with the Japanese. Prominent Shanghai citizens could be targeted on two fronts: their interactions with the Japanese and their interaction with foreigners, both of which carried traitorous connotations of capitalism and greed.

The definition of patriotism in China developed through the civil war and Sino-Japanese War into a very narrow description that categorized many Chinese, particularly the Shanghai intellectuals, as collaborators or traitors. As Charles Musgrove describes in \textit{Cheering on the Traitor: The Post-war Trial of Chen Bijun, April 1946}, the definition of a “traitor” (hanjian) was quite broad. It included obvious

\textsuperscript{174} Ibid., 204.
candidates, such as former officials of the puppet government, secret police, and military organizations. Important staff of private finance and industry organizations that had collaborated with the puppet government, members of supportive news agencies, periodicals, and even bookstores as well as editors, movie directors, and television produces could be tried.

Essentially, anyone who had “relied on the power of the enemy, encroached on others or informed against people” was guilty. Under this definition, anyone could be considered a traitor, even Chiang Kai-shek, who made an agreement with the Japanese military after the war ended to defend their positions until the GMD troops were deployed to prevent the CCP from gaining territory. Wouldn’t this be considered relying on the power of the enemy?

The intellectual population of China realized that modernity and growth were linked to gaining new knowledge. New knowledge came mostly from Western sources. The May 4th Movement was a nationalist movement that was staunchly anti-imperialist. It embraced ideas coming from the New Culture Movement such as science, technology, individualism and democracy. The ideas associated with the New Culture Movement are thoroughly Western, drawing upon Darwin, Freud, Ibsen and Marx. How does one promote and denounce Western ideas at the same time? As this thesis has shown, anti-imperialist and anti-Western sentiments reappeared again and again throughout the 19th and 20th century.

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176 Ibid., 5.
CONCLUSION

THIS IS A FAMILY HISTORY WORTH WRITING DOWN
Chinese national identity was in a constant state of turmoil from the fall of the Qing government in 1911 to the rise of the Communist Party in 1949. The influx of Christian education, international trade and business, the rapid growth of science and technology in the face of civil war, the Second World War, the Japanese occupation and the recent memory of the unequal treaties of the Opium War all contribute to a complex, shifting concept of Chinese identity and nationalism.

Christian education originally carried connotations of Western imperialism at the turn of the 20th century. Later, it was embraced by political leaders who saw the value of science, physical education and service. The British and United States originally benefited from unequal treaties and were vehemently criticized. By the 1940s however, these countries had become allies with China. The Communist Party and Nationalist Party also put aside their war with each other in order to unite through the United Front during the Sino-Japanese War from 1937-1945. These shifting alliances were a staple to the Chinese political atmosphere during this period. Long-term relationships with Christian educators and the West however, remained constant.

As in Chinese politics, conflicting relationships between China and the West shifted according to what China needed at a specific time. As my grandfather, Thomas Twanmoh reflected: *That’s Chinese politics. Sometimes you are very respected and the next day you can be disgraced, that’s how politics worked. In China, when you play politics, you play with fire. It can burn you.*\(^{177}\) These shifting political dynamics represented the great fluidity of ideas in China. After 1949, when all foreigners were required to evacuate, religion was banned, trade halted, the

\(^{177}\) Thomas Twanmoh, Personal Interview, 14 October 2008.
Nationalist Party fled to Taiwan and China became a more homogenous, more isolated society. Previous factors that had challenged Chinese nationalism diminished in impact: Christian education, politics, international trade and banking. Did the expulsion of these forces create a cohesive Chinese identity? Was being a Communist Party member the key to being a Chinese patriot? Did the Nationalist Party’s retreat to Taiwan no longer make them Chinese?

Over fifty years after the Communists took over China, memories of political, social and economic instability from 1911-1949 remained powerful. The influence of international culture in the form of Christian education, banking and business, we now see, had shaped a distinct and diverse sense of Chinese nationalism.

To take care of himself

Jaffe Road, what is now Huahai zhong lu, has been a major road in Shanghai for over a century. Once a bustling street with Ford model T-‘s and carriages moving to and fro from the homes of Shanghai’s Chinese elite and French residents, Huahai zhong lu is now home to China’s rapidly growing commercial district. Old European style houses have become Shanghai’s premiere clubs, bars and restaurants. Banks, karaoke bars and stores have become integrated into a once residential neighborhood. Classical European houses are juxtaposed with looming skyscrapers. Tree lined streets are separated with four land roadways. Rusty bikes are parked next to the latest model BMW. The laborer waits in line at the bank next to the international
businessman.

For the past century, Shanghai has been modernizing at an unbelievable pace. As Hu Shi, a leading Chinese philosopher and intellectual recollects the rapidity of change from simple appliances to the introduction of cars and airplanes. Hu Shi recalls: “I traveled in Sedan chairs, wheel barrows, and small river boats rowed by men… I saw the first tramway operated in Shanghai in 1901….but I never rode in a motor car before coming to the United States in 1910, and did not travel in the air until 1928. And my people have traveled with me from vegetable oil lamp to electricity, from wheel barrow to the Ford car, if not the airplane, in less than forty years’ time!” China was constantly changing while trying to maintain its traditions. Shanghai, in particular, has faced this balancing act of being a modern city in a nation of rich history.

The physical landscape of the French Concession in Shanghai has remained largely untouched since the Japanese occupation and conflict between the Communist and Nationalist Party. The extra-territoriality clause of the Unequal Treaties granting foreigners protection under their own countries’ laws while living in China ended up being beneficial to the preservation of Shanghai’s foreign concessions.

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An escape in the city

“The House” that sparked my attention in this thesis was, most likely similar to the home of my grandmother and her family. Built by German architects, Becker and Baedecker, the house is distinctly Shanghai. A historic plaque on the house describes it as a German Renaissance garden style house that was once used as the Belgium consulate.

It combines European styles of stucco, wrought iron, classical orders and arches with traditional Chinese gardens, a courtyard and lattice work. Combining European and Chinese design like other houses in the French Concession, it’s a physical symbol of Western and Chinese ideals combined to form something new and modern, yet still traditional.

When my grandmother was growing up, the sweeping, green backyard with lush gardens and billowing trees served her and her twelve siblings, their grandparents, parents, servants and friends as an escape in the city. The green space was an oasis in the growing urban environment of Shanghai. Friends from school came over, their parents met my grandmother’s father to do business, drivers shuttled kids to and from school: life inside the French Concession was sheltered and intimate.

My grandmother was born into an environment of social, political, economic and civil unrest. Yet, while she attended boarding schools, life in the French Concession remained largely stable and secluded. The people, the government, the currency, the cars, the technology, the façade of the house, its inhabitants and surroundings: everything has changed, but the presence of the house itself on Jaffe
Road.

The house in my mind was a witness to the tumultuous political environment. Perhaps that’s why it is so hard to revisit it, even in the imagination. It may have been standing during the Sino-Japanese war and the persecutions of the 1960’s, when most of my grandmother’s family left, but not everyone.

To study the house and the history of its former inhabitants means to confront war, death and exile. This is not a statistical inquiry, but an inquiry of my family history. It was more comfortable in this thesis to discuss my grandfather’s side of the story. His father, Duanmu Kai, was a public figure. He appeared as a subject in books, he kept records. His history was more palpable and “safe” because he was a government figure.

My grandmother’s side of the story was more complicated because it was embedded in other aspects of China’s Westernization, Christian education, banking and capitalism. In 1946, my grandfather’s family moved into my grandmother’s house on Jaffe Road. Combining political safety with financial stability, both the Duanmu and Fu families were able to live in Shanghai safely for another four years until the Communist Party took over. The house brings together the themes of this thesis: modernization, Christian education, nationalism, patriotism, collaboration, wartime struggle and ultimately the creation of modern Chinese identity under a rapidly changing environment.
As I grow older I become more neutral

When I started translating works concerning my great grandfather, Duanmu Kai during the summer before my senior year, I was not aware of the complex challenges that modernization posed for Chinese identity in the 20th century. As I started to unravel Duanmu’s life as a Western-Christian educated, lawyer, politician and educator and his relationships with key figures such as Chiang Kai-shek, Sun Fo, Wang Jingwei and Zhou Enlai, the picture in my mind became fuller and more nuanced. By researching these figures, the history of the Nationalist Party during the Republican Era of China has become increasingly complex. What was once a black and white image, with the Nationalists being good and Communists being bad now became grayer and grayer. Both parties had committed crimes, both were corrupt with self-serving motivations. Both had failed to provide stability for the Chinese people during the 1920’s, 1930’s and 1940’s. Both parties also believed their actions and principles were the best for China’s future.

What had once been a neat political narrative became torn apart by Duanmu Kai’s experiences within the GMD, his ultimate falling out with Chiang Kai-shek at the end of his political career, his relationship with Zhou Enlai and his defense of China’s number one traitor, Wang Jingwei and his wife, Chen Bijun. The use of family history has made this history tangible for me. It challenged my preconceived notions by enabling me to reinterpret key historical events. Labeling one’s own great grandfather as a “traitor” is not as easy as labeling a stranger.

The role of bankers and merchants during this period also became more
complex. In this thesis, I came to see how ordinary Chinese citizens had been starving, joining the military and suffering from the economic instability. This led to inflation and rice shortages, while many merchants and bankers in Shanghai remained largely isolated, still enjoying imported goods and foods from abroad. Their children remained in school relatively sheltered from the political storms. The merchants and bankers’ wealth turned out to be a double-edged sword. It provided financial safety and comfort for their families, while removing them from traditional isolation from politics. This, in turn, subjected them to greater threats of collaboration as well as apathy.

As Tang Fufu, a major financial leader in Shanghai asked: “Are we slaves and traitors? I say no!”[179] Chiang Kai-shek would not have been able to rise to power without the financial backing of Shanghai businessmen. The military would not have been able to develop without loans from Shanghai banks. The more bankers gave, the less political input they received. The Nationalist government trapped merchants in an endless cycle of financial exploitation. The Nationalist government moved to Chongqing in 1937 as the Japanese gained control of Nanjing. Many wealthy families living in Shanghai remained. Their subsequent interactions with the Japanese military for the next eight years would result in vehement accusations of traitorship and collaboration by the Nationalist government after the Second World War.

Deconstructing labels and prejudices led to a deconstruction of other aspects of the environment that my grandparents inhabited. Christian education became an underlying theme that connected my great grandfather, grandfather and my

grandmother’s family. My great grandfather, Duanmu Kai had attended Soochow University, a Christian school founded by Methodist missionaries. Later, he had helped re-establish this same institution in Taiwan and eventually came to lead as president. My grandfather had attended missionary schools in Nanjing, Chongqing and Shanghai. My grandmother and her siblings attended the prestigious Aurora College, St. John’s University and McTyriere School for girls, which Madame Chiang Kai-shek also attended.

Had Christianity been a totally negative influence upon young Chinese? This thesis documents many forces that brought Western values and culture to China. Imperialism was seen by many as the root of the degradation of traditional Chinese culture. It is also here that I discerned that Christian education provided more than just a training ground for rich, lackeys of foreign capitalists. In the eyes of Communists and Nationalists critics, Christian education had bred traitors. They appear merely as a denationalizing force.

These ideas were ones that I began with as well. After doing research on Christian higher education in China, however, I discovered an unwavering support for students as well as the cause of Chinese nationalism. Missionaries promoted ideas of service and citizenship, the same ideals embraced by Chiang Kai-shek, Mao Zedong, Mikhail Borodin and the Russian Comitern. Mikhail Borodin, who had worked closely with both the Nationalist and Communist Party expressed his mission as follows: “You understand the behavior of the Protestant missionaires, don’t you? Well, then, you understand mine!”180

180 West, Yenching University and Sino-Western Relations, 1916-1952, 6.
All of these conflicting groups and people ultimately wanted to instill the same principles: a commitment to China and to the ideals of an effective citizenry. Mansfield Freeman spoke as a representative of the United Service to China in 1949 and delivered a speech to the United Board. He began working for the United Board in 1950. He commented on the ability of Chinese scholars to integrate Western culture into their own in the following words: “The Chinese student is prone to strive for a mastery of Western material civilization, thinking that when he has attained his goal, he can graft this new knowledge which he has acquired onto a Confucian society or combine it with any social or political institutions which suit his fancy... And I wonder if this is not perhaps a partial explanation for the report which I have heard from China, that some of the most devoted Communist student leadership comes out of our Christian institutions?”¹ Christians produced leaders who had the ability to adapt to their environment. Christian universities in Freeman’s view seemed apolitical. They did not strive to instill political ideology, but to promote leadership and character.

Who produced some of the most influential leaders in revolutionary China? Christian colleges. Who were some of these leaders? Chiang Kai-shek, T.V. Soong, Madame Chiang, amongst many others, including my great grandfather, Duanmu Kai.

Political affiliation, education, social status as well as interactions with the West and study abroad transcend the narrow labels of nationalism and patriotism. What was right for China at one stage of its revolution was not good for China at another point in time. As political power shifted, cultural views towards the West

¹ Mansfield Freeman. “Speech by Mr. Mansfield Freeman of United Service to China, 1949” (Yale Divinity School Archives: Freeman, Mansfield 1950-1958, Box 44. 1141A)
changed as well. The only thing that remained constant was the rapidity of change, as Hu Shi put it so well. My grandfather, Thomas Twanmoh expresses his experiences as follows: *My life was both fortunate and unfortunate, unfortunate because I was born in a turbulent period, fortunate because I was sheltered, living in a kind of separate society.*

In the face of instability, nationalism remained a powerful force among Chinese intellectuals. Even though the definition of what Chinese nationalism was changed greatly over time, most Christian educated Chinese remained steadfast in their support for China. They continued their commitment both to *救国 jiuguo,* save the country and *爱国 aiguo,* love the country. As this thesis shows, there was not one way to save or love China.

Although China was a “closed” country until the Opium Wars, the presence of Westerners and their ideas had affected society in the 19th century. Was there a link between being anti-Western and pro-China? Could China ever become closed again?

Today, China has become a cosmopolitan, sophisticated and culturally advanced nation. After nearly two centuries of balancing Western ideals with traditional Chinese values and practices, the country has emerged as thoroughly Chinese, not a pale imitation of the West.

Contrary to fears of being culturally bombarded by the West, China today has become a world leader in modernity, innovation, and has the fastest rate of economic growth and development in the world.

In the period covered by this thesis, we have explored many different ways

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182 Thomas Twanmoh, Personal Interview, 28 October 2008.
and ideas of how to save China. Nationalism and patriotism, as has been shown, became a narrow construct in the GMD, where only fighting the right people and “obeying” Chiang Kai-shek seemed to offer political safety and distinguish one as a patriot. The meanings of being “Chinese,” a patriot or a traitor came to be questioned by political authority. This level of complexity shows that the struggle in China to solidify a national identity in a changing environment had to contend with many shifting ideals.

Today, after over fifty years of living abroad in the United States as an American, my grandfather, Thomas Twanmoh is still first and foremost, a Chinese patriot. When talking about China, he says: when we went through the Cultural Revolution... we have the fastest growing economy in the world, the Olympics brought so much pride to us. This is a nationalism that was forged during the tumultuous years of the Republican era. This is a subtle form of attachment to the land and its people that leads to a complex Chinese identity. It includes, as I have shown, Christian education, Western ideas as well as an identification with the pain of the recent past.

Chen Ziang (661-702), a politically active poet in the Tang Dynasty captured the complex emotions of being attached to both history and the nation, when he wrote:

Where, before me, are the ages that have gone?
And where, behind me, are the coming generations?
I think of heaven and earth, without limit, without end,
And I am all alone and my tears fall down.
Less tearfully than Chen, my grandfather’s words and his history convey the same message: what matters is how the coming generations shape both the ages that have gone by and those yet to unfold.
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