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**China as depicted by Western novels**

York, Virginia Sumerford, D.A.  
Middle Tennessee State University, 1991

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**CHINA AS DEPICTED BY WESTERN NOVELS**

**Virginia Sumerford York**

**A dissertation submitted to the  
Graduate Faculty of Middle Tennessee State University  
in partial fulfillment of the requirements  
for the degree of Doctor of Arts**

**August 1991**

CHINA AS DEPICTED BY WESTERN NOVELS

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## ABSTRACT

### CHINA AS DEPICTED BY WESTERN NOVELS

Virginia S. York

The purpose of this dissertation is to explore the use of novels to supplement reading lists for American undergraduates studying the history of China. This study advocates that professors should seriously consider interspersing scholarly nonfictional works with fiction. An evaluation of the nine historical novels analyzed in this dissertation demonstrate that students can obtain a more realistic and accurate view of China by reading prudently-selected novels. The representative novels are: Manchu by Robert S. Elegant, Mandarin by Robert S. Elegant, The Good Earth by Pearl S. Buck, Jade by Patricia M. Barr, The Warlord by Malcolm Bosse, From A Far Land by Robert S. Elegant, The Three Daughters of Madame Liang by Pearl S. Buck, Dynasty by Robert S. Elegant, and Spring Moon by Bette Boa Lord.

This study is organized into four chapters. In the first chapter, information on the five authors is provided and the novels are described. The novelists are considered individually, and the examination of their backgrounds reveals that each of the writers spent considerable time in East Asia. The authors' first-hand knowledge of China gives credibility to their narratives. The nine novels are critiqued in chronological order. These book reviews

Virginia Sumerford York

substantiate, as well as, point out deficiencies in the novels.

Specific examples of how students' knowledge of China can be strengthened and enhanced by reading these works are provided in Chapters II and III. In Chapter II the way a reader can vicariously learn about Chinese customs and culture through a story is discussed. The narratives introduce the reader to daily routines, family relationships, religions, vocations, and avocations, which instill a greater understanding of China. In Chapter III the nine novels are considered in greater detail, as each pertains to a specific period of history. In this chapter, a novel is shown to offer an extra dimension to an event in history that a scholarly text cannot. The novels place characters in historical settings to voice bias, goals, or aspirations of the people living in a particular time frame.

The argument for the use of novels by college professors is the topic of the final chapter. The fundamental premise of these professors is that historical novels stimulate the students' interest in history. The description of methods and techniques used on several college campuses illustrates that novels add vitality to history. These professors supplement reading requirements with selected novels because the genre can provide a surprisingly accurate portrayal of history.



## ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

My deepest appreciation is expressed to Dr. Newell S. Moore, who headed my dissertation committee, for his encouragement, his willingness to assist me at any time, and his interest in my success. I also am grateful for the comments, valuable suggestions and long hours that the other members of my committee, Dr. Fred Colvin and Dr. Charles Babb, devoted to my study.

I am indebted to all of my professors of history at Middle Tennessee State University. Special thanks are extended to Dr. Fred Colvin, my ever-supportive graduate advisor; Dr. Newell Moore, who stimulated my interest in China; Dr. Bart McCash, who supervised me as a teaching assistant; and to Dr. William Windham, who as head of the History Department, expressed confidence in my teaching abilities. These historians are more than mentors; they are my friends.

Further acknowledgments are extended to Debi Revell and Shirley Reed for the long and tedious hours they spent typing this dissertation. I appreciate their patience and sense of humor.

My special gratitude to my family, who accepted a kitchen table covered with my materials and provided the love and support that I needed.

TABLE OF CONTENTS

ACKNOWLEDGMENTS . . . . .	ii
LIST OF ILLUSTRATIONS . . . . .	v
INTRODUCTION . . . . .	1
Chapter	Page
I. THE AUTHORS AND DESCRIPTIONS OF THE NOVELS . . .	12
The Authors	
Patricia Miriam Barr	
Malcolm Bosse	
Pearl Sydenstricker Buck	
Robert Sampson Elegant	
Bette Boa Lord	
Description of the novels	
<u>Manchu</u>	
<u>Mandarin</u>	
<u>The Good Earth</u>	
<u>Jade</u>	
<u>The Warlord</u>	
<u>From A Far Land</u>	
<u>The Three Daughters of Madame Liang</u>	
<u>Dynasty</u>	
<u>Spring Moon</u>	
II. CHINESE CUSTOMS AS DEPICTED BY WESTERN NOVELS . . . . .	68
The Family	
Philosophies	
Confucianism	
Taoism	
Buddhism	
Occupations and class structure	
Holidays	
Mannerisms	
III. EVENTS IN CHINESE HISTORY AS DEPICTED BY WESTERN NOVELS . . . . .	147
Early Encounters with Westerners	
The Opium War	

Rebellion  
Tientsin Massacre  
Boxer Rebellion  
Fall of the Dynastic Rule  
War Lord Era  
Conflict Between Kuomintang and Communism  
China Under Mao Tse-tung

IV. STIMULATING HISTORY CLASSES BY USING HISTORICAL NOVELS . . . . .	256
SELECTED BIBLIOGRAPHY . . . . .	293

LIST OF ILLUSTRATIONS

Fig.		Page
1.	Sample Contract for the Purchase of a Concubine . . . . .	78
2.	The Forbidden City . . . . .	114
3.	Symbol for Yin-yang . . . . .	138
4.	Eight Trigrams . . . . .	139
5.	Classroom Handouts . . . . .	289
6.	Dynastic Chart . . . . .	292

## INTRODUCTION

Western novels seldom appear on the reading list for American college students studying the history of China. The probable reason is that most professors prefer that their students read scholarly works. This poses a problem of the language barrier if the student is to seek original materials, for most American students are unacquainted with the Chinese language. Chinese characters are difficult to learn and few American universities offer courses in languages of the East Asian countries. Usually a graduate student concentrating in Chinese studies learns Chinese, but an undergraduate who is only taking an introductory course in the history of China does not. The undergraduate is limited to secondary sources written in English. The college professor of undergraduate courses is confronted with preparing a reading list which must exclude primary sources written in Chinese characters. In compiling a list of supplementary books, the professor should seriously consider interspersing the scholarly nonfictional works with several novels. Books included in traditional reading lists in history courses are often considered dull by many students. The novels would command the attention of the students and spark an interest in the itemized selections.

The author of this dissertation first became aware of the integration of novels and scholarly works while she was

a graduate student. Professor Newell S. Moore allowed the use of a few selected novels in the course, *History of the Far East*, at Middle Tennessee State University. Students submitted a written review on the supplementary materials when they met individually with Dr. Moore to discuss the books. The oral sessions were highly anticipated by this writer for under the skillful questioning of the professor, she was able to correlate the novels with scholarly sources to a greater depth than previously imagined. Memorable incidents in the novels were springboards for further discussion. This fascinating course enticed the graduate student to concentrate on courses in Oriental history.

The Orient had been a source of curiosity to the writer of this dissertation ever since undergraduate years at Wesleyan College in Macon, Georgia. The three Soong sisters: Ai-ling Soong, Bachelor of Arts, 1909 (Mrs. H. H. Kung); Ching-ling Soong, Bachelor of Arts, 1913 (Madame Sun Yat Sen); and Mai-ling Soong, who attended from 1910-1913 as a special student and as a freshman (Madame Chiang Kai-shek) left an imprint on this southern institution as did the numerous other students from China. This college for women was endowed with Chinese art, porcelain, and memorabilia that continues to be a reminder of the Chinese connection.

Interest in the Orient was stimulated later in life when the Wesleyanne moved with her husband to Seoul, Korea where he was on an assignment with the United States

Embassy. These two years were filled with cultural contacts, study, and extensive travel. The couple visited Hong Kong, Taiwan, Japan, Malaysia, Singapore, Thailand, and other points in Southeast Asia, but unfortunately not the mainland of China. The People's Republic was not hospitable to Americans in 1973. This seclusion whetted further interest in China.

It was at Middle Tennessee State University in the 1980s that this writer began graduate studies. The course in the History of the Far East was the catalyst that resulted in the topic of this dissertation. The title "China As Depicted By Western Novels" was intended to be implemented in the author's classroom. Alas, life took an unexpected course. The author moved to Europe with her family and taught European history rather than Chinese history for her new employer, the European division of the University of Maryland. Undaunted, the instructor pursued the use of novels, which is described in Chapter IV of this work.

The addition of novels to required reading possibilities should not be done arbitrarily, for there are numerous novels that would not be acceptable. The professor should use discretion in evaluating novels that will fulfill his intended objectives for the course. Judicious selections present a rather accurate picture of China. This paper will demonstrate how prudent choices of novels will enhance a reading list. This dissertation will illustrate

that through extensive research some western authors correctly depict both Chinese historical events and customs. Western students can obtain a realistic view of China by reading selected novels written in English.

China: Tradition and Transformation, Revised Edition<sup>1</sup> by John King Fairbank and Edwin O. Reischauer and A Brief History of Chinese and Japanese Civilizations<sup>2</sup> by Conrad Schirokauer are used as sources of authority for this dissertation. These texts provide historical information and definition of the terms that will be used in this study. These major historians will be the authorities cited in the examination of Chinese customs and events in Chinese history. Selected novels will demonstrate how these customs and events can be presented in a most interesting manner to the students.

The revised edition of China: Tradition and Transformation was an excellent choice as a source book for this dissertation. The authors revised their first edition by expanding and updating the chapter on the People's Republic as well as reworking other areas of the textbook. Edwin Reischauer wrote half of Chapter 1 and all of Chapters 2-6, whereas John Fairbank wrote the other half of Chapter 1

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<sup>1</sup>John K. Fairbank and Edwin O. Reischauer, China: Tradition and Transformation, Revised Edition (Boston: Houghton Mifflin Company, 1989).

<sup>2</sup>Conrad Schirokauer, A Brief History of China and Japanese Civilizations (New York: Harcourt Brace Jovanovich, Publishers, 1989).



and Chapters 7-15. They consulted each other concerning revisions in all chapters.<sup>3</sup> The illustrations, maps, time lines, dynastic charts, pronunciation aids, and photographs were most helpful.

John King Fairbank, professor emeritus of Harvard University, has long been known as an authority on China. Fairbank received his Bachelor of Arts degree at Harvard University, was a Rhodes scholar at Oxford University, studied in Peking at the College of Chinese Studies, and earned a Doctor of Philosophy degree at Oxford in 1936. He began his teaching career as a lecturer at the Tsing Hua University in Peking, China, from 1933 to 1934. The professor joined the history faculty at Harvard in 1936, where he remained. The popular lecturer made numerous appearances on radio and television shows and has recorded lecture series and commentaries to accompany filmstrips. Fairbank served the United States government as a special assistant to the American ambassador in Chungking, China, 1942-1943; was acting deputy director in charge of Far Eastern operations, Office of War Information, 1944-1945; and was director of the United States Information Service in China, 1945-1946.<sup>4</sup>

Fairbank continually contributed articles to professional journals, magazines, and newspapers. The

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<sup>3</sup>Fairbank and Reischauer, China, X.

<sup>4</sup>Contemporary Authors, 1981 ed., s.v. "Fairbank, John King," 192.

historian, who served as president of the American Historical Association and president of the Association for Asian Studies, is perhaps best known as a prolific author of textbooks on China.<sup>5</sup> Fairbank was one of the American pioneers in modern Chinese history whose "surveys and more specialized courses of lectures, syllabi and bibliographies for use in research seminars, conferences on major topics leading to publications of symposia, all contributed to Master of Arts and Doctor of Philosophy degree training that launched many of today's professors of Chinese history on their careers."<sup>6</sup>

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<sup>5</sup> Ibid. A listing of Fairbank's writings include: The United States and China, 1948, 4th revised edition 1979; co-author of The Next Step in Asia, 1949; A Bibliographical Guide to Chinese Works, 1898-1937, 1950; co-author of A Documentary History of Chinese Communism, 1921-1950, 1952; Trade and Diplomacy on the China Coast, two volumes, 1954, reprinted 1967; co-author China's Response to the West, two volumes, 1954; co-author Japanese Studies of Modern China, 1955, reprinted 1971; China: The People's Middle Kingdom and the USA, 1967; editor and contributor to Chinese Ways in Warfare, 1974; China Perceived: Images and Policies in Chinese-American Relations, 1974; editor and author of introduction of The Missionary Enterprise in China and American, 1974; co-author of Japanese Studies of Modern China Since 1953, 1975; Chinese-American Interactions: A Historical Summary, 1975; co-editor of The I.G. in Peking: Letters of Robert Hart, Chinese Maritime Customs, 1968-1907, two volumes, 1975; and editor of Our China Prospects: Symposium on Chinese-American Relations, 1977.

Other works are: The Cambridge History of China, 1978; Chinabound: A Fifty-Year Memoir, 1982; The Great Chinese Revolution, 1800-1985, 1986; Christianity in China: Early Protestant Missionary Writings, 1985; Entering China's Service: Robert Hart's Journals, 1854-1863, 1986; and China Watch, 1987.

<sup>6</sup> John K. Fairbank, The Great Chinese Revolution: 1800-1985 (New York: Harper and Row, Publishers, 1986), 396.

Edwin Oldfather Reischauer, professor emeritus of Harvard, was the co-author of the revised edition of China: Tradition and Transformation. This scholar of Far Eastern studies was born in Tokyo, Japan in 1910. His parents were American missionaries. Reischauer received a Bachelor of Arts degree from Oberlin College, a Master of Arts from Harvard University, studied at the University of Paris and at universities in Japan, then earned his Doctor of Philosophy degree at Harvard University in 1939.

"Reischauer is perhaps the most formidable figure in Western understanding of Japan."<sup>7</sup> That was the conclusion of J. W. Pitts in an article in the Dallas Morning News. This reputation was due to a lifetime of involvement with Japan and the Japanese. His multifarious career centered on the Orient. Reischauer was first an instructor at Harvard from 1938 to 1942. During the war years, he was a senior research analyst in the War Department, a lieutenant colonel in U.S. Army military intelligence, and then chairman of Japan-Korea Secretariat and special assistant to the director of the Office of Far Eastern Affairs of the Department of State. The professor returned to Harvard from 1946-61, which he left to serve as the United States ambassador to Japan from 1961 to 1966. The Japanese

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<sup>7</sup> Joe W. Pitts, "Japan: Its Place in the Sun," review of The Japanese Today: Change and Continuity by Edwin O. Reischauer, in Dallas (Texas) Morning News, 19 June 1988 (Located in News Bank [Microform], Literature, 1988, 77:F6-7, fiche).

honored the diplomat with the prestigious Grand Cordon of the Rising Sun.<sup>8</sup>

Leonard W. Boasberg wrote that Reischauer was "born in Japan in 1910 to education missionaries, wed the Nisei granddaughter of a Japanese prince and former prime minister; U.S. ambassador to Japan during the 1960's and author of a 'slew of books on Japan.'"<sup>9</sup> The bulk of his literary works are on Japan, but he also has written scholarly books on Asia.<sup>10</sup>

A Brief History of Chinese and Japanese Civilizations was also selected as a source book for this dissertation. The author, Conrad Schirokauer, prefaced the text with the difficulty he encountered in weighing the change in the

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<sup>8</sup>Contemporary Authors, 1976 ed., s.v. "Reischauer, Edwin Oldfather," 604-605.

<sup>9</sup>Leonard W. Boasberg, "How the Japanese rebuilt and became a world power," review of The Japanese Today: Change and Continuity by Edwin O. Reischauer, in Philadelphia (Penn.) Inquirer, 17 April 1988 (located in News Bank [Microform], Literature, 1988, 65:C1, fiche).

<sup>10</sup>Contemporary Authors, "Reischauer," Ibid. A partial listing of his books are: co-author of Elementary Japanese for University Students, 1941, second edition 1943; co-compiler of Selected Texts for University Students, three volumes, 1942-47; Japan, Past and Present, 3rd edition, 1964; The United States and Japan, 3rd edition 1965; Wanted: An Asian Policy, 1955; translator of Ennin, Diary: The Record of a Pilgrimage to China in Search of the Law, 1955; Ennin's Travels in T'ang China, 1955; Beyond Vietnam: The United States and Asia, 1967; Japan: The Story of a Nation, revised 1974; co-author China: Tradition and Transformation, revised 1989; and Toward the Twenty-First Century: Education for a Changing World, 1973. More recent books include The Japanese Today: Change and Continuity, 1988; My Life Between Japan and America, 1986.

continuity of Far Eastern history and the continuity that prevails in continuing changes. The discovery of new evidence, such as recent archaeological finds, have required historians to ask new questions and revise old textbooks because history is never finished. Schirokauer commented, "Our hope is that the very inadequacies of a text such as this will spur some readers on to these endeavors. Thus for this text to succeed, it must fail: readers must come away hungry, their appetites whetted but not satiated."<sup>11</sup>

Schirokauer's readable text was well organized into sub-topics within each chapter. The graphics were excellent, especially those of Chinese pictograms, ideograms, and phonograms. The dynastic chart was concise and easy to understand, and the uncluttered maps were especially useful. Suggestions for further reading was a collection of good references.

Conrad Schirokauer, born in Leipzig, Germany, in 1929, was naturalized as a citizen of the United States in 1945. He received his Bachelor of Arts degree at Yale University and his Master of Arts and Doctor of Philosophy degrees from Stanford University. Schirokauer followed in the footsteps of his father and became a university professor. The historian was first an instructor at Swarthmore College, and later a professor at the City College of the City University

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<sup>11</sup>Schirokauer, A Brief History of Chinese and Japanese Civilizations, vii.

of New York.<sup>12</sup> Schirokauer has contributed to scholarly journals and written books about the Far East.<sup>13</sup> His text served as a good reference when reading the novels for this dissertation.

The novels examined in this work are lengthy and are surprisingly accurate portrayals of China. They would stimulate the interest of the student and satisfy the requirement of being a worthwhile endeavor. The variety of these books would enhance enthusiasm for outside reading requirements to a greater extent than the typical non-fictional works. The following nine novels will be used in this chronological order:

Manchu by Robert Sampson Elegant<sup>14</sup>

Mandarin by Robert Sampson Elegant<sup>15</sup>

The Good Earth by Pearl Sydenstricker Buck<sup>16</sup>

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<sup>12</sup>Contemporary Authors, 1983 ed., s.v. "Schirokauer, Conrad Max," 461.

<sup>13</sup>Ibid. Examples of Schirokauer's books are: Contributor to Confucian Personalities, 1962; contributor to Crisis and Prosperity in Sung China, 1975; contributor to Sung Biographies, 1976; translated from Japanese, Tchisada Miyazaki, China's Examination Hell: The Civil Service Exams of Imperial China, 1976; Modern China and Japan: A Brief History, 1982, revised 1989; History of the World, 1985.

<sup>14</sup>Robert S. Elegant, Manchu (New York: McGraw-Hill Book Company, 1980).

<sup>15</sup>Robert S. Elegant, Mandarin (New York: Simon and Schuster, 1983).

<sup>16</sup>Pearl S. Buck, The Good Earth (New York: The John Day Company, 1931).

Jade by Patricia Miriam Barr<sup>17</sup>

The Warlord by Malcolm Bosse<sup>18</sup>

From a Far Land by Robert Sampson Elegant<sup>19</sup>

The Three Daughters of Madame Liang by Pearl  
Sydenstricker Buck<sup>20</sup>

Dynasty by Robert Sampson Elegant<sup>21</sup>

Spring Moon by Bette Boa Lord<sup>22</sup>

These novels are varied in subject matter and span the history of China from the seventeenth century to the present. The variety of topics illustrate the reluctant transformation from dynastic China to the turmoil of the twentieth century. The sequence is presented generally in historic chronological order. Chapter II will interchange the novels as they portray Chinese customs. The historical treatment will be followed in Chapter III, which deals with events in Chinese history. Chapter IV will explore how other university professors utilize fiction in their history courses.

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<sup>17</sup>Patricia M. Barr, Jade (New York: Warner Books, 1982).

<sup>18</sup>Malcolm Bosse, The Warlord (New York: Simon and Schuster, 1983).

<sup>19</sup>Robert S. Elegant, From a Far Land (New York: Random House, 1987).

<sup>20</sup>Pearl S. Buck, The Three Daughters of Madame Liang (New York: The John Day Company, 1969).

<sup>21</sup>Robert S. Elegant, Dynasty (New York: McGraw-Hill Book Company, 1977).

<sup>22</sup>Bette Boa Lord, Spring Moon (New York: Avon Books, 1981).

## CHAPTER I

### THE AUTHORS AND DESCRIPTIONS OF THE NOVELS

The nine novels were written by five authors: Patricia Barr, Malcolm Bosse, Pearl Buck, Robert Elegant, and Bette Boa Lord. The authors were all westerners with the exception of Bette Boa Lord. The primary language of each author was English. They wrote these books in English, although several of the works have been translated into other languages. Bette Boa Lord was born in China, Pearl S. Buck lived in China during her formative years, and the remainder of the writers have had extended visits to China. The authors firsthand knowledge of East Asia transmitted credibility in their narratives.

Patricia Miriam Barr was born in England in 1934. She received a Bachelor of Arts degree at the University of Birmingham in 1956 and later a Master of Arts degree at the University of London in 1964. Her first profession was teaching. She taught English at the Yokohama International School in Japan during the period from 1956 to 1961. This was followed by teaching for the Overseas Program of the University of Maryland in Japan.

Mrs. Barr began her second career as a full-time writer in 1966. She traveled frequently to the Far East and to South America, which were paramount among her favorite areas. Her extended visits to the Orient and a desire for



credibility were reflected in her works. The writer described her intentions as: "I aim to be, in a sense, a good and trustworthy historical journalist."<sup>1</sup> Based on a review of Pat Barr's 1968 publication, The Deer Cry Pavilion: A Story of Westerners in Japan, she accomplished the goal of trustworthiness. The reviewer, Sylvia Townsend Warner, wrote this description of Barr; "Her narrative is substantial, vivid, without sentiment, without partiality. It is as though she wrote with the detachment of someone observing a process of history through a telescope of impartial magnification."<sup>2</sup> The Deer Cry Pavilion and other early works such as: The Coming of the Barbarians: The Opening of Japan to the West, 1853-1870; A Curious Life for a Lady: The Story of Isabella Bird, A Remarkable Victorian Traveler; To China With Love: The Lives and Times of Protestant Missionaries in China, 1860-1900; and Chinese Alice were nonfiction. Patricia Barr received a Winston Churchill fellowship in 1971 for nonfiction writing.<sup>3</sup> It was not until 1982 that this former teacher and historical writer published her first novel, Jade: A Novel of China.

Jade, which is examined in this paper, affirmed Mrs. Barr's enthusiasm for the nineteenth century and her

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<sup>1</sup>Contemporary Authors, 1970 ed., s.v. "Barr, Patricia Miriam," 30.

<sup>2</sup>Contemporary Authors, 1977 ed., s.v. "Barr, Patricia Miriam," 58.

<sup>3</sup>Contemporary Authors, 1984 ed., s.v. "Barr, Patricia Miriam," 44.

firsthand knowledge of China. Barr viewed her new pursuit in fiction as a challenge. She stated in correspondence with Contemporary Authors, "The writing of a novel spills over into one's whole life and the limitations are one's own instead of being imposed by the available material as with nonfiction."<sup>4</sup> Mrs. Barr's background in history was appreciated by reviewers of Jade. Reid Beddow stated in the Washington Post Book World: "Author Barr has woven what is evidently a lot of scholarly reading into her text."<sup>5</sup> Orville Schell agreed that Barr used history effectively in Jade, but he also pointed out that the geographic and historical scope of the novel was so vast that the characters were buried in the "complexity of historical events."<sup>6</sup>

Schell's assessment of lack of character development was a common complaint of other reviewers. Peggy Randolph wrote that Jade was a splendidly researched book, but the characterizations and stilted dialogue indicated Pat Barr's inexperience as a novelist.<sup>7</sup> Janet Zich stated that the

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<sup>4</sup>Ibid.

<sup>5</sup>Ibid.

<sup>6</sup>Orville Schell, "A Veritable Smorgasbord Reset in 19th Century Asia," review of Jade by Patricia Barr in Los Angeles (California) Times, 19 September 1982 (located in News Bank [Microform], Literature, 1982, 23:D2, fiche).

<sup>7</sup>Peggy Randolph, "Jade," review of Jade by Patricia Barr in Tulsa (Oklahoma) World, 12 September 1982 (located in News Bank [Microform], Literature, 1982-83, 23:D3, fiche).

dialogue was wooden and the narrative uneven, but the research was fine. Zich conceded that Patricia Barr was an experienced nonfiction writer. This training may have hindered the narrative of Jade for Zich wrote that Barr "approached her first novel as a work of research rather than of imagination."<sup>8</sup> This statement fortified the usage of Jade on a reading list because painstaking research was preferable to imagination. Therefore, Patricia Barr's debut novel was included in this dissertation. The reviewer Hilda Schroetter was so pleased with Jade that she thought readers would "pray fervently for a second novel."<sup>9</sup>

Malcolm Bosse, who earned a Doctor of Philosophy degree, has been a professor of English at City College of the City University of New York for several years. In addition to being a professor, he was an editorial writer for Barron's Financial Weekly, a lecturer, and he served in the United States Navy, Army, and Merchant Marines. Bosse traveled extensively in Southeast Asia and lectured in India, Burma, Malaysia, Singapore, Taiwan, China, and Thailand. He was not merely a traveler in the Far East, for he resided in India. Avocations selected by Malcolm Bosse,

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<sup>8</sup>Janet Zich, "A Cliff-hanger about China," review of Jade by Patricia Barr, in Los Angeles (California) Herald Examiner, 17 October 1982 (located in New Bank [Microform], Literature, 1982-83, 32:D4, fiche).

<sup>9</sup>Hilda Noel Schroetta, "Uncut Jade Endures," review of Jade by Patricia Barr, in Richmond (Virginia) Times Dispatch, 26 September 1982 (located in News Bank [Microform], Literature, 1982-83, 23:D4, fiche).

such as Asian history, yoga, and Chinese cooking, reflect his keen interest in the Orient.<sup>10</sup>

Bosse excelled in writing novels. The Journal of Tao Kim Nam, a novel about the travels and perils of a Vietnamese farmer who left his home in the north to escape the Vietminh and communism, was selected by the Saturday Review of Literature as one of the best novels of the year, 1960. The English professor also wrote juvenile books, of which Cave Beyond Time received an award from the National Council of Social Studies Teachers in 1981. The Seventy Nine Squares was not only named notable book for 1979 by the American Library Association, but was selected as one of the best books of the year 1979 by the Library of Congress.<sup>11</sup>

The Warlord, by Bosse, was selected for this dissertation to accentuate the era of the warlords. This was a chaotic time in China when militarists contested for power. Perhaps the author's own military service aroused an interest in military history. Bosse wrote in a most readable style and focused on the year 1927. Reviews of this novel were mixed. Florence Drumright wrote a scathing review in the Tulsa World. Mrs. Drumright, the wife of the former American ambassador to Taiwan, had firsthand knowledge of the Far East. She wrote that: "in 1927 China

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<sup>10</sup> Contemporary Authors, 1982 ed., s.v. "Bosse, Malcolm J.," 74-76.

<sup>11</sup> Ibid.

was a land of poverty, torn by internal strife, violated by foreigners, but held together by ancient rules of family behavior and loyalties . . . Lives counted for little except to the families."<sup>12</sup> Her assessment of The Warlord was that the Confucian philosophy was distilled, the characters were unreal and tasteless, there were no heroes, many villains, and not one admirable character. Drumright summed up the novel as "pure chop suey."<sup>13</sup>

Alida Becker had a different reaction in a review in the Philadelphia Inquirer. Becker wrote that Bosse refrained from heightening suspense to make certain the reader understood what circumstances motivated the action of the characters. The reader perceived throughout the book that the characters were doomed. Alida Becker stated that Bosse "transformed what might have been mere story telling into an absorbing re-creation of a world that is lost to us forever."<sup>14</sup>

Charles Seabrook, who traveled in China, wrote that The Warlord lacked action. In the Atlanta Journal review, the author credited Malcolm Bosse with a colorful,

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<sup>12</sup>Florence Drumright, "The Warlord," review of The Warlord, by Malcolm J. Bosse, in Tulsa (Oklahoma) World, 29 May 1983, located in News Bank [Microform], Literature, 1982-83, 93:C5, fiche).

<sup>13</sup>Ibid.

<sup>14</sup>Alida Becker, "Absorbing tale re-creates drama of a lost China," review of The Warlord, by Malcolm J. Bosse, in Philadelphia (Pennsylvania) Inquirer, 5 June 1983 (Located in News Bank [Microform], Literature, 1982-83, C6-7, fiche).

informative book that was remarkably accurate in its history. Seabrook gleaned that in the 1920s, China was a nation of loosely allied principalities that were ruled by whatever law the local warlord could enforce. Each warlord desired to be the master of all of China. The reviewer must have been seeking an adventure novel concentrating on bloody battles for Seabrook states "The Warlord is long on history, short on action."<sup>15</sup> The heavy emphasis on history is the main reason The Warlord was included in this dissertation.

The reviewer in the New York Times, Christopher Lehman-Hauptst, appreciated the omission of violence and action that the Atlanta reviewer sought. The novel opened with bandits stopping a train, killing passengers (one by decapitation), and taking hostages. It had an abundance of "eviscerations, garrotings, eye gougings and castrations," rounded out with a gory description of the decapitation of an army.<sup>16</sup> Lehman-Hauptst wrote that Bosse resisted the temptation of the usual book of genre. Instead, The Warlord succeeded because the characters were alive and complicated, even though it initially took time to sort them out. The New Yorker viewed each character as a cut-out doll with a

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<sup>15</sup>Charles Seabrook, "Warlord is long on history, short on action," review of The Warlord by Malcolm J. Bosse, in Atlanta (Georgia) Journal, 29 May 1983 (Located in News Bank [Microform], Literature, 1982-83, 93:C2, fiche).

<sup>16</sup>Christopher Lehmann-Hauptst, "Books of the Times," review of The Warlord by Malcolm Bosse, in The New York Times, 12 May 1983, section 3, p. 21.

label, such as: Tang, the heroic warlord; Embree, the strayed American Missionary; and Lachner, the German weapons salesman. However, they were not stereotypes for each was not too specific or too representative; Lehman found all of them simultaneously sympathetic and deplorable. This reader ended up rooting for China because the plot was skillfully laced with acts of both loyalty and betrayal.<sup>17</sup>

The reviewer of The Warlord in the Detroit Free Press was Kathy Warbelow. She agreed with Alida Becker of the Philadelphia Inquirer that the plot was predictable; nevertheless, Warbelow found an irresistible appeal in the complexity of the plot. The Detroit writer felt Bosse chose a powerful moment in the history of the world's most populated country to monograph. Kathy Warbelow stated that: "The descriptive passages of ancient religious sites, of teeming cities, of the monsoons--are among its strongest."<sup>18</sup>

The sequel to The Warlord was Fire in Heaven.<sup>19</sup> Charles P. Corn's review marveled that Bosse had encyclopedia knowledge of Asia.<sup>20</sup> Curt Schleier concluded that

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<sup>17</sup> Ibid.

<sup>18</sup> Kathy Warbelow, "An epic clothed in turmoil," review of The Warlord, by Malcolm J. Bosse, in Detroit (Michigan) Free Press, 15 May 1983 (Located in News Bank [Microform], Literature, 1982-83, 93:C5, fiche).

<sup>19</sup> Malcolm Bosse, Fire in Heaven, (New York: Simon and Schuster, 1985).

<sup>20</sup> Charles P. Corn, "Giant Panels of Asian Life," review of Fire in Heaven, by Malcolm J. Bosse, in San Francisco (California) Chronicle, 2 March 1986 (Located in News Bank [Microform], Literature, 1985-86, 79:A6, fiche).

Bosse was foolish to write a sequel to an outstanding book, The Warlord. The continuation did not measure up to the original. The second book began in 1948, several decades after the monograph in 1927. Corn described the central character as a "burnt-out ex-soldier"<sup>21</sup> and Schleier wrote that all the characters had turned limpid, uninteresting, and disappointing. Schleier ended his review with: "There may be fire in heaven--but there's none in this book."<sup>22</sup> Fire in Heaven was not included in this dissertation because other books more adequately depicted the era. No sequels, not even of Pearl Buck's The Good Earth, were included in this work. If the student was enthralled with the original, he or she might choose to read the sequel for pleasure rather than as a requirement.

Malcolm Bosse, the scholar-novelist, repeated the same pattern in most of his novels. This was the theme of a reviewer, Arthur Zich. He noted that Stranger at the Gate, a recent novel by Bosse, was patterned after the magnificent epic, The Warlord. Both books were outlined in three steps. The first set the stage for the fictional cast among real events and the actual people who shaped them. Next, the author developed the plot in subtle, profound elements of

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<sup>21</sup>Ibid.

<sup>22</sup>Curt Schleier, "Fire in Heaven is a Sequel that Fails," review of Fire in Heaven, by Malcolm J. Bosse in Florida (Jacksonville) Times-Union, 2 March 1986 (Located in News Bank [Microform], Literature, 1985-86, 79:A7, fiche).



the native culture. Lastly, one questioning American, through confrontations in a foreign land, discovered a deeprooted, formerly unknown, truth about himself.<sup>23</sup>

Pearl Sydenstricker Buck was born in West Virginia in 1892. As a five-month old infant she was taken to Chinkiang, China, by her parents, who were Presbyterian missionaries. Her first spoken language was Chinese, whereas her first written language was English. It was easier for her to learn to write using the English alphabet rather than the Chinese characters.<sup>24</sup> Pearl Buck's formative years included study at a boarding school in Shanghai. The authoress returned to the land of her birth at the age of seventeen where she earned a Bachelor of Arts degree at Randolph-Macon College in 1914 and later received a Master of Arts degree at Cornell University in 1926. Mrs. Buck mastered the English language and taught English literature in universities in the United States and China. She was a prolific writer with more than forty novels to her credit, and she also performed as a translator.<sup>25</sup>

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<sup>23</sup>Arthur Zich, "Shadow Puppets and an Attempted Coup," review of Stranger at the Gate, by Malcolm J. Bosse, in San Francisco (California) Examiner and Chronicle, 25 June 1989 (Located in News Bank [Microform], Literature, 1989, 76:C2, fiche).

<sup>24</sup>Contemporary Authors, 1967, s.v. "Buck, Pearl Sydenstricker," 130-131.

<sup>25</sup>Twentieth Century Authors, 1942 ed., s.v. "Buck, Mrs. Pearl Sydenstricker," 215-216.

The daughter of missionaries married an agriculturist, John Lossing Buck who was employed by the Presbyterian Mission Board in China. The couple had no intention of leaving China until political upheavals in China forced them to return to the United States in 1932. In 1935, she divorced, then married her publisher, Richard J. Walsh. The author continued to write under the name of Pearl Buck. "The original incentive for her to earn money by writing had come in 1928 when she realized that her daughter Carol was incurably retarded."<sup>26</sup> She chose to write novels even though her Confucian tutor taught her that novels were unworthy of a scholar. Buck turned to the popular entertainment of novels because she liked ordinary people. Her popularity with the general public was due to her feeling for traditional values, simplicity, and usage of universal themes.<sup>27</sup>

Pearl Buck was also known as a humanitarian. She aided Chinese famine refugees, helped place children of Asian women and American servicemen in adoption (she adopted nine of these difficult-to-place children herself), and founded the Welcome House, a non-profit organization which provided care for these children.<sup>28</sup> Her sympathy for

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<sup>26</sup>Lina Mainiero, gen. ed., "Pearl Sydensticker Buck," American Women Writers (New York: Frederick Unger Publishing Company, Inc., 1979) vol. A to C, 267.

<sup>27</sup>Ibid., 267-268.

<sup>28</sup>Ibid., 267.

the downtrodden began in her childhood as she witnessed the work and compassionate attitude of her missionary parents. She immortalized her parents with biographies, both written in 1936. She described her father in Fighting Angel and her mother in The Exile.<sup>29</sup>

China was the predominant theme of her fiction. The fact that this Westerner spent so many years of her life in China, together with an acute sensitivity to tradition and culture, enabled her to have an understanding of the Chinese personality. The deep feelings Pearl Buck had for China were reflected in her novels. Her ability to express these feelings was rewarded in 1938 with the Nobel Prize for literature. The author lived alternately in China and the United States. The richness and variety of her personal experiences, such as being in Nanking when the communist revolutionaries entered the city in 1927, provided her with an abundance of material for her novels. She took advantage of her close proximity to change in China to inform the western world of these events. Two novels had been chosen for this treatise from the myriad of publications by Pearl Buck.<sup>30</sup> The Good Earth was selected for its stirring story

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<sup>29</sup> Ibid., 268.

<sup>30</sup> Mrs. Buck was a prolific writer. A partial list of her fiction includes: East Wind, West Wind, 1930; The Good Earth, 1931; Sons, 1932; The First Wife and Other Stories, 1933; The Mother, 1934; A House Divided, 1935; The Proud Heart, 1938; The Patriot, 1939; Other Gods, An American Legend, 1940; Today and Forever, Stories of China, 1941; China Sky, 1941; Dragon Seed, 1942; Twenty-Seven Stories,

of the peasant and his relationship to the soil. This book had a universal theme which could fit into any point of history. The Good Earth was on the American Best Seller list for twenty-one months and won the Pulitzer Prize in 1931. The Three Daughters of Madame Liang was a contemporary work when it was written in 1969; it described life in China under communist rule.

East Wind, West Wind, the promising first book written by Pearl Buck, was followed the next year by The Good Earth. The New York Times reviewer in 1931 wrote that the second book was a brilliant fulfillment of expectations stimulated by the earlier work. This critique saw in the simple plot of The Good Earth much deeper implications that commented

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1943; The Promise, 1943; China Flight, 1945; Portrait of a Marriage, 1945; Pavilion of Women, 1946; Far and Near, Stories of Japan, China, and America, 1947; Peony, 1948; Kinfolk, 1949; God's Men, 1951; The Hidden Flower, 1952; Come, My Beloved, 1953; Imperial Women, 1956; Letter From Peking, 1957; Command the Morning, 1959; Fourteen Stories, 1961; Hearts Come Home and Other Stories, 1962; Satan Never Sleeps, 1962; The Living Reed, 1963; Death in the Castle, 1965; The Time is Noon, 1967, and The Three Daughters of Madame Liang, 1969.

Non-Fiction works include: Is There a Case for Foreign Missions? 1932; All Men are Brothers, 1933; The Exile, 1936; Fighting Angel, 1936; The Chinese Novel, 1939; Of Men and Women, 1941; American Unity and Asia, 1942; China in Black and White: An Album of Woodcuts, 1945; American Argument, 1949; The Man Who Changed China: The Story of Sun Yat-sen, 1953; My Several Worlds, 1954; The Delights of Learning, 1960; A Bridge for Passing, 1962; Mrs. Buck also wrote books for juveniles, plays, and several novels under the pseudonym, John Sedges: The Townsman, 1945; The Angry Wife, 1947; The Long Love, 1949; Bright Procession, 1952; Voices in the House, 1953; and American Triptych, 1958. This list is located in Contemporary Authors, 1967., s.v. "Buck, Pearl Sydenstricker," 131.

upon the meaning and tragedy of life. The setting was China, but the implications were global. Pearl Buck was evaluated as one who wrote with style, coherence, power, reality, and a pervasive sense of the dramatic. The review stated that "whatever process of observations and analysis underlies Mrs. Buck's writing, it has been completely transmitted here into the stuff of art."<sup>31</sup>

Aileen Pippett commented in a review thirty-eight years later that The Good Earth was a truthful interpretation of the East to westerners. Pippett's review in the New York Times conveyed the idea that Pearl Buck's The Three Daughters of Madame Liang again interpreted the East to the West. The time span between these works emphasized the vast changes within China. These two novels were included in this dissertation to pronounce the diversity of the changes. At the time of Pippett's review, diplomatic ties between the People's Republic and the United States were still severed. The essayist wrote of The Three Daughters of Madame Liang, "Yet the barriers to communications between the United States and mainland China seem to disappear as we read a novel that convinces us it is a true tale about real people."<sup>32</sup>

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<sup>31</sup>"The Good Earth and Other Recent Works of Fiction," New York Times, 15 March 1931, sec. IV, 6.

<sup>32</sup>Aileen Pippett, review of The Three Daughters of Madame Liang, by Pearl Buck, in New York Times, 10 August 1969, sec. VII, 26.

Robert Sampson Elegant is also an American who spent a considerable number of years in the Orient. He was graduated with degrees in Chinese, Japanese, and journalism from the University of Pennsylvania and Columbia University. This educational background provided a rich background for an outstanding columnist. Elegant has been a foreign correspondent in Asia since 1951 and the recipient of numerous awards, including four from the Overseas Press Club. The correspondent's writings, in addition to a syndicated column, include: suspense novels, fiction, and nonfiction.<sup>33</sup>

Outstanding nonfiction written by Elegant included China's Red Masters (1951-1971), The Dragon's Seed (1959), The Center of the World (1964-1968), Mao's Great Revolution (1971), Mao Versus Chiang (1972), and The Great Cities: Hong Kong.<sup>34</sup> China's Red Masters contained political biographies of communist leaders. The reviewer, Vincent Sheean, found the chronology confusing because the biographies were inter-related. Elegant consulted sources in Chinese, Japanese, and English, held interviews, and utilized the East Asiatic Library of Columbia University for the biographies. This valuable book placed Mao Tse-tung on a plane with Joseph Stalin and labeled the second most important leader as Liu

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<sup>33</sup>Contemporary Authors, 1967 ed., s.v. "Elegant, Robert Sampson," 286-287.

<sup>34</sup>Contemporary Authors, New Revision Series, Vol. 1, s.v. "Elegant, Robert Sampson," 176-177.

Shao-chi, an enigmatic person of whom little is known.<sup>35</sup>

The Dragon's Seed: Peking and the Overseas Chinese was an exceptional study of Chinese who lived beyond the borders of the mainland. Elegant's study gave greatest prominence to Singapore as the most conspicuous example of effective Chinese concentration. Other places investigated in this treatise were Malaysia and Indonesia, and to a lesser extent, Thailand, Burma, and the Philippines. The overseas Chinese were often middlemen, industrious, prosperous, and law abiding. If they were the object of persecution or discrimination, they usually endured with their Chinese language and culture intact. Most Chinese preserved an emotional loyalty to the motherland of China. Elegant warned that these overseas Chinese could provide a fifth column if this loyalty were attached to the communist regime, thus facilitating a communist take-over of Southeast Asia. Elegant closely analyzed the methods of communist infiltration and subversion in other countries. This study of propaganda was most timely when published in 1959.<sup>36</sup>

The Center of the World added to Robert Elegant's successful nonfiction publications. This book undertook

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<sup>35</sup>Vincent Sheean, "Men Behind Red China," review of China's Red Masters, by Robert S. Elegant, in New York Times, 29 April 1951, Vol. VII, 6.

<sup>36</sup>Robert Aura Smith, "China Is Their Motherland," review of The Dragon Seed: Peking and the Overseas Chinese, by Robert Elegant, in New York Times, 5 July 1959, Vol. VII, 3.

the task of explaining the behavior of communist leaders in the domestic and international arena. Elegant concluded that the three most powerful forces that guided the leaders were: sino-centrism, a unique conviction of superiority of the Chinese; authoritarianism, both in traditional ideology and in government; and utopianism, the passion of Chinese political thinkers to strive for a functioning social order that is perfect.<sup>37</sup> Martin Weber, who was the director of the East Asian Institute as well as a professor of Chinese history at Columbia University, reviewed The Center of the World for the New York Times. The historian warned that Robert Elegant's authoritative manner of writing might cause the unwary reader to mistake conjecture for established fact.<sup>38</sup> Weber credited Elegant for his sources such as close and continuous monitoring of the Chinese press as well as his interviews with Chinese refugees in Hong Kong. The reviewer assessed Elegant thus:

The reportorial accounts of land reform and collectivization, the taming of China's business class, the chaotic condition of education, student revolts in 1957, and the disastrous results of the Great Leap are first-rate journalism.<sup>39</sup> He is a magician with words; this is his trade.

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<sup>37</sup>C. Martin Weber, "Is China a Manic Bull or a Sitting Scarecrow?" review of The Center of the World, by Robert Elegant, in New York Times, 5 July 1959, Vol. VII, 3.

<sup>38</sup>Ibid.

<sup>39</sup>Ibid.



The journalist wrote a monumental book about the Cultural Revolution of the late 1960s. Mao's Great Revolution was written by Elegant when he was the chief of the Los Angeles Times bureau in Hong Kong. The author gathered so much material during his period of upheaval that one complaint was the untrustworthiness of Chinese sources and another was that the weighty exposition was too long and repetitive.<sup>40</sup> Stuart R. Schram, head of the Contemporary China Institute of the School of African and Asian Studies in London, wrote unfavorably of Elegant's book. Schram, who was an author of a biography of Mao Tse-tung, wrote of Mao's Great Revolution:

. . . five years after onset of the Cultural Revolution in China, there is still no adequate study of what is perhaps the greatest and surely the most unprecedented, social upheaval in modern times. It would be agreeable to report that this gap has now been filled by Robert S. Elegant, foreign affairs columnist of The Los Angeles Times, but unfortunately such is not the case.<sup>41</sup>

The reviewer thought the extremely narrow focus was the essential weakness. To remedy this, Elegant could have stressed historic background and included statements from Mao's speeches from the 1950s to 1969. He further faulted Elegant for presenting Mao as an instrument in the hands of deputy party chairman, Lin Piao; theoretician, Ch'en Pota;

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<sup>40</sup>Thomas Lask, "In the Chaos, A Pattern," review of Mao's Great Revolution, by Robert Elegant, in New York Times, 1 April 1971, 39.

<sup>41</sup>Stuart R. Schram, review of Mao's Great Revolution, by Robert S. Elegant, in New York Times, 28 March 1971, 23.

and Mao's wife, Chiang Ching. Nevertheless, Schram sums up Elegant as objective and dispassionate and his book on the "Cultural Revolution" is clear, readable and substantially accurate--though as he himself recognizes, it is not yet possible to write the history of this moment with absolute confidence of every detail.<sup>42</sup> The reviewer, Thomas Lask, wrote, "To encapsulate such a wide ranging phenomenon into a brief history and fit that history into China's past and present is a considerable achievement. Mr. Elegant has done both."<sup>43</sup>

Robert Elegant's novels reflect his successful background as a journalist and as a writer of nonfiction. His extensive research, his interest in history, and his residence in the Orient all contributed to background information and details that have woven a rich fabric in his fiction. For instance, his knowledge of Mao was acknowledged by a reviewer of Elegant's novel, Dynasty-- "Nothing in the novel, for example, is as good as the chapter on Mao's Cultural Revolution. You can read Dynasty as a short course in Chinese history since 1900. Anything additional is a pure dividend."<sup>44</sup>

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<sup>42</sup>Ibid.

<sup>43</sup>Lask, "In the Chaos, A Pattern," 39.

<sup>44</sup>Thomas Lask, "Dynasty Traces Fortunes of an Influential Eurasian Family," review of Dynasty, by Robert Elegant, in New York Times, 22 September 1977, vol. III, 17.

Manchu, Mandarin, Dynasty, and From A Far Land, all written by Elegant, are investigated in this dissertation. Each novel depicted life in China during a different age. The setting for Manchu was the seventeenth century, during the fall of the Ming Dynasty. Mandarin was the story of two merchant families, during the mid-nineteenth century spanning the period of the Taiping Rebellion and rise of the dowager empress, Tz'u-hsi. From A Far Land, a twentieth century novel confined to the years 1921 to 1952, focused on the struggle between nationalists and comunists, the Long March, and the Sino-Japanese War. Dynasty was a twentieth century novel that dramatized four generations of a Eurasian family. Hong Kong was the center of activity in Dynasty. These novels reflect the author's understanding of the Chinese culture, an understanding that can only be acquired by living in the environment, speaking the language, and studying Asian history.

Confucius Says was Robert Elegant's most recent work on Asia. Howard G. Chua-Eoan's review in the April 23, 1990 edition of Time classified this book as a socio-political primer. The breadth of Confucius Says was the entire Pacific area including Australia. Elegant cited examples of strong leaders in the Orient such as Park Chung Hee in South Korea and Lee Kuan Yew in Singapore who have continued the tradition of stern patriarchs. This travelogue analyzed why the unquestioned influence of the West has been phasing out

in Oriental countries. Elegant suggested that it is due to a strong heritage.

The preachings of the liberal West, Elegant argues, are undermined by the effectiveness of authoritarian Neo-Confucianism from Seoul to Tokyo to Taipei, from Beijing to Bangkok to Kuala Lumpur. Japan's energy comes from a disciplined adherence to the hierarchical loyalties demanded by the ancient philosophy . . . Though Elegant does not quite make the argument, the Confucian ethic, with its emphasis on disobedience, can justify the Tiananmen crackdown.<sup>45</sup>

This timely book should be a must for a reading list for it would provoke the student to consider current application of an ancient Chinese philosophy.

Long after four of Robert Elegant's novels were selected for this dissertation, a pertinent article was discovered in The Journal of General Education which validated the use of several books by Elegant. The writer of the article, Gary Olsen, stated:

Then there is the type of historical novel which admits imagination and embellishment, but is never overwhelmed by them. In these works, history remains the dominant partner. Major historical figures do not suffer the indignity of having their names changed and their actions altered; fictional characters play clearly subordinate roles; history is faithfully related. Elegant's novels of China . . . clearly fall into this category. Invariably, the authors of this type of historical fiction are thoroughly trained or otherwise immersed in history and come to fiction after they have found the past.<sup>46</sup>

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<sup>45</sup>Howard G. Chua-Eoan, review of Confucius Says, by Robert Elegant, in Time, Vol. 135, No. 17, 23 April 1990, 97.

<sup>46</sup>Gary R. Olsen, "Clio's New Clothes: Reinvigorating the History Classroom Through Historical Fiction." Journal of General Education 38 (1986):3.

The essayist lauded Elegant for rarely distorting the facts and supported the position of this dissertation that Elegant's novels are worthwhile for using in the history classroom.

The last author studied in this dissertation was Bette Boa Lord. This Chinese author used her own family as the source of many of her ideas in Spring Moon. Bette Boa was born in Shanghai in 1938 and traveled to North America in 1946 with her father who was an official representing the Chinese government in the United States. Bette's young sister, Sansan, remained in China with relatives. Due to the Chinese civil war, Sansan did not join her parents in America until 1962.<sup>47</sup>

Bette Boa was educated in the United States and married an American, Winston Lord. She was graduated from Tufts University and received a master's degree from the Fletcher School of Law and Diplomacy. In 1973 she was allowed to return to China with her husband, a principal advisor to Henry Kissinger. During this sojourn, Mrs. Lord became reacquainted with Chinese relatives. This background provided the material for several of her fictional and nonfiction books. The first effort was written with her sister in 1964, Eighth Moon: The True Story of a Young Girl's Life in Communist China.<sup>48</sup> Bette Boa Lord was the

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<sup>47</sup>Lord, Spring Moon, p. 465.

<sup>48</sup>Ibid.

sole authoress of Spring Moon which received the American Book Award nomination in 1982. This novel appeared on the best seller list of the New York Times Book Review for thirty weeks.

Spring Moon's popularity was understandable. The author, a Chinese American, had a personal interest in China. Her own family was ideal to use as the prototype for the characters in Spring Moon. The reviewer, Walter Berkov, saw Lord's family as a microcosm of what happened to individuals in twentieth-century China. Her prominent family numbered in the hundreds. Lord's Fang relatives were a varied lot; some were early members of the Chinese Communist Party, some were never communist, many were educated to be professionals, some were writers, and several were victims of the Cultural Revolution. One of the most atypical of her relatives was her grandmother. This ancestor was an early revolutionary who had the audacity to ride horseback and swim in the ocean, sports that were not customary to Chinese women with bound feet!<sup>49</sup>

Bette Boa Lord wrote most of Spring Moon after midnight because she did not want to interfere with family time. In addition to being a mother, wife, and writer, she worked for the Fulbright scholarship program and served on

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<sup>49</sup>Walter Berkov, "A Writer's Bouquet to Her America," review of Spring Moon by Bette Boa Lord in Cleveland (Ohio) Plains Dealer, 18 November 1984 (Located in News Bank [Microform], Literature, 1984-85, 58:F1-3, fiche).

the board of the National Committee of United States-China Relations.<sup>50</sup> The Lords resided in Beijing, China from 1985 to April 1989 where Winston Lord served as the United States ambassador. In an article about the ambassador's wife in 1987, Daniel Southerland pictured her as an asset to her husband and a celebrity in the country of her birth. He pictured Mrs. Lord as having effortless grace and moving with the "swift fluidity of the dancer she once was."<sup>51</sup> Her theatrical and literary background motivated her to further cultural cooperation between the United States and China. Bette Lord invited Chinese writers and film producers for dinner parties at the embassy, arranged regular showings of American movies for hundreds of Chinese intellectuals, and helped send Chinese artists and writers to study in the United States. She financed with her royalties a road tour of Ain't Misbehavin' which gave ordinary Chinese in schools, factories, and local theaters an opportunity to experience Harlem jazz.<sup>52</sup>

Bette Boa Lord was a novelty who surprised many Chinese. She had the appearance of an Oriental and the

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<sup>50</sup>"Lord, Baseball and America," Interview with Bette Boa Lord, in Manchester (N.H.) Sunday News, 13 January 1985 (Located in News Bank [Microform], Literature, 1984-85, 77:A14, fiche).

<sup>51</sup>Daniel Southerland, "In China, Artistic Efforts by an Embassy Wife," Washington (D.C.) Post, 28 September 1987 (located in News Bank [Microform], Literature 42:B9-10, fiche).

<sup>52</sup>Ibid.

style of an American. She said of herself, "I don't just sit there. I move my hands a lot, and I like to laugh. But if you are an official in China, your face is supposed to be void of expression."<sup>53</sup> The dynamo diplomat's wife was like a conduit for giving Chinese a glimpse of America and, by keeping in touch with Chinese reality through her relatives, she gave diplomatic circles a better glimpse of China. She created a salon in China where she resided there as the ambassador's wife.<sup>54</sup>

Bette Lord left Beijing in April of 1989 at the time students were occupying Tiananmen Square. Since her return to the United States, the Chinese-American has written a collection of oral histories many of which were gleaned from the days of her salon. Lord's latest book was based on tape recordings and interviews which provide portraits of people who lived under the rule of the Chinese Communist Party. Linda Mathews critiqued Legacies as being devoid of sentimental pity or a catalogue of miseries, but the book did describe "ren," the Chinese virtue of being able to survive the calculated cruelties and frequent betrayals in the everyday life of the Chinese. The reviewer expressed that Legacies "is franker, more penetrating and infinitely

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<sup>52</sup>Ibid.

<sup>53</sup>Ibid.

<sup>54</sup>Linda Mathews, "Better Times in Beijing," review of Legacies by Bette Boa Lord, in The New York Times Book Review, 15 April 1990, p. 9.



sadder than most journalistic accounts of the brave and tragic uprising at Tiananmen Square."<sup>55</sup> This would be an excellent choice to include in the nonfiction selections on a reading list. The students would benefit from the accounts of those who told of their life in modern China.

These five authors share a vital interest in the Orient and most especially China. Their knowledge of the area and sensitivity to the culture of the country enabled them to write convincing narratives. This dissertation will illustrate how novels written by these authors would certainly stimulate a student's interest in China and whet the person's appetite to read more about China.

#### Descriptions of the Novels

A short description of each of these nine novels illustrates the diversity of the subject matter. The time span extended from the early contacts of Europeans with the interior of China in the seventeenth century to the Cultural Revolution under Mao Tse-tung in more contemporary times. Each book will be considered in chronological order, although the time frame of several overlap.

Manchu, by Robert Elegant, was the epoch of an Englishman who was a professional soldier assigned to assist the Jesuit Fathers, who gained exclusive entrance to the interior of China during the declining decades of

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<sup>55</sup>Ibid.

the great Ming Dynasty. Young Francis Arrowsmith, who earlier forsook the priesthood for the more adventuresome life of a soldier, was able to travel throughout the empire of China and the tributary state of Korea during the seventeenth century. The story was of his incredible relationships with the mandarin class of the Ming Dynasty, the warrior class of the invading Tartars (or Manchus), and the merchant class of the Portuguese in Macao. Arrowsmith's acceptance of the Oriental culture must have included polygamy, for he cohabitates with a woman from each of the above classes. After all, as the Chinese said: "One teapot can fill many cups, and one rooster can serve many hens. But one teacup to a single teapot, one rooster to one hen is pointless waste."<sup>56</sup>

The Christian conscience of Francis guided him through his relationships of all groups he encountered, yet he often had to compromise his religious beliefs to accommodate Oriental situations. He married a Christian mandarin's daughter under pressure from the Jesuits and a Christian mandarin who was an uncle of the bride. The Christians optimistically hoped this union would foster a more secure entrance of Europeans into the Chinese governmental hierarchy. This marriage produced a daughter who was a curiosity with her blond hair and bound feet. The young

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<sup>56</sup>Elegant, Manchu, 87.

lady exemplified many of the best characteristics of the clashing cultures of her parents.

In the development of the narrative, Francis Arrowsmith was employed by the emperor of China to train troops in arabesque and in the use of cannons, which necessitated the European to teach the Chinese methods of forging. Arrowsmith was captured by the Manchus while on a campaign in the outlying province of Tengchou. The Manchus held the Christian as a hostage until he and his Christian-Chinese slave, Joseph King, realized it was in the interest of their survival to serve the Manchus. The soldier of fortune became an instructor of cannon and arabesque for the invading Tartars. To cement the alliance, Arrowsmith was given a Manchu bride, Babutai. The monogamous European accepted "Barbara" as a concubine and taught her a limited version of Christianity. He never bound her in the Christian sacrament of marriage, nor baptized her. This union produced a son, Babaoge or Robert as his father called him. Robert was a short, stocky Manchu in appearance, but had the keen mind and unrelenting curiosity of his father. The relationship with this offspring became strained after the Manchus took Peking and the young man accepted Christianity.<sup>57</sup>

The third woman was a Portuguese heiress in Macao. The soldier of fortune married Delores Angela do Amaral de Albuquerque after he convinced himself that his wife, Marta,

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<sup>57</sup>Elegant, Manchu, Chap. 2 passim.

died in the siege of Peking in the previous decade. The second marriage had a maturing effect on Arrowsmith and he realized that he as an individual could wield little power over the forces of history in China during a period of dynastic turmoil. He reluctantly left China to return to Europe with his new family. His ambivalence toward the China that attracted, yet repelled him, was acute as he left a son, daughter, and grandson in the celestial kingdom.

Mandarin portrayed the conflicts within China during the mid-nineteenth century. The Chinese were still smarting from the humiliation of defeat by foreign nations in the first Opium War of 1840. These resurfaced as the novel opened with the indecisive Arrow Incident which culminated in the destruction of the fabled Summer Palace in 1860. The main focus of the novel was on the conflicts within China which culminated with the Taiping Rebellion against the decadent Manchu Dynasty.

The story centered around the activities of the foreign merchants who dwelt on the waterfront Bund of Shanghai. Elegant skillfully transferred the narrative to the secondary setting, which was the palaces of the imperial household. He managed this by utilizing short chapters, each of which began with a date and a location. This enabled the author to proceed with the stories of both the merchant families and the imperial family simultaneously.

He continued to weave military settings, battles, and the Taiping court into the main fabric of this fascinating book.

The historical characters were given new dimensions. The empress dowager, Tz'u-hsi<sup>58</sup> was traced from a vulnerable young concubine who through self-determination became the actual ruler of China. In a review of Mandarin, John Jay Osborne, Jr. stated, "Mr. Elegant tells the true story of Yehenala, a young concubine of the mandarin Emperor Hsien Feng . . . There is no need to embellish her story; the historical record is amazing enough."<sup>59</sup> Marina Warner described her early days in the palace in The Dragon Empress:

Tz'u-hsi, low-ranking concubine as she was, managed to exploit her position profitably. For the first time in her life she had well-stocked libraries within her reach, cabinets of state annals and collections of works of art. Although forbidden to entertain any men intimately or informally, she must at this time have seconded some scholar-official who worked in the palace to interpret the classics to her, to help her improve her calligraphy, of which she was later so proud, and to expound China's history to her, for at no other time in her life did she have either the money or the time to learn the philosophy and historical precedents that formed the basis of her later orthodox genius.<sup>60</sup>

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<sup>58</sup>The name of the empress dowager is spelled "Tzu Hsu" in Mandarin as well as in some other publications. The spelling "Tz'u-hsi" will be used in this dissertation for the latter spelling is the most prevalent in the sources consulted.

<sup>59</sup>John Jay Osborne, Jr., review of Mandarin, by Robert Elegant, in New York Times, 23 October 1983, Vol. VII, 24.

<sup>60</sup>Marina Warner, The Dragon Empress: Life and Times of Tz'u-hsi (New York: The Macmillan Company, 1972), 35.

Elegant always pictured her as the master of any situation and presented the empress as an advocate of the "self-strengthening" movement, although she did not give enthusiastic support to the movement. The author seemed ambivalent toward the heir, Prince Kung. At times Elegant portrayed the prince as the indispensable and capable advisor to Tz'u-hsi, then in other passages the prince appeared to be a coward with little initiative. Of the foreign nonfictional characters, the British diplomat in Peking, James Bruce, or Lord Elgin, was not excused for allowing the pillage and destruction of the irreplaceable treasures of the Summer Palace. Frederick Townsend Ward, the American soldier of fortune, was depicted as less than admirable as he double-crossed the Taipings while he commanded the Ever-Victorious Army. The Taiping Rebellion will be discussed in greater detail in Chapter III.

The fictional characters were a varied lot. The central figures were members of two merchant families. The merchants formed a partnership that was strengthened by their common faith, Judaism. One merchant family was Caucasian and included Saul Haleevie, his wife Sarah, and their daughter Fronah. The other merchant family was Oriental and consisted of the father Aisek Lee, his concubine Mayla, and his two sons, Aaron and David. The reviewer, John Jay Osborne, Jr., wrote that Elegant was historically accurate and most of the book was exciting, but criticized the secondary characters and commented that the,

"mystery is why he alternated with a second-rate family saga."<sup>61</sup> Other characters were Fronah's two husbands, Lionel Henriques from England, and Gabriel Hyde from New England. Mandarin Li Hung-chang, the exemplary official, affected all of their lives in a positive manner.

The novel ended on a positive note. The ingenuity of the Chinese turned the foreign intrusion to their advantage. The government used western mercenaries, merchants, and officials to aid in the suppression of the Taiping Rebellion. The reader was left with the impression that the latest heir, Prince Tsai Tien, the nephew of the empress dowager Tz'u-hsi, was secure on the throne. Furthermore, the government would not topple due to rival factions among the imperial family following the death of the Tung Chih Emperor, who left no heir. The "self-strengthening" movement was progressing slowly, but steadily, under the leadership of capable Mandarins such as Li Hung-chang. These enlightened administrators believed China must accept beneficial western technology. Chinese students were sent abroad to study; the armies were modernized; the navy built modern ships; the civil service examinations were revised; development of railroads and telegraphs was encouraged; and, the empire launched development of her own industrial and trading companies. Surely the "self-strengthening" movement would be successful and China would be able to hold her own

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<sup>61</sup>Ibid.

among the industrialized nations. After all, the new Kuang-hsu reign meant a "Brilliant Beginning."

Mandarin stood out as a valuable addition to a reading list. The novel was certainly provocative. The student would ponder why the "self-strengthening" movement was not as successful as the conclusion of the novel predicted. Hopefully, this stimulation would urge the student to further study the aftermath. The same reflective thought would follow the reading of the next book, which is a classic.

The Good Earth was the first in a trilogy about the House of Wang.<sup>62</sup> The saga of generations of Wangs in the three books dealt with many facets and occupations of the Chinese. The Good Earth is an ideal selection for a student's reading list for it dwelt on the most common occupation in China, that of a farmer. This story could fit into any century of Chinese history, although Pearl Buck placed it in the latter part of the nineteenth and the beginning of the twentieth centuries. The Good Earth earned Pearl Buck the Pulitzer Prize for fiction in 1932 and William Dean Howell's medal for the most distinguished work of American fiction published in the period 1930-35.<sup>63</sup>

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<sup>62</sup>Contemporary Authors, 1982 ed., s.v. "Buck, Pearl Sydenstricker." pp. 79-81. The other two books in the trilogy were Sons and A House Divided. The later two were not as widely acclaimed as The Good Earth.

<sup>63</sup>Ibid.



The Good Earth was the story of the attachment of the peasant to his land. This novel encompassed the life of Wang Lung, a simple peasant in the north of China. The life of this farmer centered around the earth. The earth when used as sod, framed his house; when cultivated, produced his food; when mined, produced silver to be used as his medium of exchange; and finally, at death, the earth became his place of burial. Wang Lung was engrossed with his land and was oblivious to the government that ruled China. His primary interests were his small parcel of land and his family, which tended to be united in purpose. His goal in life was to survive and provide for his family; thus, his survival depended on the fertility of the earth.

The peasant is constantly aware of the harshness of nature. At least once a decade he expected drought, famine, or floods of great devastation. Thousands died during these natural disasters. The peasant also feared times of rebellion and war when soldiers passed through the countryside and pillaged. Wang Lung and his wife, a former slave, persevered through troubled times by escaping south to avoid starvation and there participated in taking money from a wealthy family during an economic rebellion. Wang's family returned north to their small farm and reestablished themselves. The Wangs used common sense and lived frugally until, through the acquisition of more land, the clan eventually achieved wealth.

Pearl Buck described vividly the existence and attitudes of this Chinese farmer. The thoughts of Wang Tung were interwoven in the story as he planned careers for his three sons, arranged a marriage for his daughter, took a concubine, buried his wife and father, and arranged for a second concubine in his old age to care for his retarded daughter. Throughout his life, Wang Tung constantly turned to the soil to renew his spirit, for he felt that land was the only form of real wealth. The Wang family were peasants with whom people everywhere could identify. This best seller "tended to overshadow all Buck's other writings, a circumstance that irritated her considerably, and with reason, for she wrote much of value."<sup>64</sup> Unable to shake the popularity of the protagonist, Wang Lung, she decided to surface him again. At the time of her death, Pearl Buck was writing Red Earth, a novel which would narrate the story of the modern descendants of Wang Lung.<sup>65</sup>

Jade by Pat Barr is not of the same caliber as The Good Earth, but has attributes that would warrant inclusion on a college reading list. The uniqueness of Jade was the extensive use of Chinese poetry throughout the chapters. Both long and short excerpts of classical literature were translated and inserted at appropriate places. For example,

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<sup>64</sup>Mainiero, American Women Writers, 269.

<sup>65</sup>Ibid., 267.

in one scene while an old woman cast her net to fish, a verse of Yu Hsiang came to the heroine's mind:

Turning without end,  
Heaven and earth shift secretly.  
Who is aware of it?<sup>66</sup>

Pat Barr's use of poetry enhanced this publication by evoking the enjoyment of verse that was appreciated by learned Chinese. This appreciation for the materials used by Pat Barr was also noted by the reviewer, Naomi Galbreath. Her account in the Milwaukee Journal praised Barr for embedding excerpts from Chinese poetry in the plot of Jade.<sup>67</sup>

Jade began with the Tientsin Massacre of 1870. Two children of a martyred missionary father were kidnapped and were reared in rural China in the household of a distinguished mandarin. The trials and success of their lives were traced through the Boxer Rebellion of 1900. The children, Alice and Frank Greenwood, were torn between the Chinese culture in which they were reared and the English culture which was their birthright. This conflict also explored intermarriage between the races. The Greenwoods' adjustment to imperialist life among their English relatives in adulthood was the most difficult.

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<sup>66</sup>Barr, Jade, 365.

<sup>67</sup>Naomi Galbreath, "Alice in Chinaland," review of Jade by Patricia Barr, in Milwaukee (Wisconsin) Journal, 12 September 1982 (located in News Bank [Microform], Literature, 1982-83, 23:05, fiche).

This panorama of China traversed many provinces which gave the reader a better feeling for the differences between the Chinese people themselves. The resistance of Chinese from many provinces to the faltering Manchu dynasty and the Righteous Fists of Harmony's resistance to the "foreign devils" were explored. Not only were the differences among the Chinese explored, but also the differences among the foreign missionaries. The Chinese were certainly mystified by the dissension between the Protestant and Catholic churchmen. Puzzlement was compounded by the denominations among the Protestants and the orders among the Catholics. Praise was given to churchmen for the medical care they gave the Chinese.

The geographic and architectural accounts in Jade were very graphic. The reader was given a mental view of China during the late nineteenth century. Extensive descriptions were given of the palaces of Peking, the home of a wealthy mandarin, the bleakness of Manchurian villages, the town of Port Arthur, and the foreign settlement in Shanghai. Joana Oetter complained that too many characters added to the confusion of a lengthy novel, but she added that Barr imaginatively captured the complexity of two opposing cultures.<sup>68</sup> Anne Thomas of the Kansas City Star ranked Jade

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<sup>68</sup>Joana Oetter, "The Mysterious Orient," review of Jade by Patricia Barr, in Saint Louis (Missouri) Post-Dispatch, 28 November 1982 (located in News Bank [Microform], Literature 1982-83, 46:E6, fiche).

with other current books about China, such as Spring Moon, Noble House, and Dynasty. She described Jade as a "highly enjoyable story, skillfully blending fact and fiction into a passionate portrayal of an old culture entering a new era. Vivid description, authentic atmosphere, and unbelievable characters make this a remarkable first novel."<sup>69</sup>

The Warlord by Malcolm Bosse is desirable to include on a reading list for it clarified a specific type of warrior indigenous to China. Malcolm Bosse confined this monograph to the year 1927, a turbulent time for China. In the author's analysis of Chinese conflict within this year, he paralleled China to Russia. In the first two decades of the twentieth century these two somewhat backward countries began the transformation to modern, industrial nations. This transformation was not easy in either country. Both entered the twentieth century with a monarchical form of government. The Romanov Czars ruled Russia and the Manchu dynasty controlled China until each lost their mandate. Years of tribulation followed the revolutions that uprooted the autocrats in each realm. Blood flowed in both countries until stabilization was attained by new governments. In the westernmost nation, the Bolsheviks were victorious over the White Russians and established the Soviet Union. In the

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<sup>69</sup>Anne J. Thomas, "Jade spins turbulent tale of turn-of-century China," review of Jade by Patricia Barr, in Kansas City (Missouri) Star, 31 January 1983 (located in News Bank [Microform], Literature 1982-83, 65:B13, fiche).

easternmost nation, upheaval lasted for several decades. Attempts at constitutional monarchies and republics both failed in China. Sun Yat-sen's principles served as a guide but did not provide a true cohesive bond. Consequently, China witnessed years of a loose central rule where warlords controlled their territorial spheres of influence. Their power was only as strong as their personal army.

The fictitious characters wove a fascinating story around a warlord called Tan Shan-teh, who was the leading general in southern Shantung province. As the story unfolded, he encountered most of the outstanding historical personages of the era. Each of the personalities was described in detail. Thus the reader, who knew the eventual outcome, would find it incredible that in 1927 Mao Tse-tung was not considered to be a serious contender for the role of leader of China. The power of the peasant envisioned by Mao was not yet ready for fruition.<sup>70</sup>

Tan Shan-teh embodied all that was good in Chinese culture for he defended Confucian ideals and was progressive enough to be eclectic in appraising foreign nations. The warlord was kind, just, considerate to family and friends, and an outstanding general. At the same time, however, he was devious, cruel, and harsh to his enemies. The adjectives that described Tan Shan-teh seem contradictory to

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<sup>70</sup>Bosse, The Warlord, 463-464.

western ethics, but each had its proper place in the Chinese environment.

Tang was a scholar who did not want his heritage lost to foreign domination. He commanded his private army admirably in his land-locked territory surrounded by powerful enemies. The intrigue of his allies and foes was fascinating as each tenuously held his territory. Each of the neighboring warlords was a possible ally or a potential foe. All of the warlords faced common problems of securing foreign arms and of preventing defection among their soldiers. The author shifted the scene from remote rural areas of China to several of the largest cities. At each location foreigners were woven into the narrative such as Philip Embree, an American adventurer; Vera Rogacheva, a Russian emigre; and Erich Luckner, a German dealer of arms. The greed of each of these Caucasians strengthened the theme that China could not trust outsiders. The American, the White Russian, and the German each failed the scholar-general Tang. Their lack of loyalty confirmed the conviction of the honorable general that China must be consolidated from within. It was no surprise that he felt, "The Chinese may knife one another in a midnight alley, but during the day they stick together against foreigners."<sup>71</sup> This novel would especially appeal to the student with an avid interest in military history.

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<sup>71</sup>Ibid., 671.

From a Far Land was a novel about the origins of contemporary China. Robert Elegant began the saga in the year 1921 with the arrival of two recent graduates of Byrn Mawr college in the port city of Shanghai. Julia Pavernen, an American who had been reared in a sheltered Christian home, was visiting her roommate, Emily Howe, who had been reared in an even more sheltered environment in the mansion of her wealthy Chinese parents. The plot traces the lives of these two friends until 1952. The influential Howe family was well-connected which gave the young ladies entree into circles of prominent people, both Chinese and foreign, in the independent treaty port. The strength of the novel was the insights gained from encounters with people who would be instrumental in shaping the future of China, such as Chiang Kai-shek, Mao Tse-tung, Chou En-lai, and the members of the amazing Soong family. Two of the Soong sisters May-ling (Mrs. Chiang Kai-shek) and Ching-ling (Mrs. Sun Yat-sen) were presented from the perspective of their Chinese friend, Emily.

Romance developed between Julia and Emily Howe's brother, Tommy, who was a medical doctor and a champion of the Peoples Revolution. Emily became romantically involved with Richard Hollings, a British journalist. Threads of these two romances were woven throughout the narrative along with a third. The newcomer was Elizaveta Alexandovna Yavalenka, a white Russian in exile who was linked with



Joshua Hallevia, the son of a successful Jewish merchant. This unlikely cast of friends was even more unbelievable because of the liberated behavior of the three women. The trio were not representatives of the typical Chinese and foreign women residing in China from 1921-1952. Jonathan Fast referred to the women as "three addlebrained flappers who find themselves in Shanghai."<sup>72</sup> In the New York Times review, Fast emphasized that "to be satisfying, popular fiction should be moral fiction too."<sup>73</sup> These women did not seriously consider the moral implications of their actions; Elizaveta was the madam of a sophisticated brothel, Emily helped finance the brothel through her position as an officer in the Women's Bank of Shanghai, and Julia was not only a spy for the communists, but was also involved in arms sales. Jonathan Fast questioned Elegant's characters by further stating, "there is also a disturbing moral flakiness among the major characters."<sup>74</sup>

The case may be that Elegant overused the role of strong women. Parris Afton Bonds observed in The Writer that authors should be aware of "independent women, because as is evidenced by the booming romance market, they are the most popular kind of heroine today . . . these romances want

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<sup>72</sup>Jonathan Fast, "Where Three Twains Meet," review of From a Far Land, by Robert Elegant, in New York Times, 20 September 1987, Vol. VII, 39.

<sup>73</sup>Ibid.

<sup>74</sup>Ibid.

strong-minded independent heroines--if for no other reason than such a heroine makes for a better plot."<sup>75</sup> The independent heroines in From a Far Land were out-of-place and out-of-time. Their character and actions would be more suitable for a novel concerning China after 1951 than prototypes prior to 1951. The escapades of these women certainly had readability as they brought unique perspectives into the struggle between the nationalist and the communists. Fast conceded in his review that Elegant "seems to have an excellent grasp of modern Chinese history."<sup>76</sup>

The Three Daughters of Madame Liang was another of Pearl S. Buck's masterpieces. This book would augment a reading list by introducing a believable character who survived the communist revolution and adapted to the new lifestyle. This twentieth century novel began with Madame Liang's participation in Sun Yat-sen's revolution and concluded with her death at the hands of the youthful Red Guards during Mao Tse-tung's Great Cultural Revolution. Madame Liang used both common sense and pragmatism to persevere through the transition from the days of dynastic rulers to the entrenchment of the communist government. This early reformer was able to maintain a comfortable

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<sup>75</sup>Paris Afton Bonds, "Making History Come Alive in Fiction," The Writer (August 1983):18.

<sup>76</sup>Fast, "Where Three Twains Meet," 39.

standard of living by managing a gourmet restaurant in Shanghai. She knew that no matter what type of government was in power, the leaders are Chinese and Chinese enjoyed an excellent cuisine. Her restaurant was a favorite meeting place for the gourmet leaders of China. Madame Liang operated the establishment along capitalistic lines, although officially she deeded her property to the state and frequently contributed to the coffers of Chairman Mao's endeavors. This epicurean was able to conceal her luxurious private life and finance her three daughters' education in the United States.

The three daughters, Grace, Mercy, and Joy, were educated and talented. They were loyal to China, yet each reacted differently to the idea of residing in a communist country. The eldest daughter, a medical doctor, returned to her homeland and remained in Peking. The communist leaders used her knowledge to correlate ancient Chinese herbal medicines with the latest medications used in the western world. She married a Chinese doctor and decided she could best serve her country by cooperating with the current administration.

The second daughter, an accomplished musician, returned to China with her Chinese husband, a nuclear physicist, who was also educated in the United States. These two were not willing to cooperate with the communist leaders. The physicist was sent to a commune as a field

laborer and later to a coal mine for refusing to participate in developing germ warfare. The couple was blessed with a child, after which the husband reconsidered and agreed to work on nuclear weapons. The young scientist was later killed in a nuclear explosion. Mercy, now uncertain of future circumstances, escaped with her infant son to the freedom of Hong Kong.

The third daughter, an artist, never left the United States after completing her education. She married a Chinese artist and resided in New York. Madame Liang considered leaving China also, but realized she could not. She was Chinese and understood that her roots were in the land of her ancestors as no other place could be home.

The decorum of Madame Liang was derived from her long study of the Confucian Classics. She set aside time each day for reading these ancient books of wisdom which she harbored in secrecy because they were banned by the communist government. Daily meditation was the source of strength that graced Madame Liang with serenity to face any time of turmoil. She concluded that the Chinese were a superior people, and communist or not, the people of China were indestructible--just as she thought China was the center of the world geographically.<sup>77</sup> The people were the greatest treasures of China--they were unchangeable. The teachings of Lao Tzu stated: "Throw eggs at a rock, and

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<sup>77</sup>Buck, The Three Daughters of Madame Liang, 36.

though one uses all the eggs in the world, the rock remains the same."<sup>78</sup> So it was with the people; for throughout all change, one finds they were unchangeable.

Madame Liang also had faith that China's greatest asset, its people, would correct China's faults. Mencius taught that "Heaven has no fixed will, but sees as the people see, and hears as the people hear."<sup>79</sup> Madame Liang mused that Chairman Mao was the most Chinese of them all. He never traveled to a foreign land and never intended to. The Chairman believed in communism as an instrument, not as a creed. Madame Liang further reasoned that Mao Tse-tung thought and planned within the framework of Chinese history. He was a scholar who knew Chinese history well and kept the heroic epics of Shui Hu Chuan as a source book, for he admired the skill and cunning of ancient men. This son of Han said he disdained Confucius, yet he followed many Confucian codes for correct conduct. The restaurateur further noted that the Chairman shared the ancient sages' delight in eating hot peppers.<sup>80</sup>

Madame Liang valued the ingenuity of her countrymen, yet she was disturbed for gods were forbidden in the People's Republic of China. If the people are denied their gods, they will create new ones--Madame Liang had

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<sup>78</sup>Ibid., 242.

<sup>79</sup>Ibid., 196.

<sup>80</sup>Ibid., 241, 250.

read that this has always been so. She feared that the youth in the Cultural Revolution would consider Mao Tse-tung as their deity. The former revolutionary who experienced righteous fervor under Sun Yat-sen, envisioned the youth rising to the summons of the Chairmen and another purge would occur. Madame Liang was troubled. She saw on one hand that the Chinese would perform as they have for thousands of years and would eventually restore order, keeping the good of both the old ways and the new ways.<sup>81</sup> On the other hand, she saw the untold destruction of China's accumulated knowledge of the ages and feared the future generations would never know all of the beauty and wisdom of dynastic China. This powerful novel leaves the student with speculative thoughts and a greater appreciation for Chinese literature.

Dynasty by Robert S. Elegant was a novel of a different tempo. It was a twentieth-century saga of five generations of a Eurasian family. The story began when Mary Philippa Osgood arrived in Hong Kong in 1900 and terminated with her death in 1970. She married into the Sekloong family which was dominated by the founder of the dynasty, Sir Johnathan Sekloong. Sir Johnathan was the son of an Irish adventurer and a Chinese girl of a merchant family. Sekloong was caught between two worlds due to his unusual parentage. He inherited the best traits of both parents

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<sup>81</sup>Ibid., 242, 280.

and was determined to become a powerful person in Hong Kong. He realized his ambitions because of a charismatic personality which dominated all he encountered. He cherished his Chinese ancestry, and always wore mandarin dress to signify this allegiance. This Eurasian moved in diplomatic and commercial circles of the British. The British monarch rewarded his service to the Crown Colony by bestowing knighthood upon the mandarin.

The theme for this novel was cohesiveness and endurance of Oriental family ties. The Sekloongs adhered to moral principles that compelled the Chinese to look after themselves and their families at whatever cost to the nation.<sup>82</sup> Although through the generations the Sekloongs married Japanese, Englishmen, Americans, Chinese and people of Catholic, Jewish and Protestant faiths, the Sekloongs' first loyalty was to their family. The setting of this novel was staged with a reunion of all Sekloongs (legitimate or concubine) on the occasion of Mary Sekloong's ninetieth birthday in the family mansion on Victoria's Peak in Hong Kong. The reunion was interrupted by flashbacks that covered the history of the dynasty and emphasizing how key people (usually the eldest son) of each generation maintained family unity. The gathering at the celebration was an unbelievable array of important personages from all continents. Sir Johnathan's grandchildren and

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<sup>82</sup>Elegant, Dynasty, 453.

great-grandchildren were: a nationalist Chinese general, a communist Chinese general, a cardinal at the Vatican, a movie star, a medical doctor, a United States Air Force pilot, a Royal Air Force officer, financiers, a physicist, a Maoist, and a United States Secretary of State. This cosmopolitan gathering of relatives were miraculously able to solve international problems while they attend the birthday party.

Robert Elegant used the major events of Chinese history in the twentieth century as the setting for Dynasty. The vantage point was from wealthy Hong Kong, but he also explored the life of the Oriental peasant. Modes of transportation over the years, the conquering of diseases, the earlier Tientsin Massacre, the influence of Sun Yat-sen, the Chinese involvement in World War I and World War II, and the communist revolution were discussed. A member of the Sekloong family was always present in all camps, usually as an aide to influential leaders in each historical event. This offers the reader a better understanding of all sides in the upheavals of Asia, but also tended to overextend the lengthy novel. The reviewer, Audrey Topping penned that Elegant, "strains credulity and patience as he spins his overly ambitious epic tale."<sup>83</sup> Topping acknowledged that Elegant's twenty-five years of residence in Hong Kong gave him the

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<sup>83</sup>Audrey Topping, "Chinese Saga," review of Dynasty, by Robert Elegant, in New York Times, 4 September 1977, vol. VII, 11.



sharp insight necessary to write of the intrigue and manipulation within the stratified society of this cosmopolitan city. The review faulted Elegant for unmercifully manipulating the characters, both real and fictional, in a maze of plots and counterplots.<sup>84</sup> A Washington Post reviewer, Bruce Cook, also criticized the distortion of characters, but from a different angle. Dynasty was a "brazenly cynical attempt by Elegant to make a woman's novel out of altogether unsuitable material. There can, after all, be few worlds more firmly closed to females than that of the Chinese merchants of Hong Kong."<sup>85</sup> This would be an interesting viewpoint for some students to evaluate.

Most reviews consulted on Dynasty agreed that Elegant's use of detail and his explanation of Chinese mannerisms are unsurpassed. For example, Thomas Lask wrote, "Mr. Elegant was a long-time newspaper correspondent in Hong Kong, and his book is full of those small details, customs, ceremonies and touches of folklore that make the time and place more vivid than the characters he has created."<sup>86</sup> These are just the types of things that would be most desirable for students to remember.

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<sup>84</sup>Ibid.

<sup>85</sup>Bruce Cook, "Bits and Pieces of China, 1900 to the '70s," review of Dynasty, by Robert Elegant, in The Washington Post, 28 October 1977, sec. D, 8.

<sup>86</sup>Lask, "Dynasty Traces Fortunes of an Influential Eurasian Family," 17.

Noble House, by James Clavell, would be a good novel to include on a reading list as an alternative to Dynasty. Twentieth century Hong Kong was the setting for both works of fiction. Clavell's book was the story of the Tai-pans (head of foreign business firms) of an establishment known as the Noble House. The lengthy, action packed saga dealt with relationships between the British, who ruled the crown colony and owned the largest industries, and the Chinese, who knew how to manipulate the foreigners to their advantage. This best seller followed other successful Oriental novels written by James Clavell, which were King Rat, Tai-pan and Shogun.<sup>87</sup>

Spring Moon is the last of the eight novels to be suggested for inclusion on a reading list. This western novel was different from most. The reader quickly sensed that the authoress was not a native-born American. The style of writing was not the flowing, lengthy sentences that characterize many writers in English. This composition was similar to the style of Pearl Buck in The Good Earth. Both Pearl Buck and Bette Boa Lord were reared in the Orient, and this probably accounted for their uniqueness. Spring Moon was written in what might be termed as "staccato" style, for the narrative has many short sentences which "break off." The chapters were short, and although

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<sup>87</sup> James Clavell, Noble House (New York: Delacorta Press, 1981).

they are chronological, they seem disjointed. Although the flow of the story was often disconnected, it is charming.

Helen Wheeler wrote in reference to the heroine, *Spring Moon*: "Bette Boa has done an excellent job of intertwining this woman's story with the events of history."<sup>88</sup> The reviewer, Peggy Durdin, wrote that Lord succeeded in conveying a sense of complex history, but at the expense of stereotyping some characters and manipulating the plot. Durdin judged Bette Lord, "noticeably best in the description of traditional family life early in the century: the subordination and sequestration of women, funeral rites, festivals and weddings."<sup>89</sup> Durdin also felt compelled to mention the wording of *Spring Moon*. She thought the novel was well written but found that when Lord translated conversational Chinese, which is fairly terse, the result was measured cadence. Durdin noted that untranslated Chinese words were in the text.<sup>90</sup>

Dorothy Hibbert, in the *Atlanta Journal*, delighted in the manner in which Lord blended the differences between her native Chinese culture and her adopted American culture.

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<sup>88</sup> Helen Wheeler, "History Blooms In China Novel," review of *Spring Moon* by Bette Boa Lord, in *Saramento California Bee*, 1 November 1981, (located in News Bank [Microform], Literature 1981-82, 45:G2, fiche).

<sup>89</sup> Peggy Durdin, "An Intelligent China Canvas," review of *Spring Moon* by Bette Boa Lord, in *San Diego (California) Union*, 20 December 1981, (located in News Bank [Microform], Literature 1981-82, 45:G3, fiche).

<sup>90</sup> Ibid.

Hibbert found Spring Moon enjoyable on two levels; one was the appealing characters and their eventful lives, and the other was the satisfaction of curiosity about what really transpired in China, especially before World War I.<sup>91</sup>

William Brashler, in the Chicago Sun-Times felt a human glow in Spring Moon in regard to qualities painstakingly revealed concerning the Chinese reverence for their ancestors and their families.<sup>92</sup>

The book was divided into sections, each of which dealt with one time frame and was subdivided into short chapters with a specific topic, such as "The Good Wife" or "The Harmonious Fists." Each chapter began with an intriguing prologue that the reader must connect to the action. For example, the introduction might be an account of Chinese history, an ode, a poem, a clan story, an excerpt from an ancient scholar's writings, a statement by Sun Yat-sen or Mao Tse-tung, or quotations from Confucius. The correlations between these italicized introductions and the story were usually rather obvious, but several are more illusive, adding to the intrigue of the novel. Betty Kline pointed out that Bette Boa Lord is thoroughly Americanized

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<sup>91</sup>Dorothy Hibbert, "Taking a Revealing Peak Inside China," review of Spring Moon by Bette Boa Lord, in Atlanta (Georgia) Journal, 29 November 1981, (located in News Bank [Microform], Literature 1981-82, 45:G4, fiche).

<sup>92</sup>William Brashler, "Stately Tale of China's Old Order," review of Spring Moon by Bette Boa Lord, in Chicago (Illinois) Sun-Times, 29 November 1981 (located in News Bank [Microform], Literature 1981-82, 45:G5, fiche).

with English as her primary language. The reviewer admired Lord for interspersing passages from ancient Chinese poetry and mandarin lore into the narrative. It was quite a challenge to write for a western audience unfamiliar with Chinese poetry, traditions, and attitudes.<sup>93</sup>

The story of the life of a Chinese woman named Spring Moon was the main theme of the book. It was so much more than a biography for the lives of her relatives and their roles during the turbulent twentieth century in China were woven into the story. Betty Boa Lord used her own family as the source of her ideas.<sup>94</sup> The novel described the House of Chang in Soochow and all the members of the clan. The eighty-year range of the book covered five generations of the Changs. The thesis of the epic novel was that survival of the clan was all that mattered. The household routine and traditions were so well described that the reader regrets that the tranquility was destroyed by the revolution.

The addition of Spring Moon to a college reading list would offer the student insight into Chinese customs. One custom was the procedure used in naming children in China. A common character was used in each son's name; for example,

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<sup>93</sup>Betsy Kline, "Spring Moon: Author's Tale of Family's Changing Seasons," review of Spring Moon by Bette Boa Lord, in Kansas City (Missouri) Star, 25 January 1982, (located in News Bank [Microform], Literature 1981-82, 74:E9-10, fiche).

<sup>94</sup>Lord, Spring Moon, 465.

the sons of the House of Chang all had the common character of "Talent." Their names were Bold Talent, Sterling Talent and Noble Talent. In the House of Woo, the cementing character was "Promise." The two Woo sons were named Glad Promise and Enduring Promise.<sup>95</sup> These and other explanations of Chinese traditions were fascinating. The book was a good source for the changes that a Chinese scholar's family underwent in the twentieth century.

The range of these nine novels provided a full sampling to picture China during the seventeenth, nineteenth and twentieth centuries. The peasant's lot probably changed very little between the centuries of the Ming dynasty and the communist takeover. The farmer's highest priority was his land from which he managed a meager living for his family, always fretful of natural disaster, a harsh landlord, or marauding armies. The underlying message of all these books was that the earth and the peasant who worked it are the mainstay of China. No matter what government ruled the nation, the main concern of the Chinese has been to look after themselves and their families. This tendency was noted in the first book considered chronologically, Manchu, when the government changed from the Ming dynasty to the Manchu dynasty. The tendency of the strength of family unity was still the theme of the last novel examined, Spring Moon, when the communist government came

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<sup>95</sup>Lord, Spring Moon, p. XI.

to power. The unity of the family was stronger in China than in most nations. These nine novels provided a good cross section to acquaint a student with the national character of China.

## CHAPTER II

### CHINESE CUSTOMS AS DEPICTED BY WESTERN NOVELS

The greatest advantage of including novels in a reading list is the vivid description of lifestyles which are expressed in these books. Not only does an interesting plot hold the attention of a student, but in the telling of a story the author acquaints the reader with the culture of the people. The reader vicariously experiences the daily life as well as historical events that provide settings for the novels. When one is introduced to the daily routines, family relationships and avocations of a populace, a fuller appreciation of the nation begins to emerge. Alien traditions intrigue the American student who, in all probability, has never traveled to the Orient. A deeper understanding of the Chinese culture tends to be the reward for reading worthy novels. Emotional insight is often a bonus received by reading novels.

#### The Family

Several aspects of Chinese culture will be addressed in this chapter, the first of which is the family. The roots of family solidarity began with the relationships established in antiquity. Confucius laid the foundations for relationships within the society, and to obey these relationships was considered virtuous. In A Brief



History of Chinese and Japanese Civilizations the "Five Relationships of Confucianism" were listed as the relationship between father and son, ruler and minister, husband and wife, elder brother and younger brother, and between friend and friend. These relationships stressed the reciprocal obligations between people of superior and inferior status. These values were prevalent at all levels of society, in state relationships (the ruler was superior to the minister), in community relationships (friendship), and in the family hierarchy. The most important of these relationships was the whole-hearted obedience of a son to a father. Confucius taught that filial piety was the highest virtue, even over the state. The family was of utmost importance.<sup>1</sup> According to these relationships, the ancestors and elderly members of the family received the highest respect. The parents were cared for in their old age, usually by the eldest son. Those who obeyed the five relationships of who was superior and inferior brought honor to their families whereas those who did not would "lose face" and dishonored the family name.

"Loss of face" was part of Chinese humanism that stressed human dignity. When others saw one at a disadvantage, such as failure to follow the proper rules of conduct, one would be embarrassed or humiliated. In Family,

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<sup>1</sup>Conrad Schirokauer, A Brief History of Chinese and Japanese Civilizations (New York: Harcourt Brace Jovanovich, Inc., 1989), 31.

Field, and Ancestors, Lloyd Eastman defined "face" as a type of self-esteem that was dependent upon the judgment of others. He explained that there are two terms for "face" --lian and mianzi--each with different connotations. Lian referred to having the reputation of good moral character. Therefore, if someone made the pretense of having high morals, but was caught telling a lie or cheating, he would "lose face" in the context of lian. Lian would vary according to social status, thus a rich man who was excessively stingy might "lose face" whereas a poor man who was stingy might not. Mianzi meant enjoying the esteem of others, not from positive moral assessments, but from possessing status gained by wealth, power, education, or powerful friends. For example, if a wealthy person established a library, he demonstrated that he could afford such a largesse and gained mianzi in the eyes of others. In the same context, a poor man would sacrifice to prepare an elaborate feast for a son's wedding to preserve their family's mianzi. If one scrimped on a festive celebration, the family would "lose face."<sup>2</sup>

Robert Elegant exemplified that a government could also "save face" in Dynasty. He used the contest between the People's Republic of China on the mainland and the

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<sup>2</sup>Lloyd E. Eastman, Family, Field, and Ancestors: Constancy and Change in China's Social and Economic History, 1550-1949 (New York: Oxford University Press, 1988), 37-38.

Nationalist Chinese on the island of Taiwan. The setting was during the hostile atmosphere after the Korean War. With American support, the nationalists repelled communist confrontation. In October 25, 1958, the Peoples' Liberation Army was instructed from Peking to shell Quemoy only on alternate days. This humanitarian pronouncement saved "face" for the communists for lives were saved and the farmers could finish harvesting their crops.<sup>3</sup>

Filial piety was the Confucian hierarchy within the family whereby the child must obey the parent. The obedience extended beyond the life span of the parent. Confucius instructed:

When your father is alive, observe his intentions. When he is deceased, model yourself on the memory of his behavior. If in three years after his death you have not deviated from your father's ways, then you may be considered a filial child.<sup>4</sup>

Examples of filial piety are in The Good Earth for the entire family took care of the eldest male (the grandfather), especially in his old age. The center of authority in the family was the patriarchal father, who controlled the family. From a Far Land illustrated the rigidity of family etiquette. The daughter of a wealthy family returned to her home in Shanghai after studying abroad in the United States. When the favorite daughter

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<sup>3</sup>Elegant, Dynasty, 539.

<sup>4</sup>Patricia Buckley Ebrey, ed., Chinese Civilization and Society: A Sourcebook (New York: The Free Press, A Division of MacMillian Publishing Co., Inc., 1981), 15.

rejoined her parents after the extended absence, their initial greeting was formal. The parents, devoid of facial expression, bowed slightly. The daughter bowed deeply and greeted them, "Esteemed parents. . . ." <sup>5</sup> This was a proper exchange according to filial piety.

Formality between parents and child stemmed from the definite severances found in the teachings of Confucius. For example, a father could not carry his son in his arms. Arthur Waley in his translation of the Analects of Confucius, quoted, "that a gentlemen keeps his son at a distance." <sup>6</sup>

Filial piety of a wife was transferred to the needs of her husband's parents rather than her own parents. Manchu illustrated the concern for rank in precise introductions so that a stranger immediately knew the hierarchy of each family member:

"Gentleman, this is Marta Soo, the Daughter of Candida's husband's younger brother." <sup>7</sup>

Thus it was expected that Marta would wait for Candida, her senior and superior, to be seated first.

Marriage was arranged by the father through a match-maker. The marriage broker might arrange a betrothal at an early age, but the ceremony was not usually until after the

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<sup>5</sup>Elegant, From a Far Land, 18-19.

<sup>6</sup>The Analects of Confucius, Translated by Arthur Waley (New York: Vintage Books, 1989), 208.

<sup>7</sup>Elegant, Manchu, 67.

fifteenth birthday. These arranged relationships were more a union of families than of individuals so that the status of the family was maintained.<sup>8</sup> An exception to an arranged marriage was the case of a poor farmer to whom status was not important. The farmer, Wang Lung, bought a slave for a bride in The Good Earth. In Jade, prior to the wedding the groom took a camphor-wood trunk filled with silks of many colors, fur-lined capes and jewel or pearl hairpins, earrings and beads. In return, the bride arrived at her new home with furniture, utensils, bed-hangings, quilts, spices and oils.<sup>9</sup>

The wedding day was celebrated as lavishly as the parents could afford. The bride had been trained for marriage since childhood. The "pillow book" prepared the bride for her wedding night.<sup>10</sup> The wedding party arrived for the ceremony in sedan chairs. A lady approached her groom with downcast eyes for she had not yet the opportunity to speak to him. Her gait was slow for her feet, or "golden lillies," had been tightly bound around the age of five. This distorted the growth of the feet by forcing the heel and toe so close together that the foot might be only three inches long. The deformed "hooves" were covered with white leggings and embroidered slippers. This crippled walk was

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<sup>8</sup>Fairbank and Reischauer, China, 16.

<sup>9</sup>Barr, Jade, 59.

<sup>10</sup>Elegant, Manchu, 68.

considered alluring and no gentlemen of rank would have married a woman with big feet.<sup>11</sup> The Warlord stated that five-year-olds endured the pain inflicted by a thick cloth which their mothers tightly bound around their feet to force the toes under the arch. These girls initially needed a cane to aid them as they learned to walk in a crippled gait. The family thought it was worth the risk of gangrene to make their daughters marriageable. Chinese men thought of the "golden lillies" as a sexual temptation. "If a pretty face is worth fifteen percent of beauty and plump breasts under fifteen, then lily feet must be worth the other seventy."<sup>12</sup> In Spring Moon, the servants bathed the feet of the seven-year-old girl whose feet had recently been bound. Medicinal waters were used to make certain no toes were lost to infection. The mother cajoled her daughter by saying, "It is for your own good, child. No matter how beautiful, how rich, how filial, no man will marry feet that flop like yellow pike."<sup>13</sup>

In her autobiography, Ning Lao T'ai-t'ai echoed the thought that the desirability of a girl was counted more by the size of her foot than the features of her face. A person had no control as to their facial beauty, but poorly

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<sup>11</sup>Barr, Jade, 78-79.

<sup>12</sup>Bosse, The Warlord, 173.

<sup>13</sup>Lord, Spring Moon, 7.

bound feet were a result of laziness. She recalled the ordeal of when her feet were bound:

When I was nine they started to bind my feet again and they had to draw the bindings tighter than usual. My feet hurt so much that for two years I had to crawl on my hands and knees. Sometimes at night they hurt so much I could not sleep. I stuck my feet under my mother and she lay on them so they hurt less and I could sleep. But by the time I was eleven my feet did not hurt and by the time I was thirteen they were finished. The toes were turned under so that I could see them on the inner and under side of the foot. They had come up around. Two fingers could be inserted in the cleft between the front of the foot and the heel. My feet were very small indeed.<sup>14</sup>

"Women traditionally obeyed their fathers in youth, their husbands in middle life and their sons in old age."<sup>15</sup> Once married, the bride was a member of her husband's family, her husband and his parents were her superiors. The bride was instructed by her mother-in-law and lived in the seclusion of the womens' quarters. The new bride was in constant contact with her mother-in-law. No matter how hard each female tried to develop a congenial relationship, tension inevitably appeared as the bride tried to adapt to doing things to the approval of her superior. Rarely did men of the household interfere with any dissension, but the gossip of neighborhood women might prevent mistreatment of a daughter-in-law because the mother-in-law would not want to

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<sup>14</sup> Ida Pruitt, A Daughter of Han: The Autobiography of a Chinese Working Woman From the Story Told Her by Ning Lao T'ai-t'ai. (Stanford, California: Stanford University Press, 1967), 22.

<sup>15</sup> Fairbank and Reischauer, China, 16.

suffer the loss of face.<sup>16</sup> Women only associated with men at family gatherings. As part of the wedding rites, the bride kowtowed, or bowed, to her husband's ancestral tablets. These rites legally bound the bride to the groom's family for her mortal life; "he was legally bound to her only until it pleased him to send her back to her parents."<sup>17</sup> A deserted wife had no standing in society, whereas an aged widow would have the status of a matriarch in a large family.<sup>18</sup>

The birth of the first son was a festive occasion. Eggs, which were dyed red, were given to friends of the family as a token of the parents' joy. This celebration was not held until the infant was one month old, which was an indication that he would survive. Girls did not receive such an enthusiastic welcome and in extreme cases, they were abandoned to die.<sup>19</sup> To have a son to carry on the family name was imperative. In Manchu, Paul Hsu adopted his prospective son-in-law for he needed a male heir and the fatherless groom needed a good name.<sup>20</sup>

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<sup>16</sup>Eastman, Family, Field, and Ancestors, 26. This loss of face would be in the sense of losing "lian." p. 37.

<sup>17</sup>Elegant, Manchu, 149.

<sup>18</sup>Ibid., 309.

<sup>19</sup>Barr, Jade, 386.

<sup>20</sup>Elegant, Manchu, 106.



It was expected for the children to obey their parents. If they disobeyed, the consequences were serious. Julie, the Chinese daughter who had been educated in America in From a Far Land, experienced the sting of rebellion. Her parents selected Nien-lo for her betrothed when they were each four years old. It was an alliance of old families, old scholarship, and old money which were ingredients for a solid union. The parents were ready to make wedding arrangements when the couple were eighteen. Julie balked. Her indulgent parents allowed her a few months to think it over because of the unusual circumstances of her exposure to western culture. Much to the dismay of the family, she still refused marriage to Nien-lo. The parents had no choice, they disowned their daughter and expelled her from the premises.<sup>21</sup>

Spinsterhood was a cause for concern. In A Daughter of Han, the grandmother was distraught because her thirty-five-year-old granddaughter had never been married. Ning Lao T'ai-t'ai lamented:

She should have a family . . . Life must go on. The generations stretched back thousands of years to the great ancestor parents. They stretch for thousands of years into the future, generation upon generation. Seen in proportion to this great array, the individual is but a small thing. But on the other hand no individual can drop out without breaking the chain. A woman stands with one hand grasping the generations that have gone before and with the other the generations to come. It is her common destiny with all women.<sup>22</sup>

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<sup>21</sup>Elegant, From a Far Land, 110, 111 and 136.

<sup>22</sup>Pruitt, A Daughter of Han: The Autobiography of a Chinese Working Woman, 239.

The husband often had concubines. These women lived in the household of the master or in separate quarters. Concubinage was an accepted practice that was bound by legal contracts. A late Ming reference book contained this contract:<sup>23</sup>

**SAMPLE CONTRACT FOR  
THE PURCHASE OF A CONCUBINE**

The undersigned, \_\_\_\_\_, from \_\_\_\_\_ village, has agreed to give in marriage his own daughter \_\_\_\_\_, age \_\_\_\_\_ years, to the second party, \_\_\_\_\_, as a concubine, through the mediator, \_\_\_\_\_.

On this date the undersigned has received \_\_\_\_\_ amount as betrothal payment. He agrees to give his daughter away on the date selected by the second party. He will not dare to cause any difficulties or to extort more money from the second party. He also guarantees that the girl has not been previously betrothed, and that there is no question as to her origin. Should such questions arise, or should the girl run away, he will be held responsible. Should the girl die of unexpected circumstances, it is her fate, and not the responsibility of the second party.

This contract is drawn up as evidence of the agreement.

Fig. 1. Sample Contract for the Purchase of a Concubine.

The concubine may or may not have been given status by inclusion in the family genealogy. Genealogy rules published in 1870 decreed that concubines without children

<sup>23</sup>Ebrey, Chinese Civilization and Society, 139.

are not mentioned: concubines who were married with proper ceremonies were recorded as being married, otherwise they were designated as being "taken in." In the biography of the father, the youngest son of a legal wife preceded the oldest son of a concubine to uphold legitimate succession.<sup>24</sup>

Pearl Buck wrote that this was much better than prostitution because the woman and her children were given provisions and security.<sup>25</sup> The first and most prominent wife had the duty to be generous to the children of the concubines and provided gifts on occasions such as the Chinese New Year. The honored first wife never mentioned the existence of the concubines. She might have been relieved that her husband took concubines if she did not love her pre-selected husband. At the burial procession of the first wife, the concubine's sedan chair trailed the children of the first wife so she appeared dutiful to the primary wife.<sup>26</sup> Robert Elegant echoed the attitude of the legal wife toward the concubine in Dynasty. In this novel, Lady Lucinda, the first wife of Sir Jonathan Sekloong, never spoke of her husband's liaisons, the older concubine he had pensioned off or his current one. The first wife was privileged to generously lavish gifts upon the concubine's children as often as she dutifully gave presents to her own

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<sup>24</sup>Ibid., 238.

<sup>25</sup>Buck, The Three Daughters of Madame Liang, 267.

<sup>26</sup>Buck, The Good Earth, 194-195.

children. The British colony of Hong Kong legitimized, by law, both polygamy and concubinage in deference to Chinese tradition.<sup>27</sup>

Ancestor reverence, family cohesiveness and filial piety gradually eroded in the twentieth century and was repressed by the communists. Women were liberated by the new marriage law of 1950, which gave them full equality with men in marriage, property ownership, and divorce. The new state desired to replace filial piety and commended children for denouncing their parents.<sup>28</sup> The family unity changed drastically with the introduction of the system of communes by the communists. The lavish wedding was replaced by a civil service in a marriage hall. The feet of young daughters were no longer bound, which was certainly humane. The communists had a different perspective of the family. They believed families were a means of exploitation; for the parents formally treated children as if they were capital assets and the children waited for the parents to die so they would inherit unearned income. Under the new administration, young and old would be glad to be relieved of duty to each other. The communes described in The Three Daughters of Madame Liang had dormitories by sex, homes for the elderly, and day care centers for children under the kindergarten age of three. These accommodations were

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<sup>27</sup>Elegant, Dynasty, 222.

<sup>28</sup>Fairbank and Reischauer, China, 497.

considered a much better arrangement.<sup>29</sup> Even though the communists attempted to undermine filial piety and other family duties, the authors of these selected novels doubted if the bonds of the family were eradicated. An undercurrent theme of Dynasty was that moral principles compelled Chinese to first look after themselves and their families rather than the nation.<sup>30</sup> Spring Moon illustrated that the unity of a Chinese family was maintained throughout the political turmoil of the twentieth century despite geographical separation.<sup>31</sup>

#### The Mandate of Heaven

The "mandate of heaven" was a concept that lasted throughout the long history of dynastic China. As long as an emperor ruled wisely, he was in favor of heaven, according to an enduring Confucian teaching. The scholars, Fairbank and Reischauer, defined the mandate of heaven (T'ien-ming) as the basic justification for a ruler's power. A ruler remained on the throne if he had the acceptance of his people; if the people killed or deposed him, it was clear that he lost heaven's support. The philosopher, Mencius (Meng-tzue), who lived around 370-290 B.C., taught that government was primarily an exercise in ethics.

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<sup>29</sup>Buck, The Three Daughters of Madame Liang, 64, 257.

<sup>30</sup>Elegant, Dynasty, 453.

<sup>31</sup>Lord, Spring Moon, 454.

He maintained that the ruler should do what is right rather than seek profit and should be benevolent toward his people. If the just king ruled with the welfare of the people at heart, he had their mandate, if he betrayed this trust, the people had reason to rebel and he lost the mandate.<sup>32</sup> The right of rebellion stemmed from the teachings of Mencius, "Heaven sees as the people see and hears as the people hear; the people, therefore, might well resist a conqueror who did not improve their lot."<sup>33</sup> In James Legge's multivolume translation of The Chinese Classics: The Shoo King or the Book of Historical Documents, he commented that the will of heaven might be seen as the earnest wish of the people as he translated, "Heaven sees as my people see; Heaven hears as my people hear."<sup>34</sup>

The early Chou people conquered the Shang around 1050 B.C. The Chou, who apparently had been vassals of the Shang, justified their victory on the grounds that they had received the mandate of heaven. The Chou kings called themselves the "Sons of Heaven." Their rituals which incorporated a round altar of "Heaven" and a square altar

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<sup>32</sup>Fairbank and Reischauer, China, 52.

<sup>33</sup>Clyde and Beers, The Far East, 33.

<sup>34</sup>The Chinese Classics: The Shoo King or the Book of Historical Documents Vol. III, Translated by James Legge (Hong Kong: Hong Kong University Press, 1960), V.i. Pt. ii.7., 292.

of "Earth" were used until the twentieth century and these imposing structures still stand in Peking.<sup>35</sup>

Robert Elegant relied on the concept of the mandate of heaven in his explanation of the fall of the Ming dynasty. Once the mandate was bestowed, it sanctified a dynasty. If the ruler was incapable of ruling or was wicked and despised, he lost favor, for the mandarin endured only as long as the dynasty was worthy. The Ming dynasty was in danger of losing the throne as evil signs began to appear such as famines, plagues, floods, and droughts.<sup>36</sup> As a dynasty diminished, rebellions occurred and there was a time of turmoil until a new leader emerged and established a new government, which in turn earned the mandate of heaven. Manchu revealed the seventeenth-century transfer of the mandate from the Ming dynasty to the Tartars, or Manchus, when the Great Wall, fifty miles north of Peking, failed to stop the invasion. This was the first time that China had been penetrated by barbarian hordes from the steppes of Inner Asia since the Mongol invasion of the thirteenth century. The Manchu dynasty in turn lost their mandate in the twentieth century due to corruption and decadence.

The mandate was evidenced by harmony and prosperity within the realm. If these elements were absent, the mandate would be removed from the ruler and transferred to another.

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<sup>35</sup>Fairbank and Reischauer, China, 31-21.

<sup>36</sup>Elegant, Manchu, 60.

Consequently, it was important to take note of any warnings or unusual occurrences that might signal the will of heaven. Therefore, astrologers were used to observe celestial bodies for clues of changes.<sup>37</sup>

Robert Elegant noted in Dynasty that unusual occurrences such as famines, floods, pestilence, droughts or rebellion preceded the fall of a dynasty. Elegant commented that foreign armies with novel weapons had repeatedly hastened the change in the mandate. The Great Wall was built in the third century B.C. to ward off such threats. In the story of Dynasty, Chiang Kai-shek planned to use foreign ideas to his advantage. He would employ the technology, weaponry, and tactics of the westerners in hopes of gaining the mandate of heaven.<sup>38</sup>

The concept of mandate of heaven was so deeply entrenched into Chinese thought that it was understood by the uneducated. A simple peasant woman, Ning Lao T'ai-t'ai, voiced her interpretation of the transfer of the mandate during the Japanese invasion in 1937:

The Manchus came and conquered us, but now they are part of us. We cannot tell the differences between the Manchu and the Chinese . . . Perhaps the Mandate of Heaven has passed to the Japanese. No one knows where the great seal is now. Some say that the Japanese got it. If the Japanese got it they will have the Mandate of Heaven and we should listen to them as our new masters.

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<sup>37</sup>John Y. Fenton et al., Religions of Asia (New York: St. Martin's Press, 1988), 215.

<sup>38</sup>Elegant, Dynasty, 342.



My granddaughter says no. She says we must resist and not have any masters. She says the land must be governed by the people of the land. She says that a new China is being born. I do not understand such words. That is new talk. How can people govern a land? Always there has been a Son of Heaven who is the father and mother of the people. If he is a bad father and mother, the Mandate of Heaven passes from him and a new emperor comes, one whom Heaven has chosen.<sup>39</sup>

The rule of China was considered paramount among rulers for Chinese considered their country to be the central country, Chung-kuo, which was often translated as the "Middle Kingdom." Chinese continued to use the name Chung-kuo to the twentieth-century. The ancient Chinese were unaware of great civilizations to the West, and thought of themselves as having unique political unity. They named the countries outside their borders the "four barbarians," meaning outsiders.<sup>40</sup> This concept of empire and superiority was written in the third volume of The Chinese Classics: The Shoo King or the Book of Historical Documents as "Now heaven, to protect the inferior people, made for them rulers, and made for them instructors, that they might be able to be aiding to God, and secure the tranquility of the four quarters of the empire."<sup>41</sup> The emperors of China were called "Sons of Heaven," a title conceived by ancient Chinese for they

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<sup>39</sup>Pruitt, A Daughter of Han, 246.

<sup>40</sup>Fairbank and Reischauer, China, 20.

<sup>41</sup>The Chinese Classics: The Shoo King or the Book of Historical Documents, translated by James Legge, 286.

believed the ruler received ultimate authority from the divine.<sup>42</sup> The Chinese considered themselves as superior and barbarians as inferior. This was illustrated by the kowtow, a necessary act of submission used by barbarians when they approached the emperor bearing tribute.

Tributary envoys presented gifts of native products to the emperor's court in Peking for centuries. The setting at the beginning of Manchu was during the waning days of the Ming dynasty. The tribute system had become reciprocal. For example, the Oirats<sup>43</sup> had established tribute relations in 1408 and sent envoys yearly. As the Ming emperors' power slipped, they pacified such barbarians with subsidies, a tribute in reverse. The Oirat mission numbered as great as three thousand Mongolians. The most prominent of their tributary gifts were horses. During their stay in Peking they were guests of the government and were allowed a few days of free trade. To keep the outsiders submissive, the Ming ruler gave the Oirats "gifts in reply" such as silk and satin materials. These trips proved lucrative to the barbarians, therefore they continued to kowtow to the emperor in the Forbidden City, humbling themselves in the "three kneeling and nine prostrations."<sup>44</sup> This exchange quietened

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<sup>42</sup>Schirokauer, A Brief History of Chinese and Japanese Civilizations, 20.

<sup>43</sup>The Oirats were Mongolians who lived near the Altai mountains, North of Tibet. Bishbalio was one of their cities.

<sup>44</sup>Fairbank and Resichauer, China, 202.

the warriors on the periphery. The kowtow was not only an act of submission for a foreigner, but for anyone who approached the Son of Heaven.

The kowtow was vividly described in Manchu. If a person received the honor of an audience with the emperor, the first action in the ruler's presence was the kowtow. In this act of submission, the subject fell to his knees and touched the floor nine times with his forehead.<sup>45</sup> If the emperor, who spoke in the third person, issued a command to a lesser person, the obligatory reply was: "I hear and obey."<sup>46</sup>

#### Philosophies

The ideas of proper conduct were derived from ancient Chinese philosophies. The three philosophies considered in this study were Confucianism, Taoism, and Buddhism. The definition of each philosophy will be from the point of view of a historian. Examples then will be taken from several novels to illustrate how novelists weave philosophy into their story.

Confucianism was given to the Chinese by the theorist, K'ung Fu-tzu, who lived from 551-479 B.C. His practical philosophy was the mainstay of Chinese moral character to the extent that it was taken for granted. Every educated person could quote long passages from the Confucian classics and

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<sup>45</sup>Elegant, Manchu, 54.

<sup>46</sup>Ibid., 57.

could apply the lessons learned to all situations. Confucius, a modest man, did little writing, so his teachings were recorded by his followers. "He posthumously influenced the character of Chinese civilization to a greater degree than any other single person."<sup>47</sup>

Confucius had ambitions of becoming a court advisor, but never found a ruler who desired his advice. Therefore, the unfulfilled aspirant became a teacher. In this occupation his technique was to be a transmitter of knowledge or a channel for conveying wisdom. Confucius was creative as he presented traditional teachings and values of Chinese culture in a manner that revitalized ideas. This selective teacher only taught those who were eager to learn. If he conveyed a message by suggestion, the students were expected to work out the implications. Serious pupils of Confucianism could apply ancient wisdom to current situations. Confucius left no lecture notes or books. His teachings were compiled after his death by his disciples from remembered conversations and statements.<sup>48</sup> This literature was classified in an orderly fashion commonly referred to as the Five Classics and Four Books.

China, Tradition and Transformation listed the specified books of Confucianism. The earliest set were

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<sup>47</sup> Clyde and Beers, The Far East, 18-19.

<sup>48</sup> Schirokauer, A Brief History of Chinese and Japanese Civilizations, 30-31.

the Five Classics. They were: The Classic of Changes (I Ching, or the Book of Divination) which interpreted sixty-four hexagrams and eight trigrams; The Classic of Documents (Shu ching, or the Book of History) which contained semi-historical documents and speeches from the early Chou period some of which may have been forged; The Classic of Songs (Shi ching, or the Book of Poetry) which included 305 love songs, political poems and ritual hymns of the Chou period; The Spring and Autumn Annals (Ch'un ch'iu), which was a chronological history of Confucius native state of Lu from 722 to 481 B.C.; and the Record of Rituals (Li chi or the Book of Rites) which was a compilation made in the second century B.C. of rites and rituals that were essential to the Confucian concept of social order. Perhaps a thousand years after the close of the Chou era, four selections were made from the myriad of classical literature as authoritative teachings. The Four Books were: The Analects (Lun-yü or "conversations") which embodied discourses between Confucius and his disciples, The Book of Mencius (Mengtzu), which were sayings of the sages, The Great Learning (Ta hsüeh), an outline of ethics, and The Doctrine of the Mean (Chung yung), which was similar.<sup>49</sup> The Five Classics and the Four Books were the foundation for Confucian thought. Scholars throughout the long history of China sought answers to their current

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<sup>49</sup>Fairbank and Reischauer, China, 41-43.

problems by reinterpreting the classics, thus, thousands of commentaries have been written.

Confucius was a humanist who believed a harmonious society would be attained if proper conduct and the five virtues were practiced. The Five Relationships of Confucianism were between father and son, ruler and minister, husband and wife, elder brother and younger brother, and between friend and friend. Each person knew their position in the hierarchy and the importance of reciprocal obligations. The highest priority of the five was filiality, the wholehearted obedience of child to parent. This was even more important than obedience to the state.<sup>50</sup> The great moralist described a gentleman, in the sense of a cultivated man, as one who practiced the five virtues. These virtues were uprightness or inner integrity (chih), righteousness (i), loyalty (chung), altruism or reciprocity (shu), and above all others, love or humanheartedness (jen).<sup>51</sup>

Social or legal punishment was inflicted upon those who failed to meet the expectations of maintaining a harmonious society. These humanistic virtues did not extend to caring for those who broke the rules of society. It was of utmost importance to maintain the right relationships, to the point that the philosophers saw no moral contradiction in

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<sup>50</sup>Schirokauer, A Brief History of Chinese and Japanese Civilizations, 31.

<sup>51</sup>Fairbank and Reischauer, China, 45-46.

punishment of individuals. Diabolical punishments such as branding, castration, and foot-amputation were not uncommon.<sup>52</sup>

Confucian philosophy required Chinese sons to be responsible for their parents. The novel, Mandarin, exemplified the importance of relationships in a scene where a prisoner, without the privilege of counsel, was judged by a single mandarin:

The good order and the prosperity of Tienhsia, all that lies under Heaven, depends upon hsiao, filial piety. If men do not render perfect obedience to their parents, how will they render unquestioning loyalty to the emperor, who is the father of us all? If the relationships between inferiors and superiors are not observed, how can the world be at peace?<sup>53</sup>

It was necessary for each person to behave in accordance with their position in an hierarchy in order to have harmony.

Spring Moon had an introduction to each chapter which was obtained from Chinese history, tales, quotations from different time periods, and excerpts from the Five Classics and the Four Books. Delightful poetry from the Book of Songs set the mood for chapters such as "The Bride" and "Riding the Tiger," whereas Confucian wisdom prefaced chapters such as "The New Year." For example, chapter fifteen began with a portion of The Great Learning:

Things being investigated, knowledge became complete.  
Their knowledge being complete, their thoughts were

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<sup>52</sup>Dun J. Li, The Ageless Chinese, (New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1965), 68.

<sup>53</sup>Elegant, Mandarin, 65.

sincere. Their thoughts being sincere, their hearts were then rectified. Their hearts being rectified, their persons were cultivated. Their persons being cultivated, their families were regulated. Their families being regulated, their states were rightly governed. Their states being rightly<sup>54</sup> governed, the whole Empire was made tranquil and happy.

In this passage, the ancients felt the key to harmony was to first regulate the family and this conformity would carry over to all of the relationships necessary to a virtuous person. To go against the expected codes of conduct would cause one to lose face and brought disgrace to the family.

Sayings of the great sage were sprinkled throughout The Three Daughters of Madame Liang. The central character, Madame Liang, was steeped in the tradition of Confucian etiquette and philosophy. She thought ancient wisdom had molded the character of the Chinese and believed this continuity prevailed throughout the centuries. Each time the mandate of heaven transferred from one dynasty to another, the basic character of the Chinese never changed, even if the transfer was to alien peoples, such as the Manchurian conquerors. The Manchus yielded to the superior methods of the Chinese and accepted Confucian philosophy as the basis of their government, etiquette and conduct. Madame Liang lived through a change in the mandate of heaven. She witnessed the fall of dynastic rule to the victory of the communists in the twentieth century. Although communism was a drastic change in government that affected the lives and economic structures

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<sup>54</sup>Lord, Spring Moon, 194.



of China, she felt that Confucian philosophy would not be eradicated. Under the rule of the communists it was necessary for Madame Liang to hide her Confucian books in a locked chest nestled between items of clothing. She especially revered The Book of Changes and predicted that this presently forbidden work would be consulted again in the future. She frequently read from this volume and ordered her life by its principles.<sup>55</sup> The wisdom Madame Liang gleaned from these works offered her such an acute awareness of a sense of what was appropriate that she maintained the same mannerly Chinese behavior whether alone or with others. As a mother, she gave advice to her daughter, Grace, from The Book of History, advice that had been a mainstay in Madame Liang's absolute confidence in the superiority of being Chinese.

The people must be cherished,  
The people must not be oppressed,  
The people are the root of the country,  
If the root is firm, the country is tranquil.<sup>56</sup>

Madame Liang firmly believed that the Chinese people had not changed as a result of the communist revolution. She reminded her daughter that when Confucius had been asked to rank order the importance of the state, food, weapons or the trust of the people, the philosopher responded that weapons and even food could be sacrificed, but without the confidence of the people, the state would be destroyed. Mencius said,

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<sup>55</sup>Buck, The Three Daughters of Madame Liang, 113.

<sup>56</sup>Ibid., 196.

"Heaven has no fixed will, but sees as the people see, and hears as the people hear."<sup>57</sup> Her concern was that the youth were not allowed to learn the Classics, and were not benefiting from the decorum and serenity that could be found through such a study.

The sayings of Confucius were included in all of the novels considered, indicating the foundation he instilled in the Oriental psyche. In Jade an elderly mandarin felt remorse when he concluded he had not successfully regulated his own family and thus had not achieved moral excellence on earth.<sup>58</sup> The same novel assured the reader that Confucius had something apt for any situation. The youthful Alice thought of the sage during a trying time. "Confucius heard the cattle-boy singing 'Is the water of the T'sang river clear? I can wash the tassel of my hat. Is it muddy? I can wash my feet.' Make the best of circumstances, clear or muddy, Alice, and turn them to advantage, so says Confucius."<sup>59</sup>

In Manchu, Francis Arrowsmith desired to learn the Classics. He was advised by a Chinese friend to begin with the Four Books which were easier to read than the archaic style of the Five Classics, for none of the former had been written more than six centuries before the birth of Christ.

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<sup>57</sup> Ibid.

<sup>58</sup> Barr, Jade, 539.

<sup>59</sup> Ibid., 168-169.

The Analects, which were memorized by every Chinese school-boy, were suggested as the most useful for a foreigner wishing to learn the basic doctrines. Arrowsmith's friend quoted passages from The Analects:

When Tzu Yu asked about filial piety, the Master replied: Present-day filial piety seems to mean no more than feeding one's parents adequately, as one feeds a horse or a dog. Unless there<sup>60</sup> is a reverence for parents, the action is meaningless. . . . The Duke of Sheh proudly told the Master: My people are totally honest. If a man steals a sheep, his own son will bear witness against him. The Master replied: Honest people in my native land are different. A son will conceal his father's wrongdoing, and a father will conceal his son's. That is filial piety, the highest honesty.<sup>61</sup>

Arrowsmith gained enough insight from these quotations to realize that whatever a Chinese did was right if he did it for his family; filial piety was the highest virtue. The theme of Dynasty echoed the importance of the ties that bound the family together, illustrating that there was no dividing line between a family and their business, they were one and the same. The moral principles found in the classics compelled Chinese to first look after themselves and their families rather than giving first priority to the nation.

Confucianism never achieved exclusive control over the minds of the Chinese. Taoism developed as a philosophy which

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<sup>60</sup>The Analects of Confucius, Translated by Arthur Waley, 89. The wording of this translation: "Tzu-yu (a disciple) asked about the treatment of parents. The Master said, 'Filial sons nowadays are people who see to it that their parents get enough to eat. But even dogs and horses are cared for to that extent. If there is no feeling of respect, wherein lies the difference?'"

<sup>61</sup>Elegant, Manchu, 165-166.

appealed to the intellectuals and as a popular religion for the masses.<sup>62</sup> Lao Tzu, an older contemporary of Confucius, was reputed to be the founder of Taoism. The philosopher was the keeper of the imperial archives in the province of Honan. Ancient legend stated that Lao Tzu became discouraged with the ways of men and rode off into the desert to die. He encountered a gate keeper in northwestern China on his journey. The story credited the gatekeeper for persuading the sage to write down his teaching for posterity. The result was Tao Te Ching, a book of approximately 5,000 words, which became the basis of Taoism. Tao meant the way, the road, or the process. Confucianism provided rules for daily conduct, where as Taoism provided a more spiritual level of being.<sup>63</sup>

Tao Te Ching was a compilation of prose and poetry written by the sage to provoke meditation. Chapter two described the effortless and wordless role of the sage:

Under heaven all can see beauty as beauty only because  
there is ugliness.

All can know good only because there is evil.

Therefore having and not having arise together.

Difficult and easy compliment each other.

Long and short contrast each other;

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<sup>62</sup>Taoism is spelled Daoism and Tao Te Ching is spelled Daodejing in a few sources such as A Brief History of Chinese and Japanese Civilizations by Conrad Schirokauer. The phonetic spelling (Dao) will not be used in this dissertation.

<sup>63</sup>Lao Tsu, Tao Te Ching, translated by Gia-Fu Feng and Jane English (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1974), see introduction, n.p.

High and low rest upon each other;  
 Voice and sound harmonize each other;  
 Front and back follow one another.  
 Therefore, the sage, goes about doing nothing, teaching  
 no-talking.  
 The ten thousand things rise and fall without cease.  
 Creating, yet not possessing,  
 Working, yet not taking credit.  
 Work is done, then forgotten.  
 Therefore it lasts forever.<sup>64</sup>

Chapter Forty-Seven said of the sage:

Thus the sage known without traveling;  
 He sees without looking;  
 He works without doing.<sup>65</sup>

The teacher was to keep an open mind, and in the clarity of stillness and meditation, wisdom would be revealed. The emphasis was on inaction as indicated in Chapter Eighty-One: "The Tao of the sage is work without effort."<sup>66</sup>

Conrad Schirokauer stated that the Tao cannot be named or defined, but the Tao was eternal, self-activating, omnipresent, and the only and the ultimate reality. The Taoist placed harmony with nature above social harmony, which was emphasized by Confucians. Taoism invited a multitude of interpretations of the cryptic, paradoxical verse in the Tao te Ching. This work has been translated more frequently than any other Chinese book.<sup>67</sup>

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<sup>64</sup>Ibid. Chapter Two, n.p.

<sup>65</sup>Ibid. Chapter Forty-Seven, n.p.

<sup>66</sup>Ibid. Chapter Forty-Two, n.p.

<sup>67</sup>Schirokauer, A Brief History of Chinese and Japanese Civilizations, 42-43.

The other great Taoist text was the Chuang Tzu, which contained the wit and wisdom of Chuang who lived around 369-286 B.C. One of Chuang Tzu's favorite themes was the relativity of ordinary distinctions. The sage illustrated this concept with a story about himself. He told of waking up from a nap and not being able to determine if he was Chuang Tzu dreaming he was a butterfly or a butterfly dreaming he was Chuang Tzu. Which was "real" and which was a dream? He concluded that true comprehension leads to ecstatic acceptance of whatever life may bring.<sup>68</sup>

Imagery and paradoxical language were associated with Taoism. The basic lesson was that truth was hidden and unexpected, as was "Tao." Lao Tzu used examples in nature to illustrate that weakness eventually triumphs; "There is nothing softer and weaker than water, and yet there is nothing better for attacking hard and strong things."<sup>69</sup> The use of force was considered foolish.

The philosophy of Chuang Tzu concluded that it was foolish to mourn the dead. His imagination transcended even the distinction between life and death. The Taoist considered life and death both as parts of a single process to be welcomed equally.<sup>70</sup> Chapter sixteen of Tao Te Ching illustrated how the Tao was elusive, yet eternal:

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<sup>68</sup>Ibid., 43.

<sup>69</sup>Fenton, Religions of Asia, 205.

<sup>70</sup>Schirokauer, A Brief History of Chinese and Japanese Civilizations, 44.

Empty yourself of everything.  
 Let the mind rest at peace.  
 The ten thousand things rise and fall while the Self  
 watches their return.  
 They grow and flourish and then return to the source.  
 Returning to the source is stillness, which is the way  
 of nature.  
 The way of nature is unchanging.  
 Knowing constancy is insight.  
 Not knowing constancy leads to disaster.  
 Knowing constancy, the mind is open.  
 With an open mind, you will be openhearted.  
 Being openhearted, you will act royally.  
 Being royal, you will attain the divine.  
 Being divine, you will be at one with the Tao.  
 Being one with the Tao is eternal.  
 And though the body dies, the Tao will never pass away.<sup>71</sup>

Taoism taught that the universe was independent of the  
 desires of man, and virtues were patience, humility, calm-  
 ness, and deliberation. The religion consisted of myths,  
 magic, spells, incantations, and demonology. It was  
 instrumental in the realm of ancestor worship. Believers  
 consulted a Taoist priest as to the best time and place to  
 bury a relative, build a house, or have a wedding.<sup>72</sup> Clyde  
 and Beers assessed Taoism as a complement, rather than a  
 rival, to Confucianism. The priesthood that was lacking  
 in Confucianism is provided by Taoism. The philosophy of  
 Confucius was practical whereas Laotzu provided poetry,  
 mystery, and speculation; thus, if both were practiced,  
 more needs of man were filled.

Taoism was not as prevalent in the selected novels as  
 was Confucianism. Bette Boa Lord used several quotes of Lao

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<sup>71</sup>Tao Tzu, Tao Te Ching, Chapter 16, n.p.

<sup>72</sup>Clyde and Beers, The Far East, 22.

Tzu such as the preface to Chapter Eighteen which dealt with assassins:

Force is followed by loss of strength.  
 This is not the way of Tao.  
 That which goes against<sup>73</sup> the Tao  
 Comes to an early end.

The Three Daughters of Madame Liang emphasized that it is difficult to find the right way. Through the steps of revolution in the twentieth century, several ways had been tried, the way of Sun Yat-sen, the way of Mao, and the way of others. Madame Liang felt the Chinese people needed to discover the eternal way of Lao Tzu.<sup>74</sup> An interesting conversation in Manchu revealed the application of Taoism. Francis Arrowsmith and his Chinese friend were pondering alternatives to a dilemma. The Oriental concluded the best course was Taoist wu-wei, which meant deliberate inaction, not weakness of will. Francis interpreted the decision to "do nothing" as "watchful waiting." His Taoist friend coined it as "determined inaction."<sup>75</sup>

Pearl Buck had a deep understanding of Oriental philosophy which began to develop when she was a student in Shanghai. She verbalized through Madame Liang that Lao Tzu set forth flexible principles of Tao. According to Pearl Buck, Tao was not "the way" as translated by most Western

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<sup>73</sup>Lord, Spring Moon, 223.

<sup>74</sup>Buck, The Three Daughters of Madame Liang, 96.

<sup>75</sup>Elegant, Manchu, 338.



scholars, but instead, "Tao is the Spirit that permeates all heaven and earth, even those far beyond ours. Tao also includes all that is not, and all that is; Lao Tzu describes it in these words."<sup>76</sup>

The appearance of Taoist priests as described in The Good Earth were clergy dressed in yellow robes with their long hair knotted on the crown of their head. They were quite a contrast to the Buddhist priests who wore long grey robes and had shaven heads in which nine sacred scars were embedded. The scene was a funeral and priests of both religions were called upon to beat drums and chant throughout the night. If the chanting stopped, Wang Lung gave them silver coins to entice them to resume.<sup>77</sup> Throughout The Good Earth, the central character, Wang Lung, exemplified the superstitious attitude of the peasant class. He frequently sought for omens in ordinary circumstances. He would visit a small wayside niche of a temple to light a candle or beautify the statues of simple gods by dressing them in colorful paper clothing. He felt the gods, either Taoist or Buddhist, had magical powers.

Mandarin illustrated how women annually appeased wooden statues of Tsao Shen stationed beside their cooking stoves. On the Lunar New Year exploding fireworks extolled the thought that each person was granted a fresh start. The

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<sup>76</sup>Buck, The Three Daughters of Madame Liang, 125.

<sup>77</sup>Buck, The Good Earth, 194.

superstitious housewife then smeared honey and opium on the lips of the statuette of the kitchen god before the god's journey to heaven. This action cajoled the god so he would not report the family's transgressions to the higher gods.<sup>78</sup> The idea of spirits and gods with magical powers were found in each of the novels.

Buddhism was not native to China. The founder of the religion was Gautama Siddhartha, a prince who was born in northern India about 563 B.C. He renounced the luxurious life of privilege associated with his noble birth and became an ascetic who wandered in the search of truth. This change of life style was attributed to his observations on three trips from the palace. He met an old man, a sick man, and a dead man on these successive outings. These encounters shocked him into a quest for religious understanding. He found a middle way between gratification and self-privation. He taught his beliefs and gained a following. Guatama became known as the Buddha or "Enlightened One." His disciples wrote accounts of Guatama's life centuries after his death. These followers wrote to extol Buddha who they believed was deified.<sup>79</sup>

The teachings of Guatama centered around Four Noble Truths. The first truth was that suffering was unavoidable.

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<sup>78</sup> Elegant, Mandarin, 54.

<sup>79</sup> Schirokauer, A Brief History of Chinese and Japanese Civilizations, 79-80.

The Indian solution was to transcend life through reincarnations, each of which would be rewarded by a more desirable level in life as a reward of good deeds in the previous life. Evil deeds would result in a lower level in the next reincarnation. The goal in successive cycles was to reach Nirvana and never be born again. It was believed that Buddha himself went through a series of reincarnations.<sup>80</sup>

The second truth explained that suffering (the first truth) was caused by desire. The third truth explained that desire must be stopped in order to end suffering. This was achieved by living an ethical life as prescribed in the fourth truth. The fourth truth listed the eightfold path: right views, right intention, right speech, right action, right livelihood, right effort, right mindfulness, and right concentration. To augment these ethics, the person devoted to a religious life practiced celibacy, abstinence from alcoholic beverages, and refrained from eating meat. Communities of monks and nuns were organized by many Buddhists.<sup>81</sup>

Centuries after the founder's death, Buddhists divided into a southern and northern movement. At an unknown time, it was the northern school of Buddhism that spread to China and many of China's tributary states. This school included the concept of heaven. Afterlife was not prominent in

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<sup>80</sup>Ibid., 80.

<sup>81</sup>Ibid.

Confucianism, therefore, Buddhism filled that void. Chinese intellectuals found the spiritual element of the Indian religion appealing. The elaborate ritual placated needs of the unsophisticated minds of the common people.<sup>82</sup> This foreign religion was able to penetrate China during a time of turmoil when the mandate of heaven was being transferred. The fall of the Han dynasty created an unsettling atmosphere that allowed Chinese to question their traditional verities.<sup>83</sup>

Buddhism was seldom mentioned in these novels. The previous mentioning of priests in The Good Earth was an example, but was only a cursory glimpse. Zen Buddhism was considered in detail in Jade when the principle character resided in a monastery. The word Zen is Japanese and became prominent in China in the ninth century. Zen was akin to a primitive form of Buddhism in its stress on intuitive insight or "enlightenment." Zen was even more like Taoism in its antitextual and antischolastic bias. Zen Buddhist stressed oral instruction in the form of nonsensical questions to shock one out of dependence on usual logic. Zen's love of nature and simplicity was a transparent guise of old Taoism.<sup>84</sup>

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<sup>82</sup>Clyde and Beers, The Far East, 23.

<sup>83</sup>Schirokauer, A Brief History of Chinese and Japanese Civilization, 82.

<sup>84</sup>Fairbank and Reischauer, China, 108.

Jade slipped the reader into a Zen Buddhist monastery to witness the procession of shabbily clad monks chanting and meditating in a dimly lit room to the monotonous sound of drums, bells, and gongs. The pungent smell of incense burning on the altar filled the air. Each holy man mumbled verses and genuflected before the dusty gilt Buddha of his tutelary gods mounted on the altar. One of the monks explained to Alice Greenwood that "our Master tells us that to seek the truth of Zen is like looking for an ox when you are riding on the back of it." He added that "if you stop looking, stop talking, stop thinking, there is nothing you may not eventually understand."<sup>85</sup> The westerner dwelt in the austere monastery and ate the sparse vegetarian diet. She found Zen most puzzling and was frustrated with the answers of her teacher. As they sat cross-legged, the instructor presented an easy text:

As there is a lamp, there is light; if no lamp, no light. When you have understood the Oneness of those two you will have taken the first small step toward emancipation . . . From thought to thoughtlessness, from form into formlessness--in essence, from the realm of opposites in which we customarily live.<sup>86</sup>

The barbarian pondered the philosophy of the Buddhist but an inborn reluctance to contemplate the distinction between subjective and objective made comprehension impossible. A student reading this novel could understand Alice Greenwood's difficulty in understanding the philosophy of Zen Buddhist monks.

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<sup>85</sup>Barr, Jade, 406-407.

<sup>86</sup>Ibid., 409.

Manchu described the Buddhist monk's participation in the mass audience within the Forbidden City, an audience which welcomed the Lunar New Year and simultaneously celebrated the emperor's birthday on Friday 14, 1644. Hundreds of monks in saffron and yellow robes formed a semicircle around a pyre. They chanted in a monotonous tone, clacked wooden clappers, and held burning incense sticks. A bone-thin young monk sat on top of the pyre ready to sacrifice himself to honor the emperor's birthday and ensure good fortune for the empire. As a reward for the cremation, the monk believed he would instantly attain nirvana, the ultimate freedom from the circle of reincarnation and eternal oblivion of pain and worry. The author vividly pictured the immolation of the young Buddhist. The western reader would be repulsed at the description of how the flames engulfed the monk and would be horrified when the screams of the martyr could not be muffled by the loud chants of the monks and the stench of charred human flesh could not be overpowered by sweet incense.<sup>87</sup> A well written novel allows a student to vicariously learn of Buddhist customs.

#### Occupations and Class Structure

A clearer understanding of the class structure of ancient China is presented in these novels. Intertwined with one's station in life was one's occupation. The

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<sup>87</sup>Elegant, Manchu, 351-353.

attitudes of the characters in novels gave credence to class structure and to the hopelessness of upward mobility for the peasant. Prior to the communist revolution, it was difficult to transgress the station to which one was born. The historian, Conrad Schirokauer, divided the society into the gentry and the common people. Obviously a middle class was missing in ancient China. The gentry was the upper class which owned most of the property, filled most of the bureaucratic positions, and in more recent times controlled industry, banking and commerce. During the years of the Southern Song rule, 1127-1269, elite families tended to strengthen their positions by prudent management of their assets; assuming leadership roles in the community, and arranging advantageous marriages to members of other gentry families. It must be noted that although prominent families usually perpetuated their influence for generations, it was not always the case, for status was not inherited. The Chinese divided estates among heirs rather than adhering to the European practice of primogeniture, which passed lines and the estate intact to the eldest son. There were no laws barring entry from below to higher echelons of society.<sup>88</sup> Although possible, it was not probable to rise to the pinnacle position in society, a mandarin, unless one was a

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<sup>88</sup> Schirokauer, A Brief History of Chinese and Japanese Civilizations, 186.

member of the gentry. The gentry almost had a monopoly on learning, for they could afford tutors. Education was necessary to pass the civil service examination which was an essential step toward attaining the esteemed title of mandarin.

Tutors were employed to teach the sons of the wealthy. Free schools were as rare as educating a girl. The percentage of literate Chinese was still very small at the beginning of the twentieth century. The basis of a scholar's education was the Confucian classics and their commentaries and histories. Science, math, and critical thought were of less importance. The main emphasis was on memorization of the classics. "The goal of the scholar was to be able to apply a classical phrase to the solution of a philosophical problem, and in the appropriate style."<sup>89</sup>

Upward mobility in the government was attained only after passing the civil service examinations. The method of government recruitment was commonplace in the Southern Song dynasty and continued to be utilized until the twentieth century.<sup>90</sup> Appointments were based on success in a testing sequence. The progression began with the preliminary examination in the counties. The successful candidates then completed in the examinations in the prefectural cities

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<sup>89</sup>Clyde and Beers, The Far East, 38.

<sup>90</sup>Schirokauer, A Brief History of Chinese and Japanese Civilizations, 186.



which were held twice every three years. These graduates received the lowest degree of licentiate ("flowering talent"). Members of the lower-gentry class were exempt from labor service and corporal punishment. The next level were the triennial examinations in the provincial capitals. One out of approximately two hundred contenders survived the ordeal of spending days locked in individual cells alone with brush and paper. Capital cities housed these long rows of cells in a walled area. The next step was the triennial metropolitan examination in Peking. The few metropolitan graduates were tested by the emperor himself in the palace. The weak and unorthodox were eliminated at each level of intense competition.<sup>91</sup>

The importance of applying one's self to the rigors necessary to excel in the exams were entrenched in Chinese thought. Perhaps the mettle was based in Confucian philosophy. The Analects stated:

Highest are those who are born wise. Next are those who become wise by learning. After them come those who have to toil painfully in order to acquire learning. Finally, to the lowest class of the common people belong those <sup>92</sup>who toil painfully without ever managing to learn.

This rigorous series of examinations was one of the outstanding achievements of the Chinese for it insured that only men of merit served in government positions. It also

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<sup>91</sup>Fairbank and Reischauer, China, 188.

<sup>92</sup>Waley, The Analects of Confucius, 206.

meant that throughout the country, the wisdom of Confucius would be uniformly applied. The students who stood the examinations were quite diverse in age, ranging from late teens to the seventies, probably averaging around thirty-five, as unsuccessful candidates retook the examination many times.<sup>93</sup> It was necessary to pass the examinations to enter into high positions in the civil service. Promotion depended upon tenure, merit ratings, rank in the original examinations and special examinations for specific assignments. Certain high officials had the duty of nominating promising junior officials for promotion who might otherwise be overlooked. The protégé could not be a relative and the mentor was held responsible for any misdeeds of those he sponsored. This system provided promotion for men of talent. The lists of graduates in 1148 and 1256 revealed that half came from families with no record of civil service status in the paternal line for three generations.<sup>94</sup> The system endured until the twentieth century, but in practice the upward mobility for men of talent was gradually flawed.

Elegant describes the civil service examinations in both Manchu and Mandarin. Manchu frequently compared European and Oriental customs and concluded high positions in the Chinese empire were filled with scholars. Long years

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<sup>93</sup>Fairbank and Reischauer, China, 126.

<sup>94</sup>Ibid., 127.

of study were necessary to pass the arduous examinations to qualify for the civil service, ministerial positions and even for the position of grand secretary; thus, the power of the kingdom was open to talent.<sup>95</sup> The small number of top officials were called mandarins. Elegant explains that this title was coined by westerners from "mandar," Portuguese for command, and the mandarins were as like Plato's ideal of the philosopher king as man could be.<sup>96</sup>

The years of study necessary for adequate preparation for the civil service examinations were stressed in Mandarin. In this novel, two sons of a prosperous merchant, Aisek Lee, had aspirations of passing the eight-legged essay. Fairbank and Reischauer explained that a set form of literary style was required for the essays. The examination papers were written under eight main headings, utilizing a maximum of seven hundred characters and a style that employed balance and antithesis.<sup>97</sup> Therefore not merely thought, but strict form, was mandatory for the eight-legged essay. The Lee sons were consumed with the desire to master the techniques. The youngsters continually quoted long passages from the Five Classics and Four Books in preparation for the examinations they would take several years hence. Memorization and

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<sup>95</sup>Elegant, Manchu, 63.

<sup>96</sup>Ibid., 8. Mandarin also means the dialect of Peking.

<sup>97</sup>Fairbank, China, 190.

repetition meant that a successful candidate could quote Confucian thought at will when he became a mandarin. The lads made a habit of speaking in formal Mandarin, the language of officials, rather than the local dialect of Shanghai. The boys studied at home under the guidance of a tutor.

Dr. Pau Hsü was the exemplary mandarin in Manchu. He was a Confucian gentleman and scholar who was guided by precepts recorded in the Five Classics and the Four Books which enabled him to obtain Li, the practice of proper behavior according to status. The mandarin was recognized by his official traveling "casket," a leather box carved with scarlet and gilt patterns which held important papers, or by his dress, a long robe and a rimless black hat which rose to a triangular peak. The color of the robe and the insignia embroidered in silk on the breast designated the rank of the mandarin. To illustrate, a pair of white geese in flight on a vermillion robe denoted the fourth grade whereas the lower position of the fifth grade was identified by a silver pheasant on a sapphire blue robe. The rigid hierarchy was composed of ten grades which were earned by their scores on the three levels of examinations. These Philosopher--administrators habitually wore a half-smile and usually had long fingernails which evidenced the fact that scholars did not perform manual labor. Dr. Hsü frequently carried an umbrella made of green oiled paper stretched

over bamboo ribs.<sup>98</sup> As was the custom, bureaucrats supplemented their salary with money taken as bribes or in the form of taxes. A mandarin felt he owed it to his family to enrich himself. Pau Hsü was no exception. Imperial law decreed that bureaucrats would rotate frequently so the civil servant would not become too attached to the inhabitants of a province. They were also forbidden to serve in their native province, which would foster a detached and fair administration. These leaders were conservative, resisted change and desired to maintain a status quo.

The class structure was divided between the gentry and the common people. The civil service examinations were the vehicle for upward mobility for the gentry. The mandarins held superior positions but were subservient to the emperor. The emperor resided in the seclusion of the Forbidden City, a walled area in Peking which contained a maze of palaces and buildings for housing the royal entourage. The Forbidden City and the nearby summer palaces were adorned with the finest of embellishments. Mandarin included a scaled drawing of the Forbidden City.

Students would find this visual aid fascinating. The layout of the royal domain was in a grid of streets which surrounded the rectangular area of the private quarters of

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<sup>98</sup>Ibid., 8, 23, 76.

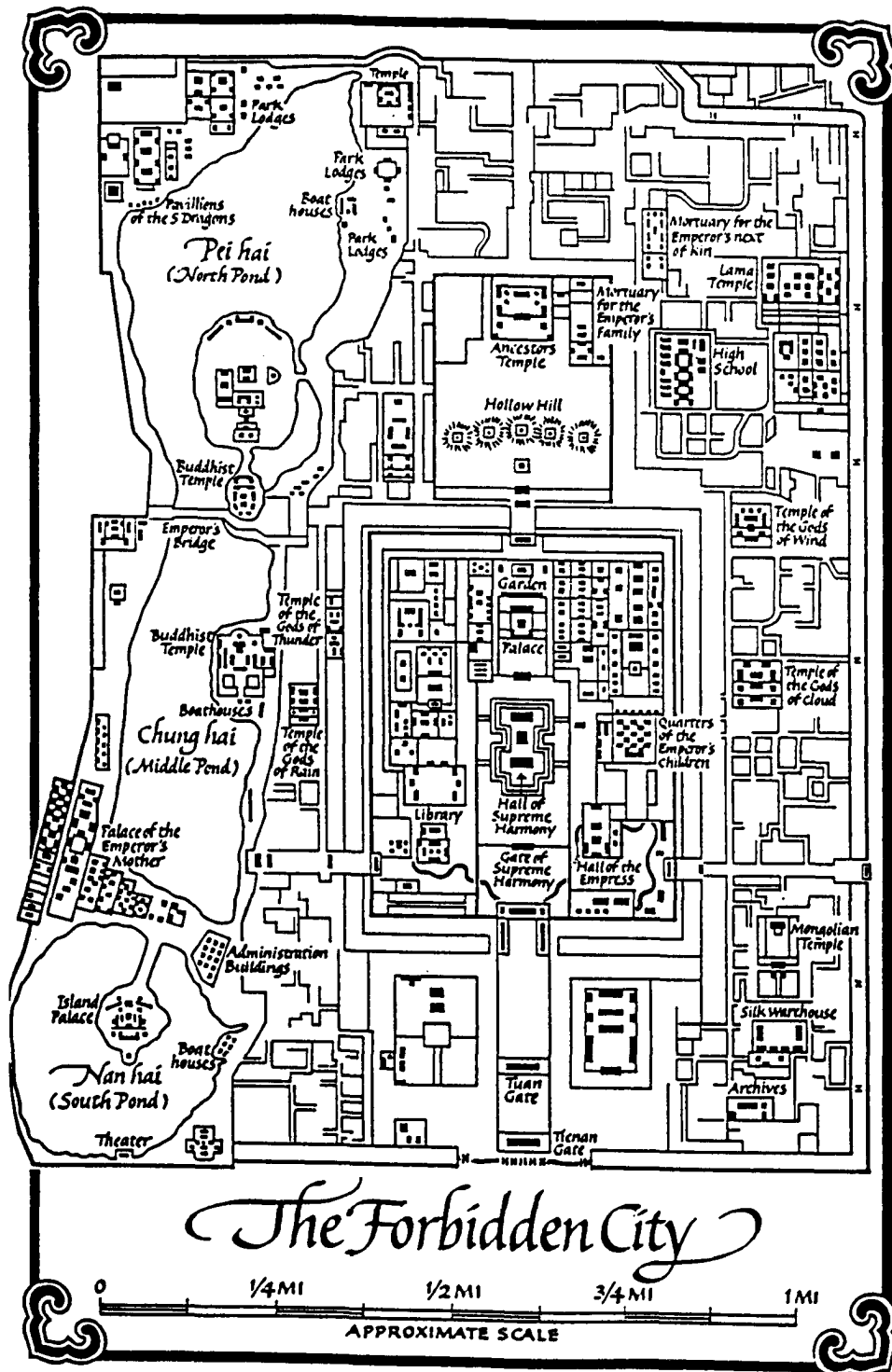


Fig. 2. The Forbidden City.

the imperial family. This most revered area was surrounded by a moat which protected the Hall of Supreme Harmony, the Garden Palace, the Hall of the Empress, the Quarters of the Emperor's children, the library and numerous smaller buildings. A series of gates framed the entrance. Other buildings between the outwall and the moated area included several temples, administration buildings, archives, a silk warehouse, a school, ancestors temple, and two mortuaries (one for the emperor's family and one of the emperor's next of kin). To alleviate the confinement of the royalty, three ponds added natural beauty which complemented the magnificent architecture. On the waters edge were boat houses, pavilions, lodges, temples, a theater, an island palace, picturesque bridges and an immense palace for the emperor's mother. It was a city within the city of Peking. An invitation to the Forbidden City was a coveted event. If one did receive the honor of an audience, the first action in the presence of the emperor was the submissive kowtow.

The emperor lived in the seclusion of the royal palaces his entire life. There was constant activity within the walls due to the large number of inhabitants including the empress, the emperor's concubines, other members of the royal family, advisors, priests and eunuchs. Fairbank and Reischauer placed great emphasis on the influence of the eunuchs, yet never defined the term. Many students are not acquainted with this word. The novels in this study that

mentioned eunuchs left no doubt as to what they were physically. Eunuchs were men who were "rendered surgically unique."<sup>99</sup> They were castrated as boys to qualify for the Imperial Corps of Eunuchs who managed the household of the palace and guarded the imperial harem. It was necessary to watch the harem for the emperor must sire a male heir. The eunuchs were men of inferior social status and were barred from the civil service exams. They were naturally aligned with the emperor in certain situations against greedy bureaucrats. The mutual dependence of the eunuchs and the emperor frequently afforded trusted eunuchs with great authority and influence. Chinese historians condemned eunuchs for misrule, but of course it should be kept in mind that the histories were written by the bureaucrats.<sup>100</sup>

Accounts of Chinese government always inferred that eunuchs were influential. One emperor, Hung Wu, attempted to eliminate this trend by limiting the numbers of eunuchs, their rank, titles and style of clothing. This fourteenth century ruler forbade the eunuchs to handle government documents and decreed they should be illiterate. Hung-Wu erected a metal tablet three feet high which pronounced, "Eunuchs must have nothing to do with administration."<sup>101</sup>

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<sup>99</sup>Phrase used by Dr. Newell Moore, History Department, Middle Tennessee State University, Murfreesboro, Tennessee, 1981.

<sup>100</sup>Fairbank and Reischauer, China, 72.

<sup>101</sup>Ibid., 182.



His efforts did not correct the situation. Eventually eunuchs grew in number to thousands, were educated in a palace school erected exclusively for them, became trusted advisors of the emperor and served him beyond the palace wall. These expanded duties were much to the chagrin of the scholarly gentry, for in effect, the eunuchs became an echelon of the administration.<sup>102</sup>

Novels extol the influence of the honorable mandarin and the other extreme seem to delight in the underhanded machinations of the eunuch. This character, so foreign to the westerners' frame of reference, adds to the fascination and intrigue of the oriental setting. Plots of novels are animated with the crafty eunuch's deceitful strategems. These clandestine entanglements will tend to hold the interest of students as they delve into a novel about Chinese history.

Robert Elegant singled out the palace eunuchs as having tremendous influence over Chinese emperors and empresses too, such as Tz'u-hsi in the late nineteenth century. The need for eunuchs necessitated a continual influx of novices to fill the ranks of some 20,000 court eunuchs during the Ming dynasty. These youngsters came from backgrounds as varied as from the poorest of peasants to the sons of wealthy minor nobles who aspired to gain influence at court. The novelist suggested that some adult men bribed their way into the

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<sup>102</sup>Ibid., 182-183.

Forbidden City, neutered, with the "evidence" of castration pickled in spirits (it probably was cut from some lowly person whom the aspiring eunuch killed).<sup>103</sup> The palace had such an ample supply of eunuchs and concubines that even the emperor was not free from prying eyes. A great weakness in the imperial system was that the eunuchs could exercise power, yet were not required to stand the rigors of the civil service examination. Consequently, this was one of the contributing causes for degradation in leadership that resulted in a change of the mandate of heaven as described in Manchu. This novel credited the court eunuch, Tsao Chun-hua, known as the Black Premier, as the instigator for the debauchery of the nineteen-year-old Chung Chen emperor. The setting was the seventeenth century when the Tartars threatened to overthrow the Ming dynasty. The Black Premier held no official government position but his power was immense for he controlled the emperor's personal secret police. At the pinnacle of power, Tsao Chun-hua was also chief of the Armed Security Force, a branch of the Secret Police which numbered forty thousand. The gaudy uniforms of these men were draped with heavily embroidered yellow mantles, hence they were known as the Flamboyant Cloaks.

The Black Premier never distanced himself from the young emperor. He encouraged the ruler to indulge in sex with both females and males, to drink late into the night

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<sup>103</sup>Elegant, Manchu, 53.

and to smoke opium. These excesses caused the lethargic emperor to show little interest in his duties. The youth allowed the eunuch to attend to the affairs of state. Conservative mandarins did not oppose the Black Premier for they preferred a status quo with no reforms or changes that an energetic young emperor might advocate.<sup>104</sup> Thus, the inertia of the throne was a contributing factor to a change in the mandate of heaven.

The Black Premier characterized by Elegant was referenced in China, Tradition and Transformation. In 1620, a fifteen-year-old emperor ascended the imperial throne. The youth allowed his nurse's close friend, the eunuch Wei Chung-hsien (1568-1627) to take over the government. Wei was fortified by a small but effective eunuch army which controlled the palace and headed a network of spies throughout the empire. The eunuch recruited unprincipled bureaucrats, purged his enemies and levied new taxes. The eunuch evil reached its zenith. This was under the heading, "The End of Ming Rule."<sup>105</sup>

Fairbank and Reischauer divided the traditional society of China into four classes. At the apex was the scholar-administrator and it must be remembered that these mandarins wrote the histories. In descending order were the farmers,

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<sup>104</sup>Ibid., 48-54.

<sup>105</sup>Fairbank and Reischauer, China, 208.

the artisan and the merchant.<sup>106</sup> It can readily be noticed that occupations placed one in a social class. It was during the Chou period, 8th century B.C., that the four classes were placed in a hierarchy. The old landed aristocrats feared the wealthy merchants who were expanding in numbers during a period of technological and economic growth. Therefore to insure the prestige of the old orders, the theory was propagated of the four classes with the merchants on the bottom. This structure existed for two millenniums.<sup>107</sup> The eighth century, under T'ang leadership, introduced the word "gentry" which denoted a shift in society. A new land tax broadened the traditional landowner to include land owners with mercantile heritage.<sup>108</sup> The scholarly administrators came primarily from the gentry class. The novels, prior to the twentieth century, follow this same hierarchy of scholar-administrator, farmer, artisan and merchant. The one notable difference in several novels, the common soldier was placed as the lowest of the low. In The Good Earth, Wang Lung was devastated when his son expressed the desire to be a soldier. The father said, "My son, it is from ancient times that men do not take good iron to make a nail nor a good man to make a soldier and you are my little son, my best little youngest son, and how shall I sleep at night and you are wandering over the earth here and there in a war?"<sup>109</sup>

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<sup>106</sup>Ibid., 16.

<sup>107</sup>Ibid., 34.

<sup>108</sup>Ibid., 117.

<sup>109</sup>Buck, The Good Earth, 244.

This belief that only inferior men would consider lower military ranks is duplicated in Mandarin. Elegant points out that even though a merchant may be wealthy and powerful, he was placed beneath the mandarin and farmers and above the despised soldiers in Confucian society. Soldiers and merchants would gain respect once China interacted to a greater extent with the West.<sup>110</sup>

The subject of The Warlord was the role of military men. Bosse describes the warlord era of the 1920s. One reason that soldiers were scorned was their tendency to plunder. Therefore, the populace resented the presence of soldiers for they often conducted themselves as bandits. "Soldiers get paid sometimes. Bandits have to fend for themselves. But when the warlords don't have the money, their soldiers become bandits."<sup>111</sup> The salaries were low even when the funds were available. Thus a general would try to lure soldiers from other armies with the promise of increased wages. For example, in The Warlord, General Jen Chen-i offered a sliding scale of rewards for men who deserted from other generals' troops. The salary for a private who switched sides would increase from \$10 to \$20, a private with a rifle would be offered \$40, an officer who came with a machine gun would deserve \$500 and an officer

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<sup>110</sup>Elegant, Mandarin, 47-48.

<sup>111</sup>Bosse, The Warlord, 40.

who deserted with a piece of field artillery would reap \$1,000. Defection was the way of Chinese warfare.<sup>112</sup>

The old axiom that good iron is not used to make nails was also expressed in The Warlord. Yet with the passage of time and the interaction with western countries, attitudes changed toward the career soldier. General Tang explained why he became a soldier rather than a scholar, even though his uncle would have provided funds for his education. Tang's mother wanted Tang to be a scholar like his maternal grandfather, for she knew a scholar was more respectable. Contrary to this preference, Tang's mother married a soldier. The elders of her family foresaw the inevitability of the fall of the Manchu dynasty and knew troubled times prevailed when there was a change in the mandate of heaven. A general in the family would be a boon, so the marriage of Tang's parents was arranged. Tang dismissed the desire of his mother and chose to become a soldier like his father instead of a scholar like his grandfather. The son demonstrated Confucian filial piety in becoming a military man rather than a scholar because he could not bear to rise higher than his father. Tang's career choice also demonstrated that he was a practical man because the military was crucial in China at the time.<sup>113</sup>

Class structure and occupations were intertwined. This is evident in the selected novels. The hierarchy within the

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<sup>112</sup>Ibid., 541.

<sup>113</sup>Ibid., 351-352.

compound of a gentryman was described in Jade. The top position belonged to the retired grandfather who enjoyed the fruits of his old age in the quiet beauty of his own courtyard and apartment. The second most important personage was the eldest son, who was now the head of the family in deference to his father's age. The son was a deputy-governor of a province of Hunan. His first wife was the most revered person in the women's apartments. This wife, a product of an arranged marriage, entered the compound as a young girl in a closed bridal chair and seldom left. The women's quarters also housed the secondary wife, her children and a widowed aunt who was childless.

The eldest son of the deputy-governor was given highest priority among the children with the others following according to gender and age. Occupations determined rank of the unrelated entourage who dwelt within the vast house. They were listed as the children's guards, cooks, gardeners, gatekeepers, seamstresses, groom, tutors, personal servants, scribes, secretaries, messengers, chair bearers, fowl and pig keepers, skivvies, slaves, enfeebled old retainers, an idiot boy, a rag picker and a scavenger.<sup>114</sup>

Examples found in an engaging book stimulate the student to appreciate the complexity of social status and occupations in China. Characters from various vocations will become so meaningful to the reader that the reader will

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<sup>114</sup>Barr, Jade, 21-22.

empathize, admire, scorn, or at least better understand the actions of various personages from the lowly peasant to the scholar. Character development in novels best illustrates the social hierarchy and privileges of rank.

A metamorphosis occurred in Chinese society in the twentieth century. The social hierarchy changed as the rank of various vocations altered and new occupations were introduced. In response to industrialization, which was fostered by western influence, an entrepreneurial class of Chinese appeared. The ancient division of classes were shaken with the introduction of new classes; merchant-entrepreneurs, factory laborers, and modern-style students. The latter were educated in cities and abroad rather than at home under tutelage. Rural life declined as the core of Chinese society in urban centers grew in population and desirability. Landlords began to move to the city, leaving others in charge of their acreage. Their absences created a void of local leadership and protection. The landless, illiterate peasant's living standard was lowered, and he feared bandits as well as marauding warlord armies. Their coolie labor was cheaper than ever.<sup>115</sup>

The new born student class, especially the "returning student" from abroad, saw themselves as the class to lead mass movements to modernize China. Students primarily went to Japan, the United States and France, in that order. Three

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<sup>115</sup>Fairbank and Reischauer, China, 430.



government universities existed in China by 1917, of which the most acclaimed was the Peking National University.<sup>116</sup> Students instigated demonstrations for nationalism.

The Maoist revolution jolted the social classes to greater extremes. The fruition of Mao's policies was evident in the 1950s as the communist government consolidated their power. Concentration was first in the villages and countryside, then the cities. Land reform moved toward collective farms and the peasant who had formally been under the conservative gentry was now a participant in local decision making which was steered by party appointees. Just as the mandarin was earlier eliminated, so was the entrepreneur. Banking, industry and trade were nationalized. The Chinese Communist Party (CCP) controlled China.<sup>117</sup> The CCP central Committee forced-draft industrialization under ambitious five-year plans, the first of which was 1953-1957.<sup>118</sup>

Three Daughters of Madame Liang described the transition of social classes in twentieth century China. Madame Liang was an activist in the revolutionary movement under Sun Yat-sen. This book depicted the fervor of the passion of youth as they tried to transform dynastic China into a more democratic nation. In her mature years, she

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<sup>116</sup>Ibid., 431.

<sup>117</sup>The Chinese Communist Party is shortened to CCP, initials which will frequently be used in this study.

<sup>118</sup>Ibid., 494-496.

was an observer during the communist revolution and a survivor who adapted to live comfortably under the new system. One transformation noted by Madame Liang was the change in the social structure. In the new doctrine, those who were below were now above--the landlords, the gentry and the scholars had lost their positions to the soldier, the party members and the peasants. She mused that Chairman Mao was reared in between classes. He actually belonged to no class, for the literate considered him a landlord. Mao chose to use the peasant to elevate him to a high position.<sup>119</sup> The new elite were now the members of the Chinese Communist Party.

#### Holidays

Holidays were not mentioned in the textbooks, China, Tradition and Transformation and The Far East. Holidays did not receive extraordinary treatment in the selected novels. The one most frequently mentioned was the celebration of the New Year. Jade described the festive activities on New Year's Eve in a wealthy magistrate's home. All relatives assembled in the great ancestral hall to celebrate the completion of another year. The occasion was accentuated as:

Servants dashed about with piles of food, pots of tea, jars of wine; beyond the courtyard walls bells tolled merrily, firecrackers rattled, gongs banged, smells of incense,<sup>120</sup> burned powder, perfumes and boiled crabs hung in the air.

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<sup>119</sup>Buck, The Three Daughters of Madame Liang, 103.

<sup>120</sup>Barr, Jade, 42.

Visitors called on the family during New Year's day bearing long red cards of felicitations while children spent many hours entertaining themselves by flying kites.<sup>121</sup> Several of the novels stated that the superstitious read signs into the happenings of the day to predict an auspicious or inauspicious coming year.

Manchu noted the piping sound of whistles, attached to doves, that were heard as the birds were released to the freedom of flight in the celebration of the lunar New Year.<sup>122</sup> Ushering in the New Year was the singular holiday of foremost importance.

The Ching Ming festival was described by Pat Barr. This was a spring ritual for a trek to the countryside to pay homage to the ancestral tombs. The procession was by rank order. First were the elders of the family who were carried on the shoulders of servants in their closed sedan chairs. The magistrates wore a fur-bordered conical hat and a brocade cloak. The ladies had two umbrellas, one for sun and one for rain, and empty baskets to fill with wild flowers. The younger members of the family followed mounted on horses. The last in the entourage were the servants, who walked. The parade had an aura of excitement and a holiday spirit pronounced by the display of paper pennons of ancestral banners. These banners were placed on the graves when the procession reached the site of the tombs. The first order

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<sup>121</sup>Ibid., 48.

<sup>122</sup>Elegant, Manchu, 54.

of the day was to bow, clap hands and pray before the tombs in unison. The remainder of the day was spent roaming the hillside, riding, gathering flowers, catching crickets, and listening to ballads played by wandering musicians on their bamboo flutes. Elderly relatives conversed with those whom they had last seen at the clan gathering on New Year's while they nibbled on watermelons, peaches, and loquats. Barr pointed out that in picking flowers only those with an uneven number of branches were snipped; the choice numbers were three, five, or seven. The goal was to create a vase of flowers of one color and an uneven number of branches for a harmonious whole. Even numbers were considered lucky.<sup>123</sup>

New Year's and the Ching Ming festival were annually observed. There were other important observances for those who could afford the trip. The Warlord emphasized a pilgrimage to the sacred mountain of Tai Shan. Wealthy pilgrims journeyed to the westerly mountain and when the destination was reached, they slowly climbed the sacred mountain by foot with a stop at each temple.<sup>124</sup>

#### Mannerisms

Appreciation for mannerisms, customs, and items unique to the culture of China are developed best in novels. It is through the vicarious experience received when the student identifies with a character in a novel that he begins to

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<sup>123</sup>Barr, Jade, 79-81.

<sup>124</sup>Bosse, Warlord, 522, 569.

understand the nature and thought structure of the Chinese. This feeling intensifies through extensive reading and the student develops an instinct for what is Chinese and what is not. He also learns the local peculiarities of the varied regions of China by reading novels staged in different provinces. For example, the reader could distinguish the culinary difference in Cantonese and Peking duck or know of the fondness of the Hunanese for hot peppers. The student would be aware that Orientals wear white clothing to funerals rather than the customary black attire of westerners. A polite form of greeting was a bow instead of the western handshake. Merchandise is wrapped in paper and tied with string instead of being placed in a paper sack as is the practice in the United States. The avid reader would learn that habits betray nervousness in the Chinese such as a spasmodic laugh or the jiggling of the left knee.<sup>125</sup> Chinese knock on a door with the palm of the hand rather than the knuckles. Some of the Chinese customs seem strange to the alien, such as seating the guest of honor to the left instead of the right and serving soup at the end of the meal. Only travel or lengthy residence in China could accentuate an awareness of Chinese mannerisms greater than novels.

Several traditional customs, such as the binding of feet, have already been mentioned in this chapter. Bound feet were distinctive to Chinese culture, as was the queue.

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<sup>125</sup>Elegant, Dynasty, 224.

Students probably have preconceived ideas about the appearance of a Chinese coolie. The laborer is typically pictured wearing a pointed straw hat, pajama style clothing and a long pigtail hanging down his back. Few readers know the origin of this plaited hairstyle and it is not explained in most textbooks. Robert Elegant gave the origin of the braided hair in a conversation between the European (Arrowsmith) and his Chinese friend, Joseph. In the mid-seventeenth century, Tartars, or Manchus as they preferred to be called, invaded China from the north. They became the rulers of China as the mandate of heaven passed to them from the decadent Ming dynasty. The queue was a Tartar hair style. The conquerors forced all outsiders in service of the new regime to imitate the braid which openly acknowledged their subservience. This applied to men of all status, even nobles, generals and mandarins.<sup>126</sup> Gradually the queue became a source of national identity.

The appearance of a Chinese person denoted his status. If one had dark brown, swarthy skin and scarred hands, the person was a laborer who spent hours in the sun; contrarily if the skin was pale and the fingernails were long, the person was of the gentry class who did no manual labor.<sup>127</sup> The traditional Chinese lady had pale skin and bound feet,

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<sup>126</sup>Elegant, Manchu, 212.

<sup>127</sup>The right little fingernail was especially long. Buck, The Three Daughters of Madame Liang, 44, 114.

whereas the peasant woman's skin was dark and her feet were unbound. After the communist revolution, these obvious distinctions of status changed. Chairman Mao decreed that scholars must also learn to work with their hands. In his zeal to eradicate distinctions he went to the extreme of eradicating time zones. All clocks in the vast country were set to mark the same time. Mao commanded "that the country and its citizens would be a single entity, living at the same tempo and under the same condition."<sup>128</sup> It is not the nature of all humans to want to be the same. All comrades, both men and women, wore black tunics and baggy trousers, but over time individuality and status subtly reappeared. Comrades in leadership positions wore the ubiquitous garb, but the buttoned jacket with the narrow upstanding collar was often tailored and made of fine English wool.<sup>129</sup>

Etiquette was a means used to promote Confucian harmony in traditional China. Filial piety and the five relationships defined earlier in this chapter were cornerstones for creating order and propriety. A well bred Chinese respected elders to the extent that one was silent in their presence and it was unthinkable to correct an error made by a senior. Scholars were held in high esteem. In deference to his wisdom, the expected reply of the classical pupil to a teacher was, "Please teach me."<sup>130</sup>

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<sup>128</sup> Ibid., 209.

<sup>129</sup> Ibid., 26.

<sup>130</sup> Ibid., 124.

Manners promoted self-depreciation. In The Good Earth, the housewife belittled her culinary arts no matter how perfect the delicacy. In Manchu, the courtier began every address to the emperor with flattery. In welcoming a superior, the one of lower status verbalized that the greeting was unworthy of a high rank. A courteous person sat at the place of least importance. One never disputed a guest at home. Courtesy was always shown to others.

Familiarity was considered bad manners. It would offend a superior's dignity if a person of lower rank touched him in public, such as a gesture of a hand laid on an arm.<sup>131</sup> This was not a back-slapping society! It was unseemly to display public emotion or affection. Looking fully on others was frowned upon, especially for a lady. An attribute for a lady was shyness, she glanced at a gentleman sideways and drooped her head, because it was rude to stare.<sup>132</sup>

A mannerly person was not loud or obtrusive. For example, if one wanted to attract the attention of an elder who was reading, a discrete cough would be a polite way of making one's presence know.<sup>133</sup> An object, such as an envelope, was offered to a person with both hands, never with just one hand. When the recipient read a note, the messenger turned his back to give the reader privacy.<sup>134</sup>

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<sup>131</sup>Elegant, Manchu, 460.

<sup>132</sup>Buck, The Three Daughters of Madame Liang, 26.

<sup>133</sup>Ibid., 164.

<sup>134</sup>Ibid., 283.



The exception to quietness being preferred to loudness was at the dinner table. Several of the novels hinted that before the guest crossed his chopsticks on his plate at the close of the repast he should have chewed and sucked noisily to indicate appreciation of a good meal. Chinese also supped tea loudly.

The Chinese regarded Occidentals as curiosities, especially when Europeans first visited China. Cultured Orientals gazed at westerners as if the outsider were invisible, for it was rude to stare at the hairy arms and blue eyes of these tall, large framed men whose hair was not all the same color. Peasants ignored the original outlandish foreigners because they were beyond their comprehension.<sup>135</sup> These strange people also had a body odor that the Asians found offensive. After observing and smelling the stench of the Caucasians, as well as noticing their lack of correct Confucian conduct, the Chinese were reinforced in their belief of their own superiority.

The belief in Chinese superiority was considered as a fact. A tutor declared to his pupil:

We who are Chinese must remember at all times that we are the superior people of this earth. All people look up to us. We are the most civilized, the nearest to the gods. All others are barbarians in varying degrees.<sup>136</sup>

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<sup>135</sup>Elegant, Manchu, 34.

<sup>136</sup>Buck, The Three Daughters of Madame Liang, 35.

A populace ingrained with this attitude seldom had members who desired to marry foreigners, but it was not forbidden to do so. It is noteworthy that this feeling was not always reciprocal. The founding emperor of the Ming dynasty used the instrument of marriage to reduce his Mongol predecessors into oblivion.<sup>137</sup> He decreed that no Mongols could intermarry. Therefore, their only choice was to marry Chinese and thus they lost their Mongol identity with the passing of generations.<sup>138</sup>

Chinese were intrigued with the first Europeans who entered their country. The Europeans introduced unusual musical instruments and outlandish melodies. The measured harmonies were grating on Oriental ears just as the disjointed tinkling Asian music was to the Occidental ears. When the foreign women originally came to live in China, their dress was as strange as their husbands'. These women with big noses and round eyes had a peculiar habit in the winter of wrapping a dead animal around their neck.<sup>139</sup> Aliens were also ignorant in practical matters. The Americans always tipped too much. If an American rode comfortably on the shoulders of men in a sedan chair, or if they were pulled by men in a ricksha, these foolish people seldom bargained for a price before the ride began and

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<sup>137</sup>The Ming was the last of the native Chinese dynasties, 1368-1644, preceded by Mongols and followed by Manchus, both of whom were alien.

<sup>138</sup>Elegant, Manchu, 82.      <sup>139</sup>Buck, The Good Earth, 93.

overpaid the coolie in the end. This problem was eliminated by the communist regime, as they discontinued the custom of tipping.

The Chinese customarily considered themselves a superior race. They have also refined various forms of art over the centuries. The artist did not copy from life. Instead, the painter gazed upon a scene and meditated. Then they painted the results of their thoughts, which is the essence of what was seen as a reality.<sup>140</sup> The artist not only painted on scrolls to adorn walls, but also upon folding screens that were used as decorative room dividers. The creative person was not confined to the brush with oils nor to calligraphy with ink. There were numerous forms of art in China such as embroidery, carving, sculpture and crafting furniture with inlaid mother-of-pearl. The talent required to hand carve ivory statues has not been lost in the twentieth century. The production of ivory objects is continued in Canton, but machines frequently replace craftsmen in carving the pieces.

The Chinese have always been inventive people. Fairbank and Reischauer stated that the flow of cultural influences from China westward might have exceeded the opposite flow as early as the Han dynasty, 202 BC - 8 AD. The Chinese are credited with developing the water-powered mill, the shoulder collar for draft animals, iron casting,

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<sup>140</sup> Buck, The Three Daughters of Madame Liang, 222.

gun powder, lacquer, silk, and of course, the greatest of their inventions, paper and porcelain. Knowledge transfer was slow, it took more than a thousand years for the knowledge of paper-making to spread to Europe.<sup>141</sup> The Chinese used a wheelbarrow on narrow footpaths as a primary means of transport for centuries before it reached the West. Marco Polo was impressed with coal when he saw it in the thirteenth century. Coal had been used in north China since the fourth century.<sup>142</sup> No wonder the Chinese thought of Europeans as backwards.

Pearl Buck commented that even though the ancient Chinese invented gunpowder, the emperor wisely announced it should only be used for fireworks and firecrackers. Inventors understood the principles of rocketry, but the humane emperor curtailed its development so that weapons would not be devised to kill the innocent. The men of wisdom saw no honor in war, because victory did not necessarily go to the just, but to the one who killed first, or killed the most.<sup>143</sup>

Pearl Buck also wrote of the maritime accomplishments of the Chinese. They invented the sternpost rudder 1,200 years before the Europeans. The Chinese designed fore-and-aft sails in the third century and 500 years later they were

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<sup>141</sup>Fairbank and Reischauer, China, 77.

<sup>142</sup>Ibid., 111.

<sup>143</sup>Buck, The Three Daughters of Madame Liang, 161.

using a treadmill paddle wheel for boats. When the British first arrived in the East, they were surprised to see warships with rams and twenty paddle wheels. The English thought theirs had been copied. Little did they realize that Chinese sailors had traveled to Sumatra, India, Aden, Africa and Madagascar before the Portuguese rounded the Cape of Good Hope.<sup>144</sup>

The concept of yin and yang is an important Chinese tradition. The only reference to this concept in The Far East is that the yin-yang (negative-positive) was an early school of political thought. It, along with other minor pre-Christian era movements, left little evidence concerning their theories of political action.<sup>145</sup> Fairbank and Reischauer give great attention to the concept of yin and yang. In China yin and yang is described as one of the philosophical teachings of "The Hundred Schools" that flourished during the late Chou dynasty, 1027-256 B.C. This text states that:

One school, which might be called Naturalists, consisted of men who attempted to explain nature's working on the basis of certain cosmic principles. One of these concepts was the basic dualism of nature: yang is male, light, hot, active; yin is female, dark, cold, passive. Unlike the dualism of the Mediterranean world, in which good and evil are in perpetual conflict, yin and yang are mutually complimentary and balancing. The greater yang grows, the sooner it will yield to yin; the sun at noon is starting to give way to night . . . Actually the yin-yang concept often seems more useful than Western

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<sup>144</sup>Ibid., 189.

<sup>145</sup>Clyde and Beers, The Far East, 31.

dualism for analyzing nature and also human affairs. It neatly fits the rhythms of day and night, summer and winter, and the balancing roles of male and female . . . one might say that Confucianism is the yang of Chinese thought and Taoism the yin.<sup>146</sup>

The symbol for yin-yang is one that most students would recognize for it is used in the center of the flag of the Republic of Korea.

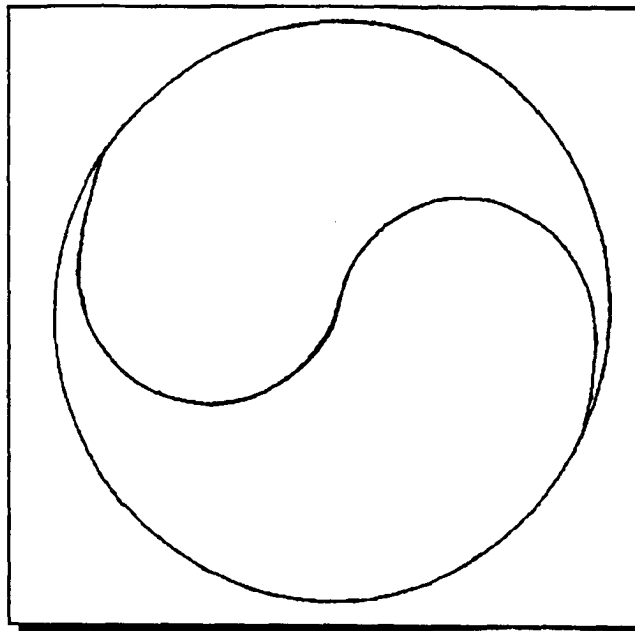


Fig. 3. Symbol of Yin-yang

Fairbank and Reischauer cite yin-yang dualism in explaining the shift in power when the mandate of heaven transferred from a decaying dynasty to an emerging dynasty which was gradually encroaching from the periphery of the empire. This concept is used frequently in China to describe the shift of political power. The yin-yang philosophy is

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<sup>146</sup>Fairbank and Reischauer, China, 49-50.

commonplace in the novels used in this dissertation. An illustration found in Manchu staged a conversation between a young lady and her grandfather. The dialogue defined yin as the female principle and yang as the male principle, and stated further that yin prevailed over yang.<sup>147</sup>

Pearl Buck placed yin and yang in a medical context which gave the reader another perspective. in Three Daughters of Madame Liang, a modern medical doctor cited I-Ching, a classic written five thousand years ago during the Chou dynasty. The aged doctor told Grace, one of the three daughters, that the blood contained two types of blood which worked together in balance. One type of blood was controlled by yin, the principle of darkness and other by yang, the principle of light. The girl deducted that the double blood discovered by the ancient Chinese was blood in the veins and blood in the arteries. She was instructed by her teacher to study the eight trigrams.<sup>148</sup>

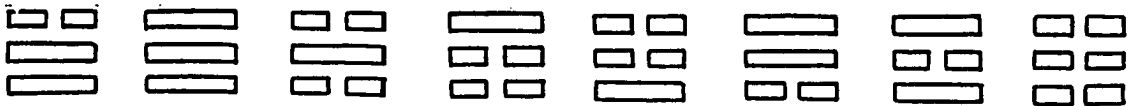


Fig. 4. Eight Trigrams

<sup>147</sup>Elegant, Manchu, 82.

<sup>148</sup>The eight trigrams are all the possibilities of grouping three line combinations of complete or broken lines.

Her teacher said:

Observe here the eight kua! These are the changes of nature, flowing together, yet in opposition, the one coming in as the other goes out. This is the eternal motion of life, a duality of positive and negative, equally valuable and each indispensable to the other. Thus, there can be no light without the contrast of darkness, no day without night, no summer without winter, no autumn without spring, no strength without weakness, no male without female. Within each yang there is also yin; within each yin there must be yang. When the balance is disturbed, disease attacks.<sup>149</sup>

Acupuncture was practiced in deference to yin and yang.

Dr. Tseng in The Three Daughters of Madame Liang, defined acupuncture as the science of the ducts of the human body. The ducts were called meridians and there were 365 places in the body where they surfaced on the skin. The elderly physician believed the ducts, skin and organs were all part of the same system and were subject to changes of yin and yang. In the practice of this Oriental medical procedure, the doctor selected a needle from an array of nine. The correct needle was pierced into the skin at the proper point for varying lengths of time, depending upon the problem. Dr. Tseng explained that the purpose of the insertion of the needle was to decrease or increase a fluid and the needle should be injected slowly and cautiously. The attending physician should be mindful of all bodily signs, coloring and pulse before proceeding. In order to easily insert the needle, the patient would be diverted by being instructed to cough. At the moment of the cough,

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<sup>149</sup>Buck, The Three Daughters of Madame Liang, 155.



the needle was inserted. Memory and years of experience determined whether the needle should remain in place from a few minutes to an hour or longer. The type of needle and length of insertion differed with diseases. Dr. Tseng did not believe in simultaneously practicing old and new types of medicine for the body would be perplexed and the yin and yang would be placed out of harmony.<sup>150</sup>

Pat Barr used the concept of yin and yang to define the emotion of love between a woman and a man. In Jade, the character Lin Fu-wei believed that age gave him a better understanding of the polarity of the yin and the yang; the shady and the sunny, the yielding and the firm, and the feminine and the masculine. Lin concluded that the needs and capacities of woman and man were equal. He felt that a couple were like two sides of a roof, each need the other for support and there should be neither a winner or a loser in love.<sup>151</sup>

Malcolm Bosse familiarizes the student with the philosophy of yin and yang by using an ink stone. The oblong stone was white jade that was so highly polished the creator must have used crushed garnet as an abrasive to produce such a fine grain. White was an unusual color for an ink stone. When the writer ground black ink sticks in the trough, the result was light and dark, yang and yin.<sup>152</sup>

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<sup>150</sup> Ibid., 116-119.

<sup>151</sup> Barr, Jade, 524.

<sup>152</sup> Bosse, The Warlord, 501.

Numerology has fascinated the people of China over the years. Chinese customarily consulted omens or signs for numbers that might influence their lives, such as the arrangement of tea leaves in a cup. Fairbank and Reischauer stated that one of the concepts of the ancient naturalists was that all nature was composed of various arrangements of the "five elements" which were wood, metal, fire, water and earth. Astrology and numerology combined to produce infinite possibilities which employed additional categories of five; color, tastes, sound, planets and direction. Added to astrology and numerology were the signs of the calendar. If these studies were applied to the terrain, a pseudo-science called geomancy (feng-shui, or "wind and water") could determine the best location for houses, graves, temples or other structures.<sup>153</sup> In Spring Moon, a geomancer was consulted for selecting the best date for a funeral. The peasant, Wang Lung, religiously consulted a geomancer in The Good Earth. A geomancer threw down a handful of dirt and practiced divination by reading the figure made by the clumps of soil or the geomancer read meaning into random dots or lines.

General Tang in The Warlord delighted in numerology. He mused that the least important number was six and the most important number was fifteen. Fifteen superceded all other numbers because three, which signified birth, plus five,

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<sup>153</sup>Fairbank and Reischauer, China, 50.

which signified life, plus seven, which signified death, equaled fifteen. The magical grouping of numbers that added up to fifteen in any straight line were:

4	9	2
3	5	7
8	1	6

The general made important moves on the auspicious date of the fifteenth.<sup>154</sup>

Sir Jonathan Seklong in Dynasty consulted a fortune-teller. The soothsayer used two methods to determine his client's horoscope. First, he read the Trigrams, and then he consulted the Tortoise Shell. The fortune-teller shook a carved lacquer cylinder to allow several five-inch-long bamboo sticks to fall on the top of the table. He then gathered all but three and replaced them in the cylinder. The sage repeated this procedure eight times. Before he made a prediction to Sir Jonathan, the fortune-teller pursued the ritual of the Tortoise Shell six times. In this ritual, he let three ancient coins drop from the polished shell and evaluated their fall. The sage pondered the results of the two rituals and pronounced his conclusion from the combination of the two.

The last custom to be considered in this chapter is the appreciation of the Chinese for the wisdom of the ages. This is evidenced by the perpetual quoting of ancient

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<sup>154</sup>Bosse, The Warlord, p. 496.

philosophers. Confucius has been quoted most, even by the communist leaders, such as Mao, who desired to make drastic changes. This ancient civilization maintained continuity through governmental upheavals and partially through the guidance of the wisdom preserved in books. An example, other than the renowned Confucian writings, was the Sun-tzu, the classic on military arts written during the late Chou period. Fairbank and Reischauer included one quote from Sun-tzu: "Know yourself, know your opponent; in a hundred battles, win a hundred victories" (Chih-chi chih-pi pai-chan pai sheng).<sup>155</sup> This famous quote of the great strategist was included in several of the novels selected for this study.

The writers of this group of novels stressed that the Chinese were both practical and pragmatic. Pearl Buck quoted the common sense warning from the Art of War, "If you are not in danger, do not fight."<sup>156</sup> Robert Elegant added that if there is danger, make alliances with a distant enemy against a nearer enemy, which was advice from Sun-tze.<sup>157</sup> In Manchu, the study of Sun-tze was considered imperative for military officers. Over the centuries educated men memorized Sun-tze and implemented his directives. Sun-tze authored the Thirteen Strategic Precepts which exposed him as akin to Europeans such as Caesar and Machiavelli. The thirteenth

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<sup>155</sup>Fairbank and Reischauer, China, 285, 557.

<sup>156</sup>Buck, The Three Daughters of Madame Liang, 189.

<sup>157</sup>Elegant, Dynasty, 390.

precept centered on secret agents. The famous general thought it was prudent to ferret out enemy agents who were spying on you, after which they should be spared their lives for rendering service to you. The double agent could be further enticed by the bribe of gifts.<sup>158</sup> Subtlety, double-dealing and duplicity were considered admirable characteristics for good military strategy. Successful generals diligently studied their intelligence reports before maneuvers. Sun-tze encouraged clandestine operations by stating, ". . . only the enlightened sovereign, who can intelligently utilize highly intelligent agents, is certain to achieve great results."<sup>159</sup> The mandarin featured in Manchu, Paul Hsü, gave an analogy which summed up Sun-tze's counsel on the fundamental role of espionage: "an army without spies is like a man without eyes or ears."<sup>160</sup> The eyes and ears of a leader were his secret agents.

Lenience was not tolerated by Sun-tze. Discipline in the military service was harsh. The ancient general counseled: "If troops are loyal, but punishments are not enforced, it is impossible to employ them."<sup>161</sup> The advice of Sun-tze was sought not only by dynastic leaders, but by communist leaders as well.

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<sup>158</sup>Elegant, Manchu, 94-95. Sun-tze was written Sün Tze in this edition.

<sup>159</sup>Ibid., 129.

<sup>160</sup>Ibid.

<sup>161</sup>Ibid. 191.

A complete picture of a country cannot be derived from a study of history textbooks. The text would inform a student of the chronological series of events which occurred within the country, its leaders and its interface with other nations. The text might describe the philosophy, religion, ethics, art, literature, education, accomplishments, and sociological structure of the populace. What is missing? The soul of the people. Novels can complete the study of a country by easily and liberally interspersing the customs, mannerisms and even bodily gestures throughout the narrative. The customs of a nation make its character unique. Presenting the ideas of what determines the psyche of the Chinese is the forte of the novel. That is why selected novels should be included on reading lists of undergraduates who study the history of China.

## CHAPTER III

### EVENTS IN CHINESE HISTORY AS DEPICTED BY WESTERN NOVELS

The nine novels will now be considered in greater detail as each pertains to a specific period of history. They will be taken in chronological order, although several of the books overlap. The first to be considered is the seventeenth century novel, Manchu, by Robert Elegant. This book ushered the reader into a time of transition when the "mandate of heaven" was being transferred from the Ming dynasty to the superior military force of the Manchus. This chapter will illustrate how a novel can offer an extra dimension to an event in history that a scholarly text cannot. The text may present the sweep of history in a most readable manner. A novel can place characters in a historical setting to voice bias, goals, or aspirations of the people of a particular time frame.

#### Early Encounters With Westerners

The date of the initial contact between China and Europe is unknown. Fairbank and Reischauer placed the first direct encounter during the T'ang dynasty (c. 600-900 A.D.). These scholars credited the spirit of tolerance that pervaded the early T'ang Empire for facilitating these contacts. Trade flourished during the T'ang Empire. New products were introduced to China; beverages, such as tea, from Southeast

Asia and furniture, such as the chair, from Europe. T'ang China perfected earlier inventions of paper and porcelain and developed new items such as gun powder and the wheelbarrow. During the ensuing trade, the foreign merchants who entered China were allowed to practice their respective religions. This tolerance facilitated the entrance of Judaism, Islam, and the Nestorian branch of Christianity into China. In the seventeenth century, a stone stele was discovered in Ch'ang-an that had been erected in 781 A.D. This monument certified that Nestorian missionaries traveled to T'ang China. Western regions were later eliminated in the religious persecutions of 841-845 A.D., with the exception of small isolated communities of Judaism that existed until the nineteenth century.<sup>1</sup>

Robert Elegant mentioned the remnants of the Nestorian Christians and Judaism in the novel, Manchu. In one scene Elegant described how the European character, Arrowsmith, encountered a caravan crowded in a narrow street of the Tartar capital of Mukden in 1632. The Bactrians,<sup>2</sup> laden with raw wool and carpets, were led by Turkyi traders from inner Asia. Arrowsmith assumed the members of the band were Moslem; as a Christian, he crossed himself in the presence of infidels. The European was astonished when one of the

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<sup>1</sup>Fairbank and Reischauer, China, 110-111.

<sup>2</sup>Camels with two humps. They are native to central Asia and are shorter and hairier than Arabian camels.



Turkyi traders crossed himself in acknowledgement and waved. Arrowsmith surmised the trader must have been a Nestorian Christian for the faith had been introduced in inner Asia almost a thousand years earlier.<sup>3</sup>

Arrowsmith heard tales of how lost tribes of Israel settled in China. His curiosity led him to trace Father Matteo Ricci's journey to Kaifeng, where the Jesuit had discovered a Hebrew community. Arrowsmith was disappointed to find only thirteen families, whereas Ricci had reported several hundred on his visit forty years earlier. The descendants of the Hebrews spoke only Chinese and looked more Chinese than Caucasian although their beards were heavier and their noses were larger than most Chinese. Remnants of their Jewish heritage consisted of abstinence of pork in the diet, the ritual of admitting boys to manhood at thirteen, and pride in a scroll written in Hebrew which they could not read.<sup>4</sup>

China was reopened to Europeans during the Mongol rule (1260-1368). This time frame was an interlude between eras of Arab-Turkish control of central Asia and the Near East. With the barriers removed during the Mongol century, trade routes resumed. The four primary routes were: the hard journey through the steppe of Southern Russia; the ancient Silk Route across the Black Sea and through central Asia; the route via sea to Syria and the Crusader states, then

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<sup>3</sup>Elegant, Manchu, 220-221.

<sup>4</sup>Ibid., 292-300.

through Baghdad and central Asia; or the sea route through the Indian Ocean and around Southeast Asia. These travelers left few written records.<sup>5</sup> Among the early visitors were: a Franciscan, John de Plano Carpini, in 1246; two French embassies in 1249 and 1252; two Venetian brothers, Nicolo and Maffeo Polo, in 1264; and the Roman missionary, John of Montecorvino, during the early fourteenth century.<sup>6</sup>

The merchants, Nicolo and Maffeo Polo, and Nicolo's son, Marco, entered the service of the Kublai Khan in 1275. Marco Polo wrote his famous book, Description of the World, after he returned to Europe. At the time of young Marco's employment, the Nestorian church had twenty-five metropolitan sees in China. The Kublai Khan's own mother was a Nestorian Christian and a Nestorian archbishopric was established at Peking by the Patriarch in Baghdad in 1275. The Roman Catholic church also penetrated China under the Mongol rule. John of Montecorvino built a Catholic church in Peking where six thousand converts were reportedly baptized. Montecorvino taught Gregorian chants to 150 choirboys. The unfamiliar cadence of European music pleased the emperor. Christian inroads progressed until the end of the Yuan period (1260-1368) of Mongol rule, and then again the foreign religion was terminated.<sup>7</sup>

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<sup>5</sup>Fairbank and Reischauer, China, 170.

<sup>6</sup>Clyde and Beers, The Far East, 58-59.

<sup>7</sup>Fairbank and Reischauer, China, 171.

Fairbank and Reischauer concluded that even though European merchants must have greatly outnumbered clergymen who traversed the overland route to Asia, only the merchant, Marco Polo, recorded his sojourn. When the younger Polo, was in a Genoese prison, he dictated his book to a professional romance writer. No other treatise whetted the European interest in the Orient as much as Description of the World. This great tale was based on travels that Marco Polo made during the seventeen years he was employed by the Kublai Khan (1275-1292). The book was the first to interrelate the geography, economy, and government of Chung-Kuo.<sup>8</sup> This incredulous book stated that China was superior to Europe in size, culture, and technology. Christopher Columbus had a copy of this book, in which he made notations. Over the years, Polo's itineraries were verified and many of the marvels he described, such as burnable "black stones" (coal), were adopted by westerners.<sup>9</sup> Several of the novels mentioned the travels of Marco Polo as a point of reference.

Portuguese came via the sea around Africa to Malacca by 1511. These early adventurers established trading posts in Java, Siam, Indochina and the southern coast of China. The establishment of Portuguese trading centers was perilous. The first official mission to Canton was headed by Thomas

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<sup>8</sup> Chung-Kuo, Central or Middle Kingdom, is the Chinese name for their land. Just as Celestial Kingdom is another term for China.

<sup>9</sup> Fairbank and Reischauer, China, 171-174.

Pires in 1522. The leaders of the Ming dynasty (1368-1644), who were geographically located inland at Peking, were suspicious of foreigners for they feared the barbarians might be interested in conquest. Consequently, initial attempts to install trading posts in Canton, Ningpo, and Amoy were repelled by the Chinese. The Chinese ships were more advanced than those of the Portuguese. John Sung boasted in The Three Daughters of Madame Liang:

. . . consider that we invented the sternpost rudder twelve hundred years before the Europeans did! Fore and aft sails in the third century! Treadmill paddle wheel for boats five hundred years later! Warships with rams and paddle wheels by the twelfth century . . . In the thirteenth century we had ships with fifty cabins for passengers, six-masts, double planking, water-tight compartments! Five hundred years ago we already had ships four hundred and fifty feet long, and we grew fresh vegetables aboard in tubs! We sailed the high seas to Sumatra and India, to Aden and Africa and even to Madagascar--sixty years before the Portuguese bit a piece of land from the thigh of India!<sup>10</sup>

These achievements expressed by Pearl Buck would give a student a more balanced perspective of why the proud Chinese resented encroachment from the Portuguese.

It was in Macao that the Portuguese gained a a toehold in 1557. Macao was on a peninsula in the delta south of Canton. The Ming dynasty allowed a prosperous trade to develop there under the territorial judicial, and fiscal control of the Chinese; however, the Portuguese were permitted to handle legal cases involving their own subjects. Minuscule Macao was occupied by the Portuguese at

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<sup>10</sup>Buck, The Three Daughters of Madame Liang, 189.

the dictates of the emperor. This evolved into exclusive jurisdiction in 1849 and culminated with the Protocol of Lisbon in 1887 which pronounced Macao as a Portuguese territory. Furthermore, the Europeans brought their religion with them which was accentuated with a zeal to convert Orientals to the Christian church.<sup>11</sup>

Fairbank and Reischauer presented the Jesuit entrance into China in a most readable fashion. These scholars created an image of Matteo Ricci (Chinese name, Li Ma-tou) as a formidable Caucasian who was tall, blond, blue-eyed, vigorous, and had a curly beard and a bell-like voice. He cleverly wore a Buddhist monk's robe rather than the attire of a Christian monk. Ricci used a stroke of genius when he disassociated himself from the Portuguese merchant class and aligned himself with the scholarly elite of China. The Jesuit became fluent in the Chinese language and mastered the Chinese Classics; this enabled him to converse with the elite as a Confucian scholar. Having first earned respect, Ricci could present Christianity as a system of wisdom and ethics. Ricci brought tribute to the emperor, of which the emperor was most interested in the European clocks and a clavichord. These diplomatic endeavors yielded for Matteo Ricci a residence in Peking by 1601, an imperial stipend as a scholar, and converts to Christianity. The Jesuit rose from a mere tribute-bearer to the coveted status of a man

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<sup>11</sup>Clyde and Beers, The Far East, 59-60.

of talent, which was a scholar. Collectively, the Jesuits used Ricci's techniques and converted approximately two hundred Chinese to Christianity, some of whom were ministers of state.<sup>12</sup>

Manchu described Jesuits not only as priests but as practical men who served China. Father Matteo Ricci was credited for the residence of Jesuits in Peking and this was quite a feat in a country sealed to outsiders. Other European religious orders such as the Dominicans and Franciscans were jealous of the Society of Jesus for their exclusive presence in the forbidden city. Elegant stated that this privilege was first bestowed upon Father Ricci in the year 1601, during the reign of the Wan Li emperor. The perceptive Jesuit knew he must become "as one with the Chinese" to gain equal status with the scholarly mandarin class, a necessary step in order to assure the respect needed to bring Christianity to Ming China. Elegant echoed Fairbank and Reischauer's statement that Father Ricci studied the Chinese Classics and learned the language to converse on equal terms with the learned mandarins. Ricci's skills in mathematics, astronomy, and mechanics aroused Chinese curiosity as did his European "toys" such as clocks, maps, and musical instruments. This favorable introduction facilitated the migration of more Jesuits to Peking. Future Jesuits were careful to observe Chinese customs, learn the

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<sup>12</sup>Fairbank and Reischauer, China, 244-245.

language and classics, and were honored in return by being permitted to wear the distinctive robes of the mandarin (the only difference was the absence of the embroidered insignia of rank on the Jesuits' robes). Father Ricci was given a temple to use for his church and at his death the Wan Li Emperor judged Ricci worthy of a state funeral.<sup>13</sup> Robert Elegant's account of Matteo Ricci is consistent with China by Fairbank and Reischauer. Items of interest were added by Conrad Schirokauer. He emphasized that it took Ricci eighteen strenuous years before he received his first imperial audience. During these years, Ricci switched from the Buddhist robes that were worn by Jesuits in Japan to Confucian dress which was more pleasing to the Chinese.<sup>14</sup>

Elegant featured Father Johann Adam Schall von Bell, a German who entered China in 1623 in Manchu, but there was a discrepancy in this date.<sup>15</sup> Robert Elegant presented an intimate relationship between Schall and another historical person, Paul Hsü. Fairbank and Reischauer explained that Paul Hsü was the Jesuits' most famous convert. Hsü Kuang-Chi (1562-1633) selected the Christian name of Paul and was a Christian before he passed the highest examinations. Paul

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<sup>13</sup>Elegant, Manchu, p. 56-57.

<sup>14</sup>Schirokauer, A Brief History of Chinese and Japanese Civilizations, 321.

<sup>15</sup>Elegant stated Schall entered China early in 1623 (Manchu, p. 85), but Fairbank and Reischauer date Schall's entry as 1622 (China, p. 246).

Hsü co-authored a translation of the first six books of Euclid's geometry with Ricci. It was Hsü, who as Grand Secretary, gave missionaries entree into influential circles and aided them by perfecting their Chinese writings. Together, Hsü and Schall secured western arms for the Ming emperor. Schall built, at the insistence of the court, a foundry and cast approximately twenty large guns which were used in the defense against the Manchu invasion. These facts in China were augmented with drawings of Ricci, Paul Hsü and Schall. The textbook continued with the Ch'ing retention of Schall as chief astronomer after the Manchu conquest in 1644. Schall was a familiar figure in the palace and the young emperor called him "grandpa." The Jesuits reached their pinnacle under the Manchu ruler, K'ang-hsi.<sup>16</sup>

Manchu elaborated on the relationship between Hsü and Schall in great detail. Adam Schall was described as the son of a prominent noble family. The German's height of six feet gave the appearance of an athlete rather than that of a priest. He followed the example of other Jesuits and learned the Chinese customs, classics and language. Another attribute of Schall was that he could repair, as well as play, the harpsichord that the Chun Chen Emperor enjoyed. The spiritual father's skill as a mechanic (he repaired the palace clocks) was puzzling to the Chinese who considered it below the dignity of a scholar to work with his hands.

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<sup>16</sup>Fairbank and Reischauer, China, 246-247.



The mandarins were even more dumbfounded when the emperor ordered Father Schall to cast cannon that was needed to fight against the Tartar hordes. The Rhinelander successfully cast twenty large cannons, but before any labor was performed on each of them, the workers were required to kneel at an altar which the priest had placed in the foundry. Father Schall converted several high officials, women, and even eunuchs to Christianity. After the successful Manchu invasion, Elegant described Schall's service to the new dynasty. The Jesuit was a favorite of the young Shun-Chih Emperor and the thirteen-year-old emperor seriously considered, but never accepted, Christianity.

The career of Adam Schall was firmly established under Manchu rule. The church father's talent and training in astronomy secured his position in the new court. His precise calculations, with the aid of Kepler's tables, obtained for Schall an appointment as the Director of the Department of astronomy; this meant the priest was officially a mandarin.<sup>17</sup> The rival Moslem and Chinese astronomers continually "lost face" when their calculations erred and the Europeans were accurate. Just as Father Ricci had used his astronomical knowledge in China, Schall assured his own success earlier under the Ming dynasty with accurate predictions. The Jesuit proved that a western culture also had some value when he predicted a solar eclipse on July 21, 1629, much to the

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<sup>17</sup>Elegant, Manchu, 445.

chagrin of the traditional Chinese and pseudomodern Moslem astronomers who miscalculated.<sup>18</sup>

Father Schall appeared again and again throughout the chapters of Manchu. The believable portrayal of a historic personage makes Manchu a bonus on a college reading list. The Jesuit was presented with a humanistic touch. The conversations between Schall and the fictitious character, Francis Arrowsmith, highlighted the conflicts faced by churchmen in Asia. The narrative explained how the Jesuits were able to gain the confidence of the Chinese while the Dominican and Franciscan orders were less successful. The Jesuits were more compromising. Father Matteo Ricci set the example by disassociating himself with the Portuguese traders at Macao and striving to gain acceptance by the elite class in China. From the pinnacle of society it was easier to have the necessary influence to make his work with the masses more effective. To illustrate the flexibility of the Italian pioneer, Elegant pointed out, as did Fairbank and Reischauer, that Ricci entered China dressed in the robe of a Buddhist monk rather than in Catholic garb. Ricci mastered the Chinese language and the Confucian classics in order to converse with, rather than preach to, the scholars of China. In China, the scholars attributed Paul Hsü with a quote that explained how Christianity, as an "ancient wisdom," could

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<sup>18</sup>Ibid., 62.

be accepted by Chinese; Christianity "does away with Buddhism and completes Confucianism."<sup>19</sup>

Francis Arrowsmith observed that the Dominicans and Franciscans, who were confined to the coast of China in Macao, were corrupt. The coastal orders were shown as debased, for some members submitted to drunkenness and concubinage.<sup>20</sup> The lax Dominicans and Franciscans viewed the favored Jesuits as compromising the church doctrine too freely to Oriental custom. They criticized the Jesuits for appealing to the Chinese through science and dress. The Jesuits were denounced for kneeling in the kowtow to the emperor, and were pronounced heretic as they modified confession to suit Chinese morality.<sup>21</sup> In China, unkind rumors would have resulted if a priest and a Chinese lay parishioner were left alone for the Holy Sacrament of confession. Therefore, the compromising Jesuits substituted the enclosed confessional booth for a mat that hung between the priest and the confessor. Propriety was further assured by the presence of a male member of the lady's family, who stood in attendance at a respectful distance.<sup>22</sup> Francis Arrowsmith also had doubt about the compromising attitude

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<sup>19</sup>Fairbank and Reischauer, China, 249.

<sup>20</sup>Elegant, Manchu, 15.

<sup>21</sup>A sign of acceptance for Father Schall was that the Shun Chih Emperor no longer required the kowtow (Manchu, 533).

<sup>22</sup>Elegant, Manchu, 322.

of the Society of Jesus and wondered if their Chinese version of Christianity was too accommodating, especially actions such as a priest forging cannons which were used to destroy human lives. Father Schall was steadfast in support of his cannons because he thought it was necessary to be practical in order to Christianize China. Elegant attributed the following statement to Ricci:

I have done all I could to make myself Chinese, learning their difficult tongue and their intricate writing, adopting all their customs, and clothing myself after their fashion. If only I could make this long, thin nose of mine short and flat, if only I could make these great staring eyes of mine small, oblique, and dark, then I should be perfectly Chinese. But that boon the Lord has denied me.<sup>23</sup>

This was to make the point of Jesuits' belief in acceptance by Chinese.

Fairbank and Reischauer confirmed the hostility between the Dominicans, Franciscans, and the Jesuits. One explanation of why the Dominicans and Franciscans did not imitate the successful methods of the Jesuits was due to their different frame of reference. The new orders, who got a foothold in Fukien, had come from mission work in the Philippines. They had evangelized where there were no powerful local bureaucracies. When the Franciscans followed their practice of poverty and preached in the streets, as they had done in other countries, they were not as fruitful as were the Jesuits. By 1701, the total Christian community

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<sup>23</sup>Ibid., 10.

in China was estimated at 300,000, but there was dissension among the religious orders.<sup>24</sup>

The unparalleled success of the Jesuits was augmented by financial support from Europe. The Fathers capitalized on their acceptance into the elite circles of the emperor's court. Letters informed western churches of gains in China. The favorable correspondence was enthusiastically received by the Europeans who in return supplied the Jesuits with financial contributions to continue Christianization. The spiritual and financial support was usually forthcoming after the annual letters circulated Europe with reports of propagating the faith. The Society of Jesus was labeled in Manchu as "opportunists for God,"<sup>25</sup> but the label was not intended as a negative one.

The American student of Chinese history would benefit from the analysis in Manchu of the characteristics of the atypical Mandarin, Paul Hsü; the unusual Jesuit, Father Schall; and the European paragon, Francis Arrowsmith. In the story, Arrowsmith was invited to accompany a group of Jesuits who journeyed from Macao to Peking. Ming China was occasionally hospitable to foreign men of talent and was willing to learn of western inventions such as the cannon. Elegant masterfully interplayed the Jesuit's role in Ming

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<sup>24</sup>Fairbank and Reischauer, China, 249-250.

<sup>25</sup>Elegant, Manchu, 478.

China and continued to follow their influence as the mandate of heaven changed to the Manchu rule.

The prestigious position of the Jesuits deteriorated during the decades of Manchu rule. Their reputation did not suffer because of Chinese attitude toward Christianity, but instead it suffered because of infighting between the Dominicans and the Jesuits concerning the proper attitude of Christians toward the doctrines and practices of Confucianism. The rigidity of the Dominicans prevailed and in 1704, the Pope condemned Chinese rituals. The Jesuits' conciliatory practice of adapting church practices to meet the needs of Chinese society was denounced by the authorities in Rome. Of course, the Chinese favored the more flexible Jesuits. To counter, the Pope began sending only the missionaries that the emperor of China found unacceptable. The Ch'ing Emperor K'ang-hsi sent Jesuits to the Pope with sixty-nine documents, hoping to clarify the tense situation. The Pope responded with a papal bull in 1715 which supported an anti-Jesuit stance. After 1722, the emperor began to suppress Christianity in China. In 1724, Emperor Yung-cheng denounced Christianity as a heterodox sect.<sup>26</sup> Chinese Christians dwindled in number and "anti-Christian folklore became planted in the popular mind."<sup>27</sup> Westerners were again excluded from living in the interior of China. A student who

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<sup>26</sup>Fairbank and Reischauer, China, 250-251.

<sup>27</sup>Ibid., 251.

read Manchu would have a vivid impression of the role of the Jesuits in Chinese history. Elegant's talent as a story teller and his accurate historical settings would leave the student with an impression not easily forgotten.

#### The Opium War

The early encounters between China and Europe did not create an atmosphere for continued free access. Furthermore, a strong mutual trade did not develop as an outgrowth from initial contacts. Trade would not have been mutually advantageous. The Chinese were intrigued with clocks and other mechanical devices from Europe, but as a whole felt their products were superior to those of outsiders. Europe, on the other extreme, was experiencing the era of enlightenment and was fascinated with objects of art from the Orient. To westerners, it was a symbol of wealth to display Chinese objects in the home.<sup>28</sup> In Mandarin, Robert Elegant commented on items that would fetch high prices in Europe due to western fascination of "chinoiserie."<sup>29</sup> Desirable articles were tea, silk, fans, furniture, leather goods, trunks, carpets, ivory carvings, jade, paintings, and porcelain. The cobalt blue and white vases of the Ming

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<sup>28</sup>Schirokauer, A Brief History of Chinese and Japanese Civilizations, 326. In the arts of Europe, there was enthusiasm for things "Chinesey" - chinoiserie.

<sup>29</sup>Elegant, Mandarin, 31.

dynasty and the pale green celadon vessels of the Sung dynasty were considered as enviable possessions. The Portuguese settlement in Macao was the pacesetter for trade. The monopoly of these Iberians eventually culminated as other Europeans gained concessions in specified port cities of China. Foreigners were not permitted to leave the seaport where they gained the privilege of trade and their residences were confined to designated areas of the city. For example, in Singapore the ocean-front settlement for foreigners was called the Bund.

The outsiders were not allowed to directly engage in trading wares. They were required to conduct transactions through a Chinese intermediary called the Cohong. The western term "hang" stemmed from the Chinese word "hand." In early T'ang times, "hand" referred to streets in the marketplaces where trade guilds were located. The guilds transported and traded commodities such as grain, salt, tea, and silk in addition to providing banking services of keeping and lending money.<sup>30</sup> The Canton system was a model of how trade was conducted. In 1699 a British factory (or trading post) was begun in the coastal city of Canton. During the next sixty years, tea and silk trade developed into a lucrative business for both the British and the Chinese. The Ch'ing officials appointed licensed brokers, called "hongs," to be in charge of the trade. The Chinese merchants in

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<sup>30</sup>Fairbank and Reischauer, China, 135.



Canton were organized into a guild called the Cohong.<sup>31</sup> The guild monopoly was headed by the "Hoppo," who was the special official appointed by the Imperial Household Department in Peking to tax the foreign trade. The cohongs, who paid large fees to the Hoppo, were the intermediaries who acted as security merchants for each ship that entered Canton. The Chinese were in control, but the British East India Company's Canton committee was responsible for the conduct of British citizens. The British were restricted to an area outside the city wall of Canton called the "Thirteen Factories." Regulations in this riverbank setting severely impeded the freedom of the Europeans for they could not ride in sedan chairs, could not bring foreign wives with them, and were subject to Chinese criminal law.<sup>32</sup> The Chinese had the upper hand.

The ostracized situation of the foreigners changed with the Treaty of Nanking, which ended the Opium War, 1840-1842. The novels selected for this dissertation did not dwell on this first Anglo-Chinese war, but made reference to the Opium War as necessary background information. This information aided the reader in understanding the brooding nature of the Manchus which was partially caused by the loss of tariff autonomy. In the novel Mandarin, the cause of the inevitable

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<sup>31</sup>Ibid., 255-256. The anglicized word, "cohong," was taken from the "kung-hang," which meant "officially authorized merchants." p. 256.

<sup>32</sup>Ibid., 256.

war was stated to be due to multiple conflicts that were ignited by the Chinese effort to suppress the importation of opium.<sup>33</sup> Fairbank and Reischauer supported the theory of multiple causation by giving reasons such as; the moral crusade against opium, the alarming drain on Chinese silver (before the opium crisis, China had enjoyed a net gain of silver in foreign trade), the internal monetary problem created by a shift in the bimetallic exchange rate between silver and copper (the later metal was used for daily transactions within China), and the Chinese desire to maintain the tribute system.<sup>34</sup> Both China and Mandarin credited the Treaty of Nanking as the turning point from Chinese control to the extraordinary position held by foreigners in the treaty ports.

The military superiority of the west on land and especially on the sea enabled the British to secure tremendous concessions in Nanking on August 29, 1842. The first gain of the British was the Treaty of Nanking, which included: abolishing the Cohong monopoly at Canton; promising a fair tariff; ceding Hong Kong to Great Britain; opening the ports of Canton, Amoy, Foochow, Ningpo, and Shanghai to British trade and residence; paying an indemnity of 21 million Mexican dollars to cover hong merchant debts, paying for confiscated opium, and reimbursing the British

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<sup>33</sup>Elegant, Mandarin, 121.

<sup>34</sup>Fairbank and Reischauer, China, 277-279.

for the cost of the Opium War. These initial concessions were expanded by subsequent treaties between China and the British, French, and Americans. Unique to all of the treaties was the "most-favored-nation" clause. This clause insured that each foreign nation would receive whatever privileges that might later be given to another nation; thus the treaties reinforced each other.<sup>35</sup> Robert Elegant voiced through a character in Mandarin that the interlopers enjoyed privileges that no other sovereign state allowed to aliens. The Treaty of Nanking outright ceded Hong Kong to Britain and non-Chinese were granted residence in five treaty ports, of which Shanghai was the foremost. More outstanding was the anomaly of "extraterritorial" rights which allowed the foreigners to govern themselves by their own laws with complete immunity from Chinese law.<sup>36</sup> The Chinese no longer reigned supreme in their own port cities. These concessions did not satisfy the westerners; they also wanted to establish legations in Peking and open all of China to foreign trade and foreign residence.<sup>37</sup> Xenophobia, however, kept legations out of Peking temporarily.

Approximately two hundred firms, primarily British and American, vied for trade in the treaty ports. The five treaty ports and Hong Kong were populated by a new breed of young, aggressive, mobile and dynamic inhabitants. The

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<sup>35</sup>Ibid., 283.

<sup>36</sup>Elegant, Mandarin, 45.

<sup>37</sup>Ibid., 88.

outlanders were protected by gunboats flying the Union Jack and the Stars and Stripes as they anticipated a new era of lucrative trade. Fairbank and Reischauer singled out Shanghai as the most representative of the dynamic new order.<sup>38</sup> This choice of cities reverberated throughout the novels used in this study. The chief port of Shanghai was a mecca for foreign merchants. Mandarin estimated some three hundred foreign residents, predominately English, had settled in Shanghai by 1855. Europeans, with the exception of the French, habitually spoke English.<sup>39</sup> These western residents settled in a community on the waterfront where they isolated themselves and clung to their native cultures. Originally the Chinese had relegated the foreigners to live in isolation. Over the years the Europeans in Shanghai began to think of their community as a model society. By the fiftieth-year-celebration in 1895, they were practicing exclusion; for example, Chinese were not permitted in the Europeans' park.<sup>40</sup>

Pat Barr described the international settlement of Shanghai through the eyes of the character, Alice Greenwood. In Jade, Alice first viewed the settlement on the Hwangpoo River, known as the Bund, from the deck of an arriving ship. Prominent in the skyline was the tower of Trinity Church.

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<sup>38</sup>Fairbank and Reischauer, China, 286

<sup>39</sup>Elegant, Mandarin, 52.

<sup>40</sup>Barr, Jade, 446.

Alice and her uncle left the dock and they "bowled past the Public Gardens where carefully spaced clumps of wallflowers wilted in the alien soil, the Seamen's Mission, the Oriental Bank, the Circulating Library, the grand portals of the four-story Shanghai Club, and the gilded portals of the recently opened Lyceum Theatre where the farce 'You Never Can Tell' was playing to packed houses."<sup>41</sup> Alice delighted in all of the sights of the city as she strolled along the promenade--the cricket pitch, the Grant Hotel, the race-course (with a white-railed enclosure in the grandstand to separate foreigners from Orientals), and of course the shops on Bubbling Well Road such as Tundall's the drapers, Boles the saddlers, and Fraser and Crawford the grocers.<sup>42</sup>

A character in The Warlord described Shanghai in 1927 as "a huge party that never ends."<sup>43</sup> The city never lacked for entertainment with brothels, operas, female impersonators, gourmet restaurants, and movies. The current new attraction was greyhound racing.

The international settlement of Shanghai was the setting of the major portion of From a Far Land. The novel began with a description of the Bund in 1921. The impressive skyline of the buildings on the Bund were a testament to the wealth of the largest concentration of foreigners living in the Orient. Pillared mansions, the British Consulate, the

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<sup>41</sup>Ibid., 130.

<sup>42</sup>Ibid., 131.

<sup>43</sup>Bosse, The Warlord, 210.

Maritime Customs House, and the Shanghai Club were prominent in the skyline. The sojourners were protected by cruisers and destroyers moored offshore. Colorful flags of Great Britain, the Netherlands, and Japan fluttered from their respective ships. The Bund was not only the gateway to China, but also was the symbol of China's subjugation.<sup>44</sup>

The wealth of Shanghai was flaunted in From a Far Land; not only foreign wealth, but also that of ostentatious Chinese merchants. The book did not neglect the seedy side of Shanghai, as the shabby housing of the masses, the miserable living conditions, the stench of raw sewage, and the brothels were all included. In spite of the unpleasant aspects, foreign characters in From a Far Land, continually returned to the kaleidoscopic city of Shanghai. The novel described the story of Shanghai from the 1920s to the 1950s. These traumatic decades unfolded the role of Shanghai during the conquest by the Japanese and later during the turn-over from Chiang Kai-shek's nationalists to Mao Tse-tung's communists.

#### Taiping Rebellion

The concessions gained by foreigners in the treaty ports paved the way for a new wave of missionaries into China. Zealots viewed China as a fertile field in which to convert the heathen. Remnants of the Catholic church remained in the interior, for French Lazarist priests had

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<sup>44</sup>Elegant, From a Far Land, 11-13.

replaced the Jesuits in Peking after the expulsion of the latter in 1773. The first Protestant missionary to enter the celestial kingdom was Robert Morrison in 1807. Morrison lived in Canton where he studied Chinese; this enabled him to translate the Bible. His colleagues established an Anglo-Chiense training college in 1818 in Malacca instead of hostile Canton. In 1830, the interdenominational American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions sent the first American Protestant missionaries to Canton. Peter Parker opened an eye hospital in this city on the rim of the continent which ushered in the medical missionaries. Pioneers such as Morrison, Parker and the influential editor, S. Wells Williams, not only served their faith, but also served their respective governments in diplomacy.<sup>45</sup>

The early Protestant efforts produced few converts, whereas the better organized Catholics made gains after securing edicts of toleration in 1844 and 1846 from the Ch'ing emperor who lifted the ban on Christianity. Renewed vitality of the Jesuits, Lazarists, and Dominicans produced results because the Catholic priests, who dressed and live in Chinese style, were less of a cultural confrontation than the Protestants. The Protestants taught European languages in their schools and their secular culture was an appendage to their religion.<sup>46</sup>

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<sup>45</sup>Fairbank and Reischauer, China, 287.

<sup>46</sup>Ibid., 287-288.

Christian beliefs must have been perceived as incompatible to many Chinese due to the multiplicity of orders within Catholicism and religions within Protestantism, each of which vied for souls. Misconceptions were made by Christian missionaries as they tried to understand the Chinese frames of reference. In the novel Jade, the problem of misconception was revealed with poignancy through the character of Eliza and her missionary husband, Edward Blake, who were unsuccessful in their attempt to change the Chinese. The founder of the Taiping movement, Hong Hsiu-ch'ian, was the epitome of misconception.

Hong, who failed the civil service examinations three times, went into fits of delirium for forty days after his last failure. Puzzling visions occurred during this illness. Hong later interpreted these visions with the assistance of a Christian tract and his knowledge of the Bible. He received limited religious instruction by an American Southern Baptist missionary. His visionary convictions were extraordinary. Hong believed that he had seen God and Jesus and that Jesus was his elder brother. He thought his mission from God was to save mankind and exterminate demons. The emphasis of this new revelation was the Old Testament. To the dismay of the missionaries, Hong gained converts as he preached of egalitarian utopia to the downtrodden. He coined the term "Heavenly Kingdom of Great Peace," or Taiping tianguo. Converts were to share their possessions, so in 1850,



the members were requested to submit their funds to a mutual treasury. Women were considered to be equal to men and both practiced strict morality. The Taiping code prohibited opium, tobacco, gambling, alcohol, polygamy, prostitution, and foot-binding.<sup>47</sup>

Coupled with Taiping beliefs and codes of conduct was a common hatred of the ruling Manchus. To demonstrate their defiance, the devout cut off their queues and refused to shave the forepart of their heads. The Manchus required Chinese to show their subjugation by the shaved forehead and long braids. Hong and his fellow leaders, such as Yang Hsiu-ch'ing, proved to be better at organizing and strategy than the Manchu militarist. The itinerant preacher's followers grew to over one million by 1853. They also became militant toward the government and forcefully took the city of Nanking, which became the Taiping capital. The revolutionaries gained territory and put their programs into practice, while foreign powers in the treaty ports remained neutral. The Taiping regime enjoyed less than a decade of prominence. Schirokauer attributes their failure to: infighting among the leadership, inadequate implementation of their codes (for example, Hong kept concubines), missing opportunities to attack before the Manchus could regroup, lack of cooperation with other secret societies, and lacking

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<sup>47</sup>Schirokauer, A Brief History of Chinese and Japanese Civilizations, 398-399.

the foresight to cultivate positive relations with foreign powers.<sup>48</sup>

Pat Barr referred to the Taipings in Jade. Mr. Hinkson, a librarian from the consulate in Shanghai, mused that when he arrived in China twenty-five years earlier, havoc was caused by the plunder and slaughter of the "Rebels against the Manchus who wanted to set up a Heavenly Kingdom on Chinese soil."<sup>49</sup> The Englishman added that he had been a young interpreter for a fellow countryman, Major Charles Gordon. Gordon succeeded the American adventurer, Frederick Townsend Ward who died in 1862, as the commander of the Ever Victorious Army. Mr. Hinkson described the scene he witnessed when Gordon recaptured Soochow from the Taipings as, "a grisly affair altogether, difficult to know who behaved worst, the rebels or the Imperial Forces storming through the city like animals, firing buildings and cutting up innocent people--the ditches overflowed with blood."<sup>50</sup>

A Brief History of Chinese and Japanese Civilizations confirmed Mr. Hinkson's assessment. The western powers sided with the Manchus after treaties of 1860. Foreign assistance provided western officers to lead Chinese troops near Shanghai. An English officer, Charles George Gordon (known as "Chinese" Gordon), led the Ever Victorious Army.

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<sup>48</sup>Ibid., 399-401.

<sup>49</sup>Barr, Jade, 315.

<sup>50</sup>Ibid.

Schirokauer described the complete eradication of the Taipings as a bloodbath.<sup>51</sup>

Robert Elegant included the Taiping movement in Mandarin, where fear of the Taipings was first suggested in a staged conversation between the Hsien Feng Emperor and his concubine, Yehenala, at the Summer Palaces near Peking in 1854. Yehenala was concerned that the Taipings might align themselves with the westerners. She expressed disgust in the accusation that "they practice some mumbo-jumbo religion, and call Our Imperial soldiers Imps. Those sons of turtle-bitches cut off their Manchu queues and grow their hair long to show they're free Chinese. Free Chinese! What a contradiction in terms!"<sup>52</sup>

A scene of a Taiping worship service was described in Elegant's novel. It was noted that none of the women were disfigured with tiny bound feet, and none of the men had long braids of hair under their conical straw hats. The leader of the Heavenly Kingdom was called the Heavenly King by his followers. In prayer, the Heavenly King petitioned his Heavenly Elder Brother Jesus for victory over the Manchus. The practices of the Taipings were presented factually in Schirokauer's scholarly text. However, these same practices

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<sup>51</sup>Schirokauer, A Brief History of Chinese and Japanese Civilizations, 401-402.

<sup>52</sup>Elegant, Mandarin, 15.

were presented in a more indelible fashion in the novel, Mandarin.

Schirokauer noted that Hong, who preferred the Old Testament, fervently believed in the first commandment. Hong aggressively executed this commandment by destroying Buddhist and Taoist idols as well as Confucian tablets.<sup>53</sup> Elegant transmitted this hatred of idolatry as an influence on the European's attitude toward the Taipings. Fronah, the daughter of a Jewish merchant, said, "The French hate the Taipings, while many English love them--and for the same reason, they all think the Taipings are Protestants . . . the Taipings hate the Catholic religion because the Catholics have idols in their churches, and the Taipings hate all idolaters. So the French join with the Imps."<sup>54</sup> Fronah verbalized that impression in 1855. As the novel developed the author transferred British support to the Manchus.

Mandarin considered how the foreigners struggled with the decision of whom to support, the Manchus, or the Taipings. Taiping doctrine was the antithesis of Manchu corruption.<sup>55</sup> Unfortunately, as the Taiping influence and power escalated, the leaders observance of the Taipings' high standard of conduct waned. The choice of Taiping over Manchu

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<sup>53</sup>Schirokauer, A Brief History of Chinese and Japanese Civilizations, 398-399.

<sup>54</sup>Elegant, Mandarin, 15.

<sup>55</sup>Ibid., 33.

became less appealing to foreign governments. The consuls, who were the de facto governors in the treaty ports, opted to adhere to their treaties with the legitimate Manchu government. In order to maintain the status quo, the westerners assisted the Manchus in crushing the Taiping Rebellion.<sup>56</sup> Robert Elegant vividly unfolded the drama of the conflict from all the vantage points; the foreigners, the Taipings, and the Manchus. The mid-nineteenth-century novel was a chronicle of the tumultuous rebellion intertwined with the ascent of the Imperial concubine Yenehala who eventually became the Dowager Empress.

One of the advantages of using novels to supplement textbooks is the extra dimension a novelist can give to a historical event. For example, due to limited coverage of the era of the Taiping Rebellion in their textbooks, neither Schirokauer or Fairbank and Reischauer emphasized the destruction of the Imperial Summer Palace which occurred during this time frame. Clyde and Beers in The Far East gave cursory mention to the fact that during the pinnacle of their upheaval, the Taipings were advancing along the coast. Peking was at the mercy of the French and British, the emperor and his court fled the capital and the Summer Palace had been looted and burned.<sup>57</sup> Conrad Schirokauer mentioned that in the second war between the British and the Chinese,

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<sup>56</sup>Ibid., 35.

<sup>57</sup>Clyde and Beers, The Far East, 106.

the British commander, Elgin, vented his anger by burning down the imperial Summer Palace in 1860.<sup>58</sup> In his novel on the subject, Robert Elegant had the luxury of giving a lengthy interpretation of the destruction of the Summer Palace.

A student who read Mandarin would think the foreigners were actually "barbarians," in the western sense of the word, due to their lack of sensitivity. The vast paradise of the Summer Palace was located outside Peking, covering almost a hundred square miles. The emperor's resort was a maze of over two hundred buildings, statues, ponds, and a collection of the finest porcelains created within two millennia. The English officers criticized the Frenchmen who first arrived at the Summer Palace. The French, quickly subdued the forty eunuchs who remained in the palaces after the royalty retreated. Then the looting began.

Every soldier cradled his own treasure: gilt statuettes, gleaming porcelain vases, ebony jewel cases. His sword abandoned, a fresh-faced lieutenant plunged his hands into a split red-leather chest. As fast as he stuffed gold coins into the breast of his tunic the yellow stream cascaded onto the flagstones . . . A sergeant wept with joy over a<sup>59</sup> bag of uncut emeralds . . . it's an orgy of looting.

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<sup>58</sup> Schirokauer, A Brief History of Chinese and Japanese Civilizations, 396. The first war was the Opium War. The second was the Arrow War, 1856-1860, which was begun over a controversy about the seizure of twelve Chinesemen from the Arrow, a Chinese-owned, Hong Kong registered vessel with a western hull and Chinese rigging. The Chinese officials boarded the vessel even though it flew the British flag.

<sup>59</sup> Elegant, Mandarin, 256.

The newly arrived Englishmen were dazzled at the array of marble, pearls, precious stones, cloisonne', celadon, jardiniere, and lacquer ware. The British felt cheated because the French had already taken the most valuable articles as souvenirs. To quell the discontent, an auction was held for the emperor's treasures. The personal treasures sold for 8,258 pounds, 12 shillings and 3 pence, which was distributed among the soldiers according to rank. Each private received almost a third of a year's salary, and the sergeants and officers received more. The auction was on October 10, 1860. On October 18, 1860, Lord Elgin commanded that the Summer Palace be burned. The wooden edifices burned quickly, the irreplaceable master-pieces of art were consumed by flames within seconds, and even the rosewood throne was soon charred. The damage was estimated at twenty million pounds. Even though the city of Peking was not razed, this atrocity could not be condoned. The novelist reasoned that the Chinese would have understood greed and plunder much better than Lord Elgin's justification that the destruction had been to punish the Chinese for killing prisoners.<sup>60</sup>

#### Tientsin Massacre

The Taiping rebellion was eradicated and the dynasty attempted to right itself. As with all civil wars, the

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<sup>60</sup>Ibid., 262-266.

countryside was devastated, many people were homeless, and capital assets were diminished. The government was in a crucial situation. The T'ung-chih emperor (r. 1862-1875) was a mere boy dominated by his mother and regent, Tz'u-hsi. The Ch'ing dynasty, or Manchus, were able to keep the mandate of heaven. To a large measure, this feat was possible because of outstanding scholar-officials of the era such as Tseng, Li, and Tso. The novel, Mandarin, gave praise to the Mandarin, Li. During the restoration, Fairbank and Reischauer saw the mandarins gaining power at the expense of the dynasty. The scholar-administrators who headed their provincial governments remained loyal to the emperor. In turn, the central government owed its survival to the mandarins, who were entrenched in Confucian principles. The result was a growth of regionalism. These talented men of the gentry class directed the common people as they set about tasks such as; repairing irrigation systems, replanting mulberry trees, distributing relief grain, establishing soup kitchens and opening orphanages.<sup>61</sup>

Conrad Schirokauer emphasized that the restoration attempted to: revise the examination system so that the questions would be more practical; eliminate corruption in the bureaucratic hierarchy; reprint old texts; and establish new academies. Prince Kung, an uncle to the youthful emperor, was very influential, particularly during the

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<sup>61</sup>Fairbank and Reischauer, China, 314-315.



1860s. He sponsored new approaches to foreign policy. One of the most innovative ideas was the use of Henry Wheaton's Elements of International Law that had been translated into Chinese by W. A. P. Martin, a missionary from the United States. Martin was also the first president of a school established in 1862 to teach foreign languages, astronomy, mathematics, and other nontraditional subjects. China was strengthening from within on the path towards modernization. Cooperation between China and the foreign powers was improved when men like Robert Hart occupied key positions. Hart became the director of the Maritime Customs Service in 1863. He instilled among the foreign employees the thought that the customs was a Chinese service and that Chinese employees were to be treated as co-workers. Hart was helpful to the dynasty as he offered constructive advice on modernization. Anson Burlingame, the American minister in Peking, was another person of good intentions. He accompanied a Manchu and a Chinese official on the first Chinese diplomatic mission to western capitals.<sup>62</sup> The novel, Mandarin ended optimistically. The reader was left with the impression that China, like Japan, would benefit from western technology and industrialize. Enlightened leaders such as the exemplary mandarin, Li Hung-chang, would facilitate the transition.

China was not ready for drastic changes. The Tientsin massacre of 1870 was an impediment to cooperation.

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<sup>62</sup>Schirokauer, A Brief History of Chinese and Japanese Civilizations,, 403-406.

Schirokauer attributed the practices of a Catholic nunnery as the origin of the violence. The nuns gave small payments for orphans who were brought to them. Rumors were rampant that the nuns kidnapped children and made medicine from the hearts and eyes of the foundlings. Intense emotions turned violent and the French consul and twenty other foreigners, of whom ten were nuns, were murdered. Gunboats were mobilized, but diplomacy prevented further bloodshed.<sup>63</sup> The account of the slaughter in Schirokauer's text was brief.

China included a discourse on the Chinese reaction to foreign missions as the foremost factor causing the Tientsin Massacre. The Catholic converts numbered nearly 400,000 by 1870. The French gained a gargantuan advantage in the Sino-French convention of 1860. The French missionaries were granted complete toleration, restitution of lost property, and permission to lease or buy land and erect buildings.<sup>64</sup> The Catholic landlords expanded their schools, seminaries, and orphanages but were mindful to adjust their endeavors to blend with Chinese customs.

The Protestants were still confined to the five treaty ports, Macao, and Hong Kong. By 1870 the Protestant missionaries had converted fewer than 6,000 Chinese. As a contrast to the Catholics, the Protestants were accompanied

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<sup>63</sup>Ibid., 406.

<sup>64</sup>The "most favored nation" status extended these concessions to all other foreigners.

by their wives and children. The Protestants, such as Methodist, Baptist, Congregationalist, and Dutch Reformed, hailed from European countries and North America. In contrast, the Jesuits, Franciscans, Lazarists and Dominicans primarily represented Latin countries. The Catholics and Protestants had minimal contact and considered each other as rivals.<sup>65</sup>

Hudson Taylor, an English clergyman, initiated the movement of the Protestants to the interior in 1866. Taylor's China Inland Mission recruited any Protestant from any country. He did not solicit money, only prayers. The recruits were not guaranteed a salary. These pioneers were to dress in Chinese style, to live simply and to win Chinese souls. Protestants were proselytizing in former Catholic provinces.<sup>66</sup> In the novel Jade, the clergy was described by Eliza Greenwood's second husband, who was a clergyman in the China Inland Mission. In reference to her Chinese garb, she said, "Our founder, Mr. Hudson Taylor, of whom you must have heard, firmly believes that by so doing we help bring down Chinese mistrust. It is no mere affectation, I do assure you."<sup>67</sup> The couple also expressed scorn for the missionaries who confined their work to the treaty ports where living conditions and security were better than in the interior.<sup>68</sup>

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<sup>65</sup>Fairbank and Reischauer, China, 320.

<sup>66</sup>Ibid., 320-321.      <sup>67</sup>Barr, Jade, 136.      <sup>68</sup>Ibid., 212.

The Christians established schools and the curriculum included religious instruction. This caused resentment among the gentry class for the education was not Confucian. Conflict emerged between the Christians and the gentry in care of orphans, relief during natural disasters, and justice for criminals. Extraterritoriality gave the missionaries the privilege of being protected by their respective laws. Friction developed when the missionaries acted as patrons and protectors of their converts and intervened with local Chinese officials on behalf of the Chinese Christians. To retaliate, anti-Christian groups printed accusations against Christians to discredit them. For example, a tract was circulated which stated that priests utilized extreme unction to extract a dying person's eyeballs for alchemic purposes. Antagonisms festered, but the immediate cause of friction in the Tientsin Massacre was the practices of the Sisters of Charity. This Catholic orphanage paid a small fee for each waif to encourage the Chinese to bring them to the Sisters. This practice was misconstrued and publicized that children were being kidnapped and sold to the Sisters of Charity. The situation was inflammatory.<sup>69</sup>

The Fairbank and Reischauer text considered not only antagonism toward the missionaries as a cause, but also the political circumstance. The French officials in China tried to expand their political influence through the guise of

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<sup>69</sup>Fairbank and Reischauer, China, 322.

protecting Christian missions. On June 21, 1870, a mob had gathered outside the Tientsin French Sisters of Charity. The French consul, in attempting to disperse the mob, fired on the Chinese magistrate, but did not harm him. The mob assaulted and dismembered the consul. The French, who had recently been defeated in the Franco-Prussian war, were weak and yielded to diplomacy. The aged Tseng Kua-fan announced to his countrymen that there was no evidence that the missionaries had kidnapped or mutilated children. Sino-western relations, however, deteriorated after the incident.<sup>70</sup>

The novel, Jade, opened in the port city of Tientsin on the date of June 21, 1870. The scene revealed how a Protestant missionary dealt with the crisis. Reverend Thomas Greenwood, his wife Eliza, and two of their children lived in an apartment above his modest church. The British family had labored persistently in the Orient for twenty years, but their converts were small in number. Thomas was well aware of the misrepresentation of the Christian faith that was printed in pamphlets and circulated in Tientsin. He abhorred these untruths. Greenwood felt that the Catholic's reprehensible behavior had provoked the situation. "Two years ago they had built a large pretentious cathedral in the town's centre on the site of a former temple. They had taken into their new orphanage so many sick Chinese children who

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<sup>70</sup>Ibid., 324.

soon died that the place had developed a sinister reputation as a disease-ridden deathtrap."<sup>71</sup> The negative impression was the reason local citizens harassed the missionaries. The French consul complained to the magistrate, lost his temper, and fired a pistol. Barr's account accurately agreed with Fairbank and Reischauer. The mutilation of the consul was vividly pictured. He had been literally torn to pieces by the mob. To the chagrin of Thomas Greenwood, the populace did not distinguish between Catholic and Protestant. His Protestant chapel had an unfortunate location near the Catholic orphanage. At this point, the novel had an advantage over the textbook in making an impression upon a student. The plight of the family and two of their faithful converts was presented and options were explored. When the mob entered his dwelling, the minister could not bring himself to fire his pistol to kill. A belligerent's rusty sword hacked at Thomas Greenwood's neck. His children who witnessed the slaughter were kidnapped. This momentous introduction would hold the reader's attention until the plight of the Greenwood siblings was resolved.

#### The Boxer Rebellion

Hostility toward the foreign missionaries continued after the Tientsin Massacre and festered to the point of rebellion under the Boxer movement. This did not mean the

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<sup>71</sup>Barr, Jade, 7.

missionaries were ineffective. To the contrary, they were participants in the self-strengthening movement. Notable among their efforts was education and medicine. A missionary who was also an educator, W. A. P. Martin, was the first president of Peking University. The first foreign language newspaper in China was printed by missionaries. By 1877, there were almost 6,000 students in 347 missionary schools. As the nineteenth century ended, there were approximately half a million Chinese Catholics served by 750 missionaries and over 37,000 Chinese Protestants served by 1,300 missionaries, representing 41 religious societies.<sup>72</sup>

Chinese frequently associated the Christian influence with unfavorable events such as the Taiping Rebellion, the Tientsin Massacre and the unequal treaties. Paramount among complaints, was the special treatment the foreigners received, such as extraterritoriality. The Righteous and Harmonious Fists (I-ho ch'ian) organized in retaliation. The members of this secret society were called Boxers because they practiced a type of boxing which:

. . . through a sequence of postures and exercises, aimed to harmonize mind and muscle in preparation for combat. This was a magic art using Taoist sorcery and a prescribed ritual-members thrice recited an incantation, breathed through clenched teeth, foamed at the mouth, and became possessed by spirits who<sup>73</sup> made them happily impervious to foreign bullets.

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<sup>72</sup>Schirokauer, A Brief History of Chinese and Japanese Civilizations, 458-459.

<sup>73</sup>Fairbank and Reischauer, China, 376.

The original slogan of this over-confident group was "over-throw the Ch'ing; destroy the foreigner."<sup>74</sup> Their zeal for rebellion was abetted by poor economic conditions. There were floods and famine in the province of Shantung. The construction of new railways was perceived as a threat to the livelihood of canal bargement. The dissenters were wary of the new technology of the westerners, such as telephone poles with wires and the locomotives on railroad tracks. The latter was especially disliked because the routes frequently crossed ancient graveyards.

A conversation in Jade repeated the fear of unemployment due to technology. Alice voiced the fear of the junkmasters and traders along the Yangtze who were uneasy about the coming of the iron monster. Her enterprising uncle responded that the canal and bargemen in England had the same trepidation decades earlier, but they managed to cope with progress. The railroad was a necessity if China was to enter the modern age.<sup>75</sup>

Jade sympathized with the Chinese concerning burial sites. From the perspective of the peasants, a train was an iron-clad fire-cart that belched flames and smoke as it raced across fields with no respect for the dead. One of the incidents in the novel concerned commotion over moving ancestral cemeteries. The railroad company unfortunately contracted an unscrupulous Chinese to acquire land and remove

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<sup>74</sup> Ibid., 377.

<sup>75</sup> Barr, Jade, 430.



graves. Eager to make a profit, he hired coolies to shovel up bones of deceased whose families were untraceable and dumped them on a waste land. Naturally, this was upsetting to a culture which venerated the departed.<sup>76</sup>

The growing hatred of Europeans was a theme throughout Jade. The Righteous and Harmonious Fists were introduced as a secret brotherhood who were sworn to exterminate every foreigner in China. Jade cited the first uprising of the Boxers as being in Shantung against the Germans in 1898, as did the scholars, Schirokauer, Fairbank and Reischauer. Pat Barr wrote of hundreds of Boxers who openly drilled in the streets with swords, guns, and spears. She characterized them as illiterate peasants, many of whom were displaced as a result of floods, droughts, and plagues of locusts. They looted the countryside, carrying red banners and claiming they could kill barbarians by directing a lethal light on them from their fingertips or nostrils. Their malice was also directed toward the Chinese converts to Christianity, the "secondary devils."<sup>77</sup>

Fairbank and Reischauer attributed the change in the Boxer's slogan from "overthrow the Ch'ing; destroy the foreigner," to "support the Ch'ing, destroy the foreigner," as a result of an alliance between anti-foreign dynastic officials and pro-dynastic Boxers. This was after the government troops had seized some of the anti-dynastic

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<sup>76</sup>Ibid., 440.

<sup>77</sup>Ibid., 590.

Boxers. The dynasty decided to use the Boxers, justifying the union on the grounds that the "righteous indignation of the common people was the final arbiter of politics."<sup>78</sup>

The Boxers, no longer under the fear of being halted by the Empress Dowager and the court, continued a rampage of destroying railroads and telegraph wire, looting, burning missionary buildings, and slaughtering Christians, both Chinese and foreign. The climax came in June of 1900 when the Boxers seized Tientsin and Peking. The foreigners retaliated by organizing a relief expedition. The Ch'ing dynasty declared war. The foreign legation quarters in Peking were under siege for two months. Schirokauer wrote that 451 guards protected 473 foreign civilians and approximately 3,000 Chinese Christians. The legation quarter was intact when the international expedition arrived. The Empress and her court fled Peking. The governor's general in southern China used diplomacy in an attempt to save face. They claimed there had been a rebellion led by the Boxers and the court declared war under duress. Nevertheless, the foreign powers extracted a harsh treaty, the Boxer Protocol.<sup>79</sup> The Ch'ing dynasty never rebounded to its former status.

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<sup>78</sup>Fairbank and Reischauer, China, 377.

<sup>79</sup>Schirokauer, A Brief History of Chinese and Japanese Civilizations, 475-476.

Students who read Jade would be appalled at the manner in which the Boxers treated missionaries. An account of procession of missionaries with rope halters around their neck was particularly moving. The foreigners, some carrying children, prayed and sang with their heads held high. The martyrs were "executed one by one, and their heads, spiked on poles, dripped blood in the sunlight for hours afterwards."<sup>80</sup> The heroine of Jade was later placed in Peking during the siege. The reader vicariously experienced the panic of the foreigners as they fled to the safety of the British legation, their anxiety, their meager rations during the siege, and their shock when the Japanese chancellor and the German minister Baron von Kettleler, were killed by the Boxers in cold blood. Daily life in the legation was most interesting. Sandbags were made by the non-combatants, using any material on hand, such as damask curtains, monogrammed sheets, brocade hangings, embroidered tapestries, native homespun and bolts of silk intended for ball gowns.<sup>81</sup> The chapter describing the weeks of the siege in the legation was very interesting. The siege was a prime example of how a novel has an advantage over a scholarly work by letting the reader vicariously experience the trials and tribulations of the foreigners in the compound.

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<sup>80</sup>Barr, Jade, 594.

<sup>81</sup>Ibid., 602

### Fall of Dynastic Rule

The concubine Tz'u-hsi, who bore the emperor's only son, ascended to the position of Empress Dowager. When the Hsien-feng emperor died in 1861, Tz'u-hsi, the mother of the young heir to the throne, joined her husband's brother, Prince Kung, in a coup d'état. The combination of the two seemed promising. The coup d'état had eliminated rival princes who were strongly anti-foreign. The foreigners had high hopes that the new regents would cooperate with the treaty systems. Prince Kung voiced that foreigners were an affliction of only the limbs whereas the Taipings were a disease in China's vitals. He gave full support to the gentry in suppressing rebels. The new reign, T'ung-chih, meant "union for order."<sup>82</sup>

The new leaders faced reverses from the very beginning. Prince Kung had the dubious honor of signing the unequal treaties of 1860 which meant accepting foreign powers as equals. This in itself was a psychological blow because the dynastic rulers of China had viewed China as the central kingdom and the emperor as the Son of Heaven. The Taiping Rebellion was in progress. To subdue the Taipings, the Manchu court had to resort to loosening its military control and allowing the Chinese gentry to use regional military power. In addition to permitting regional leadership, the Manchus were further humiliated when mercenaries and foreign

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<sup>82</sup>Fairbank and Reischauer, China, 303.

weapons were utilized in defeating the Taipings. Nevertheless, the ambivalence toward the west appeared to swing towards modernization with the self-strengthening movement.

Treaties allowed the establishment of foreign legations in the capital city of Peking. The Tsungli Yamen, or Office of General Management was established in 1861 and headed by Prince Kung to handle diplomatic relations with the West. The Maritime Customs Service began with a rocky start under Horatio Nelson Lay, but righted itself under the tactful leadership of the Irishman, Robert Hart. He used foreign employees to handle foreign merchants and assist China's quest for modernization, but was mindful that "those who take the pay, and who are the servants of the Chinese Government . . . are the brother officers" of the Chinese.<sup>83</sup> The new attitude that prevailed under the guidance of Prince Kung in the 1860s was optimistic. The self-strengthening movement, described previously in this dissertation, would ensure that China was gradually modernizing. The novel, Mandarin, ended on the up-beat assumption that China's tradition of the scholarly-official would prevail, and mandarins would be instrumental in this redirection.

China did not continue unimpeded toward the twentieth century. The remarkable Empress Dowager, as co-regent for her son, quickly learned to use royal prerogatives to gain power. The palace eunuchs and trusted high officials were

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<sup>83</sup>Ibid., 310-311.

her cohorts. Tz'u-hsi solidified her bureaucracy and outmaneuvered her counterforce at court, prince Kung. The prince was removed from his position in 1884. The Empress Dowager's son, who had always been dominated by his mother, died in 1875 at the age of nineteen. It was rumored that she encouraged the boy in debaucheries that weakened his health.<sup>84</sup> This strong-willed woman then:

. . . broke the sacred dynastic law of succession, which required that a new emperor always be chosen from the succeeding generation in order to maintain the ritual observances demanded by filial piety. Instead, she shocked propriety by having her own nephew (the son of her sister), a four-year-old boy of the same generation as his predecessor, selected emperor with the reign title of Kuang-hsü ("Glorious Succession," 1875-1908).<sup>85</sup>

Tz'u-hsi continued to dominate as regent. The end of the mandate of heaven was approaching.

Pat Barr related the facts of the Empress Dowager's manipulation of heirs. In Jade, Tz'u-hsi was portrayed as ruthlessly pushing aside more legitimate claimants so she could consolidate her behind-the-throne power. At one point, the novelist deviated from the facts given by Fairbank and Reischauer. The scholars stated the new emperor was four years old whereas, Pat Barr wrote that he was a puny three-year old.<sup>86</sup>

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<sup>84</sup> Schirokauer, A Brief History of Chinese and Japanese Civilizations, 451.

<sup>85</sup> Fairbank and Reischauer, China, 336.

<sup>86</sup> Barr, Jade, 508-509.

The Chinese continued to suffer numerous reverses. The Tientsin Massacre of 1870 fostered resentment. The French encroached upon Indochina at the expense of China. China was defeated in Korea by Japan. The Treaty of Shimonoseki in 1895 required China to relinquish Taiwan, the Pescadores Islands and the Kwantung Peninsula to Japan in addition to an indemnity and the recognition of Korea's independence. A commercial treaty in 1896 gave Japan all the privileges that western nations had in the treaty ports.<sup>87</sup> Pat Barr commented that this treaty contributed to China's loss of international power and prestige. The payment of a crippling war indemnity and loss of territory was bad, but defeat of the Chinese Imperial Forces at the hands of the despised Japanese dwarfs was humiliating.<sup>88</sup>

Bette Boa Lord reasoned that the "Treaty of Shimonoseki was an open invitation; when a cat overturns a jar, the dogs are assured of a meal."<sup>89</sup> In the story of Spring Moon, the city of Soochow suffered the consequences for it became the twenty-second port to become victim of the unequal treaties. In Soochow foreigners were exempted from Chinese law and given the right to determine tariffs. This was unfair because there was no reciprocity. Concerned scholar-gentry joined the Self-Strengthening Society to explore ways to cope

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<sup>87</sup>Fairbank and Reischauer, China, 365.

<sup>88</sup>Barr, Jade, 508-509

<sup>89</sup>Lord, Spring Moon, 78.

with the situation. The character, Bold Talent, joined the society for fortnight meetings. They studied Napoleon and Thomas Jefferson to seek ways of reinterpreting Confucianism to promote westernization.<sup>90</sup>

The western countries took advantage of China's reverses and began a scramble for concessions in 1898. The imperialists used loans (which the Chinese needed to pay the Japanese indemnity), leases, railways, mining exploitation, and reduced tariffs to create geographic spheres of influence. Those maneuvering for advantages were Great Britain, Germany, France, Japan, Russia and to a lesser extent, the United States. The spheres were a step toward carving China into colonies under western subjugation. The evidence of the greed of the imperialists was not confined to China, for other continents, such as Africa, were also being subdivided. Leased territories in areas such as Manchuria and Shantung would actually be governed and policed by foreigners.<sup>91</sup> The integrity of China was at peril.

The response of the Ch'ing dynasty was two fold: first, to usher into effect radical reforms, known as the Hundred Days, and second, to support the Boxer Rebellion. The Hundred Days of Reform in 1898 did not change the government as the scholars intended. The eclectic reforms had the opposite effect by bringing Tz'u-hsi out of retirement. She

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<sup>90</sup>Ibid.

<sup>91</sup>Fairbank and Reischauer, China, 368-370.



had yielded the dragon throne to her nephew in 1889. The reactionary empress dowager, with the support of the top Manchu military commander, Jung-lu, staged another successful coup d'état. The Kuang-hsü emperor was placed under house arrest until he died ten years later, mysteriously predeceasing the empress by one day. With her nephew as figurehead in forced seclusion, the empress dowager began her third regency.<sup>92</sup> She half-heartedly continued moderate reforms, but could not fully commit China into the modern age of technology. Tz'u-hsi continued to think of China in the context of elitism. In Dynasty, the empress dowager spoke favorably of her contemporary, Queen Victoria of England. The empress even regretted that the queen had never called upon her, even though she believed the British monarch's rank was much inferior to her own.<sup>93</sup> The custom had always been for tributary states to call on the occupant of the Dragon Throne, thus acknowledging their inferior status. A student reading Dynasty might muse that in recent times after the years of non-recognition, it was President Nixon who first visited the leadership in Peking in 1972--not the reverse.

The empress dowager was shrewd in handling the Boxer movement. Her failure to suppress the rebels reversed their chants from "Over throw the Ch'ing; destroy the foreigner" to "Support the Ch'ing; destroy the foreigner." All novels that included the Boxer Rebellion used the latter chant with the

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<sup>92</sup>Ibid., 376.

<sup>93</sup>Elegant, Dynasty, 156.

exception of Spring Moon. Bette Boa Lord used a chant with a different shade of meaning, "Support the Ch'ing! Kill the Barbarians! Support the Ch'ing! Kill the Barbarians!"<sup>94</sup> Clyde and Beers credited Tz'u-hsi as playing a fantastic dual role as she supported her advisors in Peking who advocated extermination of foreigners and simultaneously verbalized support for local governors in southern provinces who worked for peace.<sup>95</sup> Her duplicity did not succeed. The defeat of the Boxers was the beginning of the end for the Ch'ing dynasty. The harsh terms of the Boxer Protocol marked the nadir from which the creation of a republic would begin.

The empress dowager fled Peking for the second time during the Boxer Rebellion; the first time was in 1860 when the foreigners burned and pillaged the Summer Palace. Robert Elegant described the second retreat in this manner:

The strong-willed Empress Dowager Tzu Hsi had finally released her nephew, the neurasthenic Kuang-hsü Emperor, from the confinement that she herself had imposed. Accompanied by a bedraggled cloud of complaining courtiers, the sixty-five year old princess and her twenty-nine year old puppet were to jounce in unsprung carts along deep ruts carved through the millennia by turning wheels. Their destination was the ancient former Imperial capital called Sian.<sup>96</sup>

The wily woman returned to the capital in 1902, after the protocol was signed, for the final decade of the regency. She was not at the helm of twentieth-century China, and the

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<sup>94</sup> Lord, Spring Moon, 143.

<sup>95</sup> Clyde and Beers, The Far East, 231.

<sup>96</sup> Elegant, Dynasty, 58.

situation had changed from the atmosphere of her earlier regencies.

. . . popular feelings are not the same as thirty years ago. The people admire the wealth of foreign countries and despise the poverty of the Middle Kingdom. They admire foreign troops, the 'fair play' of the Maritime Customs Service, the strict orderliness of foreign concessions. 'Rebels are slowly emerging' and spreading subversive doctrines. Their catalogue of needed reforms was longer than ever, but it is significant that education, to create a new elite, was still first on the list.<sup>97</sup>

The resilient empress dowager tackled reform. She was unaware that these reforms would prepare the ground for revolution.

Foremost among the reforms was in education. The ancient examination system which produced the scholarly officials was abolished and a Sino-Western curriculum was introduced. The new scholars read and absorbed western ideas. In The Three Daughters of Madame Liang, the character Madame Liang came to the conclusion that the examination system should never have been eliminated. She was a product of the new western education system and reflected that the ancient system had produced a better civil service. She determined that the imperial examination surfaced the applicants who had the quickest and most profound minds.<sup>98</sup> Madame Liang's opinion would be an alternative for the student to ponder, for the textbook was pro-reform.

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<sup>97</sup>Fairbank and Reischauer, China, 392.

<sup>98</sup>Buck, The Three Daughters of Madame Liang, 74.

Students reading The Warlord would be exposed to a viewpoint contrary to the text. Malcolm Bosse placed in a conversation the opinion that young men were not well trained because the traditional examination system had been discontinued. He pointed out that civil servants would formally have written even a letter of refusal in a polite manner. The new breed were not even aware of when their behavior exemplified disrespect.<sup>99</sup>

The army changed. At the turn of the century, there were three types of military organizations in the Celestial Kingdom. The Manchu banner forces, even though they were given modern guns, still selected the officer corps on their skill in archery, sword-brandishing, and the heavy bow. The second type of military units were regional armies led by civil officials. This militia was composed of part-time as well as professional soldiers and became known generically as the Defense Army. The third and most recent organization developed during Japanese aggression. Yüan Shih-k'ai led the foundation of the Peiyang Army. The officers were trained by German instructors in a military academy. The reform movement of the military in 1904 left most of the control at the provincial level. The major innovation was a new class of scholar officers who were trained at new military academies. They were instilled with patriotism, modern military techniques, and a sense of responsibility for

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<sup>99</sup>Bosse, The Warlord, 170.

their country. Japanese instructors began to outnumber the Germans because they were willing to work for lower salaries. Chinese officer candidates were often sent to military academies in Japan, one such officer was a young man named Chiang Kai-shek.<sup>100</sup>

The numerous reforms, in addition to those in education and the military, were often poorly implemented, too slow, or created unforeseen problems. The first decade of the new century ended with the loss of several forceful leaders. Sir Robert Hart returned to England in 1908, Yüan Shih-k'ai retired in 1909, and the "Old Buddha" (Lao-Fo-yeh, a respectful name often used in conversation for Tz'u-hsi) died in 1908. The Kuang-hsü emperor died mysteriously the day before the empress dowager passed away. She selected her three-year-old grand-nephew, Pu-yi as her successor. Prince Ch'un, his father, served as regent.<sup>101</sup> Robert Elegant explained in greater detail the reasoning behind the decision to place Pu-yi on the throne. In Dynasty, it was pointed out that the adult Prince Pu Lun, who was a direct descendant of the Tao Kuang Emperor (1821-1850), was available. Instead, Old Buddha prevailed over the objections of the Imperial Council and selected the infant. She was not planning to die soon and she knew the child and his father, the co-regent who was the elder brother of the Kuang-hsü Emperor, would be

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<sup>100</sup>Fairbank and Reischauer, China, 395-398.

<sup>101</sup>Ibid., 401.

pliable.<sup>102</sup> Elegant also gives an interesting account of how Old Buddha might have been involved in the death of the Kuang-hsü emperor. The Fairbank and Reischauer text simply stated he died mysteriously. The new emperor and his regent faced turmoil. They were surrounded by corrupt eunuchs and a court divided into factions. The reign was short-lived as undercurrents of revolution surfaced.

Madame Liang, in The Three Daughters of Madame Liang, explained to her daughter that the natural end of the dynasty occurred when the old empress dowager died without an heir. Historically, China would break into sections, each section would be upheld by a young man with a private army. The men would battle until the final victor won the mandate. This healthy process established a new emperor who had proven himself as a natural leader and a new dynasty was established. The age-old civil service kept the country steady during the change. In the twentieth century, the mandate did not transfer smoothly for the dragon throne was replaced by a new form of government. The Chinese questioned their traditional values.<sup>103</sup>

Educational reform was the catalyst for change in China. Once the ancient examination was abolished in 1905, the shift in education was toward Japan. John King Fairbank stated that by 1911, there were 57,000 schools with 1,600,000

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<sup>102</sup>Elegant, Dynasty, 157.

<sup>103</sup>Buck, The Three Daughters of Madame Liang, 73.

students. The elementary schools were modeled on the Japanese system. The old Interpreter's College in Peking was incorporated into the new Imperial University. In 1911, there were approximately 800 Chinese students in the United States, 400 in Europe, and from 10,000 to 15,000 yearly in Japan. These students provided leadership positions in government and served as teachers when they returned home. Returning students often joined revolutionary movements. Fairbank wrote that the "student's dangerous thoughts came from their having a little learning and a great deal of patriotism, without finding anyone at home or abroad who could give them blueprints for the economic development and social restructuring of their homeland."<sup>104</sup> Most of the returning students worked within the system, but many were impatient for reform. The returning student was one of the themes of The Three Daughters of Madame Liang. The attitude of the returning student will be explored further with examples of the Soong sisters later in this chapter. Another example was Emily Howe in From a Far Land. Emily faced conflicts with her Chinese parents when she returned to Shanghai. She wanted to honor her parents and her heritage, but found it difficult to reconcile the feminine freedom she experienced in the United States with Chinese mores. The result was a breach between parent and child.

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<sup>104</sup> John King Fairbank, The United States and China (Cambridge, Massachusetts: Howard University Press, 1982), 212-213.

Education became the focal point of the missionary effort. In the wake of the Boxer Rebellion, missionaries initially received negative press. Michael Hunt wrote that in Peking missionaries were quick to seize housing or buy houses at bargain prices from unfortunate Chinese who had been compromised by Boxer connections. They were accused of extorting foodstuff and even credited with the ingenuity to auction off loot to foreign memento-seekers.<sup>105</sup> American missionaries in China lost prestige. Mark Twain quipped that missionaries revised the Ten Commandments to suit their circumstance: "Thou shalt not steal--except when it is the custom of the country."<sup>106</sup> The missionaries responded by changing emphasis in the post-Boxer period. Instead of measuring success by the number of souls won, the missionaries moved in congruency with the social gospel and focused on education, especially in urban areas. The Christian educational enterprises moved to a golden age. In 1915, they provided education for 93,000 Chinese and by 1916, three and one-half million dollars was donated to American Mission Societies for support of Chinese education. The advances reversed by 1920, for as nationalism increased, the missionaries were again on the defensive.<sup>107</sup>

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<sup>105</sup>Michael H. Hunt, The Making of a Special Relationship: The United States and China to 1914 (New York: Columbia University Press, 1983), 286.

<sup>106</sup>Ibid., 288.

<sup>107</sup>Ibid., 290-298.



Sun Yat-sen (1866-1925) was a prototype of the reform-minded Chinese. A peasant by birth, Sun received a Christian education in Hawaii where he founded his first revolutionary organization. He received a medical degree from a British mission hospital. The young man cut his queue, accepted Christianity, grew a moustache, wore western-style clothes and traveled to the United States and England. He gained ideas and financial support through foreign contacts.<sup>108</sup>

Sun Yat-sen, though not an intellectual, articulated his Three Principles of the People (san-min chu-i) in 1905. These principles, which later became part of the dogma of the Kuomintang, were nationalism, democracy, and the people's livelihood. Sun Yat-sen began a secret revolutionary league. At the first meeting, four hundred members took an oath to overthrow the Manchus and establish a republic. The rebels were identified by a number rather than by name and never communicated in the written word. They recognized fellow conspirators by signals such as holding a teacup with two fingers and a thumb. To avoid arrest, they printed a monthly newspaper, The People (Min Pao), in Japan and smuggled copies into China. Several revolutionary attempts failed and Sun was expelled from Japan and later expelled from Hanoi. After ten failures, an uprising was scheduled in October of 1911. The plan was discovered and the event actually took place on the tenth day of the tenth month. The uprisings spread and

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<sup>108</sup> Fairbank and Reischauer, China, 408-409.

"double ten" was considered the birthday of the Republic. The rebellion swept the country with little bloodshed as the provincial governors declared independence. Many who joined the movement were not as avid supporters of the revolution as much as they were against the Manchu rulers. Sun Yat-sen stepped aside within a few weeks after being inaugurated as president of the new republic on January 1, 1912 in favor of Yuan Shih-k'ai, who was a better administrator.<sup>109</sup>

Mary Sekloong gave an assessment of Sun yat-sen in Dynasty. Sun pronounced that the Republic would combine the best of East and West and execute the task as swiftly as the Ch'ing dynasty collapsed. After listening to that claim, Mary thought to herself that Dr. Sun's promise to swiftly remake the inert mass of China was not visionary but was abysmal nonsense. She felt that Sun was a deluded idealist who could not clearly see his own countrymen because he was blinded by his own enthusiasm, his absences from China, and by his foreign education.<sup>110</sup>

The novels used in this dissertation do not have detailed accounts of the last emperor of China. It would be advantageous to include one on a reading list, especially considering the possibility that many of the students may have seen the movie, "The Last Emperor."

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<sup>109</sup>Fairbank, The United States and China, 216-218.

<sup>110</sup>Elegant, Dynasty, 214-215.

The Ch'ing dynasty lost the mandate of heaven.

Charlotte Haldane cites an excerpt from Pu-yi's own story:

I was made the Emperor of the China dynasty at the age of two. Three years later, in 1911, the revolution led by Sun yat-sen overthrew the monarchy. Though the Ch'ing court gave up its political power, the Republicans agreed to let me retain my title, palace abode, and retinue, and appropriated an annual sum of four million taels, or 125,000 kilograms of silver, for my expenses. So I continued the ritual of sitting on the throne inside the vermillion-coloured walls of the Forbidden City. I was attended by one thousand eunuchs, more than one hundred physicians, some two hundred chefs and cooks, and protected by several hundred guards.<sup>111</sup>

Pu-yi dismissed the eunuchs. It took three or four days to complete the task for each awaited his turn to receive a retirement grant according to age and rank. As an adult, Pu-yi was the puppet ruler in Manchukus which was held by the Japanese. In 1945, he and other officials were arrested by the Soviet Army and placed in a Soviet prison for five years, then he was sent back to China. The communist government in China offered Pu-yi intensive training in manual labor and in the new way of life (the West would refer to this treatment as brain-washing). In 1959, after ten years of instruction, he was released as an ordinary citizen. The former emperor married a nurse and worked initially as a horticulturist and later as a historical researcher.<sup>112</sup> The Ch'ing dynasty never resurfaced.

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<sup>111</sup>Charlotte Haldane, The Last Great Empress of China (New York: The Bobbs-Merrill Company, Inc., 1965), 273. The quote was taken from China Reconstructs, January, 1964.

<sup>112</sup>Ibid., 273-275.

### The Warlord Era

The demise of dynastic rule was followed by a short lived republic. The reason for the fall of the republic was multifarious. Perhaps it was tenuous because Yuan Shih-k'ai did not prove to be the best leader for the times. He was not trusted by many factions. Yuan deserted the Manchu dynasty after serving as grand councillor and foreign minister (1907-08), agreed to establish the capital of the Republic in Nanking but instead left the government headquartered in Peking. This action frightened the provincial governors with his program of centralization, and terrified dissenters when Yuan ordered the leader (Sung Chiao-jen) of the largest party in parliament assassinated.<sup>113</sup> The writer of a novel is at liberty to interject regional bias as Bette Lord did in Spring Moon. A character from southern China declared that Sun Yat-sen should not have trusted Yuan at the helm of the new government. Sun should have known that the northerner, Yuan, would break his pledge and move the capital from Nanking to Peking.<sup>114</sup> Yuan, who was quickly becoming a dictator, did not want to depend upon the provincial governors. Therefore, when he needed funds, he borrowed from foreign nations. To the chagrin of the nationalists, the foreign loans were accompanied with strings and advisors. Instead of developing

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<sup>113</sup>Fairbank and Reischauer, China, 414-418.

<sup>114</sup>Lord, Spring Moon, 277.

the ideals of the Republic, Yuan was establishing himself in a position to obtain the next mandate of heaven as an emperor.<sup>115</sup>

The entry of the Republic also caused a change in the physical appearance of male citizens. Queues, originally required after the manchus earned the mandate of heaven, were now cut. The reaction recorded in Spring Moon would instill in a student the trauma of such a seemingly small thing, a change in hair styles:

The Purple Dragon of the Ch'ing Dynasty had floated over the rooftops of China for more than two hundred and fifty years. Overnight, it was gone. On every shop and shanty in Shanghai the white flags of revolution flapped like laundered sheets hung to dry. At street corners, in trams and alleys, before dawn, after dark, anytime, everywhere, squadrons of scissors snipped the long black queues from unsuspecting and unwilling heads. Men laughed to see their neighbors shorn and were in turn deprived. The poor looked like porcupines without the restraining queue; the rich, who could afford vaseline, like wet ducks. Sons wept as they begged their elders' forgiveness for disfiguring a gift of the ancestors.<sup>116</sup> Wailing mothers caressed the severed braids.

China was not the only country in a state of turmoil when Yuan died in 1916. Russia was in the process of changing from an autocratic czar to a communistic form of government during the Bolshevik Revolution. European countries were engaged in World War I which enlarged to include countries from several continents. The imperialists of the Pacific, the Japanese, took advantage of

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<sup>115</sup>Schirokauer, A Brief History of Chinese and Japanese Civilizations, 481.

<sup>116</sup>Lord, Spring Moon, 261.

the preoccupations of other imperialistic nations and presented the notorious Twenty-One Demands to the Chinese Republic. Of the demands, Yuan was forced to accept Japan's seizure of Germany's sphere in Shantung, grant Japan new rights in Manchuria and Inner Mongolia, and acknowledge Japanese special interest in China's largest iron and steel works (which had been the collateral for Japanese loans).<sup>117</sup> These concessions to Japan were humiliating to the Chinese, many of whom still thought of their homeland as Chung-Kuo, the Central Kingdom.

A student who read The Warlord would gain insight as to the implications of these demands. An uncle was explaining the significance of the Twenty-One Demands to his nephew. He told the young man that even though the youth was too young to remember the era of the demands, surely he had heard of them. He admonished his nephew that hearing was not always understanding. The demands had been a ultimatum from an island nation crowded with an expanding population. Japan was envious of the immense size of China and its abundance of natural resources. The uncle explained further that if all of the outrageous concessions had been granted, China would have become a Japanese colony. He concluded the lesson with a tone of dismay because the Japanese made even further gains. At the Paris Peace Conference in 1919, the German

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<sup>117</sup>Schirokauer, A Brief History of Chinese and Japanese Civilizations, 481.

sphere of influence at Tsing-tao was given to the Japanese. Tsing-tao proved to be a toe-hold for a base of military operations.<sup>118</sup> Dynasty reacted to the Chinese entry into World War I as a deterrent to Japanese aggression. One of the characters gave two reasons why the "Jap dwarfs" did not eat up China like sukiyaki; China entered World War I against the Central powers in 1917, and the students rioted in Peking in 1919. He justified the entry into the war as an obstacle to Japanese expansion, otherwise the neighboring island would have taken over half of China in the name of the allies. He lauded the student demonstrations which served to thwart the complete acceptance of the Twenty-One Demands by the ministers in Peking after Yüan Shih-k'ai died. The prevailing opinion of the characters was that the Japanese bribed the Chinese leaders.<sup>119</sup>

A student who reads Spring Moon would consider the Chinese entry into World War I from the vantage point of a patriarch. The grand-uncle, Bold Talent, thought China should have been neutral in World War I. President Wilson of the United States and the Kaiser William II were both Christian and it was a western war. China had no special grievance against Germany. He judged that Peking joined in anticipation of receiving additional arms and loans from the Allies. Considering past experiences with westerners, the

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<sup>118</sup> Bosse, The Warlord, 236.

<sup>119</sup> Elegant, Dynasty, 281.

elder stated, "I do not think our poor country can afford much more of the Allies' generosity."<sup>120</sup>

The national government continued to rule in Peking after the death of Yuan Shik-k'ai in 1916, but power was fragmented. Out of the weaknesses arose the era of the warlords, which was a complex period of history. John King Fairbank clearly and concisely explained the era in The United States and China. The scholar saw the phenomenon as regionalism which transferred into a power struggle. Chinese provinces were separated by natural boundaries; for example, Shansi province was protected by mountains on the east, the Yellow River on the south and west, and the Great Wall on the north. Within such naturally fortified geographic areas, warlords secured economic resources and recruited an abundant supply of coolies for training in their armies. Warlords were prevalent because a power vacuum existed. No one had gained the new mandate of heaven. The Ch'ing dynasty had toppled, Yuan had passed away, and political unity was lacking in the Republic.

The warlords used technology to their advantage. The steamship and railway provided the military units with new speed and mobility. The presence of foreigners in the treaty ports was a possible source of arms, funds and

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<sup>120</sup> Lord, Spring Moon, 312-313.



sometimes sanctuary. The rival warlords were quite a varied assortment.<sup>121</sup>

The most famous and certainly the most colorful warlord was Feng Yü-hsiang. The "Christian General" was a convert to Methodism who lived a disciplined, puritanical, life style. He was proud of his peasant background. Feng had the appearance of a general, for he was tall with a good physique. He carefully recruited and trained his troops. He provided them with recreation clubs and vocational education. He encouraged his soldiers to become Christians to the point that folklore credited Feng with baptizing his recruits with a fire hose. The general was a Christian, but he was also an opportunist. His loyalties shifted from accepting Russian aid in 1925-26, joining Chiang Kai-shek in 1927 and opposing Chiang in 1929. Eventually, he was an honored prisoner of the Kuomintang.<sup>122</sup>

The vigorous Feng Yü-hsiang was the favorite warlord used as a historical personality in designated novels of the era. Robert Elegant simplified the complex era by an illustration of two opposing groups: the power-people and the world-people. The warlords were the power-people who wanted power and spoils of war. The world-people were dedicated to making China a united, modern country with peace and prosperity.<sup>123</sup> Feng was a power-person. The novelist

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<sup>121</sup>Fairbank and Reischauer, China, 224-225.

<sup>122</sup>Ibid., 225.      <sup>123</sup>Elegant, Dynasty, 281.

pictured Feng as a "volatile Christian General who baptized his troops with firehoses and flirted indiscriminately with reactionaries."<sup>124</sup> He summed up Feng as capable of defection and duplicity.

The intrepid warlord, Feng, is also mentioned in From A Far Land. In this story, the "Christian General" planned an unsuccessful assassination of Chiang Kai-shek. Elegant portrayed Feng as treacherous and vocalized through Chiang that Feng was "as constant in his religion as in his alliances--that was, not at all."<sup>125</sup>

Feng Yü-hsiang is described by an adversary in The Warlord as more of a Taoist rabblouser than a Christian. He was criticized for getting his soldiers into a frenzy before battle by warning them that they will be tortured if captured. Consequently, his units were composed of dare-to-die men. The rival admitted that he would torture officers if they were captured, but not soldiers. After all, what good would a tortured peasant be? In discussing other tactics of Feng, his opponents always considered him a formidable adversary and a clever one too, who used fire-crackers as an excellent diversion.<sup>126</sup>

Chang Tsung-ch'ang would also interest students. Chang, known as the "Dog Meat General," was as cruel as

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<sup>124</sup>Ibid., 300.

<sup>125</sup>Elegant, From a Far Land, 205.

<sup>126</sup>Bosse, The Warlord, 250-251.

Feng Yü-hsiang was clever. A source book edited by Patricia Buckley Ebrey attributed the rise of warlords as a result of the disorder that followed after the abolition of the monarchy and the literary civil service examination system. Leeway was there and the warlords forcefully took advantage of the disorder. Many of the military lords were incompetent, corrupt, brutal, and destructive. Chang Tsung-Ch'ang was a salient example. Chang (1881-1932) rose from a poor juvenile delinquent to being governor of a province. Chang's soldiers were primarily bandits and his chief strategist was a fortuneteller. It was said that Chang was a warmonger who was fond of disorder. His ugly nature and vile deeds instigated the use of satirical quips to characterize his methods. The phrase "cut apart to catch the light" referred to human heads he ordered to be cut in half like watermelons to bask in sunlight. Human life had little value to Chang as did a balanced budget. He placed a tax on all things he could imagine from a tax on opium-pipe lighters to a tax on dogs, yet his province of Shantung was bankrupt. He was eventually assassinated by the son of a victim.<sup>127</sup>

The "Dog Meat General" was one of the warlords selected by Malcolm Bosse to include in The Warlord. He described Chang as an illiterate coolie who migrated to Manchuria for a stint as a bandit after which he joined Marshall Chang

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<sup>127</sup> Ebrey, Chinese Civilization and Society, 277-279.

Tso-lin's army. Chang Tsung-ch'ang later became the governor general of Shantung Province. The novelist's account of the "Dog Meat General" was in agreement with the assessment of Ebrey's well-researched sourcebook. Bosse depicted Chang as stupid, vicious, loud, obnoxious, vulgar and guilty of over-taxing his populace. One scene in The Warlord was staged on "Dog Meat's" White Lotus, a large paddle-wheel steamship with double stacks. A German company built the palace-on-water from designs of a nineteenth-century Mississippi River steamer. The lavish rugs, crystal chandeliers, marble floors, and polished wood were examples of how monies were spent. Bosse reserved one good quality for Chang Tsung-ch'ang, and that was unbending loyalty. "Old Dog Meat" always remembered his indebtedness to his mentor, Marshal Chang Tso-lin, the "Warlord of Manchuria."<sup>128</sup>

The warlord era was not the usual interregnum between mandates of heaven. There was no apparent workable solution to the empty dragon throne within or without Peking. The warlords had no blueprint for good government and the government in Peking had no dominant army. It seemed impossible to integrate new political power with new military power. Revolutionaries such as Sun Yat-sen, who returned to the political scene, were not able to unite the factions within China. The people suffered from insecurity and over-taxation. The government deteriorated to a nadir of

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<sup>128</sup>Bosse, The Warlord, 245-247.

demoralization. Fairbank and Reischauer admitted that the intricate relations defied description.<sup>129</sup>

Secret societies thrived in such chaos. Such societies were not new in China. In the mid-fourteenth century when there was an interdynastic contest prior to the founding of the Ming Dynasty, societies existed. Societies in opposition to any current dynasty would have to be secret in order to survive. The most famous was the White Lotus Society.<sup>130</sup> Offshoots of the White Lotus Society (and forerunners of the Boxers) appeared in 1813, but were suppressed. The Triad Society was first founded in 1674 by militant Buddhist monks who had been victimized by the government. At first the Triad slogan was "Overthrow the Ch'ing and restore the Ming." The brotherhood, sworn to eliminate the Manchus, developed elaborate rituals for the members. It became a fraternal organization with peaceful goals of maintaining high moral principles and helping fellow members. Traveling merchants, boatmen, transport coolies, petty officials, or even smugglers could depend upon help from Triad brothers when they used secret signs and passwords. Sun Yat-sen joined the American lodge of the Triad Society in Hawaii in 1903 and used it as a source for obtaining funds from Chinese in the United States. Sun later used the secret-society methods and established the "Chinese Revolutionary Party" (Chung-hua

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<sup>129</sup>Fairbank and Reischauer, China, 423-427.

<sup>130</sup>Ibid., 179.

Ko-ming Tang). This was a disciplined elite who were finger printed and swore personal loyalty to Sun.<sup>131</sup>

Lloyd Eastman, in a scholarly treatise on China, wrote that the political orientation of secret societies is probably exaggerated. The turn-of-the-century societies were verbose in their anti-Manchu stance, but they focused on smuggling, extortion, and controlling gambling operations. Nevertheless, the secret societies were appealing to common folk who had few avenues to vent their anger and discontent on the government. Over the long history of societies, a new direction was taken in the atmosphere of the Revolution of 1911. The new groups were often led by local elites, conservative in temperament and were known as protective societies. The most famous in the Republican period (1911-49) was the Red Spear Society. At the apogee of warlordism in the 1920s, villages formed self-defense corps to fend off bandits because the government protection had deteriorated. The difference between the Red Spear Society and others was that the leaders were religious masters. It must be added that the Red Spears also often stooped to kidnapping and looting when away from their home villages.<sup>132</sup>

The symbols used by secret societies were often elusive to the unsuspecting eye. Take, for example, the

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<sup>131</sup>Ibid., 290-291, 410, 424.

<sup>132</sup>Eastman, Family, Fields, and Ancestors, 224-229.

Willow Pattern design. This pattern on blue and white porcelain plates is not uncommon:

A Ming-roofed mansion in the right foreground is connected by a bridge to a cottage; beyond that is an island and a building in flames. Three figures appear on the bridge, two together and one following. Ascending <sup>133</sup>into the sky above the burning building are two doves.

Many students who read The Warlord would associate the description with the familiar plates that they had seen, perhaps in a department store, gift shop, or while eating dinner at their grandparents. The blue and white Willow Pattern has long been a favorite in England and North America ever since the fascination with the Orient in the nineteenth century. Those who have eaten from these plates or admired the pattern on tea pots or platters probably had no idea of the significance of the design.

Vera Rogacheva in The Warlord knew the romantic story of the design. The sad tale was about two lovers who died in a fire, which was set by her father. The lovers rose to heaven as two doves. General Tang informed her of the deeper meaning of the pattern. The pattern was supposed to be read in the opposite sequence of the story of young lovers. The version intended for members of the secret Hung Society was that in the early reign of the Manchu invaders, the Shao Lin monastery was powerful. The Manchus sent imperial troops to

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<sup>133</sup>Bosse, The Warlord, 339.

burn the monastery to help destroy Buddhism. Five monks escaped and under a peach tree, they founded the Hung Society to preserve the Chinese nation. In a pictorial way, the Hung members celebrated their martyrs and defied the Manchu interlopers. The Manchus suspected that the Willow Pattern was a revolutionary design with a concealed code and ordered them to be destroyed. The pattern was not lost because copies had been made in England.<sup>134</sup>

The secret societies did attract men such as Sun Yat-sen and Mao Tse-tung. These collaborations were brief and were subject to contradictions and quarrels. The goals were not the same. The brotherhoods were seeking satisfaction within the systems, whereas the goal of the revolutionaries was to overthrow the system. The warlord era was upstaged by the Nationalist Revolution of 1927.<sup>135</sup> The person who outmaneuvered the warlords was Chiang Kai-shek.

#### Conflict Between Kuomintang and Communism

The fictional character, Madame Liang, reminisced that the young revolutionaries under Sun Yat-sen did not realize that a government is created by the people to fulfill their needs. She realized that a nation cannot "borrow" a form of government from another nation. For ten years, the idealists struggled to implement the American ideal of government for

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<sup>134</sup> Bosse, The Warlord, 339, 340, 359.

<sup>135</sup> Eastman, Family, Fields, and Ancestors, 239.



the people, by the people. A student who read this novel would be baffled over the outcome. Instead of democracy, Madame Liang witnessed that China was inadvertently divided into warring factions. The imbalance was further complicated by the invasion of the Japanese. Another barbarian invader also came from the north, the Russians. This time the crafty Russians came with advisors saying, "Let us help you" and began organizing the Communist Party.<sup>136</sup> The Russians did not prevail in 1927 and the mandate of heaven temporarily passed to a military leader, Chiang Kai-shek.

Chiang Kai-shek was the successful challenger to the top position in the Kuomintang after the death of Sun Yat-sen in March of 1925. Sun had comprised many of the original goals of the nationalists and used students to his advantage. Students played a dynamic role in the changes made in China in the twentieth century. Robert Elegant prefaced From A Far Land with words about the decisive role played by the college students. The young intellectuals had been exposed to western ideas about democracy, feminism, liberty, and equality. Elegant wrote that the students, "exercised political influence wholly disproportionate to their numbers because of the inherent Chinese reverence for learning, another legacy of Confucius."<sup>137</sup>

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<sup>136</sup>Buck, The Three Daughters of Madame Liang, 75.

<sup>137</sup>Elegant, From A Far Land, p. xii.

The May Fourth Incident of 1919 illustrated the new influence of the students. The incident was more than a student revolt. It marked the emergence of nationalism that had been aroused since Japan's seizure of Shantung, and the Twenty-One Demands. The students demonstrated to protest the shabby treatment that China received at the Paris Peace Conference at the end of World War I in January of 1919. President Wilson's Fourteen Points, which included self-determinism and open diplomacy, did not protect China (an ally in World War I) against Japanese aggression. Intellectuals were outraged when they learned of the sell-out of the warlord government in Peking. The warlords signed secret agreements which confirmed Japan's occupation of Shantung. Three thousand college students endorsed a manifesto and violently demonstrated in Peking on May the fourth. Indignation spread nationwide as the students, both boys and girls, organized unions. The anti-Japanese fervor was endorsed by workers, merchants, writers, journalists, and teachers. Sun Yat-sen and the Canton government of southern China supported the students, whereas the warlord government of Peking tried to suppress the movement. The northern government imprisoned around 1150 students. In protest, week-long patriotic strikes swept the nation, which accelerated the release of the students. The cabinet resigned and China did not sign the Versailles Treaty.<sup>138</sup>

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<sup>138</sup>Fairbank and Reischauer, China, 434-435.

An American student would be astounded that college students could yield such influence. The novelist, Pearl Buck, gave insight into the Chinese regard for students when she described an incident on May 13, 1925. Foreigners from the International Settlement in Shanghai instructed their policemen to shoot into a crowd of raucous students if the youth did not disperse. The students still refused to leave. The police then shot into the crowd and several students were killed. The encounter illustrated a divergence of attitudes concerning proper conduct. To the westerners, the police were carrying out their duty. The police warned the students, the students chose to disobey the law, and the students suffered the consequences. To the Chinese, no law could condone the murder of the educated elite. Confucian morals taught that laws were to control criminals. Students were not criminals.<sup>139</sup> Madame Liang, who had participated in student demonstrations in her youth, agreed with the ancient philosophers that heaven created men who were different from each other. Scholars were gifted intellectually and were held in the highest esteem.<sup>140</sup>

From A Far Land highlighted the student movement in China. Before 1920, few Chinese universities admitted females; therefore, girls had to go abroad for higher education. Admittance policies changed in most universities

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<sup>139</sup>Buck, The Three Daughters of Madame Liang, 146-148.

<sup>140</sup>Ibid., 204.

after Peking University broke the barriers and admitted women. In the novel, the wealthy Howe family chose to send their daughter Emily to study in the United States. The Chinese father wanted the snob value of a foreign degree for Emily. Mr. Howe condescended to have his son, Tommy, educated at Peking Union Medical College because the faculty was mostly Americans. The Howe siblings did not attend Peking University due to its emphasis on politics. Characters in the novel jested about the reputation of the universities as perceived by many Chinese. The joke about Peking University was that it taught "reading, writing, and revolution."<sup>141</sup> Novels can reveal the humor of a populace, a feat which is difficult for scholarly works to accomplish. Quite often a message transmitted through jest was what the joker believed. One of the library assistants at the revolutionary Peking University was Mao Tse-tung, who was a student leader in the students' federation that Tommy and Emily Howe attended.

The May Fourth Incident convinced Sun Yat-sen that the fervor of students had potential in politics. He decided to utilize students in the reorganization of the Kuomintang. This idea juxtaposed with the influence of the doctrine of the Soviet Union. In 1919, Marxism-Leninism philosophy seemed to be a plausible balm to China's feeling of betrayal by the imperialist powers at the Paris Peace Conference.

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<sup>141</sup>Elegant, From A Far Land, 43-44.

Agents of the Communist International (Comintern) had established an organization in Shanghai. Chou En-lai, who had been active in the Young China Communist Party in Paris, was one of the most outstanding of the group who returned from France. Sun Yat-sen moved toward a working alliance with the Comintern. Sun gravitated to the communists because of the following factors: democratic countries did not respond to his pleas for aid, the Kuomintang parliament in Canton had a tendency to splinter, and his flimsy agreements with warlords collapsed.<sup>142</sup>

Cooperation with the Chinese Communist Party (CCP) was inevitable for the Kuomintang-Comintern Alliance. The two groups remained separate, but Communist Party members could join the Kuomintang as individuals. Sun used CCP members in important positions. Michael Borodin, a Soviet adviser, ran a political institute to teach propagandists how to gain mass support. The Soviet model was used to organize a hierarchy beginning with local cells, through regional levels, to the national party congress. The inclusion of a few hundred CCP members did not threaten Sun, as the Kuomintang had scores of thousands. Sun compromised many of the original goals of his party, but of his three principles, nationalism was the prime principle. Nationalism changed from anti-Manchu of 1905 to anti-imperialism.<sup>143</sup>

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<sup>142</sup>Fairbank and Reischauer, China, 437, 438, 445.

<sup>143</sup>Ibid., 443-445.

Dynasty explored the dilemma of Sun Yat-sen. The character, Sir Jonathan Sekloong, in reverie, wondered what might have happened if Sun Yat-sen had not resigned the presidency in 1912. He imagined what might have developed if Sun had succeeded in his mission to save China by cooperation with the warlords in 1924. As history did unfold, a Chinese solution to China's problems appeared impossible. The novelist followed the same reasoning of Fairbank and Reischauer in that Sun turned to the Soviet Union in desperation. The West did not provide technical assistance, arms or funds that might have enabled Sun to survive with a liberal regime that would foster mutually advantageous commerce. Sir Jonathan thought the rejected Kuomintang leader sold the nation to the Bolsheviks. It was a dear price to pay. Sun transformed his Kuomintang into an authoritarian party and took the fledging Communist Party members into the Kuomintang as Moscow desired. In return, few material benefits were forthcoming from the Soviets. Sir Jonathan thought his friend, Sun Yat-sen, had been foolhardy.<sup>144</sup>

Bette Boa Lord spoke of the plight of China through a character in Spring Moon:

Nothing has changed. Famine in the North. Floods in the South. Warlords fighting all around. Politicians calling for justice. Students striking. Foreigners foreclosing. Teachers demanding more discipline. The

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<sup>144</sup>Elegant, Dynasty, 300-301.

Soviets are our allies. The Americans are unreliable. Japan is the enemy. Sun is mounting another campaign. Confucius is confused.<sup>145</sup>

The confusion was not resolved before Sun Yat-sen's death of cancer at the age of fifty-nine. The leadership of the Kuomintang transferred to Sun's loyal follower, Chiang Kai-shek, in 1925.

Sun had confidence in the Japanese-educated Chiang Kai-shek. The mentor furthered Chiang's education by sending him to study military methods in the Soviet Union in 1923. After the stint in Moscow, Chiang was appointed to head the new Whampoa Military Academy, where he was successful in training Chinese officers.<sup>146</sup> Chiang was a primary historical personality in several of the works of fiction used in this dissertation.

Robert Elegant placed Chiang Kai-shek as the role model for Thomas Sekloong in Dynasty. Chiang's vita in the novel included his years in the following positions: a student in the Tokyo Military Academy, Commandant of the Whampoa Academy, Commander-in-Chief of the National Revolutionary Army, and as an appointed (due to his study in the Soviet Union) honorary member of the Executive Committee of the Communist International. Elegant cleverly worded that Chiang was a "Confucianist by conviction, soon to be a Methodist by

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<sup>145</sup> Lord, Spring Moon, 349.

<sup>146</sup> Schirokauer, A Brief History of Chinese and Japanese Civilization, 493.

conversion, and an unwavering opponent of his Party's pro-Soviet left wing by instinct."<sup>147</sup>

There was yet another association that Sun Yat-sen and Chiang Kai-shek shared. They were brothers-in-law. Sun Yat-sen married Soong Ching-ling and Chiang Kai-shek married her younger sister, Soong May-ling. It was not until after Sun Yat-sen died that Chiang Kai-shek seriously courted May-ling, so that the men were not part of the Soong family simultaneously. The Soong family would fascinate students to the point that when reading a novel, the Soongs' antics would rival those of any of the fictional characters. The father of this dynamic family was a Yale graduate, Charlie Soong (Han Chao-shun). Elegant described Charlie Soong as a Methodist who was one of the richest and most strongly western-oriented men in China.<sup>148</sup>

Robert Elegant explained the family connections in greater detail in From A Far Land, which should be read by students interested in the Soong family. The siblings included in this novel were: Ai-ling, called Nanny; Ching-ling, called Rosamonde; May-ling, called Little May; and their brother, T. V. Soong.<sup>149</sup> All of these Soongs

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<sup>147</sup>Elegant, Dynasty, 303-304.

<sup>148</sup>Elegant, From A Far Land, 104-105.

<sup>149</sup>It is interesting to note that the names were spelled in various ways; May-ling was also Mei-ling or Mai-ling. As described in Chapter I of this dissertation, it was customary in Chinese families to use a common character in each child's name. This explains why each sister had the name "ling."



were Methodists and received degrees from colleges in the United States. All the girls married prominent men. The eldest, Ai-ling, married H. H. Kung, a Ph.D. from Yale. Kung, as well as the Soongs, was proud of his ancestry for he was the seventy-fifth lineal descendant of Confucius. Ching-ling married an older man, Dr. Sun Yat-sen, the founder of the Kuomintang. May-ling married Chiang Kai-shek and became the First Lady of Nationalist China.<sup>150</sup>

The American education of the Soong sisters was verified by the librarian at Wesleyan College in Macon, Georgia. Charlie Soong selected the southern college for women for his daughters on the advice of Reverend William Burke, a Methodist missionary to China. The eldest two daughters were graduated from Wesleyan--a Bachelor of Arts was awarded Ai-ling in 1909 and Ching-ling in 1913. May-ling left Wesleyan at the end of her freshman year because both of her sisters graduated. She transferred to Wellesley to be near her brother, T. V., who was at Harvard.<sup>151</sup>

The Soong sister's years at Wesleyan and subsequent visits to the campus have been well documented in the college archives. The Wesleyan students were almost correct in the class prophecy of 1909, when Ai-ling was predicted to be the wife of the leader of China. Ching-ling must have foreseen

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<sup>150</sup> Elegant, From A Far Land, 104-105.

<sup>151</sup> Tina Roberts, librarian at Wesleyan College, letter dated April 12, 1990.

as her destiny the necessity to contribute to her homeland upon her return. She wrote an essay in The Wesleyan in 1911 on the need for modern education in China. She deplored the graft, nepotism, and dishonesty that had existed for hundreds of years in the Chinese government. Ching-ling wrote of the advantages of western education over the traditional proficiency in Chinese classics. She felt the key to implementing modern education was through the returning students. She criticized the Chinese government for using other methods:

The government accordingly invited from abroad eminent professors to lecture in the universities and colleges. Interpreters were employed to translate the lectures into the vernacular, but frequently they proved incompetent, and misrepresented the lectures through ignorance of the subject, and the ridiculous results can be easily imagined. The students returning from Western colleges, competent to present Western ideals to the Chinese in their own tongue, have therefore been welcomed with open arms . . . By the wise counsel of these men, normal colleges are being established all over the northern and eastern provinces for the training of future teachers, with the American and European educated Chinese as professors.<sup>152</sup>

This student essay revealed Ching-ling's commitment to western education and to the transfer of knowledge to others in her homeland. Higher education for Chinese women was considered extraordinary. Degrees were not wasted on the Soong trio. They each in divergent ways, contributed to the homeland they loved.

Sterling Seagrave, in The Soong Dynasty, described each sister. Ai-ling became the personal secretary of Sun Yat-sen

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<sup>152</sup>Soong, Ching-ling. "The Influence of Foreign Educated Students on China," The Wesleyan, November, 1911.

when she returned to China. She soon married H. H. Kung, a member of one of China's richest banking families. By coincidence, the couple first met in New York in 1906. She left Georgia at the same time he left Yale for a visit to the city. After marriage, she became interested in finances and was notorious for her wheeling-and-dealing.<sup>153</sup> Ai-ling was mentioned only in her connection with the other members of the Soong family in the novels consulted, and was not mentioned at all in the textbooks consulted. According to The Soong Dynasty, she was perhaps the wealthiest woman to ever have compiled a fortune with her own cunning. Seagrave credited Ai-ling as the broker for May-ling's marriage to Chiang Kai-shek, and as the architect to the Soongs' rise to power.<sup>154</sup>

Sun Yat-sen needed another secretary after Ai-ling married. Ching-ling, who had returned from Wesleyan, filled the position, and much more. A winter-spring romance developed between Sun, who was almost fifty, and Ching-ling, who was twenty. Sun Yat-sen had been Charlie Soong's closest friend for twenty years. When Sun eloped with Ching-ling, Charlie Soong was furious. He felt betrayed when he learned of the secret ceremony. Sun Yat-sen had been married for years and had a grown son. He told Ching-ling that he had

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<sup>153</sup> Sterling Seagrave, The Soong Dynasty, (New York: Harper and Row, Publishers, 1985), 134.

<sup>154</sup> Ibid., 451.

divorced his wife, when in fact he had not. The religious Soongs were shocked that their daughter had been deceived and was nothing more than a mistress. The breach between the two friends never healed and Charlie Soong died soon thereafter.<sup>155</sup>

Ching Ling was an ardent supporter of her husband and continued to help him with correspondence in English. In From A Far Land, a comment was made by a British character that Rosamonde was obviously still acting as her husband's secretary. He clarified by adding that a letter from Sun was written in idiomatic English with American spelling.<sup>156</sup> This assumption was substantiated in a letter the bride wrote to a classmate at Wesleyan:

I am happy and try to help my husband as much as possible with his English correspondence. My French has greatly improved and I am now able to read French papers and translate by sight easily. So you see marriage for me is like going to school except that there are no 'exams' to trouble me.<sup>157</sup>

Their years of marriage were few because Sun Yat-sen died in 1925. The young widow became the guardian of Sun's revolutionary ideals and was unwavering in her devotion to her deceased husband. Ching-ling's love for an older man caused an estrangement with her parents. Her political persuasions resulted in a breach with her sister, May-ling.

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<sup>155</sup> Ibid., 136-143.

<sup>156</sup> Elegant, From A Far Land, 127.

<sup>157</sup> Seagrave, The Soong Dynasty, 138.

When Madame Sun Yat-sen died in 1981, Madame Chiang Kai-shek refused the invitation to her sister's funeral in Peking.<sup>158</sup> Charlotte Haldane wrote that these two exceptionally intelligent and lovely girls were the first nationally known women leaders in China since Tz'u-hsi. They were paragons in the women's struggle for equality. Madame Chiang Kai-shek, a Methodist, became the First Lady of Formosa. Madame Sun Yat-sen, who reassumed her maiden name, became drawn to communism and was honored with the title of Vice President of the Chinese People's Republic.<sup>159</sup> Robert Elegant, in From A Far Land, also pointed out that Ching-ling reverted to her maiden name and that she was the Vice-Chairman of the Chinese People's Political Consultative Council. She never joined the Chinese Communist Party. Elegant interjected that she thought the communists offered China their only hope, but was upon occasion appalled by their ruthless methods. In the novel, Ching-ling was respected and deemed unique because both the nationalist and the communists venerated her husband as the father of the Chinese Republic.<sup>160</sup> Sterling Seagrave confirmed that Soong Ching-ling was not a communist. There were discrepancies in her title. In the novel, Elegant stated she was Vice Chairman of the Chinese People's Political Consultative Council, the author, Haldane,

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<sup>158</sup> Ibid., 461.

<sup>159</sup> Haldane, The Last Great Empress of China, 270-271.

<sup>160</sup> Elegant, From A Far Land, 5-6.

stated she was Vice President of the Chinese People's Republic, and Seagrave stated she was Vice Chairman of the Central Government.<sup>161</sup> It is a pity that Ching-ling does not receive greater recognition in scholarly texts. Her exploits and close encounters with death are vividly described by the novelist as she escaped from a warlord's invasion in Canton. The reader would envision a brave, as well as dedicated, lady.

From A Far Land presented the three Soong sisters in the narrative by intertwining their lives with the fictional characters. A student would find the lives of these ladies to be spellbinding. Madame Chiang Kai-shek was included in textbooks primarily for her role in securing American aid for the Nationalists. Madame Sun Yat-sen received less coverage. Fairbank and Resichauer included one photograph of the Generalissimo, Madame Chiang Kai-shek, and the American General Stillwell. Madame Sun Yat-sen was featured in a photograph with her husband and in the background of a photograph of liberals in Shanghai.<sup>162</sup> Fairbank and Reischauer's text did include the family connections of these women, the role of T. V. Soong as finance minister, the staunch Methodist convictions of the Soongs, and the use Chiang made of the Soong family connections with the West. A student who only read the text would miss the intrigue, conflicts, double-dealing, and profound influence that the

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<sup>161</sup>Seagrave, The Soong Dynasty, 459.

<sup>162</sup>Fairbank and Reischauer, China, 444, 459, 470.

Soong family had upon Chinese history in the twentieth century. In an age when publishers are emphasizing the role of women in history, the authors of textbooks are neglecting an ideal opportunity. The roles of both Madame Sun Yat-sen and Madame Chiang Kai-shek should be emphasized. These educated women would be an inspiration to American students, and especially to American students of Chinese ancestry. For example, the fact that Madame Chiang Kai-shek addressed the American Congress, or that she was regarded for decades as one of the world's Ten Most Admired Women, might inspire female students.

May-ling, the youngest of the three sisters was probably spoiled. She had persuasive powers to obtain most of her goals. Seagrave documented that Charlie Soong prematurely decided to send May-ling to school in America when she was only eight years old. He was in danger of arrest in China and probably thought his offspring was safer studying in the United States during the turbulent year of 1907.<sup>163</sup> After first attending elementary school in Demorest, Georgia, May-ling received special consideration from the new president at Wesleyan College, Bishop W. N. Ainsworth, to live at Wesleyan so she would be near Ching-ling:

people bent, broke, or rewrote the rules to accommodate her. She had free run of the college and was regarded as a mascot by the older girls. Although she had her own

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<sup>163</sup> Seagrave, The Soong Dynasty, 110.

room in the dormitory, not far from the chamberpots, May-ling spent most of her time in President Ainsworth's home. The Ainsworth's had a daughter, Eloise, a frail but lively spirit, who was only two years younger. They took fast to each other and were racing through the hallways of the Victorian main building, spying and playing tricks on the college girls.<sup>164</sup>

May-ling was precocious, mischievous, witty, and charming. When she finally entered Wesleyan as a freshman, she did not prove to be a literary scholar like her diligent sister, Ching-ling. May-ling did not apply herself and relied on her wit and flair. She was described as beautiful and popular, but was also bent to pouting and brooding.<sup>165</sup> Novelists attributed similar personality traits to May-ling as an adult. Robert Elegant described May-ling as a totally self-possessed person who was slightly condescending. Elegant wrote so that the reader would view May-ling from the eyes of two peers prior to May-ling's engagement. May-ling's mother, the formidable Mammie Soong, disapproved of the idea of her daughter marrying the Generalissimo Chiang Kai-shek. Mammie Soong turned down Chiang's request to May-ling's hand in marriage. The two friends both knew that May-ling would eventually have her way and marry Chiang. The devout matriarch did give in to her daughter's wishes after Chiang promised to consider becoming a Methodist. Elegant described the Christian wedding of the eminent couple in detail. The Chinese friend saw more than a lovely bride with a demure expression, she noted that the bride's eyes blazed in fierce

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<sup>164</sup> Ibid., 113.

<sup>165</sup> Ibid., 115.



triumph and having won, she looked magnificent in her victory. After the ceremony, the couple bowed in front of the portrait of the deceased Sun Yat-sen. Madame Sun Yat-sen, who was living in the same city, was the only member of the clan who was not present at her little sister's wedding.<sup>166</sup>

Dynasty, predicted a rosy future for the newlyweds. The shrewd Chiang claimed military and political authority over the demoralized nationalists. The Machiavellian Chiang appealed to westerners. He embraced Methodism and abandoned the Bolsheviks. He won foreign support as the champion of a law-abiding China and capitalism.<sup>167</sup>

Sun Yat-sen had learned from the communists, but Chiang Kai-shek decided to break away from the communists in 1927. John King Fairbank concisely described the rise of the Kuomintang. Sun had reorganized the Kuomintang along Soviet lines as a marriage of convenience because the western powers rejected his requests for aid. After Sun's unexpected death in 1925, the compromised Kuomintang split into right and left wings. The left wing of the party, supported by the communists, was headed by Madame Sun Yat-sen, Wang Ching-wei (Sun's chief disciple), and Borodin (the Soviet chief advisor). Wuhan, an industrial center, was

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<sup>166</sup>Elegant, From A Far Land, 313, 354.

<sup>167</sup>Elegant, Dynasty, 350.

proclaimed the new capital. This government was weak militarily.<sup>168</sup>

The right wing was led by Chiang Kai-shek. These conservatives established a capital at Nanking by brute force. The Nanking government ferreted out Chinese communists from its ranks and initiated a nationwide terror to suppress the communists. After failure to execute a coup in Canton, the communists withdrew to the rural mountains of Kiangsi province in Central China. According to Fairbank, Stalin had planned to drop the Kuomintang allies as "squeezed-out lemons," but Chiang Kai-shek squeezed first. Perhaps Moscow failed because of lack of instantaneous radio communications to distant China. At any rate, Ch'en Tu-hsiu, the founder and leader of the Chinese Communist Party was expelled in 1929. Chiang Kai-shek consolidated his gains and led a northern expedition to Peking. The warlord of Manchuria recognized the jurisdiction of the nationalists and Chiang had nominally unified China.<sup>169</sup>

A student who read The Warlord would have the advantage of viewing Chiang Kai-shek from the perspective of the fictitious warlord, Tang. The warlord described Chiang as a man of average height, ramrod military posture, close cropped hair, slim frame, youthful appearance, and often dressed in full uniform with a high collar, a long black cape, and gray

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<sup>168</sup>Fairbank, The United States and China, 235-241.

<sup>169</sup>Ibid., 241-242.

gloves. Chiang greeted everyone with quiet efficiency which eschewed warmth and heartiness. The generalissimo obviously wanted others to perceive him as a man of considerable control. The warlord portrayed Chiang as an opportunist who would appeal to others in the frame of reference that would be most tactful. For example, when conversing with Tang, Chiang quoted Confucius; but when he talked with an American journalist, Chiang espoused Christianity.<sup>170</sup>

Tang's assessment of Chiang's marriage was cutting. The warlord reasoned that Chiang was seizing a unique opportunity by marrying a beautiful, American-educated woman from a wealthy family. The union would bind Chiang to the house of Sun Yat-sen and give him the best business contacts in China. Tang laughed when he disclosed that Chiang's trip to Japan was not to study economics for five years as he claimed, but instead to meet Soong May-ling's mother, who was vacationing in Japan. The warlord laughed again when he thought of a divorced Buddhist trying to cajole a Christian matriarch.<sup>171</sup>

The novelist has the advantage of contriving characters who can reflect the position of any viewpoint. Elegant ingeniously did this in Dynasty. Two brothers were used to develop stances for support of possible leaders of the Kuomintang. Harry Sekloong wanted his mentor Wang Ching-wei,

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<sup>170</sup> Bosse, The Warlord, 326, 423, 424.

<sup>171</sup> Ibid., 433-434.

to be Sun Yat-sen's successor rather than Chiang Kai-shek. Harry felt that the Chinese communist's own ineptitude, and Moscow's conflicting orders, caused their downfall. Harry's brother, Thomas Sekloong, supported the generalissimo. Thomas saw his favorite contender as a man who used modern weapons to repel rapacious foreigners. Thomas Sekloong thought the communists were the vanguard of a new barbarian invasion of Russians from north of the Great Wall. He was satisfied that the mandate of heaven had passed to a Chinese, Chiang Kai-shek.<sup>172</sup>

#### China Under Mao Tse-tung

Scholarly sources give factual accounts of the rise of the communists under Mao. Mao Tse-tung and his loyal followers began a perilous retreat in 1934 when Chiang Kai-shek had the upper hand and was trying to exterminate his opposition. Fairbank pointed out that the Chinese communists were out of touch with Moscow, under continual harassment, and were wandering to an unknown destination. This legendary trek became known as The Long March. The march transversed eleven provinces which required crossing eighteen mountain ranges and twenty-four rivers. The journey of 6,600 miles lasted a full year. The CCP leaders and less than 20,000 troops reached Shensi

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<sup>172</sup>Elegant, Dynasty, 301-342.

province in 1935. Headquarters were transferred to Yen-an in 1936.<sup>173</sup>

Schirokauer gave a more detailed account of the Long March. Only ten percent of the original 100,000 completed the march. Many perished due to starvation, eating poisonous vegetables gathered on the plains, drinking contaminated water, or in skirmishes. After subtracting those left behind and adding recruits, Schirokauer also reported the number of survivors as 20,000. The most interesting incident was when "at one point they had no alternative but to cross a mountain torrent spanned by a thirteen-chained suspension bridge from which the enemy, armed and waiting on the other side, had removed the planks."<sup>174</sup> The hardened survivors felt confident that the Chinese communists would survive.

Novels can provide factual information in a more interesting perspective. The human interest stories inherent in such an ordeal were certain to be included in novels. Bette Boa Lord wrote that the marchers covered the 6,000 miles in 368 days. Students who chose to read Spring Moon would have an appreciation of the dangers the Red Army encountered. At the River of Golden Sands, a torrent churned through a mile-high gorge, destroying the bridge. The marchers

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<sup>173</sup>Fairbank, The United States and China, 288-289.

<sup>174</sup>Schirokauer, A Brief History of Chinese and Japanese Civilization, 537.

commandeered only six boats, consequently it took nine days and nights for all of them to cross the river.<sup>175</sup>

Lord gave an account of the episode of the iron chain bridge in a more dramatic style than Schirokauer. The novelist described the Red and White armies race along opposite shores of the Tatu River. They were headed for the Luting bridge, both mindful that twice before in history, great armies had perished on this site. The communists marched by the spring-flooded river for three days and three nights with infrequent rest stops of only ten minutes. Mao's men reached the Luting bridge, but to their dismay, only thirteen iron chains were swaying in the wind high above the bridge. Lord wrote of how they transversed the 800 feet between the towering cliffs:

At nightfall, the peasant general and twenty-one volunteers started across, inch by inch, hand over hand, swinging from the chains. Shots rang out. A man fell, then another.

At last, some reached the remaining planks. Flames shot up. Through the fire the peasant general rushed the enemy. The Luting was secured.<sup>176</sup>

This indelible account in Spring Moon would make an impact upon any student who enjoyed adventure.

Bette Boa Loyd conveyed to the reader of the novel how the rag-tag army kept their minds occupied on the journey. One method was to teach illiterate members as they walked. A Chinese character was written on the back of each soldier's shirt. The soldier was taught the meaning of the character

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<sup>175</sup>Lord, Spring Moon, 429.

<sup>176</sup>Ibid.

on his back. As they trudged along, each soldier repeated his word to the one directly behind. Periodically, the soldiers changed places and the cadre all learned new words.<sup>177</sup>

Robert Elegant's figures of the distance of the Long March and the number of survivors did not completely agree with those of the scholars, Fairbank and Schirokauer, or the novelist, Bette Boa Lord. Elegant stated that the communists embarked upon an 8,000 mile march (instead of 6,000) to Shensi province. He numbered the survivors as 16,000 out of 100,000 (instead of 20,000).<sup>178</sup>

Mao-Tse-tung solidified the communists during the years they lived and worked from caves in Yen-an. Gradually urban intellectuals were attracted to the programs of the CCP, as well as the peasants. In 1937, ironically, the CCP joined with the Kuomintang in a united front against Japanese invaders. Schirokauer stated that the details are not clear, but after the communists intervened to free Chiang Kai-shek (who was being held as a prisoner by Marshall Chang), the united front emerged.<sup>179</sup> While Japan continued to conquer more of China, and World War II became a global war, both Mao and Chiang held back. Schirokauer explained:

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<sup>177</sup> Ibid., 430.

<sup>178</sup> Elegant, Dynasty, 363.

<sup>179</sup> Schirokauer, A Brief History of Chinese and Japanese Civilization, 538.

Chiang was unwilling to commit his troops to battle with the Japanese more than was absolutely necessary, or to do anything that might strengthen the armies of the CCP, because he was convinced that after the war with Japan there would be an all-out confrontation with the communists that would determine China's future.<sup>180</sup>

This confrontation did occur notwithstanding an attempt at mediation on the part of General George Marshall of the United States. The conflict began in mid-1946. The communists triumphed in 1949 and Mao Tse-tung established the capital of the People's Republic of China in Peking. Chiang Kai-shek and his nationalists retreated to the island of Taiwan. This brief summary of the ascent of Mao Tse-tung was even more concise in the novel, Spring Moon:

From these cadres, soldiers, peasants and boys of the Long March came the comrades who fought the Brown Dwarfs, won the civil war, repulsed the Imperialists, expelled the Polar Bear, and under the leadership of the Great Helmsman imposed order over one fourth of humanity.<sup>181</sup>

The author of this dissertation selected Mao's Cultural Revolution to consider in greater detail in lieu of other events in his extraordinary life. The dates of the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution was from 1965 to 1969. Prior to this revolution, Mao had established the communist government and determined the boundaries of the domain. These are a few of the measures he employed. In 1951-52, the "three anti" campaign against waste, corruption, and bureaucratism disciplined the CCP membership. The "five anti" campaign against bribery, tax evasion, fraud, stealing

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<sup>180</sup> Ibid., 543.

<sup>181</sup> Lord, Spring Moon, 430.



of state property, and theft of economic secrets gradually turned over private property to the state. The attack on the "Four Pests" (rats, sparrows, flies, and mosquitoes) achieved improvements in public health. The economy pursued Five-Year Plans based on Soviet models with moderate success followed by the Great Leap Forward, 1958-1961, which was terminated because of its modest gains and failure in agriculture. These programs gave the masses of people the feeling that China would be strengthened by the combined efforts of the government and the people instead of experts and technocrats. China split with the Soviet Union in 1959 at which time Soviet technicians left China. In 1964, China exploded its first atomic bomb.<sup>182</sup> Then came the "explosion" of the Cultural Revolution in the following year.

The scholars, Fairbank and Reischauer, considered reasons why Mao implemented such a drastic revolution. The economic expectations of communism had not materialized. The CCP leadership was breaking into factions, partially because of the strain of decision making as to the course to pursue after the Soviet industrial models were abandoned. Mao Tse-tung believed in the power of the peasants. He asserted that once energized, the will of the masses could conquer all.<sup>183</sup>

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<sup>182</sup>Schirokauer, A Brief History of Chinese and Japanese Civilization, 600-608.

<sup>183</sup>Fairbank and Reischauer, China, 513-514.

Malcolm Bosse, the novelist, emphasized Mao's continuing reliance on the peasant. He created a conversation where Mao stated that it was not hard to get the peasant "going." The first step was to make the peasant aware of his poverty. Once they knew they were poor, then they could try to something about it. It was that simple. This premise was true before the Long March and was applicable for the Cultural Revolution:

When millions of peasants finally rise, they will become a flood more powerful than the Yellow River, and their force will be so fierce and swift that no power on earth can stop it. And when they rise, we must make them into new men, free of selfishness and imperialistic habits.<sup>184</sup>

Fairbank and Reischauer listed five alternatives and the directions Mao Tse-tung selected. The first was "voluntarism versus planning"; Mao was less concerned with economic planning, such as five-year plans, than with politics. He wanted voluntarism. He preferred to de-emphasize the ruling class, bureaucracy, and central control, in favor of the local initiative and the peasant. The second was "leader versus commissar"; Mao envisioned himself as above his colleagues and revered by the masses. The third was "the mass line versus party building"; Mao advocated struggle, with the cadres stirring up the spirit of the people. The fourth was "village versus city"; Mao, who disdained urban centers, yearned for an omniscient person who was a multi-talented farmer, craftsman, and militia

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<sup>184</sup>Bosse, The Warlord, 529-531.

soldier. The fifth in the dualism was "Red versus expert"; Mao initiated political indoctrination of the party organizers instead of professionally trained government specialists.<sup>185</sup>

James Sekloong, a principal character in Dynasty, described the origin of the Chinese Cultural Revolution from an insider's vantage point. The scene was when Mao imposed his personal will on the Central Committee of the CCP. The novelist voiced through Lin Piao, the director of the new task force, the objectives of the Cultural Revolution. Lin Piao declared, "Chairman Mao is the central axis and we are the millstones that revolve on that axis and grind fine." He continued, "Only the Chairman can command, and we must unswervingly obey his every command."<sup>186</sup> Sekloong was startled by the jubilant response of the audience, composed of students, workers, and Red Guards, who lined the gallery.

The novelist projected through James Sekloong the proposals accepted by acclamation that would launch the Cultural Revolution:

Create entire new society after destroying--totally--all old ideas, culture, customs, and habits. Dismiss all erring officials throughout the nation. Erect new government structures called Revolutionary Committees to replace all existing government and party organs. Establish reformed educational system and create totally new culture. License adolescent Red Guards to rampage through China--burning and killing to impose new order.<sup>187</sup>

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<sup>185</sup> Fairbank and Reischauer, China, 515-515.

<sup>186</sup> Elegant, Dynasty, 576.      <sup>187</sup> Ibid., 577.

Mao unleashed mass hysteria that lasted for several years. The pinnacle was 1967, then the intensity tapered off and culminated with the leader's death in 1976. Mao's tactics used mass meetings, parades, displays, propaganda, and the energy of the youth to purge the CCP from without. Teenage school students were organized into the Red Guard who were to "learn revolution by making revolution." The Red Guards imitated the Long March of their parents by dispersing themselves throughout the countryside. The youth violently attacked people and objects that they perceived to represent the "four olds"; old ideology, thoughts, habits, and customs. Their source book was a small red booklet, Quotations from Chairman Mao Tse-tung. The Red Guard seized the axioms of Mao found in the book to fortify their resolve. The cult of Mao overshadowed the media and the CCP. Revolutionary committees were established at all levels of government to implement the new ideology. Intellectuals and bureaucrats shuddered. Universities closed. In 1968 Mao disbanded the Red Guards, many of whom were sent to the farms. In 1969, the ninth Party Congress elected a new central committee, wrote a new constitution, and Lin Piao was named as Mao's successor. The universities gradually reopened in the 1970's.<sup>188</sup>

The affect of the Cultural Revolution was expressed in The Three Daughters of Madame Liang. Fairbank and Reischauer

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<sup>188</sup>Fairbank and Reischauer, China, 520-522.

gave a factual account of the Cultural Revolution, but in the novel, Madame Liang placed the reader in the position of understanding how the event influenced individual lives. Madame Liang, who had been educated abroad, was loyal to China even though she did not approve of the communist rule. From her elitist frame of reference she thought of Mao Tse-tung as a man born between classes. His father was minor gentry, so he was snubbed by the literate class and was thought of as a landlord by the peasants. Therefore, simultaneously he belonged to neither class, yet to both classes. Such a man cunningly used the peasants to elevate himself. Later the Chairman released the "dragon" of the peasant youth.<sup>189</sup> In the setting of Madame Liang's gourmet restaurant, a communist official, Comrade Li explained to a colleague that Chairman Mao would use the youths because rebellion was indigenous to the youth.<sup>190</sup>

Robert Elegant presented an interesting analogy when he wrote of Mao's appearance at a rally at the Plaza of the Gate of Heavenly Peace. Mao, who had not appeared in public for a decade, was hailed by the youth as a Renaissance king who commissioned them to wage war against the wicked nobles. He was enthusiastically received even though Elegant described Mao's gait as that of a shuffling robot. Mao, whose head turned from side to side like a clockwork doll, was suffering

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<sup>189</sup> Buck, The Three Daughters of Madame Liang, 103.

<sup>190</sup> *Ibid.*, 294.

from Parkinson's Disease.<sup>191</sup> Schirokauer, in a history text, did not mention Parkinsonism as did the novelist, Elegant. Schirokauer referred to Mao as an old man, but pointed out that Mao "dramatically displayed his physical vigor by publicly swimming some ten miles across the Yangtze River five months before he turned 74 in 1966."<sup>192</sup>

Pearl Buck, a novelist, also mentioned that Mao could swim the mighty Yangtze in his old age. Buck verbalized through Madame Liang that the people worshiped Mao as a god-hero. She compared the Chairman to Emperor Ch'in, who ruled like a tyrant, yet won the devotion of the people. Madame Liang reasoned that the people were frightened because gods were forbidden under communism. If the people had no god, they would create one of their own--Mao Tse-tung.<sup>193</sup>

Eastman, in a scholarly work, recorded that the communists actively tried to discontinue religion and its associated superstitions. Geomancers and shamans were not allowed to practice after 1949. During the Great Leap Forward, temples were destroyed or converted into communes or offices. The Cultural Revolution intensified the suppression of religion. The Red Guards destroyed ancestral tablets,

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<sup>191</sup>Elegant, Dynasty, 578.

<sup>192</sup>Schirokauer, A Brief History of Chinese and Japanese Civilizations, 612.

<sup>193</sup>Buck, The Three Daughters of Madame Liang, 241-242.

altars, and relics. The purge was so thorough that even the burning of incense became politically dangerous.<sup>194</sup>

The vanguard of Mao's Cultural Revolution were the Red Guards. The students knew nothing but the communistic system of government. They were products of communist doctrine and they looked upon their aged leader as a deity. They were frustrated with the inadequacies of the system and willingly implemented Mao's purge of the party. The youth were idealistic as they tried to purify the party. They sought to destroy any who spoke against Mao. They turned in parents, scholars, or any person they thought were opposed to the Cultural Revolution. China was again under siege. In the novel, Dynasty, the youthful Tou-tou Sekloong declared, "We Red Guards will smash not only the outward semblances of the old world. We will totally destroy all bourgeoisie vestiges--and all remaining bourgeoisie."<sup>195</sup> Her own father, who held a high position in the CCP, refrained from arguing with Tou-tou. The prudent father was a survivor like his mentor, Chou En-lai.

Elegant's novel gave examples that are lacking in the textbooks. These examples give the reader a glimpse of the extremes of the Red Guards. One example was of how uncooperative party officials were discredited. The Secretary-General of the CCP, Teng Hsias-ping, was paraded

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<sup>194</sup>Eastman, Family, Field and Ancestors, 244.

<sup>195</sup>Elegant, Dynasty, 580.

through the streets of Peking wearing a placard which proclaimed him an enemy of the people. The Red Guards pelted the Secretary-General with rotten food and human excrement. A second example was how the Red Guards treated a scholar, "a ninety-two-year-old former Imperial Mandarin was frog-marched through the streets of Tientsin in a dunce cap for refusing to destroy a seven-hundred-year-old scroll."<sup>196</sup> These public humiliations were irretrievable in a culture that emphasized "saving face."

The Soong sisters were highlighted earlier in this chapter as exceptional women in China in the twentieth century. Novels dealing with the Cultural Revolution stressed that Chairman Mao's wife Chiang Ching was an outspoken woman in this movement. The scholar, Schirokauer, stated that Mao's wife emerged as a leader of the Cultural Revolution, but did not describe her role. The novels gave opinions about the woman. Robert Elegant wrote that the termagant wife was irremediably bitter. In the 1930s, she had unsuccessfully attempted to become a movie star in left-wing films. Ever since her early failures, she felt she had been slighted by the party's intellectual establishment. The character, James Sekloong, feared that Chiang Ching would be a new version of the empress dowager, but more vengeful.<sup>197</sup>

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<sup>196</sup> Ibid., 580-581.

<sup>197</sup> Ibid., 576.



Scholars enjoyed an elevated status in the centuries of dynastic China. They were excluded from manual labor because their valuable minds might be wearied along with their body. Mao decreed that scholars and students must learn to work with their hands. The communes were not successful. Madame Liang thought the reason was because too much had been taken from the peasant under communism and too little had been given to the peasant in return.<sup>198</sup> Mao identified with the peasant because of his humble origin. He was naturally paternalistic to the farmers. His plan of sending the students and scholars to work the land also failed. Madame Liang reasoned:

those zealot underlings, the cadres, who compelled peasants to ruin fertile topsoil by deep plowing, to waste fertilizer on rich fields and drain water from rice paddies, changing age-old habits of the land because printed paper gave instructions unsuited to time and place, seed and soil. In ignorance they had led the bewildered peasants astray until half-starved people were leaving the country by the thousands to escape to Hong Kong.<sup>199</sup>

Fairbank and Reischauer supported the conclusion of the novelist. The text explained that city people were rotated regularly to work on the farms to break down class distinctions. The result was retarded development. Failure was partially due to the employment of inexperienced city laborers, but also contributing factors were the requirement of regional self-sufficiency and forbidding farmers from

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<sup>198</sup> Buck, The Three Daughters of Madame Liang, 236.

<sup>199</sup> Ibid., 242.

supplementing their income by raising chickens or other small animals.<sup>200</sup>

Fairbank and Reischauer's overall assessment of the Cultural Revolution was "ten lost years" in China's modern development:

The wanton destructiveness of ignorant teenagers; the reign of terror against members of the intellectual and official establishments; the harassment, jailing, beating, torture, and often killing perpetuated against something like a million victims were an enormous human and cultural disaster. Mao's hinging so much violence<sup>201</sup> on the theme of class struggle was aberrant extremism.

The novelist, Robert Elegant, elaborated on this judgment. Elegant pointed out that not only China, but the British coastal colony, Hong Kong, would not recover quickly. His prediction was that after the crest of 1967, it would require five months for the tide of disorder to recede in Hong Kong and two more years on the mainland.<sup>202</sup> Pearl Buck, a novelist who surveyed the spectrum of Chinese history mused through Madame Liang, "We must wait and see. If their way is not the Eternal Way, it will be only an interlude in our history."<sup>203</sup>

These commentaries of judiciously selected authors fortify the thesis of this paper. Carefully screened novels can enhance a reading list of scholarly works. The novels

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<sup>200</sup>Fairbank and Reischauer, China, 522.

<sup>201</sup>Ibid., 523.

<sup>202</sup>Elegant, Dynasty, 598.

<sup>203</sup>Buck, The Three Daughters of Madame Liang, 167.

can add an extra dimension by giving the students a view of the prejudices of the populace and the reactions of the spectrum of society to historical events.

CHAPTER IV  
STIMULATING HISTORY CLASSES  
BY USING HISTORICAL NOVELS

The purpose of this dissertation has been to explore the use of novels to supplement reading lists in undergraduate courses in the history of China. Many historians tend to be reluctant to employ the historical novel. Perhaps they underestimate the value of the genre. The argument for the use of novels has been echoed by other writers. In this, the final chapter of this dissertation, conclusions of other history professors who have used historical fiction will be considered. The fundamental premise of these writers was that novels will stimulate the student's interest in history. Students often consider history classes dull and avoid the history department unless a history course is required in their curriculum. To reverse this trend, history courses should be interesting. Staid historians should consider the inclusion of selected novels.

Resolute historians might argue that the term "historical fiction" is an oxymoron. Gary Olsen, in an article in the Journal of General Education, took exception to this assumption. He wrote that the critical flaw in assuming that "historical fiction" was a contradiction in terms was the belief that the historian successfully sought and found historical truth. Historicity, like any other

truth, is bound to err. Historical truth might waver to various degrees. Therefore, Olsen projected, historical fiction need not be ignored for it, as historical truth, might err, but likewise might approximate and communicate correctly about the past.<sup>1</sup> Both the good writer of history and the good writer of historical novels attempts to uncover the truth about the past.

Many writers, such as Patricia Barr, were first historians and later novelists. Robert Elegant was first a journalist, then a novelist. Another writer who fitted into this category was John Toland, who won the Pulitzer prize for his historical narrative, The Rising Sun, then turned to a historical fiction, Gods of War. Toland explained the reason for his switch in the foreword to Gods of War:

I have devoted much of my professional life to studying and writing the history of the relationship between the United States and Japan before and during World War II. But even the most scrupulously researched history can be only an approximation of the truth. And that is why I have turned to fiction, the fittest stage for humanity. You will meet invented people, you will read conversations I did not hear and scenes I did not witness. Despite that, I believe that the story you are about to read is as real as, if not more real than, formal history.<sup>2</sup>

Historians have frequently turned to fiction. Perhaps they believed they could reach a larger audience through the

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<sup>1</sup>Gary R. Olsen, "Clio's New Clothes: Reinvigorating the History Classroom Through Historical Fiction." Journal of General Education 38(1986):6.

<sup>2</sup>John Toland, Gods of War. (Garden City, New York: Doubleday and Company, Inc., 1985), p. VII.

telling of a story rather than through a factual account. Helen Hunt Jackson's Ramona was better received than her historical study, A Century of Dishonor; Upton Sinclair turned from journalism to write The Jungle;<sup>3</sup> and Josiah Royce followed his historiography, California, with a historical novel about California, The Feud of Oakfield Creek.<sup>4</sup> Robert Hine observed that some historians turned to fiction as an escape, a diversion or a hobby. He discovered a tenuous distinction between the two as he wrote a fictionalized biography of Job Harriman:

For the main character I have chosen to use a fictional name, Jeremiah Bannermen, rather than Job Harriman. Jeremiah is as good Biblically as Job, and with the fiction I have the option to be more imaginative and rely less on historical facts. It is ironic, however, that as of now I have spent most of my time researching and inserting more facts rather than in imagining undocumented ones. I suppose that is another indication of the tenuous distinction between history and fiction.<sup>5</sup>

The tenuous distinction was also noted by Thomas Fleming. This contemporary writer wrote fourteen novels and ten nonfiction books. Fleming found that "making an historical novel work is the most difficult kind of writing I have ever attempted. As someone who has written formal history books, biographies, and contemporary novels, I think

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<sup>3</sup>The effect of The Jungle speaks for itself. This novel was instrumental in arousing such concern about meat-packing that the Pure Food and Drug Act was passed in 1906.

<sup>4</sup>Robert V. Hine, "When Historians Turn to Fiction." History Teacher 21(February 1988):218.

<sup>5</sup>Ibid., 218.

I can qualify as the voice of experience."<sup>6</sup> The author presumed that other writers also take both fiction and history seriously. His key to success in historical fiction was the creation of believable characters who were important enough for the reader to care. Fleming thought that no period of history is dull if the author dug deep enough into the past to discover the inner concerns of people in their daily life. He stated that "you have to make an often mind-bending effort to grasp the way men and women felt about the large and small events that swept their lives. I can assure you that nine times out of ten, it is not the way the formal history books told it."<sup>7</sup>

Thomas Fleming discovered that the historical novel "should offer a fresh point of view about an historical experience, even a new interpretation of it, that says something significant to modern readers."<sup>8</sup> This principle could equally apply to the more recent as well as the distant past. Fleming spent four years at the Military Academy while writing a history of West Point. He realized that a novel needed to be written from a fresh point of view, the woman's vantage point. Hence, the idea of his 1981 novel, The Officers' Wives, was conceived. This novel required the same techniques and extensive research as did his histories. He

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<sup>6</sup>Thomas Fleming, "The Historical Novel: Blending Fact and Fiction." The Writer 98(May 1985):9.

<sup>7</sup>Ibid., 10.

<sup>8</sup>Ibid.

researched the attitudes and opinions of the 1950s where the book began, to the era of Vietnam, which was the conclusion. The historian's goal was to explore the world of the military wives; the result was an inside picture of the army which is seldom mentioned in formal histories. This new angle created interest in the era and a successful book.<sup>9</sup>

Historical fiction was a means for Fleming to show the impact of events on individuals' lives. Therefore his primary focus was on the personal story. Thomas Fleming preferred not to use famous personalities for his featured characters. He did not feel comfortable inventing dialogue that risked distortion of historical truth. This author never confused himself with the biographer. Fleming set ground rules such as:

Major figures or events should never be altered in absurd or extreme ways. For instance, it would be ridiculous to portray George Washington as a homosexual, or tell your readers that the South won the battle of Gettysburg . . . It is, on the other hand, perfectly permissible to have a jaundiced historical character of the second rank, such as Aaron Burr, portray Washington as an idiot.<sup>10</sup>

He also used the technique of simplifying confusing events by reducing the number of extraneous characters. For example, in Fleming's The Spoils of War, he focused on only two or three of the approximately two dozen people involved in the presidential election of 1876. He chose to feature an imaginary main character with subsidiary personalities such as the managing editor of the New York Times and James

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<sup>9</sup>Ibid., 11.

<sup>10</sup>Ibid.



Garfield, the future president. Fleming's blend of personalities in fiction gave the reader an intensity and reality that is "usually lacking in the analytic prose of the modern historian."<sup>11</sup>

Virginia Warner Brodine wrote an article in The History Teacher that stressed the importance of the novelist as a historian. She stated that there is recent evidence that a historian gives the reader an understanding of the past, but that a novelist gives the reader the feeling that they had lived in the past. Once a vicarious impression has been made, it is difficult to shake. The reader may forget the plot of a novel, but retain a feeling for life in a particular period of history. Brodine stressed the responsibility of the novelist and the historian to present a picture of the past as it actually was, rather than a past that never was. This author of fiction welcomed a standard for accountability. She suggested, "I would like to see regular reviews of historical novels in historical journals. But to have an effect beyond the profession, what about an annual evaluation of the year's output of historical fiction, sponsored by one of the historical associations?"<sup>12</sup> This would certainly have impact on the writers, publishers, and

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<sup>11</sup>Ibid., 12.

<sup>12</sup>Virginia Warner Brodine, "The Novelist as Historian." The History Teacher 21(February 1988):207-208.

readers. It would encourage a novelist to use accurate history.

Brodine assumed that both history and the historical novel contains an ideological message, but that the novel was concerned primarily with people. The novelist developed her characters as they interacted with other characters and responded to change. Each personality was unique with a personal history set in the framework of a larger history. The forces of history changed the characters and, in turn, the characters had a part in shaping history. These personalities were both unique and representative of their group as they reacted to a historical situation. Brodine distinguished between "representative" and "typical":

By representative, I do not mean typical. A type is a scarcely human figure, like one of those faceless dummies in a statistical graph which represents 10,000 people with the same average income. A representative, on the other hand, while much like his or her fellows in many ways, is highly individual. He or she may be more capable than most of articulating both individual and group concerns, and more likely to act on them in an interesting and illuminating way. A type is humanity in any group homogenized, a representative is that same humanity intensified.<sup>13</sup>

The author illustrated the difference with the highly individual women in the documentary film, Rosie the Riveter Revisited (about women who worked for the war effort in the forties), and those in her own novel, Daughters (about generations of a family as they migrated from Ireland to Ohio to the Pacific Northwest).

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<sup>13</sup>Ibid., 209.

The greatest merit of the article, "The Novelist as Historian," was the step-by-step description of how the author used aggregate personalities to create characters, read secondary sources for historical background, and searched for primary sources. Brodine did not formulate her story until after her extensive research. For example, one part of the Daughters dealt with the construction of canals. The novelist read extensively in the Canal Records in the Ohio Historical Library. It was in the reading of canal correspondence that the canal contractors for her novel materialized. The tedium and excitement of the collection of data was much the same for the novelist and the historian. Virginia Brodine never hinted that historical novels might be considered a brand of history. She emphatically stated that by definition, a novel is fiction. The historian must rely on available records, but she enjoyed the latitude of the novelist to fill in the gaps with imagination and speculation. She illustrated how she employed speculation in using the desire for wage increases as the reason for a strike of canal laborers. Brodine described the documentation she used for justification in her piecing together what could have been logical causes. This historical novelist interpreted evidence in such a way that the result might contribute to the way historians think about the period.<sup>14</sup>

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<sup>14</sup>Ibid., 211-212.

Articles, such as "The Novelist as Historian," have justified the case for the consideration of good historical novels as a boon to the historian. Novelists are not mere entertainers. Anne Rice, a reviewer of Spring Moon, concluded that the gap between the commercial writer and the literary writer was bridged by Bette Boa Lord. Rice was skeptical of Spring Moon because she perceived it as entertainment for it was what the trade calls a "big book." Such books were successful commercially but that did not mean the narrative would be worthwhile. Much to the reviewer's delight her resistance melted away before the end of the first chapter. Lord's writing was too good, the characters were too real, and the message was too subtle to be dismissed as mere entertainment. Rice delighted in the literary style that suggested Chinese poetry. The former skeptic offered Spring Moon as proof that the split between entertainers and serious writers need not exist.<sup>15</sup>

Gary Olsen added another criteria for appropriate fiction for the college classroom, the dimension of emotional verisimilitude. Olsen wrote that good historical fiction has the appearance of being true or real. The skillful pen of a successful author made characters "come alive." Olsen wrote that "great fiction in all its guises has this quality;

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<sup>15</sup> Anne Rice, "An Alien World of Poetry and Truth," review of Spring Moon, by Bette Boa Lord, in San Francisco (California) Examiner, 3 January 1982 (found in News Bank 1981-82 Literature 61:A2-3 fiche).

historical fiction which lacks it will never truly succeed, regardless of other strengths."<sup>16</sup> He cited Robert Elegant's Mandarin as an example of how a few characters can bring the reader back into history. The human drama engaged the student and they learned history in the process. Olsen chose Erich Maria Remarque's All Quiet on the Western Front as a classic which would "if properly introduced and expanded upon, teach as much about the 'Great War' as many tomes of formal history."<sup>17</sup> Selected novels would hopefully interest the student to the degree that they would seek scholarly sources for further clarification and understanding.

Gary Olsen did not indiscriminately defend historical fiction. He quickly admitted that many of the genre are not very good. Numerous authors used historical settings for contemporary tales primarily for a convenient backdrop. Nevertheless, a teacher of history should not ignore all historical novels because some have weak historical components.<sup>18</sup> One was the adventure story that used a historical backdrop for convenience and the other was the fantasy with an historical dimension.<sup>19</sup>

Parris Afton Bonds, who won the Texas PEN Women's award for the best novel in 1982, has written historical fiction with the purpose of entertaining rather than informing. Bonds made a good point concerning credibility in an article

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<sup>16</sup>Olsen, "Clio's New Clothes," 9.

<sup>17</sup>Ibid., 10.

<sup>18</sup>Ibid., 7.

<sup>19</sup>Ibid., 12.

entitled, "Making History Come Alive in Fiction." She emphasized how important it is for the writer to verify details. In her novels, which were set in the southwestern part of the United States, she needed proof of dates for her props. She had to verify that the match was not invented until 1834, stud poker did not become the rage until the Civil War years, and the Stetson hat was not crafted until 1865. To locate such information, Bonds suggested reference books for accuracy, books such as: The Guinness Book of World Records, The Reader's Encyclopedic, Sailing Ships, A Dictionary of Slang and Unconventional English, Famous First Facts, The Handbook of English Costume in the Eighteenth Century, and The Handbook of Guns.<sup>20</sup> Even though Bonds wrote about the "old west," her sources could be useful for describing American characters who appeared in novels about China.

Once the decision has been made to utilize historical novels in the classroom, the professor should establish guidelines. Careful research is a necessity. In the books selected for this dissertation, extensive research sometimes provided a broad background for a saga such as Robert Elegant's Dynasty or pinpointed a monograph, such as Malcolm Bosse's The Warlord. Gary Olsen also established criteria that placed a high value on the research component, for

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<sup>20</sup>Parris Afton Bonds, "Making History Come Alive in Fiction." The Writer 96 (August 1983):17,19.

the quality of the research contributes significantly to the worthiness of a novel. He did not limit research to the library or the archives; it took different forms. Olsen exemplified this point with the research of Evan H. Rhodes for his novel, An Army of Children. The setting for Rhodes' novel was the thirteenth century and the story was about the ill-fated children's crusade. Rhodes' desire to recreate the experiences of the children was so intense that he traversed the route taken by the youngsters. No documents could have transmitted the rigors of the climate and terrain as did the actual journey itself. The combined research of records and the journey enabled Evan Rhodes to write a moving novel. The reader of An Army of Children could vicariously experience traumas the young crusaders must have known.<sup>21</sup> As mentioned in an earlier chapter, Bette Boa Lord traveled to China to develop a feeling of place. She resided in the ancient complex of buildings that collectively made up the family compound in which her ancestors lived. It took several extended visits for the Chinese American to have the necessary familiarity to use the compound for the setting of the initial section of Spring Moon.<sup>22</sup>

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<sup>21</sup>Olsen, "Clio's New Clothes," 7-8.

<sup>22</sup>Margaret Meachum, "Revolutions are fine fare for the novelist," review of Spring Moon, by Bette Boa Lord, in (Baltimore, MD) Sun, 3 January 1982 (Located in News Bank [Microform], Literature, 1981-82, 61:A4-5, fiche).

Thomas H. Keene, a professor at Kennesaw College, discovered that novels are particularly useful in courses featuring modern Asia and Africa. He used fiction in survey courses as well as in upper-level courses to give students a more vivid sense of lives of ordinary people in foreign settings. The article, "The Use of Fiction in Teaching Modern Asian and African History" stated that American urban students are unfamiliar with the pace and feel of a traditional agricultural society. They frequently flounder when confronted with the history of these continents and complain: "The names are impossible" or "It's too foreign."<sup>23</sup> To make his courses more meaningful, Keene carefully chose novels written by authors native to Africa and Asia. His self-imposed guidelines were to select inexpensive paperbacks which seldom exceeded 250 pages. An annotated bibliography was included in Keene's article. He divided the works under geographical headings of Sub-Saharan Africa, the Islamic World, South Asia, and East Asia. The novels listed for China were: The Chinese Gold Murders by Robert Van Gulik (pictured the role of the magistrate in a Chinese town during the T'ang dynasty), Family by Pa Chin (an eldest son torn between duty to family and his infatuation with the May 4th Movement), Camel Xiangzi by Lao She (story of a rickshaw boy in Beijing), The Dragon's Village by Yuan-tsung Chen

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<sup>23</sup>Thomas H. Keene, "The Use of Fiction in Teaching Modern Asian and African History," Teaching History: A Journal of Methods 12(Fall 1987):23.



(contradictions felt by the young elite who both favor and fear the communist takeover), and Execution of Mayor Yin and Other Stories from the Great Cultural Revolution by Go-hsi Chen (Chinese-Americans enthusiastically return to China, then have second thoughts about the revolution).<sup>24</sup>

Thomas Keene gave a straightforward account of his method of using novels in the classroom at Kennesaw College, which is a four-year public commuter college. Keene taught a world civilization survey course. Half of the students were business majors and the next largest group were teacher education majors. The professor tempered the forbidding spirit of the students toward the non-western segment of the course by the usage of interesting novels. Each student was required to report on at least one novel selection from an annotated list. If possible, the report was given orally in the professor's office. The student was to come to the appointment prepared to discuss how the novel touched on themes developed in the textbook and lectures. Anxiety was diminished by a pass or fail grade. The interchange with the students on a one-to-one basis confirmed Keene's belief in the validity of fiction. The participants enjoyed the reading assignment. The historian particularly liked to acquaint the freshmen business students with novels and reminded them "that there are other forms of literature besides textbooks, a fact that many of our business

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<sup>24</sup>Ibid., 21-22.

students seem to lose sight of."<sup>25</sup> Keene regretted that there was not enough time to require the students to read more novels.

Keene used the novel more extensively in upper-level classes on modern Asia or Africa. These courses were initiated with a unit of background information, then a more detailed study began. The students were assigned to read three to five novels interspersed with scholarly articles placed on reserve in the library. The novels and articles complemented one another. To insure that the students adhered to a time table, short quizzes were given on the day scheduled for discussing of the readings. The questions on the plot and characters were simple enough for the student who read the assignment to expect to earn a high score. Accumulated scores on the quizzes were the equivalent of a major text. In addition to a quiz score, students were graded on class participation when the novels were discussed. Students needed little encouragement. These excellent discussions heightened the students awareness of the perspectives and prejudices of the writers. Keene concluded that "it is clearly the novels that grab students' interest and lead them to participate, often with a certain emotional intensity, in the classroom."<sup>26</sup>

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<sup>25</sup>Ibid., 23-24.

<sup>26</sup>Ibid., 24.

The final exam in the upper-level courses were take-home questions that required the student to synthesize the different kinds of materials read and discussed. He also gave students an opportunity to construct exam questions. The reward was ten points on the final exam to the student who submitted the best question. The final exam linked background knowledge with scholarly readings and novels.<sup>27</sup> Thomas Keene used novels as an integral component of all of his history courses, both survey and upper-level.

George M. Enteen had never used a novel in teaching courses on the history of communism. That was until he assigned his students to read George Orwell's 1984 when he taught the course in the year 1984. The professor found it was easy to motivate the class to read a novel as compared to the usual challenge of stimulating interest in historical scholarship. For some of the students, 1984 was their only opportunity to delve into a novel for a reading requirement. This must have been a memorable assignment. Enteen introduced the book with his own naive reaction when he read it as a student. He next expounded on the theme of communism as he observed the system in operation in the Soviet Union while he was a graduate exchange student in 1959-1960. This relevant initiation to the novel must have been exciting for the students. After using the novel, he concluded that "to have

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<sup>27</sup> Ibid.

side-stepped 1984 when discussing totalitarianism in 1984 would have been almost Orwellian."<sup>28</sup>

Paul McBride wrote a thought-provoking article in Teaching History: A Journal of Methods, which was entitled "Teaching History Through Ethnic Literature." He posed the question: "how are we historians to understand, much less teach, the valuable historical insight that remains invisible to us, beyond or beneath our comfortable crutch of documentation?"<sup>29</sup> McBride felt that in studies of specific cultures, the fiction writers born into the group being studied were great allies of the history teacher. Ethnic novelists went a step further than merely writing within the limitations of historical evidence. When writing of their own background, the novelists revealed inner dimensions of the culture. They wrote of feelings, aspirations, ideals, fears, and frustrations found within the hearts of their people.

McBride taught two courses in ethnic studies at Ithaca College; "Ethnic America since the Civil War" and a seminar, "Immigrant History Through Ethnic Literature." He included at least one novel in each course because of the enthusiastic response of his students, as well as, his own enjoyment.

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<sup>28</sup>George M. Enteen, "George Orwell and the Theory of Totalitarianism: A 1984 Retrospective." The Journal of General Education 36(1984):206-15.

<sup>29</sup>Paul McBride, "Teaching History Through Ethnic Literature," History: A Journal of Methods 13(Fall 1988):51.

This professor found the use of fiction such a valuable teaching tool that he also required at least one novel in survey courses. He justified the extensive use of novels because the writers provided insight into ethnic groups that historians would find difficult to document.<sup>30</sup>

This article on ethnic literature in the United States was strengthened by a sample of suggested novels by the following immigrants: Afro-Americans, Jews, Irish, Norwegians, Italians, Slavic, Puerto Ricans, and Chinese. The books Paul McBride suggested for studying the Chinese in America were: Eat a Bowl of Tea by Louis Chu (a comedy about two lonely Chinese men who left their wives and families to go to New York in the 1920s), The Woman Warrior by Maxine Hong-Kingston (a memoir of growing up as a Chinese-American female and the poignant relationship between the author and her mother), and China Men by Maxine Hong-Kingston (a story of Chinese track workers who were separated from family). These books explored situations encountered by the transplanted Chinese as well as their reaction to sensitive issues. The students who read these books had a deeper understanding of problems and prejudices faced by ethnic groups. Feelings and innermost thoughts of these minorities, which are difficult to document by historians, were ingredients the novelist used to great advantage. McBride stated that his students responded enthusiastically to the novels.<sup>31</sup>

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<sup>30</sup> Ibid., 51, 58.

<sup>31</sup> Ibid., 65.

Paul McBride made a penetrating observation about women. He did not imply that women were omitted from ethnic studies, but McBride did "suggest that the histories leave it very difficult to imagine the female ethnic's thoughts, feelings or aspirations."<sup>32</sup> He further stated that "male fiction writers have not been much more successful than historians in dealing with the female side of the ethnic experience."<sup>33</sup> Some male novelists made women their central characters, but the norm was to relegate women to minor roles. Paul McBride cited examples of Mario Puzo's The Fortunate Pilgrim and Ole Rolvaag's Giants of Earth as presenting the "ethnic woman as a mother, a protector of established wisdom and values, and a source of cultural stability. These were good and valid traits, but were characteristics imposed upon women by men. They reflect the male view of women but not necessarily women's view of themselves."<sup>34</sup> This article pointed out that female novelists saw the relationship between ethnic women and their culture as much more complex and ambivalent than male novelists. Women writers introduced the reader to aspirations, self-definitions, searching, and personality development of female characters instead of stereotypes. An example was given of how Jane Starks asserted her own personality in Their Eyes Were Watching God by Zora Neale Hurston. This 1937 novel led the reader into the silent

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<sup>32</sup>Ibid., 52.

<sup>33</sup>Ibid.

<sup>34</sup>Ibid., 53.

world of black women to discover visions that might have remained invisible.<sup>35</sup>

The male writers selected for this dissertation tended to use males for their central characters. This was obvious in the titles Mandarin and The Warlord. Robert Elegant created strong male characters in Mandarin and Manchu who possessed admirable qualities. The three women who were essential to the plot of Elegant's From A Far Land did not have the same depth in character development. One reviewer characterized the trio as "three addlebrained flappers who find themselves in Shanghai from 1921-1949."<sup>36</sup> Could it have been that Robert Elegant, being a male, could best relate to the personalities and thought processes of the male personages he created, but could not delineate the same understanding of the female psyche? The female writers, Pat Barr in Jade and Bette Boa Lord in Spring Moon, wove their stories primarily around female characters. Malcolm Bosse followed the same gender pattern and featured a Chinese general in The Warlord. Pearl Buck did not adhere to the pattern by having a member of her sex as the central character in The Good Earth, instead she featured a male farmer, Wang Lung. Buck portrayed the thoughts of the male, Wang Lung, as skillfully as she did with the resourceful

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<sup>35</sup>Ibid., 54-55.

<sup>36</sup>Jonathan Fast, "Where Three Twains Meet," review of From A Far Land, by Robert Elegant, in The New York Times, 20 September 1987, 39.

female lead character in The Three Daughters of Madame Liang.

The novels used in this dissertation bear out the statement of Paul McBride, "Ethnic writers of both genders defy us to look on through them. They illuminate themselves and their cultures in ways that often transcend historical research."<sup>37</sup> The novel used in this dissertation that was penned by a Chinese woman was Spring Moon. Anne Rice, who reviewed Spring Moon in the San Francisco Examiner, was deeply satisfied for she felt spellbound as Bette Boa Lord immersed her into an alien culture. The ethnic author left the reviewer with "an overwhelming awe of China, a greater curiosity about the cataclysmically-changing country, and a hunger for more of the writing of Chinese American authors who are giving us their stories now as authors from other ethnic groups have done in the past."<sup>38</sup> This comment suggested that there is a fertile field for Chinese American authors because the demand is increasing for their fiction.

Constantine Apostol pointed out that one of the greatest benefits received from using novels in education is that they make the remembering of facts easier. She writes:

Stories have great advantages as vehicles for information; they can convey a range of different knowledge (events, names, relationships, chronological

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<sup>37</sup>McBride, "Teaching History Through Ethnic Literature," 58.

<sup>38</sup>Rice, "An Alien World of Poetry and Truth," 3.



sequence, material background, beliefs and opinions, and so on) and a framework for storing it, so they are likely to be understood and remembered.<sup>39</sup>

This Canadian educator would like to see a return to emphasizing stories, for after all, "history" and "story" were one and the same when history was transmitted orally. Stories such as the Iliad and the Odyssey survived for centuries before they were recorded. She regrets that narrative history was upstaged by the scientific approach to history using facts, statistics, and analysis in the latter half of the nineteenth century. Apostol viewed the novel as a way to personalize history and provide a better understanding of the inner life of past societies. She concluded that most humans enjoy a good story, which in turn can trigger recall of information without being tedious.<sup>40</sup>

Novels can be successfully used in high school, as well as college history courses. Mark Olcott utilized a complete collection of original correspondence, written by a Union soldier to his family, in a high school curriculum. Olcott, an American history teacher, and David Lear, a literature teacher, obtained a grant from the National Endowment for the Humanities to develop an interrelated course for eleventh graders. In addition to the approximately 200 items of original correspondence, novels were added for emphasis of

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<sup>39</sup>Constantine D. Apostol, "Historical Novels: Beyond the History Textbook." History and Social Sciences Teacher 18(December 1982):112.

<sup>40</sup>Ibid., 112-114.

focal points and to explore the feelings and opinions of nineteenth-century individuals. For a personality comparison, the twenty-year-old Union soldier, Lewis Bissell, was paired with Hank Morgan, the main character of Mark Twain's A Connecticut Yankee at King Arthur's Court. The students read Harriet Beecher Stowe's Uncle Tom's Cabin, for Lewis Bissell's view of slavery may have been based on reading the same book. Olcott's article described how other books were integrated into the literature and history courses such as, Ernest Hemingway's A Farewell to Arms, Willa Cather's One of Ours, Michael Shaar's The Killer Angels, Bruce Catton's A Stillness at Appomattox, and Stephen Crane's The Red Badge of Courage. Each unit began with historic background before directing the students to read the original correspondence, scholarly sources, and novels. The most rewarding aspect of the course for Olcott was the enthusiasm with which the students pursued their own research projects.<sup>41</sup>

Robert Be'rard wrote an essay suggesting the integration of literature and history in the early university years. He used examples of education systems in Canada. Be'rard considered that the use of a single textbook supplemented with extracts from primary documents and other sources was not enough. He felt textbook history

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<sup>41</sup>Mark S. Olcott, "Using Primary Sources at the Secondary Level: The Civil War Letters of Lewis Bissell," The History Teacher 17(May 1984):329-337.

presented cardboard characters robbed of their humanity and complexity.<sup>42</sup> To help remedy the situation, this essay stressed using drama, poetry, and novels in addition to primary sources. Be'rard, conscious of the high cost of textbooks and the student's unfamiliarity with western civilization, made the textbook optional in his freshman survey course. The sources he did require could be found in the library or purchased second-hand. In the second-year course, "Medieval Europe," he used a textbook but expanded it with readings such as Dante's Divine Comedy. The third-year course, "Europe from the Reformation to the Enlightenment," relied heavily on literature other than a text, such as, Niccolo Machiavelli's play, Mandragola and his commentary on politics, The Prince; Benevenuto Cellini's Autobiography; John Bunyan's Pilgrim's Progress; and Denis Diderot's Rameau's Nephew. Be'rard required only a few modern historical novels such as, Helen Waddell's Peter Abelard; nevertheless, he wrote that a good case could be made for their inclusion.<sup>43</sup>

Be'rard observed that young people spend a good deal of time reading on their own. Their selections would not be considered "good literature" by most intellectuals. Perhaps no one tried to alter their reading habits. Be'rard reasoned

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<sup>42</sup>Robert Nicholas Be'rard, "Integrating Literature and History: Cultural History in Universities and Secondary Schools." The History Teacher 17(May 1984):329-337.

<sup>43</sup>Ibid., 509-512.

that history teachers should consider encouraging students to read worthwhile literature that would stimulate historical thinking in a way that textbooks do not. Literature would not be a substitute for history, but would act as a catalyst. He considered novels, plays, and poems as "cultural documents that transmit thought, hopes, fears, and values of a society."<sup>44</sup> An unexpected bonus that Be'rard observed in the evaluation of his students was that "the essays and examinations of those students who have approached history through literature are distinguished by sharper conceptualization, greater attention to context, and more graceful composition."<sup>45</sup> Be'rard did give a word of warning. The integration of literature and history may prove misleading, clumsy, and superficial in the hands of a teacher who appreciates neither the complexity of history nor artistic truth.<sup>46</sup>

Kenneth Werrell decided to use the historical novel in his freshman United States history survey course at Radford College. He reasoned that the public's disinterest in classroom history contrasted with the growing interest in historical novels in paperback and on television. He selected Roots by Alex Haley and Gone With the Wind by Margaret Mitchell. The general popularity of these two works of fiction were indicated by the Neilson ratings which credited that 33 million viewed Gone With the Wind on its

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<sup>44</sup>Ibid., 512-513

<sup>45</sup>Ibid., 515.

<sup>46</sup>Ibid., 513.

first appearance on television, and 36 million viewed the concluding segment of Roots. Werrell stated that millions of copies of Roots were purchased and over 10 million copies of Gone With the Wind had been sold.<sup>47</sup> The Radford professor turned this keen interest in fiction to his advantage.

The two-fold purpose of Werrell's use of historical fiction was first, to stimulate, by making the past more alive than historical accounts, and second, to use as a springboard for teaching history. In the process, he hoped to demonstrate the boundaries between fact and fiction. Werrell first polled his classes and found that 66 students had read Roots and 11 had read Gone With the Wind, whereas 35 had seen Roots and 47 had seen Gone With the Wind. The students were divided into two groups and were assigned to read the novel with which they were least acquainted. The students were instructed to write "a short paragraph on the novel's distortion of history, the influence of history on the novel, and the general historical accuracy of the novel. In addition, each student was asked to focus on a specific question such as Mitchell's treatment of slavery or Haley's coverage of slave revolts."<sup>48</sup> The results were favorable. The assignment was certainly a stimulant, for the classroom discussions were lively. The assignment was the springboard

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<sup>47</sup>Kenneth P. Werrell, "History and Fiction: Challenge and Opportunity." American Historical Association Newsletter 17(March 1979):4.

<sup>48</sup>Ibid., 6.

as intended, for the papers reflected a grasp of the limitations of fiction. The students enjoyed the novels even though there were two obstacles. The slow readers thought the books selected were too long for a one-quarter freshman course and the requirements for the paper were too ambitious for some of the students. Nevertheless, it proved to be an exciting and useful assignment.<sup>49</sup>

A case could be made to teach nothing but historical record because many students are ignorant of facts. Margaret Stewart wrote an essay supporting the stance that even though there is no substitute for facts, fiction has its pedagogical uses. She used novels in teaching the Vietnam War for two reasons. First, to provide an enjoyable way for students to become emotionally involved with research into the war, and second, if properly taught, to help illuminate "cultural myths that buttressed the war's effect and which persist today."<sup>50</sup>

Margaret Stewart found 150 American novels about the Vietnam War, most of which deal with battle experiences rather than politics. Only two of these novels were by black authors, so most of the fiction was from the viewpoint of the white soldier. Vietnamese characters were usually peripheral. Themes dealt with the following topics: heroic

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<sup>49</sup> Ibid.

<sup>50</sup> Margaret E. Stewart, "Vietnam War Novels in the Classroom." Teaching History: A Journal of Methods 6(1981):60.

ambitions, justification to self of the United States presence in Vietnam; acting out in Vietnam an extension of childhood visions of war; fantasy; conflict created by the consequences of carrying out orders of superiors; stories of individuals; unattractive episodes; the professional soldier's attitude toward his job; and the hero myth that combat is a male rite of passage. Students found fiction to be fun, and in the process of being caught in the spell of a story, they became emotionally linked to the reality of war. Stewart concluded that novels should be used in conjunction with traditional sources. The books would provide the pleasure inherent in a good story as they acquaint the student with the past as it was experienced on the emotional and psychological levels.<sup>51</sup>

This dissertation deals with the usage of novels by the history teacher. However, mention should be made of the currently popular historical mini-series on television. A most successful example was Peter the Great, which was aired in 1986 by the National Broadcasting Company. This series was based on Robert Massie's book, Peter the Great: His Life and World, which won a Pulitzer Prize. Gary Olsen wrote on the subject of historical mini-series in The Journal of General Education. He lauded the networks for bringing into living rooms across America a form of historical fiction that acquainted viewers with remote personages that otherwise many

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<sup>51</sup>Ibid., 60-64.

would have never known. Viewers who might never enter a college history classroom had Tsar Peter on their mind. The danger of such a presentation was that it might be as much fiction as fact. Olsen observed "distortions and apocryphal events" in the flamboyant mini-series such as a meeting between the Tsar and Sir Isaac Newton.<sup>52</sup> The television show was for entertainment and featured conversations and events that no historian could document. Whether such productions were accurate or embellished, they did reach millions of viewers. Based on the popularity of Alex Haley's Roots, James Clavell's Shogun, and other recent historical min-series, this form of entertainment will continue to flourish. Gary Olsen pointed out that for decades most historical fiction was in the form of written literature. What is unprecedented is the vast exposure of historical fiction in the combined form of the customary novel and the newer medium, the mini-series. Olsen stated:

Paradoxically, however, formal academic history is viewed with indifference or even hostility by most of today's college and university students. Too often they find their history courses to be lifeless, the subject matter dry, and the past irrelevant to their own lives. Most of them will do whatever is necessary to minimize their contact with history, taking only the required number of history courses as they work toward degrees in the sciences, engineering, or other and more timely fields of study.<sup>53</sup>

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<sup>52</sup>Olsen, "Clio's New Clothes," 3.

<sup>53</sup>Ibid., 4.



He further argued that historians can ill afford to ignore any medium, especially historical fiction, that has the potential to bring students back into history classrooms.<sup>54</sup>

If Olsen's viewpoint is correct, history professors should be concerned about the declining interest in their field of study. The American public has been viewing historical fiction on television and reading historical novels with accelerated interest in the past decade. The college professor should use this momentum to his advantage by incorporating the historical novel into his course content and augment the course with outside viewing of appropriate historical mini-series. The student could view serialized fiction critically. For example, after the professor has introduced the historical person, Peter, the Romanov tsar of Russia, he could assign readings about Peter in scholarly sources. The student would enjoy viewing the mini-series of Peter the Great from a new slant if he were searching for the film's credible and unbelievable sections. Lastly, class discussions would assist the students in sorting out fact and reality. Peter would be a tsar embedded in the memory of the class participants.

The purpose of this dissertation was to explore the inclusion of novels as a strong supplement to scholarly nonfictional works on a reading list in courses on the history of China. Although the author has not yet taught a

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<sup>54</sup>Ibid., 16.

course on the history of China or the Far East, she has successfully used novels in history survey courses. The most recent usage was in European History 1001, a survey course from the seventeenth century to the present. This freshman course is a requirement for graduation at Gulf Coast Community College in Panama City, Florida.

The author initiated an experiment in her European History 1001 classes in the fall semester of 1990. The experiment demonstrated the desirability of using fiction. On the first meeting of the class, the professor passed out the syllabus, course outline, and instructions for the report on a novel.<sup>55</sup> The maximum enrollment for each class was thirty-seven students. In order to meet each of these students individually, and as quickly as possible, the reading assignment was to be completed by mid-term. To allay fear of failure, the assignment would be a requirement of the course, but would be on a pass-fail basis. To provide incentive, five bonus points would be added to each student's mid-term exam if the requirement was successfully completed before the mid-term exam date.

The procedure for the reading assignment was straightforward. The student was to stop by the professor's office during the first three weeks of the semester to have their novel approved. If their selection was not on the suggested reading list, the book was to be shown to the professor for

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<sup>55</sup> See handouts on pp. 289, 290, 291.

consideration. The students were urged to complete the requirement before mid-term approached. Each student penned in an appointment with the professor during the office hours listed on the schedule sheet on the office door. These sequence of steps insured that the students had been to the instructor's office twice before mid-term. Hopefully, the office, which resembles a museum of artifacts and memorabilia collected by the professor from points around the world, would be a place where the student would want to return on their own initiative.

The primary function of the reading assignment was not to establish a rapport between the instructor and student but to instill an interest in history. Many of the students had no interest or even a negative attitude toward this mandated course. The scope of the course, from the seventeenth century to the present, offered stimulating topics for all class members. A worthwhile novel could be both a learning tool and an interesting assignemnt.

Historical novels have proven to be an asset to numerous college professors. The primary thrust of this dissertation was to demonstrate the extra dimension that fiction provides the student of Chinese history. The western view of China as seen through the judicious use of novels is a surprisingly accurate one. Accountable novelists clarify and intensify historical events in a way that the historians cannot. Good fiction provides a fresh point of view.

Believable characters cause the students to care about the impact of events upon individuals. The accurate novelist can make these reactions more realistic than can a straightforward textbook. History is easier to recall when a student has lingering impressions provided by historical fiction. The addition of selected novels to supplement a reading list is an excellent method to add vitality and interest to a history course.

Novels are especially useful in teaching survey courses in the history of China. The language barrier excludes the use of primary sources written in Chinese characters for most of the students. Consequently, secondary sources are used to a larger extent than in most other history courses. In addition to the alien language, Oriental culture is baffling to many students. It is through the novel that a deeper understanding of the culture develops and the soul of the populace is revealed. A well written work of fiction provides the reader with a glimpse of the settings and surroundings upon which history is presented. Once a sense of place is embedded in the mind of the reader, history becomes more meaningful. Professors should supplement their reading lists with selected novels because the genre can provide a surprisingly accurate portrayal of China and is an excellent method for adding vitality to a course in the history of China.



## EUROPEAN HISTORY 1001 READING REQUIREMENTS

1. Select a novel appropriate to European history from the seventeenth century to the present.
2. Stop by Professor York's office to have the book approved. The book must be approved by September 10, 1990. You may choose a novel from the suggested reading list, all of which are in our campus library. If you want to read a novel that is not on the list, bring it with you for the office visit. If you doubt that your selection will be approved, also bring a second choice.
3. You are to individually meet with the professor to review the selected novel. There will be a schedule on the office door. Sign your name in the blank by the date and office hour that is most convenient for you. All reports must be completed by October 15th.
4. The review is a requirement of this course. Your grade will be pass/fail. If you successfully complete this assignment by October 15th, five points will be added to your mid-term exam grade.
5. Relax and enjoy this assignment! Select a novel that will be interesting to you. You should keep these points in mind as you read, so you will be prepared to discuss the book:
  - A. Title of the novel
  - B. Author of the novel--have information on the author.
  - C. What was the purpose of the book? Did the author accomplish his or her purpose? Why or why not?
  - D. What period of history was covered in the novel? Read the same period in the textbook or other sources. Was the portrayal of the author historically accurate?
  - E. Do you think the author was biased? If so, in what way?
  - F. Did the book hold your interest? What did you learn about history, events, mannerisms or culture from this author?
  - G. Comment on any other merits and/or weaknesses you found in this book.
  - H. Would you recommend this novel? Why or why not?

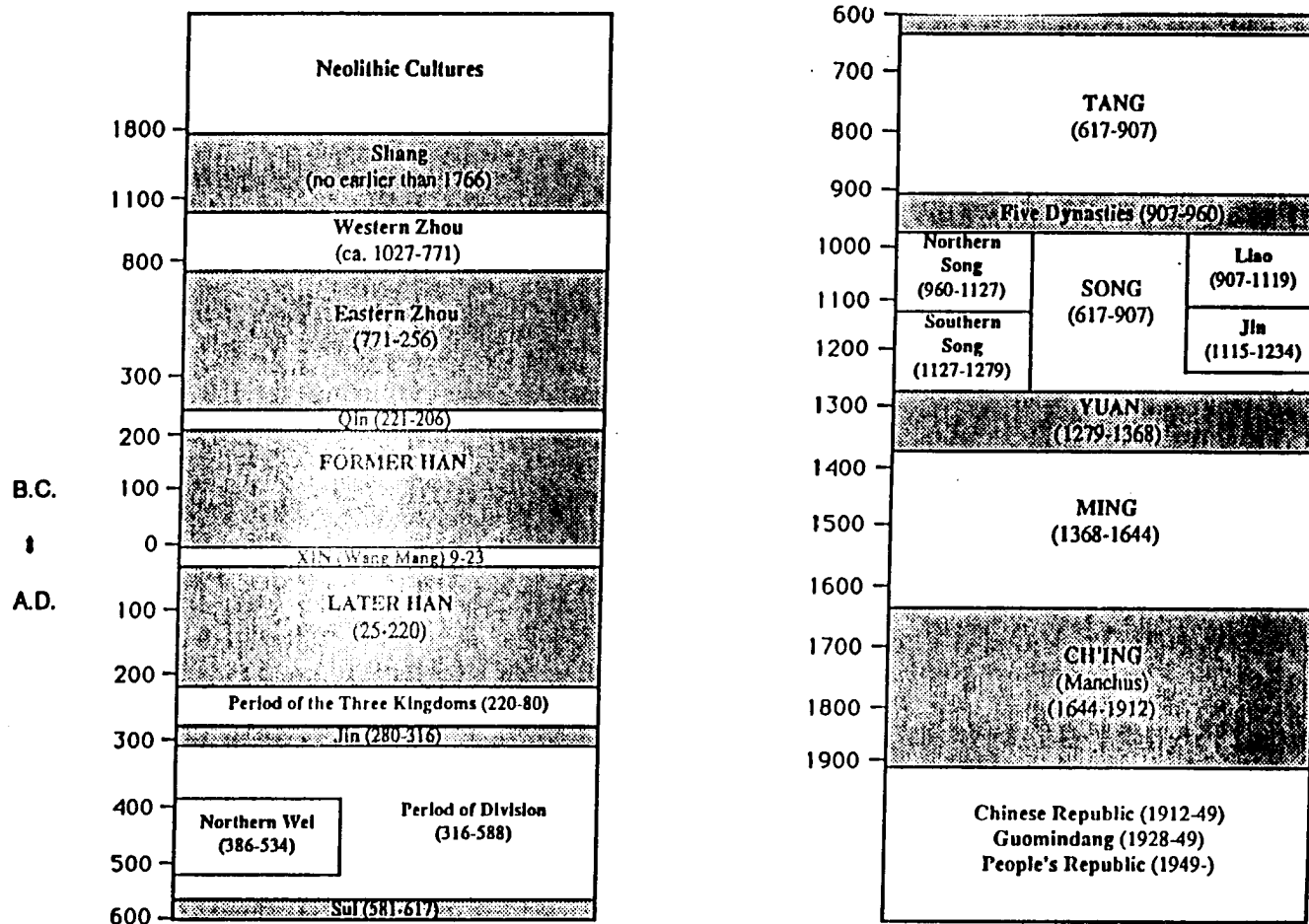
Fig. 5. Classroom Handout, page 1.

<b>EUROPEAN HISTORY 1001 - YORK SUGGESTED NOVELS BY EUROPEAN AUTHORS</b>			
The setting of most of these novels is within the time frame of the topics covered in the first half of the course. Reports will be given by mid-term.			
<b>ENGLISH:</b>			
Austin, Jane (1775-1817)	<u>Pride and Prejudice</u>	James, Henry (1843-1916) Born in USA/Studied in Europe	<u>The Ambassadors</u> <u>Daisy Miller</u> <u>The Golden Bowl</u> <u>The Portrait of a Lady</u> <u>The Princess Casamassima</u> <u>The Wings of the Dove</u>
Bronte, Emily (1818-1848)	<u>Wuthering Heights</u> <u>Jane Eyre</u>		
Butler, Samuel (1835-1902)	<u>Erewhon</u> <u>The Way of all Flesh</u>	Kipling, Rudyard (1865-1936)	<u>Captains Courageous</u> <u>Life's Handicap</u> <u>The Light That Failed</u> <u>Kim</u> <u>Soldiers Three</u>
Defoe, Daniel (1660-1731)	<u>Life and Adventures of Robinson Crusoe</u> <u>Moll Flanders</u> <u>Roxana, The Fortunate Mistress</u>	Maugham, William Somerset (1874-1965)	<u>Ashenden: The British Agent</u> <u>Cakes and Ale</u> <u>Catalina</u> <u>The Moon and Sixpence</u> <u>The Razor's Edge</u> <u>Of Human Bondage</u>
Dickens, Charles (1812-1870)	<u>Hard Times</u> <u>Great Expectations</u> <u>Martin Chuzzlewit</u> <u>Nicholas Nickleby</u> <u>The Old Curiosity Shop</u> <u>Oliver Twist</u> <u>David Copperfield</u> <u>A Tale of Two cities</u>	Richardson, Samuel (1689- 1761)	<u>Clarissa, The History of a Young Lady</u> <u>Pamela</u>
Eliot, George (1819-1880)	<u>Mill on the Floss</u> <u>Ramola</u> <u>Silas Marner</u>	Scott, Sir Walter (1771-1832)	<u>The Heart of Midlothian</u> <u>Waverly</u>
Fielding, Henry (1707-1754)	<u>History of Tom Jones: A Foundling</u> <u>Joseph Andrews</u>	Snow, Sir Charles Percy (1905- 1980)	<u>The Affair</u> <u>The Conscience of the Rich</u> <u>Corridors of Power</u> <u>Homecoming</u> <u>The Malcontents</u> <u>The New Men</u>
Galsworthy, John (1867- 1933)	<u>The Man of Property</u> <u>The Silver Spoon</u> <u>The White Monkey</u> <u>The Forsyte Saga</u>	Stevenson, Robert Lewis (1850- 1894)	<u>David Balfour</u> <u>Dr. Jekyll and Mr. Hyde</u> <u>Kidnapped</u> <u>St. Ives</u>
Hilton, James (1900-1954)	<u>Lost Horizon</u> <u>Goodbye Mr. Chips</u> <u>Random Harvest</u> <u>Nothing So Strange</u> <u>Time and Time Again</u>		
Huxley, Aldous (1894-1963)	<u>Brave New World</u> <u>Time Must Have a Stop</u> <u>Point Counter Point</u>		

Fig. 5. Classroom Handout, page 2.

<b>EUROPEAN HISTORY 1001 - YORK SUGGESTED NOVELS BY EUROPEAN AUTHORS</b>			
The setting of most of these novels is within the time frame of the topics covered in the first half of the course. Reports will be given by mid-term.			
<b>FRENCH</b>		<b>GERMAN (Continued)</b>	
Balzac, Honore de (1799-1850)	<u>Cousin Bette</u> <u>Cousin Pons</u> <u>Eugenie Grandet</u> <u>Le Pere Goriot</u>	Remarque, Erich Maria (1898-1970)	<u>All Quiet on the Western Front</u> <u>Flotsam</u> <u>Three Comrades</u> <u>A Time to Love and A time to Die</u>
Dumas, Alexandre (1802-1870)	<u>Camille</u> <u>The Count of Monte Cristo</u> <u>Louise de la Valliere</u> <u>On Board the Emma</u> <u>The Three Musketeers</u> <u>Twenty Years After</u>	<b>RUSSIAN</b>	
Falubert, Gustave (1821-1880)	<u>The First Sentimental Education</u> <u>Madame Bovary</u>	Dostoevski, Fedor (1821-1881)	<u>The Brothers Karamazov</u> <u>Crime and Punishment</u> <u>The Idiot</u>
Hugo, Victor (1802-1885)	<u>The Hunchback of Notre-Dame</u> <u>Les Miserables</u>	Pasternak, Boris Leonidovich (1890-1960)	<u>Doctor Zhivago</u>
Voltaire, Francois Marie Arouet (1694-1778)	<u>Candide</u> <u>Zadig</u>	Solzhenitsyn, Aleksandr Isaevich (1918- )	<u>August 1914</u> <u>The Cancer Ward</u> <u>Candle in the Wind</u> <u>The First Circle</u> <u>One Day in the Life of Ivan Denisovich</u>
Zola, Emile (1840-1902)	<u>La Debacle</u> <u>NANA</u> <u>The Miller's Daughter and Nantas</u> <u>The Fat and the Thin</u>	Tolstoi, Lev Nikolaevich (1828-1910)	<u>Anna Karenina</u> <u>War and Peace</u>
<b>GERMAN</b>		Turgenev, Ivan Sergeovich (1818-1883)	<u>Fathers and Sons</u>
Boll, Heinrich (1912-1985)	<u>The Safety Net</u>		
Grass, Gunter (1927- )	<u>Dog Years</u>		
Hesse, Hermann (1877-1962)	<u>The Glass Bead Game</u> <u>Steppenwolf</u> <u>Stories of Five Decades</u>		
Kafka, Franz (1877-1962)	<u>The Castle</u> <u>Parables and Paradoxes</u> <u>The Penal Colony</u> <u>The Trial</u>		
Mann, Thomas (1875-1955)	<u>Buddenbrooks</u> <u>Death in Venice</u> <u>The Holy Sinner</u> <u>The Magic Mountain</u>		

Fig. 5. Classroom Handout, page 3.



## The Chronology of China

Fig. 6. Dynastic Chart.



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