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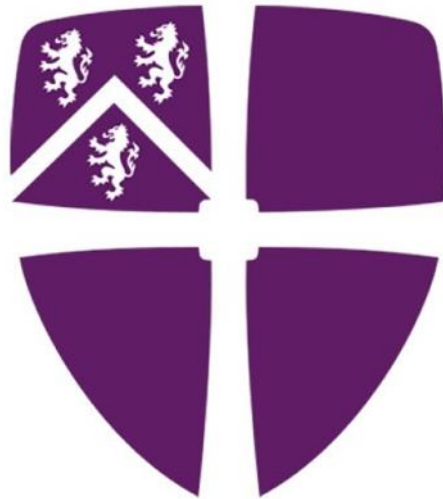
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*ORIENTALISM AND REPRESENTATIONS
OF CHINA IN THE EARLY 19TH
CENTURY: A CASE STUDY OF THE
CHINESE REPOSITORY*



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This dissertation is submitted for the degree of
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DECLARATION

This dissertation is the result of my own work and includes nothing, which is the outcome of work done in collaboration except where specifically indicated in the text. It has not been previously submitted, in part or whole, to any university or institution for any degree, diploma, or other qualification.

In accordance with the School of Modern Languages and Cultures guidelines, this thesis does not exceed 100,000 words.

Cheng Jin

Durham

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Abstract

This research focuses on representations of China in English in the early 19th century by Western visitors and residents attracted by trade and missionary opportunities. This was the second major wave of western commentators on China following the Jesuits from the 16th to 18th centuries. As in the earlier case the main commentators are Christian missionaries, but in the 19th century they were mainly British and American protestant missionaries bringing a different world view to China. This world view was conditioned by their religion and their sense of superiority based on the relative decline of China in technological and institutional terms compared to the time of the Jesuits. Their views were widely disseminated in the West, and they became both theoretical and literal interpreters (as a result of their language expertise missionaries were employed as interpreters) for Western policy makers. There were three distinct groups of Westerners: merchants, diplomats and missionaries. The missionaries were the most intellectually curious and hence the most active commentators on China, but at the same time were the most inflexible in the framework of understanding they took to China. They also had different concerns and attitudes towards China, compared to the other groups, such as on the opium trade in China. Missionaries are selected as the main subjects for observation in this research.

There are three main research questions: firstly, how did the Protestant missionaries from the early 19th century represent China to Western readers in their publications—primarily in *The Chinese Repository*, and why did they represent China in the ways they did? Do these representations share some common characteristics or patterns? To what extent were these representations motivated by a framework of expectations that arose from their Western backgrounds?

The main data used in this research is from *The Chinese Repository*. It was the first English journal devoted to offering a comprehensive introduction to Sinology. It was published between 1832 and 1851, and it witnessed the outbreak of the first Opium War and the change of discourse that occurred over that period. Around 60 articles are selected from the journal to analyse how missionaries represented China and to suggest some reasons for this.

The main theoretical framework of the research is orientalism propounded by Edward Said in 1978. It is approached by two dimensions: a micro dimension which focuses on the book itself published in 1978 and American scholars' feedback in the decade following its publication, and macro dimension which concentrates on Chinese scholars' views of orientalism from the 1990s onwards and Western scholars' new interpretations in the 21st century. I transpose the notion of orientalism from the 20th century Middle East to the 19th century Chinese context, and apply this notion to analyse missionaries' representations of the Chinese language, religion and society. I believe that the orientalism has different contextual manifestations: in other words, it should be 'topic-sensitive'. I find that within the framework of orientalism missionaries adopted three different specific

approaches in representing China: syncretism, fundamentalism and progressivism. They used these to inform and reconcile what they found in China with the framework of understanding derived from their religious beliefs and their socio-political view of the world.

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Chapter 1 Introduction

In the nineteenth century a substantial change took place in interstate relations. As the West was striving to acquire wealth, power and prestige in the context of the industrial revolution, China, one of the societies that was unwilling to participate in the new world order, was regarded as backward and thus in need of reformation and modernisation. The true purpose of Western imperialism was then deliberately hidden under the guise of 'civilising the non-west', as proclaimed by the major Western powers. At that time China underwent a comprehensive exploitation of its economic and natural resources.

According to mainstream Chinese scholars (Mao, 2014; Xiao, 2017; Li, 2014), the turning point in interstate relations was the outbreak of the first Opium War (1839). The opium trade took a heavy toll on the fortunes and vigour of Chinese society. Although the Chinese imperial court could no longer tolerate the trade and was determined to put a halt to it, the second opium war (1856-1860) further infringed on China's sovereignty. From that point onwards, China suffered constant imperialist and military interventions by the West and Japan. From then to the end of the Second World War, China experienced what is referred to by Chinese scholars as a 'century of humiliation' (Kaufman, 2010). This term has been interpreted by separate groups for different purposes: since modern Chinese history is an integral and compulsory part of the Chinese younger generation's education, the Western media tend to criticise the term for being a strategy designed to arouse feelings of nationalism among the people, to deflect the attention of the rest of the world away from China's human rights abuses, and at the same time to draw domestic attention away from corruption problems in the government. On the other hand, the Chinese Left-Wing sees the emphasis on this historical period as an attempt to diminish 'national self-esteem', leading to feelings of xenophobia on the part of the Chinese younger generation, who tend to view the West as superior and to accept its values. It can be said that the impact of the

Opium War has for a long time been one of the most controversial subjects in the Sino-Western relationship. In terms of the ethical and political question of moral culpability, it is quite subtle and sensitive. This is what aroused my interest in studying this period of time, since a study of this period would not just be a piece of historical research, it is also linked to contemporary politics, such as Sino-Western relations and challenges to Western ideological concepts such as democracy and freedom. In China's nineteenth-century relationship with the West, Protestant missionaries were among the most significant actors on the scene. While it was fairly normal for diplomats and merchants to communicate or even collaborate with the Chinese by the nature of their professions, Protestant missionaries were often regarded as 'aggressive individualists', who sought direct contact with the Chinese common people and were often in conflict with the established order of Chinese society. The Protestant missionaries were the only foreign group at that time that attempted to change Chinese minds and hearts completely, unlike the merchants, diplomats or even the Jesuits, who did not have such a goal. They were also the group of foreigners in China at that time who reported most fully and frequently on China to the West. The Protestant missionaries endeavoured to fit into Chinese society, in order to influence and change it. They transmitted their image of China to the West while also shaping Chinese views of the outside world. The Protestant missionaries' original intention was to influence the Chinese in a religious sense; however, the fact remains that they had a potent influence in China in other realms as well. It can therefore be said that a study of the Protestant missionaries, together with their educational backgrounds and their work, is vital, if one wishes to obtain a clear picture of China in the nineteenth century.

1.1 Historical Background

In order to understand the representations of China in the 19th century, a brief observation of narratives on China before this time is necessary. It

may help readers to compare the different attitudes in different eras and to see the causes of the changes in the discourses.

The first European who should be mentioned for his works on China is Matteo Ricci. He seems to be the first European who was fully aware of the Chinese intellectual tradition. His diaries were taken to Rome by a fellow Jesuit, translated into Latin and published in 1615 (Gallagher, 1953). Over a few decades, his work was reprinted several times and translated into German, French, Italian and English. It can be seen that Ricci's work enjoyed wide popularity. In his work, Ricci discusses Confucianism, Chinese astronomy and medicine, as well as the official examinations, in great detail. From these works, it can be said that Ricci took a favourable view of China in general, describing the prosperity of China as follows: 'everything which the people need for their well-being and sustenance, whether it be for food or clothing or even delicacies and superfluities, is abundantly produced within the border of the kingdom' (Gallagher, p.10). He also believed the Chinese were a peace-loving nation, for 'neither the King nor his people ever think of waging a war of aggression', and in this respect 'they are much [*sic*] different from the people of Europe' (Gallagher, p.55).

The other Jesuit worth mentioning is Du Halde. Although he had never been to China, Du Halde was very positive about the country: he believed China was well-governed, since 'they would not be able to maintain themselves in their offices if they did not gain the reputation of being the fathers of the people, and seem to have no other desire than to procure happiness' (1741, p.49). Like Ricci, Du Halde thought the Chinese people were 'mild and peaceable in the commerce of life' (p.89).

It can thus be seen that the early Jesuits took a very positive perspective in depicting China; their works enjoyed wide readership and had a substantial impact in Europe. Several contemporary philosophers were heavily influenced by their works and based their own narratives on the Jesuits' writings.

L'Orphelin de la Chine, by Voltaire, one of the most influential Enlightenment thinkers, was based on a translation of a Chinese drama by the Jesuit, J. Prémare. In Voltaire's story, the Chinese people are depicted as righteous, brave and willing to sacrifice themselves for the national interest. Voltaire used this work in praise of China. He believed that China's governance was based on morality and law, and pointed out that the Emperor had never been troubled by 'priestly quarrels' (1963, pp.69-71). Voltaire was also aware of some of China's technological advances, such as printing, and he noted that the Chinese had known about printing long before Europe (pp.209-213).

Voltaire's compatriot, Quesnay, had a slightly different view from Voltaire, since he believed that China's government was despotic. However, he regarded this despotism as benign, for the 'Chinese constitution is founded on wise and irrevocable laws which the emperor enforces and which he carefully observes himself' (1946, pp.141-142).

The German logician Gottfried Wilhelm Leibniz, on the other hand, was pleasantly surprised by Chinese philosophy. Leibniz had been trying to heal the vicious theological and political strife that had been wracking the society of his time all his life. He believed that China could play a significant part in helping him to achieve his goal, since he felt his own ideas on the reconciliation of extremes were compatible with Chinese thought. He thought Chinese beliefs might help him to find a middle ground of compatibility between Catholicism and Protestantism. It was this synthesis that could lead to an era of international peace and harmony (Mungello, 1977). When Leibniz heard that Emperor Kangxi had issued an edict of toleration for the Catholics in 1692, his sense of China's importance as an example of how to maintain peaceful relations between different religions was heightened: Kangxi's action was in sharp contrast to Louis XIV's 1685 Revocation of *The Edict of Nantes*, which for almost a century had protected the rights of Protestants in France. Leibniz once mentioned that China 'surpass[es] us in practical philosophy, that is, in the precepts of

ethics and politics adapted to the present life and use of mortals. Indeed, it is difficult to describe how beautifully all the laws of the Chinese, in contrast to those of other peoples, are directed to the achievement of public tranquillity and the establishment of social order, so that men shall be disrupted in their relations as little as possible' (Mungello, 1985, pp.46-47).

These narratives are indicative of the passion for Chinoiserie that was prevalent in 18th century Europe. The representation of China was generally positive. There are several reasons for this. First, the transmission of these images to Europe was primarily the work of the Jesuits, as in the case of *L'Orphelin de la Chine*, mentioned above. It seems strange that the Jesuits would depict such a positive image of Chinese, for their goal was to convert the Chinese elite class into Christians, and the portrayal of a high moral standard among the people would seemingly contradict the necessity for Christianity in China. However, it should be noted that Jesuits had adopted a syncretic approach in their narratives. They viewed the Chinese canonical books as prophetic texts which incorporated the mysteries of Christianity, and they tried to relate the origins of Chinese culture to Christianity. Therefore, the high moral standards of the Chinese people did not preclude the necessity for preaching the gospel in China; instead, they were seen as the cause of the Chinese civilisation's prosperity: it was under the light of Christianity which was not that conspicuous that led to its civilisation. The fact that the Jesuits had to please the Chinese ruling class in order to gain their favour so that they could stay in the country was another reason for them to create such positive images. These are the two main reasons behind the Jesuits' positive views of China.

Secondly, I would argue that there were political goals that the Enlightenment literati hoped to achieve through presenting Chinese society in a favourable light. China was constructed as a model society, which they then used to criticise their own European society. This point of view is in

line with Leibniz's narratives on Emperor Kangxi's tolerance of Christianity and Quesnay's arguments about China's benign despotism. As Mackerras argues (1989, p.41), 'both the Jesuits and the philosophers were like the great majority of people in all ages. What mattered most to them was not so much the foreign culture - in this case China - as home.' The positive representation of China was thus created for their own purposes.

However, in the 19th century, the balance between a positive and a negative representation of China gradually shifted from the former to the latter. Generally speaking, there were two elements accounting for this: the change in the observers and the change in the epoch they were in.

The main religious observers changed from Jesuits to Protestant missionaries, who viewed Catholicism as a noxious faith. When the Church Missionary Society of London asked its China agent, Edward Squire, what exactly the Romanists were doing, he (1838) replied: 'we are well assured: it is possible for men who have had communications with China for two centuries secretly to go into the interior, protected as they are by the many who have embraced the faith...The main question is, do they preach the gospel, do they distribute the word of God and Christian books, do they even propel Christianity?' The Protestants seemed to have no interest in adopting the strategies of accommodation used by the Jesuits – strategies such as eating with chopsticks, and dressing in thick-soled shoes and robes with long sleeves. Instead, they went their own ways; they remained determined to pursue the true path to Christian conversion— the sinner should be brought face to face with the fact of his own depravity, throwing himself unreservedly on God's mercy through Jesus Christ. This distinctive approach meant the Protestant missionaries dealt with a completely different group of Chinese—ordinary folk. They distributed religious tracts on the streets and tried to communicate with the common people. Their approach was not viewed favourably by the Jesuits, and in fact, Catholic missionaries were contemptuous of these newcomers to the China field, for they believed their successors' rigid reliance on the printed word and

'bottom-up' strategies did not benefit their religious activities. One of the directors of the seminary for training Chinese priests, Pupier (1825), once said, 'these Protestants simply will not see that Scripture by itself...can no more develop true faith and check error than a code of laws without judges can preserve order in the body politic...Religion ought to be taught, not contrived with the help of a Bible often badly understood...I myself have heard a Chinese...express his gratitude at being furnished by the Bible society with paper for a use I dare not specify'. Tracts and Bibles had no spiritual effects - they served as cigarette ends, or candy wrappers for bazaars. Therefore, it can be seen that the irreconcilable problems between Catholics and Protestants had affected the latter in the way they viewed the favourable narratives on China created by the former. Furthermore, the fact that they were observing different groups of Chinese - the ruling class on the part of the Jesuits and the ordinary Chinese on the part of the Protestant missionaries - also became one of the reasons behind the changing images of China in the 19th century.

Apart from the difference in the narrators, the 'time factor' needs to be taken into consideration as well. While the Chinese empire had been declining gradually since the late 18th century as a result of its 'closed-door' policy, the rise of the Europeans, especially the British, in the context of the Industrial Revolution, had altered the Europeans' stance in viewing China. In their narratives dealing with particular issues which were peculiar to the nineteenth century, such as the opium trade, Western observers were cautious. The increased frequency of interactions between China and Europe in the fields of commerce and diplomacy was something the Jesuits had never experienced.

So far, we can see that a fairly positive image of China cannot be frequently seen in a 19th century context. A different group of narrators—Protestant missionaries, intended to change the stereotypes of China shaped by Jesuits; Britain, as the rising power then, also viewed the old Chinese civilisation differently. Furthermore, the western imperialistic powers'

political and economic exploitation also influenced their views of China. A theoretical framework which focuses on western dominance over China is needed.

1.2 Theories and Research Methodology

The theoretical framework of this research is based mainly on, and developed from orientalism. One of the theoretical concepts emerging from postcolonialism, orientalism was constructed and theorised by Edward Said, and is characterised by his construction of the 'Orient'. In the study of East-West cultural relations in Oriental countries, his writings are among those most quoted and discussed. Said (1978, p.12) argues that orientalism is not mere political subject matter or a field that is reflected passively by culture, scholarship or institutions; nor is it a large and diffuse collection of texts about the Orient; nor is it representative and expressive of some nefarious Western imperialist plot to hold down the 'Oriental' world. Rather, it is a significant dimension of modern political-intellectual culture, and as such has less to do with the Orient than it does with 'our' world. It is suggested here that in Said's view orientalism was constructed not by the Orient, but by the opposite side – the Occident. The Orient is something that exists only in the eyes of some Western people. To be specific, the term indicates the dominance of the powerful West over the weak East. Orientalism was an invention by Westerners who had little knowledge of but some prejudice against the Orient. It seems that in the eyes of Westerners the Orient, throughout its history, has been seen as 'backward' on the one hand, but as somewhat 'mysterious' on the other. It can therefore be concluded that orientalism is a deep-rooted episteme of Westerners about the Orient that has for a long time been an important aspect of European-American colonialist ideology (Wang, 1995, p.57).

In any study of the representation of China by Europe in the 19th century, an examination of orientalism cannot be avoided. Said's work has given rise to certain challenges. As noted by several scholars previously (Wang, 1997, p.61), Said's '*Orientalism*' has limitations in geographical, cultural and

literary aspects. For example, with regard to its geographical limitations, Said's book sets the boundary line of the Orient in the Middle East. Regions such as Southeast Asia, let alone countries like China, Japan and India, were not even considered by him. In the literary aspect, his texts mainly discuss English works from English-speaking countries, which was a slight on Oriental works and caused an imbalance. Said and his work have been criticised for his limited horizons in discussing this 'macro-project'. One of the aims of this thesis is to explore Said's saying: 'The Orient was almost a European invention, and had been since antiquity a place of romance, exotic beings, haunting memories and landscapes, remarkable experiences' (p.1). Since China was never one of Said's objects of observation, the representation of China should be carefully examined. Said once indicated that orientalism was the product of Westerners who had little knowledge of the Orient. However, as pointed out above, the writers of the early European narratives on China seem to have had a comprehensive knowledge of China and even held it up as a good example for Europe to model itself on. As times changed and narrators were replaced, owing to the different backgrounds of the narrators, the representation of China became negative. I would argue that orientalism should be very context-sensitive (for instance, a 19th century Chinese context; a 20th century Arabian context). It should be defined to suit the context in which it is being applied, and different aspects of the theory should be emphasised depending on the context. The discourses of a European observer in the nineteenth century would change according to the circumstances he was in. This is discussed in more detail in the next section.

The data for this research were drawn mainly from *The Chinese Repository* (1832-1851). This is the world's first major journal of sinology in English. *The Chinese Repository* provided Westerners with a considerable amount of information on Chinese civilisation and current affairs for nearly two decades. Although it was Christian in tone, *The Chinese Repository* presented Chinese history and civilisation with a certain degree of

objectivity and in some detail to a generation of readers, offering approximately 12,000 printed pages on Chinese topics. The extensive files from this publication also provided the foundation on which S. Wells Williams constructed his own classic account of China, *The Middle Kingdom* (1848), a book that exerted a significant influence on American attitudes towards China for the rest of the century. *The Chinese Repository* has obvious advantages over literature on China published in the West. Most of its contributors had first-hand experience of the country, and many could speak the language; some had even participated directly in the major events of the period, such as the signing of The Nanking Treaty after the first Opium War. In assessing its contributors, Roswell S. Britton (1966, pp.28-29) once said that 'the list of contributors is virtually a list of the British and American scholars of that time in China'.

Although it was the 'brain child' of Robert Morrison, *The Chinese Repository* was actually founded by Elijah Bridgman. As the first British Protestant Missionary to arrive in China, Morrison's aim was to spread Western knowledge and religion among the Chinese. In order to win support from his home base, he also showed them what China was like then and how much it was in need of the 'civilising' influence of Christianity. In Malacca, Morrison's assistant, William Milne, published the *Indo-Chinese Gleaner* (1807-1822), which was supported and financed by Morrison. Sadly, Milne died in 1822 and the publication was terminated. In 1827, also in Malacca, an attempt was made to replace the *Indo-Chinese Gleaner* when the prospectus for the *Indo-Chinese Repository* was issued (*The Chinese Repository*, vol.5, pp.149-150). Morrison was so keen on the idea of such a publication that he urged that a printing press be sent out when an American Mission was trying to establish a base in China. When Elijah Bridgman and David Abeel, the first two American missionaries, arrived in Canton in 1830, David Olyphant, head of the American firm of Olyphant and Company, arranged for the church in America to donate a printing press, and the money finally reached Canton in 1831. Later, the

German missionary, Karl Gutzlaff, offered his *Journal of a Voyage from Siam to Tientsin* for publication, and it was this offer that started the first issue of *The Chinese Repository* in May, 1832.

According to *The General Index to the Repository's* list, there were 1,257 articles published in *The Chinese Repository* over a period of two decades. There are 125 contributors who can be identified, most of whom supplied one or two articles. Among these people, there are five main contributors - E.C. Bridgman, S.W. Williams, Robert Morrison, J.R. Morrison and Karl Gutzlaff. These five authors altogether contributed 671 articles to the publication, accounting for 53.4% of the total number of articles¹.

The five main contributors conformed fairly well to the general description I have given of Protestant missionaries living in China between 1830 and 1850. They were intellectually superior to the majority of their fellows, given their linguistic capacities and knowledge of sinology. However, owing to their educational background, they seem to have been as subject to as many prejudices and misconceptions as their less informed fellows, such as merchants.

One of the main contributors to *The Chinese Repository* and the first American missionary to China - Elijah Coleman Bridgman - may be used as an example. He was born on a farm in Massachusetts in 1801. Bridgman received religious instruction from his mother, and in his childhood dutifully attended the local Congregational Church. Sadly, his mother died early and at the age of 13, Bridgman had already dedicated his life to his mother's religious beliefs. Bridgman yearned for the higher education that would qualify him for work in the ministry. In 1822, he entered Amherst College for a theological education, where he particularly admired Heman Humphrey — a champion of Protestant fundamentalism and evangelism. After graduation, Bridgman continued his studies at Andover Theological Seminary in Massachusetts. Within a year, he had decided to become a

¹ Bridgman wrote the most articles - 345, with Williams second - 130. The two Morrisons wrote 72 and 76 articles respectively, while Gutzlaff wrote the lowest number of articles - 48.

missionary. In September 1829, the American Board assigned him to the Chinese mission. Humphrey of Amherst College delivered Bridgman's ordination sermon, summoning him to go forth as a 'good soldier of Christ...to see what one of the most ancient and inveterate forms of idolatry is...You go to attack the prince of darkness in his most imposing fortress' (p. 91). The local minister, Lyman Coleman, instructed him 'to go to the proud, bigoted and fornicating pagan in his distant pagoda' (p.91). With this fundamentalist rhetoric ringing in ears. Bridgman sailed from New York to China. His early image of the Chinese was one of heathen idolaters and simple natives, who were backward and ignorant. Therefore, education was essential to this people. However, when he found the ordinary Chinese amiable and hardworking through daily conversation, his view altered. As he reported to his family a few months after his arrival in Canton:

I have been at some of their houses - the finest that I have seen was that of a young merchant. He is 22 and has wives and children - I don't know how many - I saw two of his little sons - fine little fellows - they shook hands and drank tea with me in fine style...The Chinese are not extravagantly modest and diffident as we use the terms. The common people will come right into the house, and your room too - without the least ceremony, shake hands, ask you how you do, 'what for you come to China' - 'how old you have' - 'you have father-mother' and so on. They are great talkers (p.92).

Bridgman discovered that the Chinese were a 'bookish people' too; they were 'human beings, not celestial or infernal'; they 'had advanced as far as any people ever have gone, or can go, without the aids of divine revelation' (p.93).

Although Bridgman became aware of the antiquity and great accomplishments of Chinese civilisation, he did not lose sight of his goal to convert Chinese, however. Firstly, through his research, he found out how an impressive civilisation had developed without the direct aid of the divine truth: a syncretic approach. Ironically, this was the same conclusion the Jesuits had arrived at centuries earlier. Bridgman concluded that the sons of Noah had possessed religious truth when they came to China, but that it had later been lost when the forces of evil had been allowed to prevail in

the great Manichean controversy that embroiled China for centuries. Chinese paganism would be rejected summarily once the ancient religious truths found in China's classical literature could be persuasively linked to the truths of the modern Bible. Bridgman also observed that the Chinese were a practical people. Showing them modern Western improvements with the aid 'of the revealed truth' would facilitate the proselytising work. Therefore, in 1834, he and his colleagues in Canton founded the Society for the Diffusion of Useful Knowledge in China (SDUKC). He hoped to open China by peaceful means to trade, Western civilisation and finally to Protestant Christianity. The society's purpose was 'to publish such books as may enlighten the minds of the Chinese, and to communicate to them the arts and sciences of the West' (p.95). Bridgman portrayed the Society as standing between the 'great regions of light and darkness...With one hand its members may gather up the richest fruits of modern invention and discovery throughout the whole western hemisphere, and with the other many scatter them far and wide among the inhabitants of these eastern nations' (p.95).

In viewing Bridgman as a typical representative of Protestant missionaries, one can see different aspects of his character: buoyed up by faith in an age of progress, he was overly confident of his religious background, seeking to spread his vision of a wider world, so that China and the rest of the world would be enriched by the expansion of trade and political liberty as well as Christianity. Consequently, he was not prepared for the strength of the Chinese resistance to his intrusion. To sum up, Protestant missionaries like Elijah Bridgman were fundamentalist in their religious beliefs, 'hedging their bets' in their discourse on China's impressive civilisation by linking it to Christian influence, and at the same time, hoping to bring progress to the Chinese empire.

The research methodologies are basically discourse analysis and case study. For the purposes of this research, 64 articles were selected from *The Chinese Repository*, along with other materials from among the

missionaries' works, such as the *Missionary Herald*, the *East-West Examiner and Monthly Recorder*, *The Middle Kingdom* etc., in order to study three topics: the portrayals of the Chinese language, Chinese religions and social circumstances in China. The reasons for choosing these three topics are: firstly, the acquisition of the language was the first challenge the missionaries encountered, particularly in light of the Bible translation work they had to do, which means that an examination of the subject of the language is essential; secondly, since they were religious men, a scrutiny of religious issues is obviously important; thirdly, with regard to the main social issues the missionaries became involved in at that time, such as the opium trade, women's foot-binding and Chinese laws relating to foreigners, they all revealed the most typical conflicts in Sino-Western relations of that period, and this made the Protestant missionaries' attitudes most accessible to readers. Some of the topics have a strong 19th century China character. The 64 articles which are carefully selected from *The Chinese Repository* are thematically related. Furthermore, some of them were written by the same author. A comprehensive reading of these articles will reveal his change of discourses. The various articles chosen helped me to trace the Protestant missionaries' changing discourses on the Sino-Western relationship. With the aid of other supporting materials, this thesis offers a wider lens through which to view these narratives than relying on *The Chinese Repository* alone would have done.

1.3 Research Questions

This study examines the following questions:

- How did the writers for *The Chinese Repository* represent China to Western readers, and also why did they represent it in the ways they did. What common patterns and features do their representations share and what are the motivations for this?

- In examining the views expressed by Protestant missionaries in *The Chinese Repository*, do these missionaries display common characteristics in their views? What features do these common characteristics share? How objective were they?
- To what extent were these discussions of what these missionaries saw in China motivated by a framework of expectations that arose from their Western backgrounds? In other words, were they criticising China for deviating from standards established by their Western upbringing?

In viewing the theoretical framework of this research—orientalism, I want to explore the different facets of it. I selected three terms, representing the strategies and ideologies, to match the changing attitudes of the Protestant missionaries: syncretism, fundamentalism and progressivism. These three terms can be regarded as referring to the different representations of orientalism that arose from different circumstances. As argued earlier, in the context of the Western episteme of China, orientalism should not be seen as a single and unchanging idea. Orientalism should be more accurately defined according to the different contexts in which it is being used. I have therefore used these three terms (or ideologies) to interpret the theory of orientalism. I aim to explore:

- Whether any relationships actually existed among them; if there was a cause and effect relationship, or if they came into existence one after another along a particular timeline, in a particular order.
- In putting the Protestant missionaries' narratives into these three main frameworks, my aim is to trace how their discourses changed as they became better acquainted with the Chinese people and culture; to see how they reconciled the obvious conflicts between Biblical accounts and the historical facts they found in China; to examine how they expressed themselves on sensitive issues such as the opium trade, and how they balanced their religious identities

and the moral standards they upheld with the practical and economic needs of their fellow countrymen in China.

- Ultimately, through examining these questions, the aim of this thesis is to present a clearer view of the nature of the phenomenon we are referring to as 'orientalism' in the context of 19th century China.

1.4 Chapter Breakdown and Three Manifestations of Orientalism

The first chapter sets up the research background: it provides the historical background to the research context, the theoretical framework and the methodology. It also outlines the research questions on the representation of China in the 19th century and illustrations of Said's orientalism.

Chapter Two is literature review. It mainly explores the works discussing Said's orientalism and China's image in the West. The first section of this chapter focuses on the praise and criticism of Said's work in the 1980s, and more recent discussions on Said in China and the West. The second section explores scholarly works on the image of China. Some of the works were influenced by Said's orientalism as well. The last section is related to the material of this study: *The Chinese Repository*. It explores how this periodical has been used so far, and finally shows what this study can contribute to the study of orientalism and *The Chinese Repository*.

In Chapter Three the first manifestation of orientalism — Syncretism — is examined in detail. As mentioned earlier, in Bridgman's biography the Chinese classics are regarded as prophetic texts which incorporate the mysteries of Christianity, and this spirit of Syncretism is especially obvious in the missionaries' narratives on the Chinese language and its long history. The chapter first probes the historical background: the revocation of the East India Company's monopoly gave British merchants high hopes for an expansion of commercial relations with China. The failure of the Lord Napier Embassy had exposed a lack of communication between the two countries. Thus, it was believed that the most effective way to convert the Chinese was to learn 'as accurately as possible their true condition; to

exhibit it to themselves; and then to put within their reach the means of improvement' (*The Chinese Repository*, 1833, Vol 2, p.4). The examination of the historical background revealed the first of three phases in the missionaries' linguistic activities— they studied the Chinese language assiduously and published various articles in *The Chinese Repository*, with topics ranging from the history of the language, the written and colloquial forms, the weakness of the language, their feedback on their learning and even their choice of words when translating the Bible. A sense of 'Syncretism' can already be seen in their narratives on the long history and originality of the Chinese language. I then turn to the meta-phase of their linguistic activities: the founding of the Society for the Diffusion of Useful Knowledge in China (SDUKC), when they exported Western values with the aid of 'revealed truth'. In these works, they adopted a strategy of 'domestication' in an effort to get closer to the Chinese people, using Confucian sayings, with which the Chinese were familiar, to urge the Chinese to be humble and learn from the West. In the ana-phase of their activities their linguistic capacities had increased, and they handled the topic with more freedom. Samuel Kidd and his manipulative powers are presented here as an example: firstly, he established a link between the Chinese and the Jews; then, in translating the Chinese literature, he deliberately used strategies that would mislead his readers. It appears that the missionaries' improved linguistic capabilities enabled them to steer readers in the direction they wanted, which was very obvious in their selection of Chinese religious materials.

This idea is then developed in Chapter Four, which explores the missionaries' narratives on religion. The second manifestation of orientalism, Fundamentalism, is examined in this chapter. The theme of Fundamentalism is divided into two categories for the purpose of my research: missionaries' criticism of Chinese 'paganism' and their opposition to Catholicism. My choice of this religious ideology is based on the assumption by Robert Sussman (2014, p.14) that all human races were

created by God beginning with Adam and Eve. Non-whites were thought to be inferior and in need of the guidance and control of rational, moral men. Their condition was considered to have been caused by some degenerative process resulting from factors such as climate, or conditions of life, and the society's isolation from Christian civilisation. These degenerates could be healed by being given the benefits of European education and culture, especially by being converted to Christianity. Next, a detailed analysis of Robert Morrison's life and works is presented to support this assumption. Morrison's religious upbringings has exerted a great influence on him in viewing Chinese philosophical and religious ideas before he arrived in China. Morrison strictly followed his tutor's instructions in his Chinese activities: learn the language, translate the Bible and establish a seminary. He firmly believed that China needed the saving message before his arrival in 1807, and for the rest of his life never deviated from this view. Thus, a spirit of 'fundamentalism' was entrenched in his life. Two other perspectives are also examined in this chapter: Walter Lowrie's articles on the history of the Christians' residence in China and the Chinese 'paganism' depicted by Morrison, Edwin Stevens, Gutzlaff etc. Lowrie's articles contain some of the most detailed introductions to the Christians' residence in China. In these articles, he criticised the Jesuits for grovelling before the Chinese ruling class, for accommodating their tastes and not preaching the most orthodox Christian faith. However, he showed sympathy for the suffering they had experienced since they arrived in China in the mid-18th century, and also praised their labour in their missionary works. Missionaries such as Morrison and Stevens, on the other hand, spared no effort in criticising the Chinese people's religious beliefs: they claimed the Chinese were a superstitious and utilitarian people, some of whom bargained with God in their prayers: if they derived much profit from their prayer, they would give much. As for Buddhism, a popular religion in China, it was labelled a 'lazy' and 'do nothing' sect.

In the fifth chapter the third representation of orientalism - Progressivism - is explored. Progressivists firmly believe that advancements in science and technology, economic development and social organisation are vital to the improvement of the human condition. Under the influence of the previous two ideologies, these advancements are associated with the aid of Christianity. The chapter deals mainly with the Protestant missionaries' attitudes towards three aspects of contemporary society: opium dealing, the Chinese government and legal code, and the Chinese people. With regard to the opium trade, the missionaries were sympathetic to the Chinese. Unlike the merchants and diplomats, they attacked the opium trade. Missionaries such as Bridgman, Benjamin Hobson and David Abeel all used different approaches to criticise the opium dealing in China, and these criticisms were based on the religious identities and moralities they derived from Christianity. However, it was these Christian ideologies they had that changed their attitudes towards the opium dealing in China. Asked by the Chinese 'are not your Jesus Christ's man engaged in selling it to us?' they could not answer. For the sake of their reputation, they later connived at this dealing and remained silent. They believed that everything was done according to God's will. Another Protestant, Robert Inglis, seriously attacked the Chinese government and legal code, partly because he wanted to rectify the previous favourable images depicted by Jesuits. He described the law as 'uncertainty and futility'. The chapter then lists a considerable number of criminal reports taken from *The Chinese Repository* used to illustrate the cruelty of this system. Last but not least, the Protestants' views of the Chinese people are examined. They were regarded as 'deceitful' and 'snobbish', and the missionaries tried to link the public calamities to divine retribution from God; they related them to one of the Confucian sayings, claiming it was the 'wickedness of mankind' that had caused them, and this typology was also related to Syncretism. The foot-binding of Chinese women was also seen as a call for Christian intervention. Under the influence of these three ideologies, several

incidents of unrest occurred in China in the late 19th century, such as the Taiping Rebellion and the Boxer uprising.

The final chapter provides the discussion of Said's orientalism within the context of missionaries' representation of China in the 19th century. It will conclude the relationship among three different ideologies from orientalism and how they affected each other. It will provide a new insight into the illustration of orientalism.

Chapter 2 Literature Review

In the previous chapter, I have provided the research background to this study. In this chapter, it will focus on works related to Said's orientalism and the image of China. It will start by introducing different groups of 'orientalists' in China in the 19th century and then move on to an exploration of orientalism.

The chapter is thus divided into three sections. In the first section, works on Orientalism are explored: the definition and key ideas of orientalism proposed by Said, and later reviews of Orientalism by both Chinese and Western scholars. The focus in this part is on the relationship between the micro and macro perspective. Section two explores works that discuss Westerners' perceptions of China and the influence of these perceptions—the major works on this topic are discussed and listed chronologically. The thinking here is that by using a clear timeline, it will be easier to identify the change of focus in this area, and the role Orientalism played in this change cannot be ignored. It can be said that these works have already generated some new thoughts in interpreting orientalism. In the last section, works that discuss *The Chinese Repository* are evaluated with relation to what they have focused on and what they have omitted. These works will also be used to analyse the writers' attitudes towards China within the context of an 'orientalist mentality'. The 'micro' and 'macro' perspectives of orientalism are then re-examined, and this examination leads on to the conclusion of the chapter.

2.1 Orientalism and Orientalists in China in the 19th Century

The 19th century marked a new phase in China's engagement with the rest of the world. Until this point, engagement had been primarily on China's terms, with China determining which foreigners were allowed to enter the country and the level of contact they had with the population. From the middle of the 19th century onwards, the Chinese government had become

powerless to prevent large numbers of foreigners arriving in China, and for various reasons these visitors began to adopt more negative attitudes towards China compared with earlier visitors.

In the middle of the 20th century, Edward Said developed his theory of orientalism as a construct for analysing what caused Westerners to adopt an attitude of superiority towards the people in his part of the Orient, Arabia. In both contexts, China and Arabia, the Westerners were predominantly the same groups of people: the British, the French and the Americans. In Arabia in the 20th century, the British and the French were fading imperialist powers, and America had become the dominant power. In 19th century China, Britain was the dominant power, followed by France and America, but essentially, it was the same three powers.

2.11 Three Groups of Westerners in China in the 19th Century

Wang Gungwu (2003, p.8) once stated that “the words ‘convert, trade, rule or fight,’ describe the core issues in the history of Chinese relations with the English-speaking peoples”. At a simplistic level, we can categorise the British and Americans in China into three groups: missionaries, business people and diplomats. For almost a century the foreign merchants had been trading regularly with the Chinese at Canton, the only part of the Empire where the Qing court permitted trade with foreigners after 1757. It was allowed under what became known as ‘the Canton System’ (Wakeman, 1978, pp.163-212). This trade was important to China, as the economy netted some \$26 million in her world balance of payments in the first decade of the nineteenth century (ibid., p.173). However, the Chinese Emperor and leading officials did not recognise this importance since trade played such a minor role in their concept of the economic system. The Chinese imposed both duties and restrictions on trade; it could only be carried out in the months between October and March, after which traders had to leave for Macao. No wives or dependents were permitted at the national trading posts and the merchants’ personal freedoms were somewhat limited. The British merchants wanted to have their own depot

on the Chinese coast where they could trade and store goods. They considered taking Macao over from the Portuguese as well as obtaining Amoy on the Fujian coast, situated nearer to the main tea-growing areas (Rowe, 2009, pp.141-144). These were issues which Macartney's and Amherst's embassies were meant to address.

Secondly, with regard to the diplomats, they approached China from the perspective of the Western concept of diplomatic relations, which was based on the idea of equality between states. China did not subscribe to this code, and so was criticised by Macartney and Amherst and the British government for its backwardness in a diplomatic sense. Businessmen expected to be able to trade freely. This was the accepted principle for trade in the West. China saw trade as a privilege, which was granted or withdrawn by the emperor for political reasons. This autocratic behaviour on the part of the Chinese Emperor was something British merchants had fought successfully over the centuries in Britain, and they were inclined to compare China with an earlier stage in British history when autocratic rulers had control over all aspects of the state.

The missionaries, on the other hand, went to China totally convinced of the truth of Christianity, aiming to save Chinese souls from eternal damnation by converting them to this religion. On the one hand, their motivation can be seen as altruistic - to save the souls of the poor Chinese; on the other hand it can be seen as imperialistic - to create a greater Christian empire by including more than 300 million Chinese (*The Chinese Repository*, 1833, p.355), a major part of the world's population at that time. Christian missionaries found the Chinese worshipping a multiplicity of gods, but Christianity emphasised that there was just one God, and this belief was seen as progressive compared to the primitive idea of multiple gods.

Thus, all the above three groups had reasons to view China as backward from a Western perspective, and in need of help to join the progressive forces of history. All three groups promoted an agenda of change in China based on their understanding of progress. At the same time as having this

altruistic desire to help China move forward, i.e., to accord with standards they themselves believed in, there was also an element of self-interest involved. This was very obvious in the case of the merchants, who wanted to make a profit in China, and also in the case of the diplomats, who were in pursuit of their own national interests. As the former Superintendent of Trade at Canton and future governor of Hong Kong, Sir John Francis, once indicated, 'the pernicious drug, sold to the Chinese, has exceeded in market value the wholesome leaf that has been purchased from them; and the balance of the trade has been paid to us in silver' (1836, vol. 2, pp.432-436). However, we can also see this self-interest in the case of the missionaries, who were also promoting their personal agendas.

In a similar situation in the 20th century, as mentioned above, Edward Said proposed his theory of orientalism to explain the insidious nature of Western scholarship on the Oriental world: while claiming to represent the Orient objectively, these scholars were working on behalf of the West to justify intervention in, and exploitation of, the Orient. One of the purposes of this research was to examine the extent to which this view of Said's is apparent in the articles in *The Chinese Repository* – in other words, were his views reflected and confirmed by the attitudes of the contributors? We know that, on the whole, the views of China presented by the Jesuits in the 16th and 17th centuries were quite favourable, and the Western scholars who read the works of the Jesuits, in many cases, obtained very positive impressions of China. They saw China as a state that compared very favourably with Western countries where irrational religious influence had blighted the lives of many citizens and denied them the freedom to express their views. By the 19th century, however, certainly in Britain and the United States, there was considerable freedom of expression, and for Western visitors to China at that time, the country compared unfavourably with the West in many respects. China had been left behind technologically, particularly in military technology, and its political system was also pre-modern compared to the level of political representation in

Britain and the United States, although many countries in the world remained autocratic, including some European countries, such as Russia.

The perceptions of Westerners of the rest of the world are one of the subjects considered in this thesis. The view that Westerners had a moral responsibility to help backward countries to make progress was at the end of 19th century expressed by Rudyard Kipling (1899) in his poem *The White Man's Burden*. The poem was seen as presenting a moral justification for intervention and colonisation. This theme was developed in the writings of Westerners in China during the course of the 19th century.

2.12 Applying Orientalism to a 19th Century China's Context?

In this research the theory of orientalism is tentatively applied to the context of China in the 19th century. Said's concept of orientalism is examined to see how far it could be generalised to include different contexts. To what extent could it be used to explain the views of China expressed by Westerners in the 19th century? Taking into account the nature of the three groups of Westerners described above and the circumstances in China in the 19th century, there are two possible ways of using orientalism: approaching it from a micro perspective or approaching it from a macro perspective. From a 'micro' perspective, as indicated by Said himself in *Orientalism*, orientalism has strongly political characteristics, since it assumed the hegemonic domination of the East by the West. By making the rules, squeezing out room for discourse, and by permeating comprehensively the narratives on the Orient, orientalism implied absolute Western political control over the Orient. In brief, in micro perspective such emphasises Western political domination over the Orient, and is fairly negative. A more macro perspective from which to view orientalism can be gained through reading later reviews of *Orientalism* by both Chinese and Western scholars, a 'greatest common divisor' can be reached. From this perspective, orientalism appears to reflect a Western episteme of the Orient, including a 'sense of superiority' and a 'lack of objectivity'. In this chapter the suitability of these two perspectives (micro

and macro) for investigating 19th century China is compared: the original concept and basis of orientalism are presented, together with the views of later critics of the theory; this provides the background for an exploration of the extent to which the two perspectives of orientalism are applicable to this particular research. The generalisability of orientalism will be explored mainly by examining the two perspectives.

It is worth noting that even in the darkest times for China in the 19th century, there were still Western narratives concerned with the Chinese victims of the opium trade, condemning the Western supply of opium to China as abuse. Protestant missionary Peter Parker established the first hospital in China in 1835 to treat ordinary Chinese patients (Peter Parker, 1836, pp.461-473). The 'sense of superiority' and concept of 'political domination' do not feature in these narratives. It therefore seems that the idea of 'orientalism' still needs to be expanded and modified in some aspects. Since orientalism only indicated the way in which Westerners justified Western treatment of the Orient, an attempt was made in this research to find out what elements could be added to the theory to make it more universally applicable. Should orientalism be approached in a binary way—as a positive or negative, hegemonic or objective theory, or should it be seen as a multi-dimensional idea?

2.2 Works on *Orientalism*

As a seminal work in the field of post-colonial studies, the book *Orientalism* has been hugely influential since its publication in 1978. In the book, Said contends that the cultural representations of the Orient were strictly tied to imperialist purposes, which caused orientalist works to be highly political and at the service of the Western powers. He further defines the narrative of orientalism as 'a dynamic exchange between individual authors and the large political concerns' (1978, p.15) shaped by the British, French and Americans, in whose intellectual and imaginative territory the writing was produced.

Nineteenth century China witnessed a rapid deterioration in the Sino-Western relationship. First, Britain launched the Opium War against China; this was followed by several incursions in alliance with other Western powers and the Japanese. The justification for waging these wars against China was based on negative narratives concerning China's backwardness in thought, and China's rejection of open and free trade with other nations, which led scholars, diplomats and politicians to the conclusion that China needed 'gunnery lessons' from nations who had achieved power through industrialisation. In light of this, it seems that the strongly political nature of orientalism identified by Said is indeed applicable to the context of 19th century China. In the following sub-section, Said's book *Orientalism* is first examined in detail in order to see whether the micro perspective of orientalism could be used to analyse the major events that took place in China during the 19th century.

2.21 Origin and Definition of Orientalism by Said: a Western Style of Domination over the Orient

In order to present Said's statements clearly, I have put into a single category three related ideas from his work *Orientalism*: the Orient, orientalism and orientalists. In his book (1978, pp.1-28), Said starts with the concept of the 'Orient'. He suggests that the 'Orient was almost a European invention', and that it 'is an integral part of European material civilization and culture'. He appears to be suggesting that a real Orient does not actually exist. He then moves on to discussing the idea of orientalism, and mentions various aspects that the theory includes. Said first claims that "Orientalism is a style of thought based upon an ontological and epistemological distinction made between the 'Orient' and (most of the time) 'the Occident'." Said himself provides a summary of how orientalism should be discussed:

Orientalism can be discussed and analysed as the corporate institution for dealing with the Orient—dealing with it by making statements about it, authorising views of it, describing it, by teaching it, settling it, ruling over it: in

short, Orientalism as a Western style for dominating, restructuring, and having authority over the Orient (ibid., p.3).

There are three phrases in the above paragraph to which attention should be drawn—‘authorising views’, ‘teaching it’, and ‘ruling over it’. Said has already set a very clear political tone at the beginning of his work, which is one of Western domination over the Orient in a generalised manner. He implies that the Orient itself could produce a standard and orthodox discourse on its own cultures or traditions; however, according to Said, the authority and power to do this were held firmly in the hands of Westerners.

Said further strengthens his viewpoint by arguing that ‘without examining Orientalism as a discourse one cannot possibly understand the enormously systematic discipline by which European culture was able to manage—and even produce—the Orient politically, sociologically, militarily, ideologically, scientifically, and imaginatively during the post-Enlightenment period’ (ibid., p.3). He further argues that the ‘Orient was not (and is not) a free subject of thought or action’.

Once again, Said puts forward the idea that Western hegemony over the Orient was achieved by restricting the space and freedom for the Orient to create its own discourse. He uses the theory of orientalism to encapsulate this idea. Said moves on to discussing the relationship between the Orient and the Occident. He states that ‘as much as the West itself, the Orient is an idea that has a history and a tradition of thought, imagery, and vocabulary that have given it reality and presence in and for the West. The two geographical entities thus support and to an extent reflect each other’. Said claims that the relationship between the Occident and the Orient ‘is a relationship of power, of domination, of varying degrees of a complex hegemony’. To be more specific, the hegemony is derived from ‘European ideas about the Orient, themselves reiterating European superiority over Oriental backwardness, usually overriding the possibility that a more independent, or more sceptical, thinker might have had different views on

the matter' (ibid., p.7). Said lists three Western countries, 'Britain, France, and recently the United States', as being the main representatives of the Occident, and I refer to these as 'orientalist countries'. They were all imperial powers, and, according to Said, their 'political societies impart to their civil societies a sense of urgency, a direct political infusion as it were, where and whenever matters pertaining to their imperial interests abroad are concerned'. Said argues that it must be true that for 'a European or American studying the Orient there can be no disclaiming the main circumstances of his actuality: that he comes up against the Orient as a European or an American first, as an individual second' (ibid., p.11).

These extracts first show that Said identified a strong Eurocentric factor shaping this ideology—Europeans or Americans first had to reflect their nationalities, and only then approach this realm as individuals. It is clear that Said's statement is political, for it not only describes Britain, France and America as hegemonic imperial powers which dominate the Orient as countries; it also points out the subconscious view held by the peoples of these countries, how they supported this hegemony, and the fact that they had already lost their objectivity in viewing the Other. Secondly, we can see from these narratives that Said selected particular Western countries to represent the Occident; he used the countries that most appropriately represented the dominant Western power in a particular period—from the beginning of the nineteenth century until the second World War, Britain and France dominated the Orient and orientalism; afterwards, it was America that dominated the Orient and orientalism, and approached them as France and Britain once did. In the period covered in this research, Britain was the dominant power in China; thus I investigated whether British, rather than American or French, views of China matched Said's orientalist theory.

The fact that Said selected the most appropriate and obvious examples of countries to represent a dominant Occident makes one wonder what his rationale could be for failing to select China, or Japan (Far East) as

representatives of the Orient. It was predictable that his selection of representatives of both the Orient and Occident would arouse contention in the following years. This contention is discussed in the next section.

Said further states that 'European and then American interest in the Orient was political according to some of the obvious historical accounts of it that I have given here, but that it was the culture that created that interest, that acted dynamically along with the brute political, economic, and military rationales to make the Orient the varied and complicated place that it obviously was in the field I call Orientalism' (p.12). To conclude his discussion of the essence of orientalism, Said states that orientalism is:

A distribution of geopolitical awareness into aesthetic, scholarly, economic, sociological, historical, and philological texts; it is an elaboration not only of a basic geographical distinction (the world is made up of two unequal halves, Orient and Occident) but also of a whole series of 'interests' which, by such means as scholarly discovery, philological reconstruction, psychological analysis, landscape and sociological description, it not only creates but also maintains; it is, rather than expresses, a certain will or intention to understand, in some cases to control, manipulate, even to incorporate, what is a manifestly different (or alternative and novel) world; it is, above all, a discourse that is by no means in direct, corresponding relationship with political power in the raw, but rather is produced and exists in an uneven exchange with various kinds of power, shaped to a degree by the exchange with power political (as with a colonial or imperial establishment), power intellectual (as with reigning sciences like comparative linguistics or anatomy, or any of the modern-policy sciences), power cultural (as with orthodoxies and canons of taste, texts, values), power moral (as with ideas about what 'we' do and what 'they' cannot do or understand as 'we' do) (p.12).

It can be seen that, although he acknowledges that culture was instrumental in creating the interest in the first place, Said still listed 'political', 'economic' and 'military' factors as the main rationales for 'orientalism', among which the 'political' is prioritised.

In conclusion, Said's orientalism can be summarised in several key points. Firstly, orientalism is what orientalists 'do'. An orientalist is anyone who 'teaches, writes about, or researches the orient'. Government officials and academics are all included in this group. Britain, France and the United States are the three main orientalist countries listed by Said. Secondly, orientalism is a style of thought 'based upon an ontological and

epistemological distinction made between the Orient and the Occident'. Finally, orientalism is a 'corporate institution for dealing with the Orient', a 'western style for dominating, restructuring, and having authority over the Orient', which is quite political. These key points in Said's definition do seem to be applicable to 19th century China, in that China was defeated in several wars with foreign nations and was forced to trade with the West, and many Chinese traditions or habits were considered backward and in need of reform, including women's foot-binding, scientific knowledge, ignorance of Christianity etc. China then was given instructions and forced to modernise itself rapidly. The political nature of the orientalism created by Said can therefore be seen to be applicable to China in the 19th century to some extent.

However, there are obvious contradictions in Said's statements: on one hand, he suggests that orientalism is concerned with something called the Orient; on the other hand, he implies that the Orient was merely the construct of a 'questionable mental operation'. It seems that a 'real Orient' did not even exist. Furthermore, the strongly political characteristics of Said's orientalism make it unsuitable for analysing the attitudes and behaviour of the Protestant missionaries who arrived in China in the 19th century. The Protestants adopted strongly religious attitudes during their stay in China. Given the particular characteristics of Christianity, such as its humanitarian aspect, it is to be expected that missionaries' attitudes towards some issues would be different from those of the foreign merchants or the diplomats who were in China at that time. Their original attitudes towards opium, and their attempts to cure the physical diseases of Chinese patients were never politically-inspired; they were humane. This made me curious to find new ideas in orientalism that could be used to interpret it, apart from its political characteristic, since the micro perspective of this theory is inadequate to analyse and explain the whole situation in China in the 19th century.

To conclude this sub-section, it is believed that the theory of orientalism that Said put forward specifically to describe the treatment of 20th century Arabia by the Western powers has a certain degree of applicability to China in the 19th century, since some members of the group of orientalist living in China at that time were involved in a type of political domination. However, owing to the contradictions in Said's own statements and the particular characteristics of the missionaries, the micro perspective of orientalism alone is not sufficient to encapsulate Western attitudes towards China in the 19th century and the type of actions they engaged in – the opium trade, wars etc. I therefore moved on to examining the 'para-texts' of orientalism: later reviews of Said's *Orientalism*, to see if there were any additional ideas that could be used in my analysis. The results of this examination are presented below.

2.3 Supporters and Critics of Said: Admitting the Political Reality or Maintaining Scholarly Expertise

2.31 Contemporary Reviews of Said in 1980 (A Sense of Subjectivity derived from Orientalism)

It can be said that Said's statements sharply criticised Western authority over, and intervention in, the East, and he repeatedly condemned the brutal political hegemony of the Western imperialist powers. This was bound to arouse controversy and heated debates among Western scholars, and they were indeed the first to react to this bombshell after the book was published. Within a few years, dozens of reviews of the book had been released.

The first group of reviewers were actually scholars mentioned by Said in his work. One example is Theodore Draper. In 'Orientalism and the Scandals of Scholarship' (1980), Draper claimed that his own statement had been distorted by Said, who in his book referred to 'a Morroe Berger presuming that since the Arabic language is strongly inclined towards rhetoric, Arabs are consequently incapable of true thought...it [*i.e., the same sort of*

implication] is there more subtly in political and historical scholars such as Theodore Draper, Walter Laqueur and Elie Kedourie' (Said, 1978, p.310, 349). Draper completely denied this allegation. In his own defence, he drew attention to some of the points he had made: he once said 'too many westerners treat the Arabs as if they were irresponsible, irrational, petulant children who go into a tantrum every time they do not get what they want. Even some Arabs do invite it, this Western attitude does no one any good, least of all the Arabs whom it encourages to indulge in irresponsible histrionics', thinking Said's attack was so 'farfetched that I can only believe its sole purpose was to put me on some sort of political blacklist'. According to Draper, Said's claim was indefensible. On the grounds of political correctness, some of the other scholars whose ideas had been misrepresented by Said also had no choice but to respond to Said and to criticise his theories. They believed that Said, intentionally or unintentionally, had over-interpreted their sayings to confirm his own view. As a result of their strongly political content, Said's assertions were subjected to counterattacks.

By comparison, scholars who had not been quoted by Said, and therefore stood at more of a distance from the debate, tried to provide milder reviews, which were less political. However, Said was still attacked for being aggressive in the absoluteness of his statements. D.K. van Keuren (1980) briefly introduced Said's book in his review and finally commented "his language is heavily polemical and severely critical of *Orientalism*. The argument is carried to an extreme; Said rejects any inherent value in the results of Near Eastern studies, and makes weighty judgments on the basis of often shaky textual analyses. The language is always complicated and often unclear, filled with what an English reviewer has called 'American academese'". Bob Lebling (1980), on the other hand, who worked as a journalist in the Arab world from 1972 to 1978, agreed with Said, saying that his work 'demonstrates with persuasive documentation that the historical development of Orientalism has been anything but an innocent

and objective quest for knowledge about the Arabs and their world'. Lebling further argued that 'rather than deal with the Arab world as it exists, as a changing, multifaceted reality, scholars and government officials have reacted instead to an artificially created 'Orient', a convenient if misguided structure of ideas that meshes beautifully with Western political ambitions in the Middle East'. His conclusion perfectly matches Said's argument, indicating that the richness of Arab life and civilisation had been reduced to a set of easily manageable and unchanging stereotypes which had served to justify and enforce the West's past colonial domination of the Middle East as well as its present ambitions in the region. Another scholar, James Clifford (1980), first praised Said for succeeding in 'isolating and discrediting an array of 'oriental' stereotypes: the eternal and unchanging East, the sexually insatiable Arab, the feminine exotic, the teeming marketplace, corrupt despotism, mystical religiosity', and stated that Said was particularly effective in his critical analysis of 'orientalist authority—the paternalist privileges unhesitatingly assumed by Western writers who speak for a mute Orient, or reconstitute its decayed or dismembered 'truth', who lament the passing of its authenticity, and who know more than its mere natives than ever'. He then, however, proceeded to point out the weakness in Said's argument: he never defines orientalism; rather, he 'qualifies and designates it from a variety of distinct and not always compatible standpoints'; Said frequently argues that a text or tradition distorts, dominates, or ignores some real or authentic feature of the Orient. Elsewhere, however, he 'denies the existence of any real orient'; Orientalist inauthenticity is not answered by any authenticity, Said is 'forced to rely on nearly tautological statements'; Said's humanist perspective 'does not harmonise with his use of methods derived from Foucault, who is a radical critic of humanism; last but not least, Said ignored Italian, Spanish, Russian and especially German Orientalisms'.

It can be seen from the above that Said's work gave rise to heated discussions. Both his supporters and his critics had their own grounds for

their statements. As a result of his standpoints and writing style, Said suffered more attacks than support in the first few years after his book was published. Furthermore, his work also produced debates about other scholars of orientalism.

Professor Clement Dodd (1979), questioned whether 'orientalists'² had been influenced in their interpretation of the Orient by 'their involvement in Christian attitudes, the imperialist mentality, the attitudes of Arabs and others who reflect the interests of particular groups in their societies, a lack of appreciation of economic factors in the making of history.' Dodd categorised the supporters of *Orientalism* as 'orientalists'. The above statement can be regarded as a counterattack on orientalists' own sense of objectivity. He further asks 'whether this sort of critique is not itself impelled by attitudes as fundamentally irrational, or as subtly biased, as those which are criticised'. Dodd argued that orientalists had indisputably achieved things by making oriental societies known to the West, and that they were not intent on denigration. It is 'very unusual to find a scholar attracted to studying another culture, learning its languages and immersing himself in its literature, who derides, despises or even feels superiority over those who constitute his chosen field of study'. Actually, this statement is in conformity with some of the Chinese scholars' attitudes towards orientalism in later years. Secondly, Dodd believed that orientalists were not necessarily infected with an imperialist mentality. Dodd further argued that far less 'damage was done to Islam by the imperialist powers than by the offspring of the guardians of Sunni Islam, the Turks'.

In short, I believe Professor Dodd's grounds for argument were based mainly on an idea of people's 'goodwill': in observation, everyone more or less had instilled their own subjective intention or chosen their angle. Even some western observers had this problem, so were orientalists themselves. When scholars study a foreign culture, it's because they like it. For western

² It seems that Dodd regards Said's supporters, and scholars who use orientalism as 'orientalists'. This did not necessarily refer to those who 'teach, write about and research the Orient.'

scholars who study Chinese culture should have strong enthusiasm for, and interest in, it. It could be unusual for them to fiercely attack things they like. The 'bad-will' orientalists he criticised would be expected to respond.

A year later, Talal Asad and Roger Owen, as supporters of Said, replied to Dodd. They believed that Dodd's understanding of what they had been trying to do 'was mistaken', in general as well as in particular. They first included their introduction to the review in 1978:

For a number of years some of those who write and teach about the Middle East, both in this country and abroad, have become increasingly dissatisfied with the state of Middle East studies. This is not only a reflection of concern at the politically-motivated bias which can be found in much work on the subject, but also at its profound methodological limitations so often characterised by a combination of naive common sense and vacuous theorising. Inappropriate concepts are regularly applied; a great deal of writing is simply irrelevant. In contrast to this, our aim is to encourage the production of theoretically relevant work informed by a critical appreciation of the Middle East and its history.

Some of the phrases in the above statement are indicative of its overall spirit: 'a combination of naive common sense and vacuous theorising' suggests that the Western episteme on the subject of the Orient was very superficial. This superficiality was the result of a politically-motivated bias, and the bias actually implies 'a sense of subjectivity' in Western oriental studies.

It is clear that Asad and Owen found that those scholars' viewpoints were mistaken. Nowhere did they imply that everything Western scholars had written on the Middle East was inevitably biased. Nor did they suggest that any criticism of the Middle East and its history was an unscholarly attitude. As for Dodd's 'damage was done to Islam by foreign conquest of its domains', Asad stated this proposition was 'never upheld in his article'³. They also challenged Dodd's viewpoint on orientalists by pointing out that

³ The original paragraph is 'According to Professor Dodd, this article is concerned to argue that 'Liberty and humanism exist in Islam ... but Western scholars simply do not notice them', that 'damage was done to Islam by foreign conquest of its domains', and that 'Islamic societies did not have oppressive government, save in the accounts of the orientalists'. In fact none of these propositions is upheld in that article.' Though it seems to conflict with the quotation from Dodds above, that far less 'damage was done to Islam by the imperialist powers than by the offspring of the guardians of Sunni Islam, the Turks'.

‘western imperial rulers in the Middle East have often resorted to arguments produced by orientalist authorities in order to justify imperial attitudes—regardless of the intentions of the scholars concerned’.

The early stage debate seemingly focused on the issue of ‘whether I actually said it or whether it is just your interpretation’. However, it can be seen that within a few years of publication, Said’s work had generated heated discussions. While most of the reviews tended to express negative opinions regarding some of his standpoints, there were other scholars who supported him. It can be seen in later years that Said’s supporters supported him for his clarity in pointing out the political reality, and usually these were people who had lived or worked in the Middle East. Others criticised him for loopholes in his statements and ambivalence in his logic; some even expressed doubts about his scholarly attitudes.

Common to both Said’s supporters and his critics is the view of orientalism as an episteme with ‘a sense of subjectivity’. ‘Orientalists’ such as Asad and Owen criticised most Western scholars who studied the Orient for being politically motivated and lacking in objectivity. Their opponents, on the other hand, claimed the ‘Asads’ were influenced by their bias towards Christianity, or by the imperialist mentality, or some other factor, which was also an allegation of a lack of objectivity. Therefore, in viewing the macro perspective of orientalism, I first extracted the idea of a ‘sense of subjectivity’ in the Western episteme of the Orient.

2.32 Later Reviewers: Supporters and Critics (A Sense of Superiority in Orientalism)

François Burgat is one of the recent and most firm supporters of *Orientalism*. In his article ‘Double Extradition: what Edward Said has to tell Us Thirty Years on from Orientalism’ (2009, pp.11-17), he expresses his admiration for Said and lists his reasons. In brief, he uses two contemporary political realities to illustrate his points: the French presence in Algeria ‘thanks to long immersion (1973-1980) in the Algeria of Houari

Boumedienne', together with 'the Palestinian reality—it is currently through the various intifadas and other desperate uprisings, within the horizon of Western public opinion and beyond the circles of purely Arab/Muslim solidarity'. Burgat concludes that the Western domination over the East was 'not only the overt violence of the military, political, and economic manifestations of the colonial adventure, but the great chiaroscuro shadow theatre of representations of the Other'. He attributes Said's success to his 'deconstructing these mechanisms, naming and describing the whole wizard's bag of tricks used by those who, on the right side of the dominance equation, manage to produce a thick sheen of historical legitimacy in order to endure. These tricks are concealed here under the cloak of pacification, there under the mantle of modernization.'

Burgat's words encapsulate the views of Said's supporters. As a political scientist and a permanent resident in the Middle East for more than 18 years (2007), he was obviously aware of the contemporary political reality. It is therefore evident that Burgat's judgments on *Orientalism*, or, in other words, his support for Said's ideas, were derived mainly from contemporary political realities and facts, which are 'content-oriented'. This attitude may represent most of the supporters' thoughts—they have a sympathetic attitude towards places in the Orient, such as the Middle East. The fact that the theory of orientalism expresses opposition to Western military dominance over the Orient helped Said to win the support of a particular group.

With regard to the critics of *Orientalism*, Michael Richardson is a good example, because of his systematic critiques of Said. It can be said that Richardson's writings are representative of most of the criticisms of *Orientalism*. Dating back to 1990, Richardson had already written 'Enough Said: Reflections of Orientalism', in which he enumerated various reasons for challenging the authenticity and correctness of *Orientalism*. Four main reasons may be summarised from his essay:

1. There are no anthropological images of the Orient in Said's account. Richardson believed that anthropology cannot be exempted from the wider implications of Said's critique. Richardson argues that 'since anthropology is founded on a methodological separation between self and other, it could be said that anthropology would deny its own legitimacy if it were to accept the basis of Said's argument'.
2. Said's approach is manifestly idealist. Richardson not only criticised Said's impulse in creating *Orientalism*, but also condemned his followers for having that impulse as well. Because of the impulse, Said's research methodology was not perfect: Said once said that 'I would not have written a book of this sort if I did not believe that there is a scholarship that is not as corrupt, or at least as blind to human reality, as the kind I have been mainly depicting'. Said then gives an example: 'the anthropology of Clifford Geertz, whose interest in Islam is discrete and concrete enough to be animated by the specific societies and problems studied and not by the rituals, preconceptions, and doctrines of Orientalism' (1978, p.326). Yet, from a revised edition of *Orientalism* several years later, Richardson noted that the book had been 'miraculously' transformed into 'standard disciplinary rationalizations and self-congratulatory clichés'. Richardson concluded from this methodological approach that Said had no compunction about changing his opinion.
3. Said's critique of the nature of reciprocity between subject and object is also problematic. Said's selection of countries to represent the Occident and Orient, mentioned above, clearly attracted Richardson's attention as well. Richardson followed Said's logic and stated that 'orientalism was imposed upon the Orient: it was a European project, more or less consciously elaborated, in which orientalists were nothing but passive pawns. Whether or not orientalist representations were accurate thereby becomes

somewhat irrelevant'. Richardson even quoted Marx's statement on the peasantry as an example and later suggested that peasantries 'cannot represent themselves; they must be represented. Their representatives must appear simultaneously as their masters, as an authority over them'. Richardson believes that 'the peasantry are not acted upon but rather actively seek such representation and use it for their own purpose'; he did not accept Said's statement that 'if the Orient could represent itself, it would; it cannot, the representation does the job.'

4. Richardson also believed that Said had failed to explain the nature of orientalism. The European subject had created orientalism, and Said did not explain the 'nature of this subject'.

In his concluding part, Richardson points out that Said's *Orientalism* had deleterious consequences, for it was endangering the discipline of anthropology. Scholars such as Johannes Fabian, in his work—*Time and the Other*, took Said's critique almost wholesale and tried to apply it directly to the anthropological discipline as a whole. Richardson states that both Said and Fabian 'displace the ideological aspect to locate the critique in the methodological categories themselves' (1990, p.18).

Although it is difficult to understand why anthropology would be needed to create orientalism, Richardson's other criticisms are easy to understand. I would argue that in fact Richardson's refutations actually support Said's theories to some extent. Some Western Europeans and Americans subconsciously treat the Orient as an object that needs to be represented by them. Their nationalities preceded their ideas as individuals. Some readers may also find it difficult to relate to Richardson's idea that the 'peasantries need representation' to 'the Asian and Middle East countries' need for representation by America or Europe', since the former case involves a ruling class and a ruled class, while the latter obviously does not. A sense of superiority emanates from Richardson's narratives. Justifying orientalism by arguing that the Orient needs it may not be emotionally

acceptable, but it is clear that Richardson is using his academic expertise to reject *Orientalism*. He did not choose to confront the political reality Said presented, but instead walked on a different pathway in criticising *Orientalism*.

The essence of the controversy between Said's supporters and his critics lies in their different focuses on this subject. It is actually a conflict between 'procedure and content'. Said's supporters, who are 'content-oriented', chose to focus on the contemporary political reality, with the West comprehensively dominating and influencing the East, and Said's statement on the subject accurately reflects this fact. This was therefore the main reason for them to support his work. The critics of *Orientalism*, on the other hand, are more 'procedure-oriented': they focus on issues such as Said's research methodology and Said's method of answering his [own] research questions; they are keen to find loopholes in Said's discourses and to point out the faults. It is worth noting that much of the oppositional criticism that *Orientalism* generated was related to arguments that Said himself changed in later editions of the book. Furthermore, ironically, their quibbling to some extent confirmed the validity of Said's claims.

In summary, not only did Richardson's refutation of Said imply a sense of unintentional 'superiority' with regard to orientalism, but also with regard to Said's supporters. Westerners have justified their interventions in the Orient in the name of bringing about modernisation in the region, which is also a kind of superiority. Therefore, the second revelation I obtained regarding the macro perspective of orientalism is that it reveals a 'sense of superiority' in Western narratives on the Orient.

2.33 More Recent Perspectives in Interpreting *Orientalism*

As the decades went by, the study of *Orientalism* developed other dimensions. Since the 21st century, more scholars have been evaluating the ideas of orientalism and putting forward their own suggestions for reviewing or even rectifying the theory.

Graham Huggan's article '(Not) Reading 'Orientalism'' (2005) provides a special angle on interpreting Said's work. His work is not purely a work of criticism or appreciation of *Orientalism*; rather, he considers the divergent claims made by the appreciators and detractors of *Orientalism* and attempts to re-evaluate them.

Firstly, Huggan gives credit to the great influence of Said's work—it has been translated into 36 languages and is Said's most influential work. Huggan then lists three patterns of responses to *Orientalism*: the first he calls the 'de-Orientalization' of orientalism (the method). The fact that areas such as the Far East are not included under the umbrella term 'orientalism' challenges the universal applicability of the theory to Oriental Studies. This problem had already been mentioned by scholars such as Richardson when discussing the 'object of Orientalism'; however, Huggan points out that a bold attempt to link areas such as China and Japan to orientalism may risk 'turning orientalism into a codeword for virtually any kind of Othering process that involves the mapping of dominating practices of knowledge/power onto peoples seen, however temporarily or strategically, as culturally 'marginal', economically 'undeveloped', or psychologically 'weak''. In Huggan's view, therefore, the exclusion of China and Japan from 'orientalism' may be seen as an act of caution. The second pattern of responses to *Orientalism* Huggan identifies is the 're-Orientalization' of *Orientalism* (the book). Within this pattern, 'Orientalism's exclusionary and immobilising strategies are either inadvertently reproduced by those who seek to uncover alternative examples of its workings or are consciously deployed by those who, constructing themselves as the West's victims, turn against their adversaries in uncompromising gestures of collective pride and righteous anti-imperialist revenge (occidentalism)'. The third response to *Orientalism* identified by Huggan is to draw attention, explicitly or implicitly, to the undiscovered orientalism of *Orientalism* itself.

It can be seen that Huggan has broadly listed the categories which Said's critics fall into, together with some of his own responses. He did not believe the absence of the Far East was harmful to the panorama of *Orientalism*, and he noted the rise of occidentalism. His comparatively neutral position can be seen in the following paragraph in which he quotes Said (2005, p.127):

The Orientalists, Said suggests, produced —among several other things—a kind of collective guidebook for uninitiated western readers, but less a guidebook that informed them than one that confirmed what they already knew (1978, p. 81).

He finally summarised his viewpoint by saying that 'my contention here is a different if perhaps, in its own way, equally provocative one: that *Orientalism* (the book) has often been approached via orientalism (the method); and that a side-effect of orientalism (the method) is a paradoxical tendency for the very books on which it depends to go critically unread' (2005, p.127).

Huggan was therefore advocating a new approach to *Orientalism*: suggesting that the book should not be viewed as an expression of Said's anger at the West's domination of his birthplace— the Middle East, with the accompanying allegation that Said's perception of the Western interpretation of the Orient is a biased perception; rather, it should be viewed outside the original framework. In addition, his claim that *Orientalism* was a guidebook that 'confirmed what [Western readers]... already knew' also inspired the present research in viewing the theory of orientalism. As I have suggested, the missionaries were not as aggressive as their compatriots in striving for political or economic gain, and perhaps they would never have engaged in the economic exploitation and political suppression Said was so angry about to the same extent as other Westerners. Thus, in order to see them accurately, a milder and broader lens may be appropriate. My aim in this research was to find a way of re-orienting orientalism so that it would suit the subject and context of the study.

Another scholar, Stefan Jacobsen, has also offered a distinctive angle from which to view the relationship between *Orientalism* and works that focused on the Western perception of China. In his article 'Chinese Influences or Images? Fluctuating Histories of How Enlightenment Europe Read China' (2013), he examines the influence of *Orientalism* on Chinese studies. He probes the difference between 'describing and analysing the perception of China as a process of influence being asserted upon European thought or as a process of building an image or vision of China' (2013, p.626). Before Said published his work *Orientalism*, scholarly works on European perceptions of China, such as Reichwein's *China and Europe* and G.F. Hudson's *Europe and China*, focused on Chinese influence upon the European Enlightenment (Lach, 1942, p.223). Subsequent works, such as Dawson's *Chinese Chameleon* and David Mungello's *Leibniz and Confucianism*, tended to derive their approach from that of these early works. To be specific, *Leibniz and Confucianism* discusses the relationship between Leibniz's writing on China and his general philosophical ambition to develop universal principles of morality. In brief, there was a lot more in these works than a negative image of China depicted by Europe for its own interests. China's role as described in these works was actively to influence European societies and thought. According to Jacobsen, the end of the 1970s witnessed a sharp turn in European Chinese studies, and he states that 'the so-called postmodern or cultural challenge was becoming very real to anyone dealing with 'other' cultures, meaning especially cultures outside the West. This placed the study of how China was read and absorbed in the West in a difficult ethical situation' (p.638). Influenced by the strongly political character of *Orientalism*, scholars such as Berger explicate the status of image: 'If we say it is a picture of China...then this is not an objective, true picture, but rather a picture broken by the temperament of the receptive author and artist, an image whose key criterion is the creative transformation, an appropriation and amalgamation of the things Chinese to the European way of thinking, to European taste standards and to the European cultural tradition' (1990,

pp.25-26). Jacobsen suggests that the formation of the image of China itself had become the main subject in European Chinese studies, and discussions on how Chinese ideas or artefacts could be integrated into European culture had gradually lost their momentum. Some well-known works, such as Colin Mackerras's *Western Images of China*, emphasised the fact that the image of China had fluctuated in different eras. These works are discussed in detail in the next section.

It seems to me that, both Huggan and Jacobsen suggested using *Orientalism* to break the restraints of the strong Western political dominance over the East. This specific and sensitive angle gave rise to a great deal of contention in the past; it also leads to subjective feelings about ethical issues, such as how the West brutally colonised and changed the East, and thus to a rather narrow-minded approach. We therefore need to take a leap out of this view of orientalism as a mere political product in order to use it for wider explorations. As suggested by Huggan and Jacobsen, *Orientalism* can be viewed as a guidebook for uninitiated Western readers to confirm what they already know. However, the image of China should not be the only subject of orientalism.

Huggan and Jacobsens' works help form a complete macro perspective of orientalism: this perspective reflects a Western treatment of the Orient, including a sense of subjectivity and superiority. This sense is not confined to politics; it permeates different areas. It is worth noting that this permeation may not be politically motivated, as indicated by Said. Rather, it depends on the specific purposes and identities of the orientalists involved.

2.34 *Orientalism* through a Chinese Lens: the Dilemma of being a Diaspora and a Self-examination of the Creation of such an Image (A Call to Expand Orientalism)

It was not until the 1990s that *Orientalism* started to attract the attention of Chinese scholars; however, for over twenty years now, Said and his book

have continued to be influential among Chinese academics. Some Chinese scholars have offered a novel point of view in approaching *Orientalism*.

Orientalism has been quoted widely across different disciplines: for instance, in works such as 'The Other in Western Feminism Studies' by Yuling Lu (2004)⁴; a 'Study on Overseas 'Chinese Context' Novels based on Orientalism' by Bingxin Zhou (2006)⁵, and 'The Chinese Repository and Chinese Criminal Law in the Minds of Westerners of the 19th Century' by Xiuqing Li (2014). From feminist studies to literary criticism, and even legal studies, Said's supporters have applied and integrated the theory into their own subject areas. Generally speaking, *Orientalism* has been accepted by mainstream Chinese scholars. From my examination of these works, it appears that the supporters have all taken *Orientalism* as a subjective, Western-dominated representation of the East, which is the macro perspective of orientalism, and using this spirit have applied the ideas contained in the book to their own research. This is shown in the review of some of these works in section three.

In discussing the critics of Said, Wang Ning should be mentioned first. One of the earliest scholars to introduce post-colonial studies to Chinese academia, he was the first Chinese scholar who discussed *Orientalism* in both English and Chinese. In his English language article 'Orientalism versus Occidentalism' (1997), he compares orientalism with occidentalism, claiming that the latter was less theoretical⁶ and that 'advocating occidentalism and looking upon it as a counterpart to orientalism is undesirable at present' (p.64). In this article, he lists three limitations to Said's theory:

⁴ "是谁的声音在言说？—论“她者”在西方女性主体研究中的流通”，卢玉玲，《中国比较文学》，2004。

⁵ "迎合西方全球想象的'东方主义'—论近年海外'中国语境'小说研究”，周冰心，《华文文学》，2006。

⁶ Wang states this idea as the more indeterminate, and problematic 'quasi-theoretical' idea. He admitted not having read a specialised work on it.

The first of these is the geographical limitation. In Said's book, the boundary line of the Orient stops at the Near and Middle East.

Secondly, Said's concepts of 'Orient' and 'orientalism' both have ideological and cultural limitations: the Western idea or culture we usually deal with in effect refers to the ideological or cultural concepts based on bourgeois values that prevail in Western Europe and North America, while those based on other values are normally regarded as 'oriental' concepts.

Thirdly, Said's work also touches on the field of comparative literature. However, as Wang points out, most of the texts Said discusses are from the English or English-speaking world rather than from non-English-speaking or Third-world countries. Comparative literature needs to be cross-national, interdisciplinary, cross-cultural and cross-linguistic.

Actually, this is not the first time Wang has challenged Said's orientalism. In 1995, in his article in Chinese: 'Orientalism, Post-Colonialism, and Criticism of Cultural Hegemonism: An Anatomy of Edward Said's Theory of Post-Colonialism'⁷, he had already raised these three concerns. In this earlier article, Wang questioned the identity of Said. He states that scholars who engaged in post-colonial studies and discussions were not truly from the 'colonies' or 'post-colonial' countries; they were from the 'first world'. As peripheral scholars, they tried to approach the centre of Western academia by speaking for the 'Third world', since they were descendants of it. According to Wang, Said's discourse itself carries 'a sense of cultural superiority'. Wang believes 'Said's army' were actually in a dilemma: on the one hand, they struggled to fit into mainstream academia; on the other hand, they had already adopted a purely Western academic style in their writings. They received higher salaries and compared with 'the third world' scholars, they were better paid and were more fluent in English, which gave the Sids a sense of superiority. Wang believes Said's *Orientalism* is

⁷ "东方主义，后殖民主义和文化霸权主义批判—爱德华·赛义德的后殖民主义理论剖析”，王宁，《北京大学学报》，1995。

actually an internal war among first world scholars over discourses; it is not a post-colonial criticism—it is a neo-colonialist work. Actually, Said was not the only ‘post-colonial studies’ scholar Wang mentioned. Wang listed three other representatives: Edward Said, Gayatri Spivak and Homi Bhabha. Wang stated that both Spivak and Bhabha are Indian-Americans. Spivak achieved her academic fame by introducing Derrida’s deconstruction theory into translation theories and criticising it, which gave her the reputation of being one of the most successful scholars in this field. All these three scholars taught in a Western university, using their ‘dual-weapon’—‘Oriental’ identity and fluent English—to challenge mainstream Western scholars and achieve fame. Thus, Wang saw Said as noteworthy not solely on account of his theory, but also as a member of a group of scholars with similar backgrounds. These three scholars had already been labelled as members of one camp in Wang’s earlier study.

Shiping Luo, in his Chinese language article ‘Why Does Said’s Orientalism not Involve the Far East’ ⁸(2004), chose to stand on Wang’s side. He gave credit to Wang’s viewpoint and put forward his own: Said’s family background only enabled him to focus on the Near East and Middle East; his research approach was not suitable for the study of East Asia; the Western colonial powers did not achieve a long and absolute colonial rule in the Far East as they had in other regions, and as a result, the Far East did not have the prerequisites for the emergence of orientalism.

From these narratives, it can be said that the main opposition from Chinese scholars actually rests on Said’s national identity. This is reminiscent of Ien Ang’s *On Not Speaking Chinese*. A person of Chinese descent, she was born in Indonesia, raised in the Netherlands, and now works at an Australian university. When she went to Taiwan, she was regarded as different because she could not speak Chinese: in the West she was also regarded as different because she looked Chinese. In her book (2001, p.13), she says:

⁸ “赛义德的《东方主义》为什么没有涉及远东”(Why does Said’s Orientalism not Involve the Far East?), 罗世平, 《云南民族大学学报(哲学社会科学版)》, 2004。

The limits of diaspora lie precisely in its own assumed boundedness, its inevitable tendency to stress its internal coherence and unity, logically set apart from 'others'. It is a concept of sameness-in-dispersal, not of togetherness-in-difference.

Ang's dilemma and arguments may help to explain Said's identity problem. Wang and Luo's criticisms focus mainly on this aspect, and this can be understood by a Chinese reader who views the West as superior. However, I would argue that neither Wang nor Luo denied the political realities endorsed by Said's supporters. Again, Said's contenders and dissenters did not stand on the same ground in the debate.

Apart from these two scholars, Xue Rui⁹ and Mingdong Gu¹⁰ provided other insights into this area. Rui quotes Arif Dirlik's view, mentioning that the traditional 'binary opposition', where the world is divided into 'occident' and 'orient' may no longer be accurate because of globalisation. She says 'we cannot tell what belongs to China, and what belongs to the West' (2016, p.150). Secondly, Rui puts forward a similar view to Jacobsen—Rui believes that *Orientalism* to some extent denies the role which the 'Orient' played in the process of 'shaping the Europeans' orientalism'. She thinks orientalism should not be regarded as a domestic product of modern European society; rather, it should be viewed as a product of the 'contact zone' in which Europeans and non-Europeans meet each other. At the end of the essay, Rui emphasises a seemingly minor topic—'ABC' (American Born Chinese) writers' role in strengthening orientalism. She mentions the ABC writers Tingting Tang¹¹ and Yuxue Huang, claiming that both of them helped to shape American stereotypes of the Chinese.

While Rui's article offers an insight into the subject of the creation of 'orientalism', Gu focuses on a branch of orientalism—Sinologism. He starts

⁹ "萨义德的东方主义再反思"(Rethink Said's *Orientalism*), 芮雪, 《文艺争鸣》, 2016。

¹⁰ "汉学, 汉学主义与东方主义"(Sinology, Sinologism and Orientalism), 顾明栋, 《学术月刊》, 2010。

¹¹ Maxine Hong Kingston (Tang Tingting), in her book *The Woman Warrior*, once mentioned that Mum cooked everything for the children to eat, such as raccoons, weasels, hawks, doves etc.

with Bob Hodge's creation of this concept as a branch of orientalism, and then contends that Sinologism is not equivalent to Sinology or any other form of Chinese studies; it is not a form of Orientalism, nor is it another illustration of Western-centrism. It is an independent conceptual category with its own distinct epistemology and methodology. Sinologism is a study of knowledge, less concerned with politics than orientalism.

In summary, most Chinese scholars who have evaluated *Orientalism* have seen Said's background as highly important. The opposition of some Chinese scholars to the notion that China should be included in orientalism is based on a sense of empathy. They believe Said is unable to sense and therefore unable to represent the third world's predicament, since he is already a member of the 'American league'; his discourse in representing the Orient, even the Middle East, may therefore not be completely objective or simplistic. Some of them are also aware of *Orientalism's* strong political factors, which might not be suitable for Chinese history, language studies etc. Their concerns are understandable; however, as with the question of universal applicability they raise, their grounds for rejection might not be completely watertight. I would argue that in certain periods and certain contexts, orientalism can be applied to China, with particular interpretations of course. When the diplomatic relations between China and Europe worsened and major wars occurred, a strongly influential political factor in those events is evident. With sound judgment, the spirit of orientalism can be used to analyse certain issues.

The review in this sub-section has provided further evidence to support the argument that if orientalism is seen as simply a form of Western political domination over the Orient it is obviously an unsuitable theory to use for analysing particular aspects of Chinese studies. However, if the macro perspective of orientalism is adopted, the method could be more widely applicable. Gu's article on 'Sinologism and Orientalism' raised another question regarding how and when to use orientalism. When it comes to pure Chinese studies with no politics involved, and taking into account the

charitable works the missionaries engaged in at that time, how should orientalism be viewed? In order to help answer this question, works on the Western perception of China were examined. The results of the examination are presented in the following section.

2.4 Works on the ‘Western Perception of China’ (Multi-facets of Orientalism)

Since Adolf Reichwein published his book—*China and Europe: Intellectual and Artistic Contacts in the Eighteenth Century*, there have been a number of scholarly works that have studied the relationship between China and the West or the Western representation of China that lasted for over a century. This section includes a discussion of some of these works and lists them in chronological order. By imposing a clear timeline, it is easier to see the trajectory along which this topic has been developed: how it changed from earlier scholars, such as Reichwein, Hudson and Mungello, whose views were comparatively balanced, to their successors’ ‘unilateral approach’. The former group compared China and Europe as two entities, tracing their origins and the history of their interaction, exploring the inspiration Europe had obtained from China, while the latter group, represented by Mackerras, Spence and Zhang, basically focus on how Westerners viewed China in history. These books are examined here in detail.

The German educator, Adolf Reichwein, published his work *China und Europa*, in German in 1923, and it was translated into English in 1925. In his book, Reichwein provides an insight into the various artistic and theoretical developments that had taken place since the 17th century, while at the same time endeavouring to trace the influence from China. His book can be divided into five parts: Chinese influence on the Rococo style; on the Enlighteners; on Quesnay’s physiocratic theory of political economy; on European architectural style, and on Goethe, the most important literary figure in Germany. Reichwein’s work is comprehensive in its topics and his work is seen as including an equal proportion of criticism and praise of

various aspects of Chinese civilisation. In studying the Rococo style, he not only included the creation of European porcelain under Chinese influence, but also lacquer in the development of European furniture ornamentation. He did not forget to mention the role Chinese factors played in the production of silk, wallpaper, even comedy and musical drama as well. In discussing the Enlighteners, apart from admirers of China such as Leibniz, Wolff and Voltaire, he also included Frederick the Great and Montesquieu, who criticised China. In the realm of art, he believes Goethe derived inspiration from translations and artefacts from China (p.127ff). As may be seen from his statement at the beginning of the book: 'we Europeans are beginning to be educated by ancient China', Reichwein evaluated the influence China had on Europe positively.

It is obvious from a reading of the book that it invites various criticisms, however. Reichwein states in his book (1925, p.16):

For first the importations of porcelain, silk, lacquer-work, and many other precious products of the Chinese Empire aroused the attention, curiosity and admiration of the great European public, and then literature set to work to keep alive and further to stimulate these feelings. Thus trade and literature, however strange the juxtaposition may seem, co-operated in producing the frame of mind which in the first half of the eighteenth century was to secure for China so prominent a place in the fashions of Europe.

Since he has attempted to cover so many areas in a book of less than 200 pages, some critics may argue that the supporting evidence is not sufficient for his arguments. Reichwein had been opportunistic, as Sinologist Donald Lach stated: the 'real contribution of Reichwein's work is the fact that it popularized for Europeans, as well as for Asiatics [*sic*], the influences of China upon the European Enlightenment' (1942, p.223). Although it has been criticised by some sinologists, however, *China und Europa's* position and its influence in introducing Western perceptions of China is undeniable.

G.F. Hudson's work - *Europe and China: A Survey of Their Relations from the Earliest Times to 1800*, written six years later in 1931, offered a more precise account. Hudson helped to back up Reichwein's statements

regarding the Chinese influence on Voltaire, Leibniz etc. In the book, Hudson does not at first express his views; instead, at the beginning of the book, he compares China and Europe as two distinct entities (p.10ff). He believed Europe and China were nations of the first division of mankind; each was entirely independent of the other. In the following pages, he uses 'Hellas' as a representative of Europe. He states that 'the China of Confucius was a swarm of feudal principalities; contemporary Hellas was a world of city-states' (ibid., p.14). After completing his account of the background situation: for instance, by introducing China's 'land-revenue economy' model, Hudson finally starts to present his argument. First, he gives a detailed account of events in contemporary Europe and of its intercourse with China at that time, starting with Zhang Qian, who arrived in west Central Asia as early as 128 as the ambassador of the Chinese emperor, to the time of the Jesuits' arrival in Beijing in the Ming Dynasty. Although he states, 'the eighteenth century concludes our survey of European-Chinese relations' (ibid., p.25), he does draw attention to some interesting attitudes still held by the British in the 19th century (ibid., p.328):

Slavery had been abolished in the British dominions in 1833, and he [the Englishman] could now speak freely of the disregard for the sacredness of human personality shown by Asiatics. His Parliament in 1818, after four rejections of the bill, had abolished the sentence of death for stealing goods worth five shillings from a shop, and soon it was possible to talk about the lack of humane feeling among non-Christian peoples. In 1814, after one rejection of the bill, his Parliament had consented to abolish disembowelling alive as part of the statutory penalty for treason, and henceforth the Englishmen could express his disgust at the atrocities of the Chinese penal code'.

Interestingly, Hudson has already indicated the reasons why Europe ceased to admire China in the way that had been prevalent in the eighteenth century, which completely overlap with some of the later scholars' research after *Orientalism* became prevalent. In fact, his work helps to explain how the 'sense of superiority' arose from orientalism. Hudson would not have been able to foresee that this point would later become one of the focal areas in the study of Sino-Western relationships. His

statement does, however, provide an insight into how the essence of orientalism emerged.

In his book, Hudson also raises the question of whether British and French government institutions had used China as a model for the establishment of the first bureaucratic systems. Similarly, one of the students of Fairbank— Ssu-yu Teng (Siyu Deng), put forward the idea that Europeans had based their examination system on that of China. In 1943, Teng published an article called 'Chinese Influence on The Western Examination System' (pp.267-312), in which he claims that China had exerted a great influence on the Western examination system. Teng claims that 'China was the first country in the world to use open competitive examinations' (p.268), and 'in the west the development of the examination system is later than in China' (p.271). From a series of pieces of evidence he collected, Teng concludes that scholastic exams in Europe were developed in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries (p.275). He gives three main reasons for this conclusion (p.291): (a) the time is early enough for the Chinese examination system to have had an influence on the Western system, (b) the East and the West were well connected by the early missionaries and by the East India Company, (c) before the adoption of the civil service examination system in England (1855), the Chinese system was entirely unknown to London society. Teng finally exclaims: 'what a strange coincidence, if there is no Chinese influence at all!'

As time went by, European scholarly studies on China went from being a static topic to a swinging 'pendulum'. The first historian to attempt to use the idea of a 'swinging pendulum' was Raymond Dawson. In his *Chinese Chameleon* (1967), he investigated the changing perceptions of China. Dawson paid special attention to the attitudes of English writers such as Defoe, Oliver Smith and John Stuart Mill. He writes that the perception of China:

...is conditioned partly by the objective situation there and partly by the conscious interest and subconscious needs of our own personalities. This has

been true of all Europeans who have ever formed any conception of China and the Chinese. Consequently the history of relations between Europe and China has depended very much on the nature of European conceptions of the Middle Kingdom and how these conceptions have changed in response not only to changes in China itself but also to developments in European history (1967, p.2).

It can be said that his early narratives had a profound influence on later scholars who studied similar topics. Of these, the work that should be mentioned here is *Leibniz and Confucianism: The Search for Accord* (1977), by David Mungello. Mungello relates Leibniz's writings on China to his philosophical ambition to develop universal principles of morality. In this book, Mungello offers a number of valuable disquisitions: on Leibniz's sources of knowledge of China, on his understanding of Chinese thought and the uses he hoped to put them to, and on possible reasons for his failure. His book illustrates the philosopher's religious and diplomatic motivation in seeking the rudiments of a universal, natural, and in some sense 'Christian' religion and metaphysics within Confucianism. It is worth noting that Mungello uses the term 'Confucianism' rather than 'Chinese philosophy' in his narratives. Mungello has written another book called *Curious Land: Jesuit Accommodation and the Origins of Sinology* (1989), in which he concentrates on the Jesuits' actual encounters with China in the Ming Dynasty: the Enlightenment Europeans obtained their information on China mainly from the Jesuits' reports and writings. The Jesuits initially embarked on the conversion of China by deploying their scientific knowledge to impress China, but later, it was the Jesuits themselves who were changed. The political institutions and practices of China were presented by them as often being superior to those of many European countries; they reported that civil service positions were open to all, and candidates were strictly tested in terms of their competence and character; China was thus perceived as the realisation of Plato's dream: a state ruled by philosophers. It can be seen from this work that Mungello did not ignore the changes Chinese philosophy brought to European thought; however, his position started to shift somewhat: in *Curious Land* (1989), he describes the Chinese influence as passive and unintentional—it was a 'side-effect' of

a positive image of China; in his earlier work, by contrast, he states that the Chinese influence was actively sought in the reformation of European society. In one of his works, Mungello uses the concept of 'confluence' to describe the East-West exchange (1989, p.649ff), which indicates that a shift from a discourse on 'influence' to one on 'image' had already begun.

The appearance of *Orientalism* played a major role in this turn of events. The fact that postcolonialism focuses on the human consequences of external control and the economic exploitation of colonised people and their lands, combined with the political factors Said emphasises in his book diverted the attention of Chinese studies scholars to Western interventions in, and Western influence on, China. This helps to explain why few later works focus on the inspiration Europe obtained from China in the way Reichwein and Hudson did. Instead, they probed how China was represented. Some better known works such as the Australian sinologist Colin Mackerras's *Western Images of China*, focused on the dynamic images of China shaped in different eras. This is like a pendulum. Although Mackerras was aware that the representations of China were never static in time - at one stage China was highly praised by Europeans - he was still stranded at the 'image' level, dealing with the picture Europe presented to China.

Mackerras has in fact written two books on Western views of China. *Western Images of China* (1987) was the first of these. In this work, he covers Western images from the Ming Dynasty to the 21st century. He selects a range of sources, including literature, journalism and the arts, to show how changing power relations have influenced Western ideas about China, its people and its history. He presents an image of China that functions both as a model for and as a threat towards different schools of thought in the West. More than half of the book focuses on the post-1949 era after the People's Republic of China was founded. The second book he wrote is *Sinophiles and Sinophobes: Western Views of China*, which was published in 2000. In his introduction, Mackerras offers a general analysis

of Western views of China, arguing that these views passed through eight ages, fluctuating from positive to negative. With regard to the period covered in this research, he claims that 'in the second half of the eighteenth century, the trend moved away from the dominantly positive view that had characterized this third great age to a fourth, decisively more negative period, which lasted until the beginning of the twentieth century' (2000, p.xxiii).

The seventh book which should be mentioned is *The Chan's Great Continent: China in Western Minds* (1998), written by Jonathan Spence. This book provides an excellent summary of recent studies on the outstanding contributors to early views of China, such as Leibniz and Montesquieu, as mentioned above, and of more modern contributors to the topic, such as Ezra Pound, André Malraux and Bertold [sic] Brecht. Although some of these writers have been discussed previously in this chapter and although Spence's work overlaps Colin Mackerras's research in this regard, Spence also includes a number of American and French writers whose work is less familiar in this context. The book consists of a discussion of 48 writers whose reflections on China are distilled into twelve themes. Among these writers, the majority never visited China. For example, Spence discusses in detail André Malraux's novel *Man's Fate*, which is set in Shanghai and Hankou in the 1920s, and deals with the revolutionary struggle that took place there. Malraux had never been to China, but according to Spence, he was the first writer to bring these revolutionary stirrings to the attention of a large, popular readership. Although *The Chan's Great Continent: China in Western Minds* includes many interesting discussions and materials on China, the book has no theoretical framework, which might, for example, have been constructed by using the perspectives of Said or Foucault.

Another writer worth mentioning is the female writer Elisabeth Croll, and her work entitled *Wise Daughters from Foreign Lands: European Women Writers in China* (1989). Both Croll and Spence discuss the observations of

Sarah Pike Conger, the wife of the American Minister in Beijing at the time of the Boxer Uprising. Their summaries illustrate how widely interpretations of this type of material may differ. Both of them agree that the particular interest of women's writings on China is their concern with the domestic scene. Spence compares Conger's reflection with Montesquieu's pessimistic view of Chinese society. Croll, in contrast, concentrates on Conger's life after the siege of the Beijing legations, noting how she gained access to Chinese households and learned things about the domestic life of Chinese women and the respect which should be paid to the elderly.

Both Mackerras and Spence offered new insights into using orientalism in this research. Mackerras did not view China from a stagnant perspective, but rather, from a fluid and dynamic perspective that fluctuated in different epochs, and this led me to reconsider in my research the different attitudes towards China in different eras. The outbreak of the Opium War brought about a deterioration in the relationship between China and Britain. It was therefore inevitable that a change in attitudes would occur. In his accounts of 'women observers', Spence also inspired my own research on the topic of Chinese women, since in the early 19th century European women had limited freedom as well. Western narratives on Chinese women may thus also have had an influence on their European counterparts.

The last book worth noting here is by a Chinese scholar—Shunhong Zhang. Zhang (2011) published *British Views on China at a Special Time (1790-1820)*, based on his earlier PhD thesis. In this book, Zhang offers a detailed survey of British views and perceptions of China from the late 18th century to the early 19th century, when the two British embassies—the Macartney and Amherst—paid visits to China and published several articles on their voyages. The members of the embassies, especially Macartney's, played a crucial role in the formation of, and changes in, the image of China in Britain. Zhang carried out a comprehensive survey of these works and

finally coined his own term: 'self-criterion'. He believes that these writers, used 'consciously or unconsciously, some common British criteria, and they had also their own individual standards' (p.203). He further mentions that his concept of 'self-criterion' is not equivalent to Eurocentrism, for the former 'pertains mainly to methodology and the latter is a kind of 'ideology', which is close to Said's orientalism. Zhang thinks that Eurocentrism carries a sense of "cultural superiority and a feeling of xenophobia while 'self-criterion' does not necessarily mean that British writers considered the Chinese their inferiors, and took a contemptuous attitude towards them". Writers with Eurocentric ideas were 'usually conscious of their opinions, while those influenced by the self-criterion were quite often unconsciously using their standards to assess China'. In comparing his concept of 'self-criterion' with orientalism, Zhang believes his term is 'not necessarily linked with colonialism, imperialism or cultural hegemonism, even though some writers who adopted the method of 'self-criterion', might be supporters of such an idea' (2011, p.207). Although the question of whether European writers from the 19th century had adopted an orientalist or Eurocentric view in their assessments on China still needs further investigation, Zhang offered his own critical thinking in applying orientalism to a Chinese context in the early 19th century, which gave me a great deal of inspiration to attempt to do something similar in my own research.

Zhang's creation of the 'self-criterion' concept further expands the idea of orientalism. Missionaries adopted different approaches when discussing different topics. They might have a fundamentalist approach towards religious topics, however, in viewing the long and unique history of China and in confronting the conflicts between biblical accounts and Chinese historical facts, they more or less adopted a 'syncretic' approach. With regard to the missionaries' episteme of Chinese history and language, the term 'syncretism' encapsulates the spirit of orientalism, while the term 'fundamentalism' more accurately describes their discourses on and

attitudes towards Chinese religion. This led me to view orientalism as a multi-faceted idea on the macro level.

In summary, in viewing the Chinese image through the European lens, most of the scholars after the 1980s were aware of *Orientalism*, and even applied the ideas in it to their own studies. There were dissenters, such as Zhang, but they in fact put forward similar views to Said's. Before Said's *Orientalism* was published and before postcolonial studies began, it seems that there were more works on the depiction of the image of China which were related to its influence on Europe. With the topics ranging from economic models, to the examination system, to aesthetic movements, and to philosophical thought and styles of art, Chinese thinkers and artists appeared to have offered a certain degree of inspiration to their contemporary European counterparts. In this sense, China cannot be regarded as a negative example which passively accepted discourses from the West, in order to respond to Western diplomatic policies in China. Rather, China was seen as an active influence on Europe, stimulating the reformation of Europe. After the 1980s, this kind of study focuses on the *formation* of the image of China— how this image was created to accommodate European ways of thinking, tastes, standards and cultural traditions, rather than on how Chinese ideas and artefacts were integrated into European philosophy, technology, art etc.

Most recent works focus on the image of China under the influence of orientalism. This image was negative and it passively served the European traditions and expectations of the East, and seemingly played no active role in the development of European intellectual history. However, in my research, I also explore the active side of the 'Orient'— its contribution to shaping European intellectual history.

2.5 Previous Works on *The Chinese Repository: a Historical Research Approach*

The Chinese Repository, with its special status in history, has been studied by scholars in China and abroad. However, most of them have approached it purely as a historical text. More detailed explorations can be made. In the present study *The Chinese Repository* is used more consciously as a way of analysing the attitudes of writers on China from the perspective of an 'orientalist mentality'.

The literature on *The Chinese Repository* can be roughly divided into two categories: firstly, there are articles about the publication itself. These articles focus on how *The Chinese Repository* came into existence: its editors' backgrounds and their motivation in founding this journal, and on why *The Chinese Repository* ceased publication after a few decades. Some of the works compare *The Chinese Repository* with other contemporary journals. In this category, most of the articles are by Chinese scholars. Studies of the journal's foundation include Shuling Tan's 'The Study of The Chinese Repository' (2008),¹² which focused on the publication date, the editors and the target readers, and Chaochun Zou's 'An Initial Exploration of the Establishment of The Chinese Repository and its Motivation' (2014),¹³ which explored why the publication was founded in the early 19th century. Zou believes that the evangelical tasks, introducing China to Western readers, and facilitating Western merchants' trade activities in China were the three main considerations in founding the journal. With regard to the journal's termination, there are works by Heng Lu (2007)¹⁴ and Shaogeng Deng (2013)¹⁵. While Lu believes that the shortage of editors and sponsors and the journal's publishing deficit were the main reasons for its demise, Deng adds the American Missionary Society's changing policy in preaching the gospel as another important reason. Both of these works list

¹² "《中国丛报》考释", 谭树林, 《历史档案》, 2008。

¹³ "《中国丛报》的创刊及其动机初探", 邹朝春, 《宗教学研究》, 2014。

¹⁴ "《中国丛报》的停刊原因初探"(On The Chinese Repository stopping its publication), 陆亨, 《国际新闻界》, 2007。

¹⁵ 《美国在华早期新闻传播史 (1827-1872)》(The Early American Journalism in China (1827-1972)), 邓绍根, 世界知识出版社, 2013 年。

supporting details and explain the author's viewpoint very clearly. With regard to works that study the editors of the journal, apart from missionaries' autobiographies, such as *Memoirs of the Life and Labours of Robert Morrison* (1839), edited by his wife; *The Pioneer of American Missions in China: The Life and Labors of Elijah Coleman Bridgman* (1864); *The life and letters of Samuel Wells Williams, LL.D., missionary, diplomatist, Sinologue* (1889), there are scholars such as Jun Gu (2009)¹⁶, Chenyan Kong (2010)¹⁷ and Shijuan Zhang (2010)¹⁸ who have also focused on this aspect. In addition, Elizabeth Malcolm wrote an article entitled 'The Chinese Repository and Western Literature on China 1800 to 1850' (1973), in which she discusses early 19th century works on China.

Among these works, Zou's article on the missionaries' motivation in founding *The Chinese Repository* is worth mentioning. As stated above, he lists three main factors. Zou also incorporates Said's theory in his discussion in this article. In his discussion of the missionaries' motivation to study China and introduce the country to Western readers, Zou refers to Said's statement concerning the 'individual' character of orientalism. Zou believed that Bridgman, although he worked as a missionary, most of the time actually assumed the identity of an American civilian in China. He states that Bridgman once mentioned that the purpose of knowing and learning about China was to protect America's interests in China (2014, p.237). Zou thought Bridgman viewed himself first as an American, and secondly as a missionary in his activities in China. He further mentions the reasons why *The Chinese Repository* had sponsors for its publication, which was that it provided foreign merchants in China with all the 'relevant information in different fields' (p.238). He notes that a group of Western

¹⁶ 《卫三畏与美国早期汉学》(Samuel Williams and Early American Sinology), 顾钧, 外语教学与研究出版社, 2009 年。

¹⁷ 《卫三畏与美国汉学研究》(Samuel Williams and American Sinology), 孔陈焱, 上海辞书出版社, 2010 年。

¹⁸ 《裨治文与早期中美文化交流》(Elijah Bridgman and Early Sino-American Cultural Communication), 张施娟, 浙江大学出版社, 2010 年。

merchants also contributed to *The Chinese Repository*, and that they were the group of people who advocated 'free' trade in China. Zou includes other interesting materials in his article, such as Bridgman's letter to the American Missionary Society, in which Bridgman states the view that missionaries should carry on their work until 'every Chinese can read the great work and understand the grace from the God in their mother tongue' (the author's translation).¹⁹ From these materials, one can easily identify the clear intention of the West to dominate China. Thus, although Zou does not explain the applicability of Said's theory to the Chinese context, he does make a fair and reasonable point concerning Western intentions in China.

Like the present study, articles in the second category use *The Chinese Repository* as their main source of material or as one of their main resources in order to analyse particular contemporary issues. Scholars such as Yixiong Wu from Zhongshan University produced several articles in which they use *The Chinese Repository* to analyse 19th century Sino-Western relationships. Thematically speaking, there are three genres.

Works in the first genre are concerned mainly with Chinese language and literature. For example, 'The Chinese Repository and its Studies on Chinese Language and Script' (2008), by Yixiong Wu,²⁰ traces the impact Westerners' learning habits had on their acquisition of the Chinese language; the 5th chapter of the *Study of Missionaries' Novels* by Lihua Song²¹ examines the translations of Chinese novels by Protestant missionaries for *The Chinese Repository*; Lixia Liu²² focuses on the mistakes and misunderstandings of missionaries in translating the Chinese classical

¹⁹ The original text cannot be found from the reference Zou gave.

²⁰ "《中国丛报》与中国语言文字研究", 吴义雄, 《社会科学研究》, 2008。

²¹ 《传教士汉文小说研究》, 宋莉华, 上海古籍出版社, 2010。

²² "近代来华传教士对《三国演义》的译介—以《中国丛报》为例", 刘丽霞, 刘同赛, 《济南大学学报》, 2014。

novel—*The Romance of the Three Kingdoms*, while Yan Wang²³ uses *The Dream of the Red Chamber* as her resource. In both cases the mistakes missionaries made in translating these two novels are taken from *The Chinese Repository*.

Works in the second genre discuss and compare Chinese philosophical thought, culture and history with their Western counterparts. There are two sub-categories, or trajectories, in this genre: the first of these is the trajectory of spreading Western knowledge and ideology to China, in which there are more English articles, such as “Placing China in its ‘proper rank among the nations’”: The society for the diffusion of useful knowledge in China and the first systematic account of the United States in Chinese’ by Michael Lazich (2011), and ‘Samuel Dyer and His contributions to Chinese typography’ by Ibrahim bin Ismail (1984). In the first article, Lazich explains the reasons why the missionaries established such a society and discusses how they tried to use Confucian sayings to persuade Chinese readers to learn from the West. In the second article, Ismail examines the works of one of the contributors to *The Chinese Repository*—Samuel Dyer, discussing his expertise in learning the Chinese language and his contributions to Chinese typography. In the second trajectory, which is the opposite of the first, there are more Chinese articles: Yixiong Wu wrote an article entitled ‘The Chinese Repository and Chinese History Study’ (2008),²⁴ in which he explores Protestant missionaries’ rewriting of Chinese history based on older accounts of Chinese history written by the Jesuits, and Xiuqing Li has written several works based on *The Chinese Repository* discussing Westerners’ perceptions of Chinese criminal law based on *The Chinese Repository*.

In the last genre the theme is opium. This is a topic unique to the 19th century Chinese context. The reports in *The Chinese Repository*²⁵ relating

²³ “宝玉何以被误读为女士？—评西方人对《红楼梦》的首次解读”，王燕，《齐鲁学刊》，2009。

²⁴ “《中国丛报》与中国历史研究”，吴义雄，《中山大学学报》，2008。

²⁵ 《鸦片战争后澳门社会生活纪实—近代报刊澳门资料选萃》，汤开建，花城出版社，2001。

to the opium trade have been summarised by Kaiye Tang, although without much discussion, while Lazich, in his article 'American Missionaries and the Opium Trade in nineteenth-century China' (2006), talks about the dilemma missionaries found themselves in in attempting to reconcile their moral standards and their religious aims.

The link between the ideas of the authors in this genre and orientalism is fairly clear. The mistakes missionaries made in translating Chinese novels and cultures reflected their insufficient knowledge of China. Their interpretations were based on their subjective feelings. The fact that missionaries did not give enough credit to Chinese civilisation, and even less to the achievements Chinese had made in the field of science and technology, is apparent in articles such as Lazich's 'Placing China in its Proper Rank among the Nations'. This is an illustration of the sense of superiority which emanates from much of the writing on China at that time, and which is the macro level of orientalism. Thus, both the macro and the micro perspectives of orientalism help to analyse the study of *The Chinese Repository*.

2.6 On the Applicability of Orientalism to this Research

From the review of the literature presented in this chapter, it can be seen that there is no work that combines Chinese studies, missionaries' backgrounds and the opium problem in a comprehensive way. In order to study the missionaries' understanding of China, their religious faith must inevitably be taken into account. At the same time, in the early 19th century, the hostility and political tensions between China and Europe are often reflected in foreigners' narratives on China; these tensions were caused mainly by the Chinese government's restrictions on foreign trade, which of course included the opium trade. One of the main contributions of this research to the field is therefore the fact that it is a combined study of these three disparate, but interlinked, aspects of 19th century China, and that orientalism is approached from a more balanced viewpoint. Different

revelations of orientalism were obtained for the three different topics, and these are presented in the following chapters.

From my examination of his book, it appears that Said's orientalism is a valid approach for looking at China in the 19th century. As I have suggested, if Said's assertion of Western political domination over the Orient is regarded as the micro perspective of orientalism, it fits events taking place in the Sino-Western relationship in the 19th century. Taking the later works and reviews of *Orientalism* into consideration, a macro-level of the theory was identified: orientalism implies a sense of superiority and a lack of objectivity in the Western episteme of the Orient. This corresponds with some of the motivation of missionaries in their activities in China.

It also appears from my investigation that the two perspectives of orientalism referred to above overlapped in certain contexts. With regard to opium, when missionaries found they could not explain why an omnipotent God would tolerate the abuse of opium in China which had produced so many innocent victims, they gave up the religious beliefs they had tried to adhere to concerning this problem, and instead, chose to stand on the diplomats' side, justifying the opium trade in the name of free trade and through narratives with strong political features.

It has also been shown that the works on sinology and Sino-Western relations suggest that China played an important role in helping Europe build its own civilisation, in the aspects of arts, social systems etc. This inspired me in my research to take a leap out of the original framework set up by Said, who presents the Orient as merely a passive image designed by the West. I believe orientalism should be a multi-polar idea. It is dynamic. In exploring the missionaries' episteme of Chinese history and culture, and reconciling the Chinese historical facts with the biblical accounts, neither the micro nor the macro perspective of orientalism is alone sufficient to explain the missionaries' motivation, which was not 'Western domination over China', nor simply wilfully to deny Chinese history. In my research, therefore, I have attempted to expand the macro perspective using

additional ideas to enable me to conduct a more wide-ranging analysis. The idea of orientalism should be expanded and modified depending on the different topics it is being used to analyse.

The next three chapters will explore three different manifestations of orientalism in the early 19th century Chinese context.

Chapter 3 Syncretic Approaches on Chinese Language

In the previous chapter, I provided a historical account of Said's orientalism and presented my own analysis of it into several categories. The focus in this chapter is on the Protestant missionaries' approaches to China as manifested in their discussions of the Chinese language. Their overall approach can be described as syncretic. In this context this means that they combined elements from Western and Chinese chronology (both actual and mythological) and civilisation to create a new system. This system can be seen most clearly in the Protestant missionaries' representation of the Chinese language.

The chapter begins with a discussion of the origin of the Chinese language. It then moves to an evaluation of the language and concludes with an account of the reforms the missionaries proposed for the language. The extent to which the missionaries' biased view of the language influenced the reforms they proposed for Chinese society, including but not limited to the Chinese language, is also explored in this chapter.

The chapter is divided into three main sections. In the first section I begin by summarising the key articles on the Chinese language from *The Chinese Repository*. In order to see how far the missionaries' narratives on this topic deviated from the neutral tone as a result of their religious purposes and learning ability, I selected Watters's *Essays on the Chinese Language* for comparison. There were two reasons for this: firstly, the book was published by the Presbyterian Mission Press in 1889, and reflects the views of a writer with a similar background to the authors of *The Chinese Repository*. Furthermore, it was written within a similar time frame.

Secondly, this work includes a fairly comprehensive account of other scholars' statements on the Chinese language, and it offers a horizontal comparison across these narratives. In the second section the Protestant missionaries' debates on Morrison's Chinese Bible are considered. The extent to which biblical elements were incorporated into the Chinese context is explored. In the final section, I identify the key purpose for the missionaries to learn the language— to facilitate their evangelical work. I demonstrate how the missionaries tried to influence their target readers by their adept bilingual capacities, intentionally or unintentionally, in order to achieve their evangelical aims. I argue that this is part of their orientalist agenda of maintaining the supremacy of western thought, as they are forced to reconcile inconvenient Chinese facts with their own thought system.

On the basis of the findings presented in these three sections, I argue that the Protestant missionaries adopted a syncretic approach to dealing with the topic of the Chinese language. The antiquity and originality of this language made it difficult for them to ignore Chinese evidence in relation to biblical accounts. In the end, they had to adopt a syncretic approach in order to negotiate the conflicts between Chinese chronology and biblical accounts. Thus, while orientalism refers to a Western episteme of the Orient in a broader context, the missionaries' episteme of the Chinese language and its historical background can be further defined as 'syncretism'. In fact, the syncretic approach was also used by the Jesuits in China in the 16th and 17th centuries to deal with similar topics. A comparison is therefore made between the syncretic approaches of the Jesuits and the Protestants to determine the extent to which they differed.

3.1 Evaluation of the Chinese Language

In this section the various syncretic approaches the missionaries adopted in their narratives on the Chinese language are examined. The examination covers their discussions of the origin of the language, their later discussions

of Chinese grammar, and also some contemporary Christians' views on the Chinese language.

Before we probe the missionaries' syncretic approach to dealing with the topic of the language, an examination of the work of scholars with a more neutral tone is necessary. At the beginning of his work, Watters (1889, p.3) lists three main categories of Chinese language studies at that time: studies that emphasised the 'origin and kindred of the Chinese language' (genealogical perspective); those that focused on the 'formal structure and character' of the language (morphological perspective), and 'some judgments on the Chinese language as to its material contents, its capacity to express thoughts and feelings' (evaluative perspective). The following sub-sections are organised in this order with the aim of revealing more clearly how the missionaries' knowledge of the genealogical perspective on the language affected their views of the other two areas.

3.11 Is the Chinese Language Related to the 'Confusion of Tongues'?

Watters (1889, pp.4-6) lists two schools of thought concerning the Chinese language. The first school 'ousted the language from the great clan of human tongues'. Watters used the 'celebrated Golius'²⁶ as an example - a man who believed that the Chinese language was not derived from 'the old speech of mortals, but was constructed by the skill and genius of some philosopher'; Golius also believed that Chinese was 'invented all at once by some clever man to establish oral intercourse among the many different nations who inhabited the great country which we call China'. In this category, Watters also included Leibniz and Farrar. Farrar once stated that Chinese 'differs from other languages as much as if it were spoken by the inhabitants of another planet'. The second school holds completely the opposite view—Chinese was the 'primeval tongue, the first language', that

²⁶ Jacobus Golius (1596-1667), Dutch orientalist and mathematician, had an interest in China and had collected several Chinese books. Though he couldn't read Chinese, he arranged a meeting with Martini and was inspired by his works. Golius believed that there was a connection between 'Cathay', whose influence had extended to Middle East, and China (Biography of Jacobus Golius at the Baheyeldin Dynasty site).

in which Adam and Eve talked with 'the Lord God and the Serpent and to each other as they walked among the trees in the Garden of Eden'. In other words, Chinese is regarded as the 'fore-mother' of all other languages. The first representative of this school, as mentioned by Watters, was John Webb, an Englishman who lived during the period of the Restoration. Martinius, Kircher, Semedo, Mendoza and Trigault were extensively quoted by him, and it seems that Webb gained from them 'a very fair insight into the nature of the Chinese language.' Watters further mentions Webb's thoughts on the history of China: Noah may have migrated to China with his family and built his ark there. Webb also said that 'it may be very much presumed that Noah himself, both before and after the flood, lived in China'. Webb believed that the Chinese language, written and spoken, came directly from Noah's son Shem, or the children of the latter. Although another scholar, Edkins, a learned sinologist, maintained that Ham was the ancestor of the Chinese, Webb completely refuted Edkins' timeline. In Edkins' understanding, there was some connection between Chinese and Hebrew and between Chinese and other ancient languages. Edkins thought these languages had a common origin 'in the Mesopotamian and Armenian region'. According to him, the first Chinese were 'probably Hamites', but the Chinese language, 'like Mongol and Turkish, belongs to the Japhetic stock'; and yet 'the ancient Hebrew and the ancient Chinese were probably dialects of a still more venerable mother speech which was truly antediluvian and began with Adam'. Therefore, Chinese has an 'antiquity of type' beyond other languages, as a result of 'being itself of the first descent from the primeval mother of human speech'. Similarly, Webb also argued that Chinese has all the 'requisite characteristics of the primitive tongue, which are these—antiquity, simplicity, generality, modesty of expression, utility and brevity'.

In comparing these two schools, it is clear that the second one includes many elements of Christianity. It was expected that accounts of the Chinese language from *The Chinese Repository* would fall into the second

school of thought, since it matched the Protestant missionaries' religious aims in China. One of the main contributors to *The Chinese Repository*, Bridgman, made similar points to Edkins and Webb. According to Drake (1985, p.92), Bridgman concluded that the sons of Noah possessed religious truth when they went to China, which was later lost when the forces of evil were allowed to prevail in the great Manichean controversy that embroiled China for centuries. Paganism had a temporary victory with the establishment of the imperial system. However, the missionaries thought that it might be possible to replace China's paganism with Christianity, if the ancient religious truths found in China's classical literature could be persuasively linked to the truths of the modern Bible.

The above accounts reflect the missionaries' syncretic approach in the way they saw the Chinese language and its historical background. While orientalism refers to the general Western approach of China as a whole, my argument is that the attitude of the missionaries towards the Chinese language in particular was, in fact, syncretic. Syncretism is thus the first manifestation that I identified of the orientalism of the mainstream Protestant missionaries in 19th century China. They incorporated elements of the foreign system that they could not ignore or reject into their own system to explain the anomalies in such a way that their own system was not undermined and remained authoritative. Several supporting items of evidence can be found in *The Chinese Repository*, as shown below.

In one of the articles from *The Chinese Repository* (1834, pp.1-14), Bridgman states that 'originality is a striking characteristic of the Chinese language. Its origin, like that of the people who speak it, is lost in the earliest periods of postdiluvian history'. He further compared Chinese with other ancient languages: 'the Hebrew lives only in the oracles of the Most High; it long since ceased to be a spoken language. The Greek and Roman languages are found in great purity and perfection in books; yet wherever they are spoken among the descendants of those ancient nations, they, at the present times, differ widely from their original'. Among all these

ancient languages, 'in point of antiquity', Bridgman believed that 'if we except Hebrew, the Chinese is unrivalled'. It seemed to 'have sprung up soon after the Confusion of tongues, and has always formed a broad line of demarcation between this and all the other branches of the human race'.

It is apparent from these narratives that Bridgman actively linked the long history of the Chinese language to the history of Christianity. In one of his other articles, Bridgman (1841, pp.121-159) drew up several tables in which he links the names of the Chinese sovereigns with contemporary events depicted in the Bible. An adapted version of one of these tables is presented below:

Name of the Sovereign	Length of Reign	B.C.	Number and Year of Cycle	Contemporary Events
伏羲 Fuhhe	115	2852		The Creation 4000, or according to Hales 5411 B.C.
神農 Shinnung	140	2737		Adam dies, aged 930 years, 3070
黃帝 Hwang te	100	2697	Cycle begins	Noah born 2944
少昊 Shaouhaou	84	2597	:41	
顓頊 Chuenheuh	78	2513	2:05	
嚳 Kuk	78	2435	3:22	The universal deluge 2344, or according to Hales 3155.
堯 Yaou	102	2357	4:49	The Tower of Babel commenced, 2230
舜 Shun	50	2255	6:23	The Assyrian and Egyptian empires commenced,

				about 2229
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(Bridgman also mentions the destruction by the deluge (洪水為患) during the period of Yaou and Shun.)

Apart from Bridgman's clear indications, his colleagues used other, more implicit methods of linking Chinese history with biblical accounts: for instance, in the category of 'historical and fabulous personages' (1851, pp.94-105), Bowring depicted Shennong as follows:

While his mother was a virgin, and was traveling along a road, she placed her foot upon a step in the path, felt a movement in her body, and conceived. A son was born to her in due time, whom she rejected as a monster, sending him up into a mountain; but he was nurtured and protected by wild beasts, which being observed by his mother, she took charge of him.

There are obvious similarities in the above paragraph between the birth of Shennong and the birth of Jesus Christ, as related in the Bible. Another editor, Gutzlaff, tried to find the 'divine message' in one of the most ancient Chinese books: *Shu Jing* (書經). He first states that 'The Shoo King, or Book of Records' (1839, pp.385-400), 'is the most ancient book known among the Chinese. Its contents being considered sacred, any efforts of ours, as critics, to praise so elaborate a performance, would be considered as useless, and perhaps only lower the opinion of the learned respecting this famous story'. Although Gutzlaff sets a humble tone from the very beginning of his book, he still finds things to criticise in the *Shu Jing*: for instance, his statement that 'in the absence of all this information, we have the liberty of guessing, and do not scruple to tell the reader, that the sage filled man a page with his own thoughts'; another example relates to the events that took place in 2155 B.C. as recorded in the *Shu Jing*: Gutzlaff maintains that 'the authenticity rests upon a foundation of sand'. With regard to the reigns from 2146 to 1767 B.C., Gutzlaff states that the *Shu Jing* does not mention this period, and that there were no other authentic documents extant. However, these challenges did not deter him from continuing his quest to find the 'divine message':

I therefore only listen to your words; the Heä family is guilty, but I fear the Most High, and dare not but act justly. Help me, a single man, to execute the punishment of heaven, and I shall richly reward you for this...

The Most High has given lustre to the grandsire of our family; he will grant protection to the empire...

Heaven protects the nation, and appoints men to become its princes and teachers; but these are only the ministers of the Most High 上帝 to promote everywhere tranquillity...A great deal of this apparent piety is obliterated in the following pages, where the hero tells us, that he was going to sacrifice to the Most High and to the earth. 'Only assist me,' he added, 'and heaven will accord the wishes of the people, and I shall be enabled to establish everlasting tranquillity throughout the four seas,—do not on any account lose this opportunity.'

Gutzlaff's purpose in introducing this book can be found in the final part of his work: 'polytheism was not the offspring of the immediate age after the flood, but it was gradually introduced to expel the knowledge of the true God, with whom all the posterity of Noah was conversant. He is repeatedly named in his work, and always with the deepest reverence, and if anything were still wanting to prove, that 'Shangte' (the God) conveys in ancient lore the idea of the Supreme Being, one has merely to consult the Shoo King, to set the question at rest'. Like Bridgman and Bowring, Gutzlaff is another writer who tried to link the ancient (pre-dynastical) Chinese history to the biblical accounts.

Another example of Bridgman's contemporaries who used other, more implicit methods of linking Chinese history with biblical accounts is Samuel Kidd, the first professor of Chinese at University College, London. After years of missionary work in China, he published his work *China, or, Illustrations of the Symbols, Philosophy, Antiquities, Customs, Superstitions, Laws, Government, Education, and Literature* (1841) to inform Western audiences about the culture and people of China. As his colleagues did in *The Chinese Repository*, the first thing Kidd does in his book is to state a yet-to-be verified supposition that there was a link between China and the Jews:

If, then, we find peculiar coincidences and corresponding practices in the detail of ordinary life between the Chinese and the Hebrews, which preceded, by many centuries, the dispersion of the Jews, and the introduction of Buddhism

and Mahomedanism into China, shall we not have presumptive evidence that the Chinese and the Egyptians were anciently in close connection, if they were not originally one people? (pp.9-10)

He tried to remain faithful to his experience in China, but at the same time downplay its significance by ascribing the roots of Chinese culture to another culture. He later mentions that 'the Chinese were separated from the rest of the human family at a very early period of its history', and 'they at this day observe many maxims and precepts prevalent among the ancient Hebrews'.

From the above, it appears that the ways in which the Protestant missionaries attempted to utilise the antiquity of the Chinese language to accord with the universality of Christianity fall into two rough categories: the first of these is that they put the time of the language's being in existence into the frame of Christian chronology, which was necessary; the second was that they tried to find the divine 'words'/message in the most ancient Chinese language works in order to prove that Christianity existed in early Chinese civilisation. My argument is that the methods used by Bridgman, Bowring, Gutzlaff and Kidd shared certain similarities with the methods the Jesuits used in the 17th century. In fact, the situation the Jesuits found themselves in was tougher than that encountered by their successors in the 19th century. When the Jesuits in China in the middle of the 17th century introduced the pre-dynastical history recorded in some of the Chinese literature to Europe, it raised a serious question, since the ancient Chinese chronology was even earlier than the biblical history. The Jesuits struggled to reconcile these conflicts, and to some degree, this eased the pain of the Protestant missionaries in the 19th century, since they had learned a little from their predecessors.

According to Wu (2005, pp.354-377), a book by Martino Martini, entitled *Sinicae historiae decas prima*, became the direct cause of these controversies. Martini made a detailed investigation of Chinese history and finally identified the beginning of its recorded history as 2952 B.C. In terms of the specific year of the flood, different versions of the Bible had various

accounts. Some claimed that the flood happened 1656 years after the Genesis, other stipulated 1307, 2242, 2262 or 2256 years after the Genesis. Generally speaking, the most commonly acceptable version was the Vulgate Bible, which states that it occurred in around 2300 B.C., or around 600 years after the beginning of Chinese history according to Martini. The Jesuits adopted various strategies to deal with this conflict: some of them, such as Matteo Ricci, tried to gloss over it without much discussion, while others, such as Nicolas Longobardi and Alvare de Semedo, chose to reject the Chinese record. In addition to the methods used by these two groups, there were several other approaches. These are discussed below.

Jean Adam Schall von Bell adopted the Septuagint version, which claims the flood happened in around 3000 B.C. This put it more or less at the same time as the beginning of Chinese history. Bell would not have expected the huge impact his adoption of this version would cause in Europe: the Jesuits had to defend their use of the Septuagint rather than the Vulgate version. In order to win support for the Vulgate version, the Jesuits adopted a spirit of 'Euhemerism' and 'Figurism'.

Euhemerism is an approach to the interpretation of mythology by which mythological accounts are presumed to have originated from real historical events or personages. It was named after the Greek mythographer Euhemerus. The supposition is that historical accounts become myths as they are exaggerated, accumulated and altered by cultural mores. Bulfinch (2004, p.194) termed euhemerism the 'historical theory' of mythology.

Wu (2005) believed the Jesuits saw the images of ancient Chinese sovereigns as distorted versions of the Patriarchs of the Old Testament. Theuth from Egypt, Hermes from Greece and Mercury from Rome were all regarded as Moses in different cultural contexts. Wu observed that Georges Horn, Christian Menzel and Gottlieb Siegfried Bayer all viewed Fuxi as Adam. Horn believed Shennong was Cain (Xin ung vs Sinon), since their alternative spellings were similar. Hwang te was Enoch, for they were both immortal. Horn was aware that Enoch was the descendant of Seth rather

than Cain, but he blamed the Chinese for his own mistake. Following this logic, it can be deduced that Yao was Noah, to fit into the time of the flood. Wu then argued that contemporary Europeans had set an 'upper limit' for the beginning of the human race—it should not be set earlier than Noah. If a race had begun in 'Noah's period', or the postdiluvian period, it was seen as a great honour. Before China's history became known in the West, the Jews alone enjoyed this prestige.

Figurism was an intellectual movement of Jesuit missionaries who believed that the *Yijing* (易經) was a prophetic book containing the mysteries of Christianity. This idea was first developed by Joachim Bouvet (Collani, 2007, p.239). The figurist method consisted in finding 'figures' for the future redeemer in the canonical books of China as well as in Daoist and Neo-Confucian literature. Similarly, these figures—mythological Chinese Emperors, even heroes—were compared with the Patriarchs of the Old Testament or even identified with them. One of the examples was *The Orphan of Zhao* (趙氏孤兒).

The Orphan of Zhao was the first Chinese play translated into any European language (Liu, 1953, pp.193). The Jesuit father Joseph Henri Marie de Prémare translated the play, which he entitled *L'Orphelin de la Maison de Tchao*, into French in 1731 (ibid., p.201). Prémare's translation did not convey the beauty of the original dramatic language, since he did not translate the songs, which form an integral part of the play's appeal. However, the story caught the imagination of European minds at a time when 'chinoiserie' was in vogue, and this translation was the basis for adaptations over the next few decades (Mou, 2009, pp.23-28). In 1753, Voltaire wrote his *L'Orphelin de la Chine*. Voltaire's thesis was that the play was a story exemplifying morality in which genius and reason have natural superiority over blind force and barbarism (Liu, 1953, p.205-206). Voltaire praised the Confucian morality of *The Orphan of Zhao* (Min, 2008, pp.20-21), remarking that it was a 'valuable monument of antiquity, and gives us more insight into the manners of China than all the histories which ever

were, or ever will be written of that vast empire'. The story of this play was mainly about the rescue of the orphan, son of the Zhao family, the rest of whom were deceived and all killed by a cunning minister (Tou). Through the efforts of Cheng (who sacrificed his own son), who had been helped previously by the Zhao family, baby Zhao was saved and finally got his revenge on the traitor when he grew up. This drama was not the most popular play among the Chinese during that time, but it caught the eye of the European Jesuits. The following quotations reveal some of the plots and French translations of the story:

1,我拘刷盡晉國嬰孩，料孤兒沒處藏埋；一任他金枝玉葉，難逃我劍下之災。

(Je perdrai tous les enfans du Royaume de Tsin, l'Orphelin mourra, & n'aura point de sépulture, quand il seroit d'or & de peirrerries, il n'éviteroit pas le trenchant de mon épée.)

2,甘將自己親生子，偷換他家趙氏孤；這本程嬰義分應該得，只可惜遺累公孫老大夫。

(C'est avec joye que je mets mon fils à la place de l'Orphelin, c'est de mon côté une espèce de justice, mais c'est une perte que celle du généreux Kong Sun.)

Discovering baby Zhao was still alive, Tou decided to kill all the babies in the city. In order to protect the young Zhao's life, Cheng offered his own son to Tou, claiming he was the one he wanted. Finally, Zhao was saved and got his vengeance later. It is evident that this part of the story resembles the plot from the Bible: when King Herod decided to kill the baby Jesus, he ordered that slaughter be carried out all over the city. 'Figurism' was therefore used to connect the ancient Chinese histories and books with the mysteries of Christianity, and to give weight to the idea that China was an old civilisation included in the Bible. That may be one of the reasons why *Le Petit Orphelin de la Maison de Tchao* was favoured by

Europeans then, since it shared some of the cultural values and beliefs that Westerners had. It also explains why this drama was picked by the Jesuits to be translated and introduced to Europe.

At the end of Wu's (2005) article, she concludes that the Jesuits to used Euhemerism and Figurism in the following ways:

1. To find connections between Chinese and Hebrew based on the pronunciation of names.
2. To find hidden meanings in Chinese written characters.
3. To examine the achievements of heroes from traditional Chinese folklore and connect them with the Patriarchs.
4. To fit Chinese history into the biblical timeline. (translated by the author)

Wu mentions that most of these people knew little or nothing about the Chinese language. The connections they made were undoubtedly reckless. However, the accuracy of their approach was not as important as their faith. As long as these approaches served to consolidate the Bible's orthodoxy, they were deemed to be valid.

This approach is clearly evident in many of the narratives in *The Chinese Repository*: Shennong's mother was 'linked' to the Virgin Mary, the chronology of Chinese history was fitted into the biblical framework in terms of 'the confusion of tongues', the 'postdiluvian' period etc. The Supreme Being seemingly played an important role in dynastic change in ancient China. Although the Protestant missionaries focused on a different book: *Shu Jing* rather than *Yi Jing*, their approach was the same. It may be said that Protestant writers from the 19th century also used Euhemerism and Figurism in their narratives, and both these approaches were related to syncretism. It is noticeable from the table on page 3 that the years about which Protestant missionaries wrote were slightly different from the years the Jesuits wrote about. What they did in the 19th century was merely to quote from biblical accounts, and they did not back up these quotations

with enough explanations. The Protestant missionaries did not give enough credit to their predecessors. They wrote their narratives in broad sketches that did not have much reasoning behind them. Although they had same motivation in introducing China to the West as the Jesuits, their approach was less academic, less precise and less focused.

In summary, their syncretic approach to examining the history of the Chinese language meant that the Protestant missionaries came to regard it as a 'primeval language'. As the 'foremother' of all languages, Chinese was viewed as 'antique' and 'original', but at the same time 'simple' and 'brief'. It is not surprising that these stereotypes led the Protestant missionaries to make some subjective judgments.

3.12 The Written Form= 'Cumbersome Medium'?

In this sub-section attention is turned to the Protestant missionaries' observations on Chinese written characters and grammar. It is believed that these observations were more or less subjective based on their view of Chinese as a 'primeval' language. J.R. Morrison, the son of Robert Morrison, wrote an article called 'Origin and Formation of the Characters of the Chinese Written Language' (1834, pp.14-37) for *The Chinese Repository*. He introduced 'Tsanghee' (倉頡, Cangjie) as a founder in the formation of Chinese writing. He states that 'Tsanghee derived the first ideas which led to this important invention from careful observation of the varied forms in nature'. Although Tsang did not develop much beyond the first step in writing Chinese, that is 'forming rude pictures of natural objects', he was still regarded as a 'reputed inventor'. In terms of the characteristics of the Chinese language, he described it as 'original', 'extensively used' and 'unchanging'. With regard to the originality of its form and structure, 'as presented to us in modern times, it stands peerless, an object of wonder, having no consort or relationship with the other languages of the earth'. J.R. Morrison also noted that there were three hundred and sixty million people, let alone the 'adjacent kingdoms and colonies' who spoke Chinese.

Compared with Watters' framework, J.R. Morrison's depiction of Cangjie's story was much simpler. He did not identify the exact year when Tsang first developed Chinese writing, nor did he attempt to establish a relationship between Cangjie's creation and 'divine intervention'. In my opinion, J.R. Morrison was not prepared to defend the notion of a Christian influence in the creation of Chinese characters.

Watters's (1889, pp.121-127) book gives a more detailed introduction to Cangjie. He mentions that Cangjie was identified with 'Shi Huangshi', with 'Hwang te', and with others. Tsang was said to have been one of the ministers of the State in Huangdi's reign. Not only did he make the first characters, but he also, according to some accounts, greatly developed the art of writing. Watters quotes Ekins as saying 'according to the uniform national tradition, they [phonetic characters] must, therefore, be dated about B.C. 2700'. There are also some interesting comments by Watters himself (ibid., pp. 104-106): Chinese philosophers have not discussed the origin of speech. This is because they regarded the faculty of speech as the natural result of man's existence, as inherent in his constitution. What might be considered the orthodox and national opinion on the subject is that man speaks, just as he eats, drinks and sleeps—it is an instinct which forms part of human nature. Watters further states:

That man speaks is nature's work', the Chinese would repeat. There is nothing divine or superhuman in the fact, nor anything which shews that the faculty was one attained by slow degrees and after many vague attempts.

If we compare Watters' work with J.R. Morrison's article in *The Chinese Repository*, we can see that Watters' narratives were more detailed. From the information he gave, such as '2700 B.C.', 'nothing divine or superhuman', it seems that there was no relationship between the creation of this old, original language and Christianity, although that might not have been his original purpose. The date conflicted with biblical chronology, and 'nothing divine' indicates that the language was created without God's help. J.R. Morrison chose not to touch on that topic in detail, probably given its sensitivity in debates about chronology.

Compared to their predecessors, the Protestant missionaries did not give much detail in their narratives, and they did not employ as many strategies as the Jesuits in attempting to reconcile the conflicts. However, their motivation was similar: they did not want to deny the authenticity of the Bible by correcting its mistakes; rather, they tried to incorporate it into Chinese history in a syncretic way.

In one of his narratives Watters refers to a morphological classification of languages originated by Friedrich von Schlegel. Using terms taken from natural science, Schlegel classified languages as Organic and Inorganic. In the latter category, he placed:

- a. languages without inflection and composed of roots which suffer no change
- b. those called agglutinating or affixing, in which the grammar is formed entirely by suffixes and prefixes which are still easily separated and retain to some extent their own independent meanings.

In the former, he placed:

- c. those languages whose roots are subject to modifications from within, and in which the grammatical distinctions are expressed by inflections.

Schlegel categorised Chinese in the first group, as a monosyllabic uninflected language. The particles denote modifications in the meaning of a root, and single syllables always have a separate and independent existence. The Chinese roots never sprout or yield a branch or leaf of inflection; they are thus 'lifeless, inorganic products'.

Schlegel went on to divide languages further into those 'without any grammatical structure', 'the agglutinating' and 'the inflectional'. Bopp approved Schlegel's division but described Bopp's first category, the category into which Chinese falls, in a slightly different way. W. von

Humboldt, on the other hand, compared Chinese with other Eastern languages. He placed it into the Semitic and Indo-European groups, under the heading of 'Perfect languages', as one of those which develop themselves, according to law of their being, with regularity and freedom. The well-known three-fold division of languages by Schleicher came next: he divided languages into the Monosyllabic (Isolating), Confixative (Agglutinating) and Inflexive (Inflectional). He put Chinese into the first division, since according to him it was 'simply composed of invariable disjoined meaning-sounds'.

When examining von Schlegel's comments, it may be helpful to take into account his German background. The speaker of a highly agglutinated language himself, he approached the Chinese language with his own standards and linguistic background, which to some extent were the cause of his view of Chinese as a 'lifeless, inorganic product'.

The notion that Chinese is a completely monosyllabic language has been challenged by some scholars. Remusat (Watters, 1899, p.15) was the first to do this, although his arguments were refuted long ago. However, it is generally admitted that a system of classification based on morphology would not be applicable to all languages.

Watters' summary of the comments on the Chinese language mentioned above can be divided into two main categories: the general tone and specific areas.

With regard to the first category, Watters acknowledged that the Jesuits and other European writers on China in the 16th and 17th centuries were quite positive about the language: '[they] seem to have been for the most part quite enchanted with the great compass of this language, and the simple terse forms with which it did its work unaided by suffixes and inflections' (1889, p.16). Watters first listed Semedo, who praised Chinese for its conciseness, which made it indeed 'equivocal' but at the same time 'compendious'. However, Semedo admitted that 'while Chinese is very rich

in characters it is very poor in words, that is, in its supply of terms differing in sound'. It can be said that Semedo found sweetness in Chinese and so did Webb. Webb said 'if ever our Europeans shall become thoroughly studied in the Chinique tongue,' it will be found that the Chinese have very many words 'whereby they express themselves in such elegancies as neither by Hebrew or Greek, or any other language how elegant so ever can be expressed. Besides, whereas the Hebrew is harsh and rugged, the Chinique appears the most sweet and smooth language of all others throughout the whole world at this day known'. The translator of *The Orphan of Zhao*— Prémare —was also quite enthusiastic on the subject of Chinese. He believed that Chinese grammar was for the most part free from the thorns which 'ours presents', but that it still had its rules, 'and there is not in the world a richer language, nor one which has reigned so long'. Coming down to later years, W. von Humboldt gave great praise to Chinese. From the point of view of grammatical structure, one might, at first glance, regard it as the language that departed most widely from the natural demands of speech; however, according to Humboldt, a more thorough examination reveals that Chinese possesses a high degree of excellence, and exercises on the mental faculties an influence which, if one-sided, is still powerful (1889, pp.16-17).

Watters was also aware that the Chinese language was a meaning-oriented language and that it was rich in vocabulary in certain areas. He first quoted Morrison's evaluation (Watters, 1889, p.127):

The people of Fan (i.e., India) distinguished sounds; and with them the stress is laid on the sounds, not on the letters. Chinese distinguish the characters, and lay the stress on the characters, not on the sounds. Hence in the language of Fan there is an endless variety of the sound; with the Chinese there is an endless variety of the character. In Fan, the principles of sound excite an admiration, but the letters are destitute of beauty; in Chinese, the characters are capable of ever-varying intelligible modification, but the sounds are not possessed of nice and minute distinctions. The people of Fan prefer the sounds, and what they obtain enters by the ear; the Chinese prefer the beautiful character, what they obtain enters by the eye.'

Watters goes on to argue that 'a liberal study of the Chinese will show that it is, as to terms, well supplied in some respects and poorly furnished in others'. It can be seen that Watters presented a fairly positive image of the Chinese language, and he has even included part of Morrison's evaluation. The authors of the narratives that appear in *The Chinese Repository*, by contrast, appear to have adopted a more subjective attitude. They criticised Chinese for not being an alphabetic language, and for restricting the thinking of speakers of the language to some extent. These narratives gave rise to heated discussion among the missionaries as well.

J.C. Stewart (1836, pp.65-70) wrote an article called 'Remarks on this System of Orthography'; this article appears in the fifth volume of *The Chinese Repository*. As an opponent of the opium trade in China, Stewart, together with Arthur S. Keating, a British merchant who was openly against opium dealing in China as well, wrote several articles entitled 'Remarks on the Opium Trade in China', criticising the opium policy of the Western powers. Stewart also engaged in several debates with supporters of opium dealing such as James Innes in *The Chinese Repository*. More details of these debates are given in the following chapter.

In 'Remarks on this System of Orthography', Stewart suggested 'having an alphabetic language employed by the Chinese instead of that now in use among them'. He hoped that this could be achieved quickly, so that foreigners would not have to learn what he described as a 'cumbrous medium of communication'. In his article, he introduces Morrison's Chinese dictionary to learners of Chinese; Stewart described its orthography of Chinese words as 'arbitrary'. Stewart suggested that learners of Chinese should apply with greater care and 'great caution' to the Chinese language 'those symbols familiar to European eyes', since 'imperfect' applications had already been made.

Since the Chinese had not invented a phonetic alphabet, there was no means of ascertaining the sounds associated with Chinese characters. In one of his articles that appeared in *The Chinese Repository* (1834, pp.1-14),

Bridgman mentions that 'every boy and almost all of those too who have made considerable progress in the knowledge of the language, learn from the lips of a teacher the sound of every character they find'. Actually, one scholar considered this to be a defect of Chinese, stating in his article that teaching Chinese is a 'mechanical' process and that since it takes a long time for a scholar to learn to read, the education of the mind is neither the aim nor the effect of teaching the language (Anon, 1836, pp.61-65). Secondly, according to Bridgman, the grammatical structure of Chinese is very simple. 'The number, case, mood, tense etc. are expressed by particles without any change in the noun or verb', which 'sometimes renders the meaning of a passage or phrase vague and obscure'. It was also found that the syntax of the language is peculiar, and 'some writers designate it an asyntactic language'. Lastly, Bridgman mentions the 'liberty' problem of Chinese, 'set phrases, which are often repeated and always in the same sense, abound in the writings of the Chinese'. Even the poetry, which 'delights in freedom and glories in invention, is bound down by those iron rules'. If a poet does not obey the rules, he will be denounced as 'unfilial and rebellious'. From a foreigner's point of view, then, this is also one of the defects of the Chinese language. Actually, the difficulty in translating Chinese poems into English might be one of the reasons for the criticism. When translating Chinese classical books into English or translating Christian tracts into Chinese, Protestant missionaries such as Bridgman found it very difficult to maintain both the structure and the meaning, which made them criticise the inflexibility and 'iron rules' the Chinese literati had created when they wrote the Chinese classics. Bridgman then states, in order to 'in justice to speak also of its prominent excellence', that:

Though less full and sonorous than most of the Indochinese languages, yet when its measured periods and its tones are carefully observed, it is graceful to the ear. There is sometimes, on account of the choice and position of the characters which form a sentence, a degree of power and beauty in the style of the language which defies translation; and very often there is a pith and terseness in the expressions which are rarely equalled in any language (ibid., p.7).

Bridgman takes up several more paragraphs criticising the difficulty of Chinese and its lack of freedom in composition. He remarks that the language is 'graceful to the ear', but only touches on this lightly, for the purpose of being 'just'.

There are therefore evidently two hypotheses regarding why the Protestant missionaries suggested changing Chinese into an alphabetic language. The first of these concerns the difficulty of learning the Chinese written characters for a Latin or English user; the second reason, as mentioned in the previous sub-section, might be related to their views on the origin of the Chinese language: it was considered as a 'primitive' language, or a 'picture language'. The language may not be sufficiently complex to express abstract and highly scientific ideas, and thus needed to be reformed.

As their linguistic skills improved, some missionaries even began to discuss Chinese grammar and to refute previous viewpoints. The author of the paragraph below was Samuel Dyer, and he seems to have offered a very professional guide to understanding Chinese grammar:

It may be well to observe that our occasional strictures on the productions of Christian missionaries, in this paper, originate in a desire for their improvement. These productions have done much good; they are still doing much good; and may God grant they may yet accomplish a thousand-fold more. But we conceive it is perfectly consistent with such a desire, to point out those errors into which the writers have fallen; not for the sake of finding fault with them, but that others may avoid them; just as the mariner inserts upon his charts such shoals and rocks as they may fall in with; not that he likes to see his charts pourtrayed [sic] with dangers, but where they exist, he would have them laid down, in order that whoever consults those charts may be careful to avoid them. (1839, pp.347-359)

Before discussing Dyer's (1804-1853) article, a brief account of his life and contributions is appropriate. He contributed substantially to the missionaries' linguistic activities in China. Dyer calculated (Ibrahim, 1984, pp.157-169) exactly how many characters were needed for missionary printing and how many of each were required in a font to set up 5 forms of octavo at once. He published his word list of 3,000 characters in 1834. By

the time of his death, punches for 1845 characters had been cut, and the full complement of over 3,000 was completed within two years. If Morrison can be regarded as the founding father of the missionaries' evangelical work in China from the 19th century, Dyer can be seen as the most qualified inheritor of Morrison's linguistic 'heritage' of his Chinese studies.

While studying at Homerton, Dyer arranged to study Chinese from the large number of Chinese books that had been deposited in the mission house by Morrison (Ibrahim, 1984, p.159). He also acquainted himself with type founding, arts of printing and punch cutting techniques. He made great progress in learning the language, which enabled him to read the Bible in Chinese. Ordained in 1827, Dyer left England for Malacca in the same year. Dyer's mission in China had three goals: to achieve proficiency in both literary and colloquial Chinese; to prepare original compositions and translations of works about Christianity, and to propagate this literature through printing. The printing work was initially done through xylography, but Morrison preferred metal type. Morrison considered procuring printed work in Chinese characters as:

An object of the first importance toward the diffusion of useful knowledge and the Christian religion in eastern Asia and the islands thereof. In China, all the lighter reading, and tracts for the poor, are in respect of religion, science and morality, miserably deficient, or positively bad. A new literature, innocent and instructive, must be created by the friends of China. And to produce it, I know nothing so important as the casting of cheap movable types, or Chinese characters. (ibid., p.161)

It was Dyer who accepted the challenge of finding out how many characters were needed in order to print Christian books. He selected 14 works, including Morrison's translation of the Bible. It was then that he fully studied Morrison's translation and reached his viewpoint on how to study Chinese, and even how to translate more accurately between Chinese and English. Throughout his calculations, Dyer utilised his extensive knowledge of the Chinese language. He mentions:

A multitude of characters are composed of two distinct parts, the radical and its component; and these parts may be cast separately, without the slightest detriment to the character.

A certain 300 of the 14000 in the fount have the same radical; this radical sometimes occupies half of the square, sometimes one-third; hence two punches will be enough for the radicals of a certain 300 characters; hence there is a saving of 298 half-punches, or 149 punches.

Again a certain 240 have the same radical; and, as before, two punches would be enough for the radical parts of the 240 characters; and here is a saving of 238 half-punches or 119 punches. (ibid., p.165)

In summary, Dyer's understanding of the Chinese language reduced the formidable task of producing 40,000 characters in the Chinese language to the task of producing only 3,000 characters. His major achievement laid a solid foundation for developing Chinese moveable metallic types in Europe as well. Based on this information, it can be said that Dyer's Chinese linguistic capacity had reached quite a high level, and he seemed to be qualified to comment on Morrison's translated version of the Bible.

The lengthy article he contributed to *The Chinese Repository* can be roughly divided into eight parts. The theme was a refutation of the statement that 'the Chinese language has no grammar' (1839, p.347). He first mentions that 'all the parts of speech are capable of being definitely expressed, either by the use of auxiliaries, or by the position which each occupies in the sentence; and there is a certain grammatical construction of sentences, to violate which is to violate the syntax of the language'. He noticed that one word can be a noun, a verb and an adverb. The first example he gave was '之', which he believed meant 'him, her, it, them, 's: this is the most common character in the language. Often it comes between two words which are evidently nouns'. He then adds that 'if this particle follows a word which is manifestly a verb, its meaning is fixed to be that of a pronoun: but whether masculine, feminine, or neuter [sic], singular or plural, must appear from the subject-matter of discourse' (1839, p.348). He later introduced the use of 'number': sheep, deer, scissors, 'considered abstractedly, they may either mean one item or several'. These words are exceptions in English but normal in Chinese.

It can be seen that the first two categories Dyer touched on were connected to the two most difficult aspects of Chinese: 虚词 (xuci, 'empty

word’- a function word in grammar) and 量词 (liangci, measure word), for they are not commonly seen in English²⁷. With regard to xuci, mainstream Chinese scholars usually divide them into modern and ancient. The idea of xuci has been developed by modern Chinese linguists. It refers to words which have only a grammatical function and no actual meaning. The antonym of xuci is shici (实词, ‘full word’—semantically meaningful word). Xuci are applied to make sentences grammatically correct, and modern xuci include ‘adverbs’, ‘prepositions’, ‘conjunctions’, ‘auxiliary words’ (助词) and ‘modal particles’ (语气词)²⁸.

Xuci played a more important role in ancient Chinese. In a narrow definition, there are 18 words²⁹ altogether, and some of them overlap with the modern ones. If we take ‘之’ as an example again, this could be both shici and xuci in ancient Chinese. As xuci, ‘之’ can be used to emphasise the mode of the sentence (增强语气)³⁰, to embellish the meaning (为句尾虚指, 联字见义)³¹ and to ‘prune the sentence’ (工整文句)³². A good command of xuci by Chinese literati could elevate a whole sentence, even a whole composition to a new level. A Chinese literatus once wrote a couplet to mock Yuan Shikai (袁世凯), the first formal president of the Republic of China (ROC). He was famous for bringing about the abdication of the last Qing Emperor and his short-lived attempt to restore the monarchy in

²⁷ Measure words sometimes are called ‘classifiers’. In English, mass nouns such as ‘coffee’, ‘rice’ and ‘sand’ occur with classifiers. In Chinese, all nouns occur with classifiers when they are preceded by a specifier and/or number (Ross & Ma, 2014, p.41).

²⁸ In order to be able to discuss the authoritative grammar of the Chinese language, I read Huang’s *Modern Chinese Language*. Originally published in 1979, it was reprinted more than 10 times in the following years, which is indicative of its great influence. This two-volume-book provides a comprehensive introduction to the Chinese language: covering the history of the language, tones, written styles and language reforms etc. It gave me an insight into the missionaries’ narratives on the Chinese language. I have also used Xu’s translations of Chinese poems to illustrate some of the translation problems mentioned by the missionaries.

²⁹ [而、何、乎、乃、其、且、若、所、为、焉、也、以、因、于、与、则、者、之]

³⁰ 宋人陈叔方说：“老子云：‘……道生之，德畜之，长之，育之，成之，熟之，养之，覆之……’叠八‘之’字，无穷之用，只在于用一助语中耳。”(《颍川语小》)

³¹ 《诗经·裳裳者华》：“左之左之，君子宜之，右之右之，君子有之，维其有之，是以似之。”

³² 《诗经·小雅·正月》：“瞻乌爰止，于谁之屋？”

China. China was then in a state of turbulence and divided into several parts, ruled by different warlords. Here is the couplet:

民犹是也，国犹是也，何分南北； (The people are like this; the country is like this; why divide north and south;)

总而言之，统而言之，不是东西。(Speaking generally, speaking presidentially, he is not a 'good thing'.)

Both ‘也’ and ‘之’ play an important role in formulating this sarcastic couplet. They embellish the meaning and prunes the sentence at the same time. Together with the pun on ‘东西’ (it means ‘East and West’ to parallel ‘南北’ – South and North - in the former sentence, and it also means ‘thing’ in Chinese), this literatus sharply criticised the president of causing the division of China in order to realise his own ambitious goal.

Xuci can be regarded as one of the most difficult aspects learning Chinese, even for the native speaker. Dyer’s attempt to explain this category of words showed his expertise in Chinese and his own thinking about the language, which is to be admired. In the next section of his article he introduces the ‘mode of forming parts of speech’. Dyer mainly used nouns as examples:

1.By the addition of 氣 ke, denoting the mental constitution; as,

Angry + ke denotes anger

2.By the addition of 色 sih, relating to the appearance or aspect of a person or thing; as,

Moon + sih denotes phases of the moon

3.By the addition of 夫foo, corresponding to the word man, added to the English nouns; as,

Hundred + foo denotes hundred-man, or centurion

4.By the addition of 者chay, corresponding to the syllable er in English nouns, as,

Heal + chay denotes heal-er, or physician

5.By the addition of 匠tseang, denoting a mechanic, as,

Varnish + tseang denotes painter

With regard to the other two examples he gave: ‘子’ tsze, ‘兒’ urh, these are more like a regional dialect. Speakers of the northern dialect tend to use ‘meng (門) urh’ for ‘door’, while southern dialects usually do not need ‘urh’ as a ‘suffix’; simply ‘meng’ is enough.

The focus of the third part of Dyer’s article is on ‘gender, number and case’ in the Chinese language. Dyer argues that there are four ways of forming gender, which are: 1. The masculine and feminine each have their appropriate words. 2. Particles indicative of gender are prefixed. 3. Particles indicative of gender are affixed. 4. A distinctive particle is affixed to one gender only (1839, pp.349-350).

The examples he gives are all in English (ibid., p.351):

Under the first division the following may be given as instances; hero, heroine; king, queen; emperor, empress; fung-bird, hwang-bird; ke-animal; lin-animal

Under the second division, particles indicative of gender are prefixed: as male-human-being, female-human-being.

Under the third division, particles indicative of gender are affixed: as horse-sire, horse-mother.

Under the fourth division, a distinctive particle is affixed to one gender: as king, king-queen; emperor, emperor-queen.

Dyer ‘readily’ traced the analogy between Chinese and ‘our own language’, stating that the list might ‘be swelled to a very considerable length’. According to him, in ‘the third class there is a slight analogy to the Latin and Greek’. He also explained four ways of forming the plural: 1. By prefixing a numeral to a singular noun. 2. By affixing plural formatives. 3. By repeating the noun. 4. By the scope of the passage; he said ‘we have not much to remark’ with respect to the cases of Chinese nouns.

From this sub-section, it can be seen that the Protestant missionaries had a rather subjective and ‘alphabetic-oriented’ attitude towards the Chinese characters and language: their Chinese was no better than the Jesuits’. Although there is some degree of originality in 19th century Chinese language studies, the narratives are not mature and have several

loopholes. The case of Dyer shows that the Protestant missionaries did not have a thorough understanding of Chinese, and made some bold judgments based on their own subjective opinions.

In fact, one can actually sense a 'rebellious spirit' emanating from the articles by the Protestant writers in *The Chinese Repository*. For example, Gutzlaff, apart from his narratives on the *Shu Jing* mentioned in the first section of this chapter, also wrote an article entitled 'Remarks on Chinese history' (1834, pp.53-61). In this article, he put forward many viewpoints that conflicted with the mainstream contemporary viewpoint: for instance, he states that 'the dry details, and the embellished translations of Chinese historical works, given us by the Jesuits cannot be very inviting to the general reader', and that 'Che Hwangte [Qin Shi Huang], who is so generally hated by the Chinese historians, was endowed with a vigorous mind, and was far superior to any of his predecessors'. He even regarded the period from the Han to the Tang Dynasty as 'the least interesting period of Chinese history'. The case of Gutzlaff in this respect is similar to that of Samuel Dyer in his view of Chinese characters. Dyer argued that Chinese had grammar, which to some extent conflicted with the Jesuits' viewpoints. However, he used a Latin language mode to study and discuss Chinese. With regard to these cases, we may conclude that their insufficient knowledge of Chinese may account partially for these narratives; however, a further thought led me to take their 'rebellions' against the Jesuits into consideration. The Protestants were endeavouring to remain distinct from their predecessors and to differentiate their tone from that of previous scholars.

Two main points can be summarised from the above discussion:

a. Some of the 19th century missionaries saw Chinese as a primeval language. However, they also saw it as essentially no different from Latin languages. Thus, they approached Chinese using a Western standard.

b. Even among the Protestant missionaries themselves, there were diverse views. As a primeval language, Chinese was regarded as simple and asyntactic, and some of the missionaries concluded that it therefore needed to be reformed. Others believed that Chinese possessed some characteristics of Latin languages, although these are hidden and not easy to spot. Part of their motivation lay in the 'rebellious spirit' the Protestants had with regard to the Jesuits. However, both the Protestants and the Jesuits display a syncretic approach in their discourses.

3.13 Chinese Characters Contained Christian Messages?

In the final part of this section the lasting influence of syncretism is discussed. Interestingly, it is still being developed today.

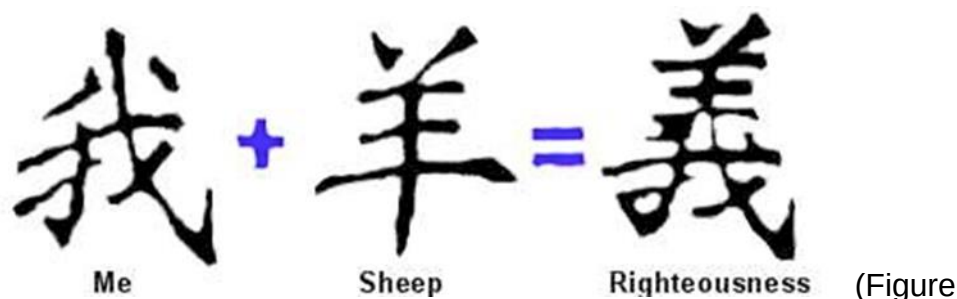
Before moving on to the formal examination of the missionaries' discussions on the language, there is one more point that should be mentioned concerning Chinese characters. As it is widely known, written Chinese has no connection with spoken Chinese. All Chinese characters are logograms, but six different types can be identified, based on the manner in which they are formed or derived. These are called 'liushu' (six categories, 六書). Some are derived from pictographs (xiangxing, 象形) and some are ideographic (zhishi, 指事) in origin, including compound ideographs (huiyi, 會意), but the vast majority originated as phono-semantic compounds (xingsheng, 形聲). The other categories in the traditional system of classification are rebus or phonetic loan characters (jiajie, 假借) and 'derivative cognates' (zhuanzhu, 轉注). J.R.Morrison noticed the existence of the six categories and introduced them in one of his articles in *The Chinese Repository* (1834, pp.14-37). The following picture is one of his illustrations of 'pictographs' (象形), namely, stylised representations of objects:

1. Figures bearing a resemblance to the forms of material objects, expressed by the words *seang hing*. This class needs no further elucidation than is given by the following examples.



(Figure 1. 'Resemblance of Material Objects'. J.R.Morrison, 1834, p.17)

Even today, the missionaries' syncretic approach is being used and developed. For example, the traditional form of the character '義' (righteousness) is a combination of 'me/I' and 'sheep', as the picture below shows. Christians argued this was a foreshadowing of the coming of our salvation through Jesus Christ, since 'sheep' was widely used in the Bible as a symbolic sign. From that it was argued that Chinese is a 'language of Babel'. This idea still influences many Christians nowadays (Moyers, 2012).



2. 'righteousness')

Actually, in the word '義' (righteousness), the '我' (I) part belongs to the category of 'compound ideographs' (會意), which are also called associative compounds or logical aggregates. This category includes characters that are made up of two or more pictographic or ideographic elements to suggest the meaning of the word to be represented. The character '我' is made up of '手' (hand) and '戈' (sword), and thus means a person who holds a sword (weapon). It is related to war in ancient China. The ancient tribes in China had frequent wars with each other, and the

person who could hold sword in his hand usually enjoyed a high status. This Chinese character was later borrowed to mean ‘royal family member’, and still later came to mean ‘I/me’. The word ‘羊’ belongs to the category of ‘pictographs’ (象形), and means sheep. The character ‘祥’ (auspicious) has the sheep element in it, because this animal is regarded as a ‘kind’ and tame animal which is auspicious to humans. Basically, the combination of the two words ‘羊’ and ‘我’ means a sword-holder who shows mercy and kindness, and who does not hurt people capriciously, implying the meaning of ‘righteousness’. It was not related to the ‘lost sheep’ metaphor in the Bible at all – the meaning was, either intentionally or unintentionally, distorted by some Christian scholars.

Some Christians (Johnson, 2015) also argue that the pictographic characters for the words ‘boat’ and ‘flood’ recall information recounted in the adventures of Noah and his Ark-borne family, recorded in Genesis 6–9. These Chinese characters illustrate the fact that there were exactly eight survivors of the worldwide Flood.



Figure 3. "Boat."



Figure 4. "Flood."

However, the character ‘八’ (eight), which appears as an element in the characters for both ‘boat’ and ‘flood’, originally meant ‘half’, rather than being used to indicate the number. It is one of a considerable number of Chinese characters that follow a Radical/Phonetic order (Relating to + Sounds-like), and these characters cannot be regarded as ideographs. To interpret the word for ‘flood’ as signifying ‘together+earth+eight’ is therefore an over-interpretation.

To conclude this section, we can see that it was actually necessary for the Protestant missionaries to use a syncretic approach in their discourses on the Chinese language. Their religious faith required them to produce a justification for the Christian chronology at that time. From our examination of the material from *The Chinese Repository* presented above, we can see that some aspects of the chronology seem to be in line with Chinese accounts, while others appear farfetched. Despite this, however, syncretism is still being used and developed to a higher level even nowadays, as we've seen in the above three contemporary examples.

It is understandable that the Protestant missionaries' views of the origins of the Chinese people would affect their judgments on the functions of the language as well, functions such as expressing particular ideas, or on how versatile the language was in enabling people to give utterance to their thoughts etc. It was these stereotypical views that caused them to advocate reforms of the Chinese language in their later activities.

3.2 On Morrison's Chinese Bible

In this section the Protestant missionaries' debate over the choice of particular words to use in biblical translation is discussed. The material presented below reveals the dilemma they found themselves in: should they concentrate on expressing the divinity and exclusivity of Christianity, or should they be trying to make Christianity and Christian texts accessible to ordinary Chinese readers.

Since Robert Morrison produced the first-ever Chinese version of the Bible, his work became the subject of frequent discussion among other missionaries who had some knowledge of Chinese. They published several articles in *The Chinese Repository* in which subjects such as the choice of words in translating the Scriptures, translation methods, and the tricky aspects of English-to-Chinese translation were discussed. Gutzlaff was among the first few missionaries who openly criticised the 'Chinese Bible' and made comments on it.

The translation of the Bible commenced soon after Morrison's arrival in 1807, and was completed in 1819. In evaluating the translated Bible, Morrison himself commented:

In my translation [of the Bible], I have studied fidelity, perspicuity, and simplicity; I have preferred common words to rare and classical ones; I have avoided technical terms, which occur in the pagan philosophy and religion. I would rather be deemed inelegant, than hard to be understood. In difficult passages I have taken the sense given by general consent of the gravest, most pious, and least eccentric divines, to whom I had access.

To the task I have brought patient endurance of long labour and seclusion from society, a calm and unprejudiced judgment; not enamoured of novelty and eccentricity, nor yet tenacious of an opinion merely because it was old; and, I hope, somewhat of an accurate mode of thinking, with a reverential sense of the awful responsibility of misinterpreting God's word. Such qualifications are, perhaps, as indispensable as grammatical learning in translating such a book as the Bible (Whyte, 1988, p.96).

Being aware of the shortcomings of his translation, Morrison urged other missionaries to become more adept at the Chinese language and to retranslate the Bible into Chinese. It is interesting to note that Morrison anticipated that the retranslation would be done not merely with the assistance of the Chinese, but in equal co-operation with the Chinese. He wrote, 'It is my opinion, that an union of European Christian translators, and of native students, who have some years attended to European literature, in conjunction with the study of Christian religion, is most likely to produce the best translation into Chinese' (Eliza, 1839, vol.2, p.10).

In his 'Revision of the Chinese Version of the Bible', Gutzlaff (1836, pp.393-398) openly called for revision of the original Chinese version. He argued that 'new editions of the Bible for the immediate use of the Chinese are now called for, and it is in the highest degree desirable that such improvements should be made in regard to the style of the version as shall render it acceptable to native readers'. Since Morrison's version was in classical rather than vernacular Chinese, Gutzlaff added that 'if those who translate the Holy Scriptures fail to render the language idiomatic and the sense perspicuous, and thereby prevent the readers from understanding the meaning of the text, then the blame will be on them' (ibid., p.394).

What worried Gutzlaff the most were the style and the faithfulness of the original translation by Morrison. The Protestants' target audience were ordinary people, and classical Chinese would be very difficult for them to read and understand. It is presumed that Morrison translated the Bible into classical Chinese because of the formality of the language - he did not want to neglect the sacredness of the Bible; however, Gutzlaff was not in favour of this way of thinking. He argued that even though the doctrines of the Scriptures are 'sublime', 'mysterious' and 'hard to be understood', and 'though this Sacred Volume speaks a language and sentiments which can be found in no other book on the earth', yet its diction is 'remarkably simple and perspicuous, and there are few if any languages into which it may not be translated with greater ease than any other book whatever'. According to Gutzlaff, the Chinese language is so 'copious that there are but few sentences in Holy Writ for which corresponding expressions cannot be found'. He suggests that Morrison's translation was not faithful enough (ibid., p.395):

A faithful translation must express the sense of the original perspicuously by corresponding words and phrases. The meaning of the text cannot be sacrificed to elegant expressions, nor a paraphrase substituted for a translation, nor the spirit of the original lost or altered, without gross departures from the rules which ought to regulate the translation of the Sacred Scriptures. On the other hand, if we undertake to render everything literally, and disregard the idioms of the language into which we translate, we shall produce a version as unacceptable as it will be unintelligible to native readers, and they will become disgusted with the work, and the great object of translation will be lost.

In emphasising the importance of perspicuity in translating the Bible, Gutzlaff did not forget to include the character of the Chinese people: 'the strong aversion of the Chinese to everything foreign, leaves us very little hope of their being induced to peruse of the Scriptures, unless they are translated into an intelligible and pleasing style'. On this basis he proposed a perfect way to translate the Bible, which had previously been advocated by Morrison: the translation should first be made by foreigners, who, on its completion, would derive important aid from native scholars in the work of revision to make the work intelligible and the style accurate. Gutzlaff later

turns to the tricky aspect of translating the Bible: how to translate the word 'God'. Because the word of God is perfect, it needs no embellishment; it can receive none. It would be inappropriate for a translator either to use fine words, which would damage the sense, or to produce a close and literal rendering of the original, which would cause people to feel disgust at a work that they should be able to peruse with pleasure and derive benefit from (ibid., p.397). However, he did not suggest any particular term that could be used to render 'God' into Chinese. In the final part of the article, he criticises the wrong way of doing Chinese-English translation, which is to try and find declension and conjugation in Chinese that corresponds with that in the original text, and also pointed out the demanding aspect of producing a perfect Chinese translation: euphony and reduplication (ibid., pp.397-398):

Euphony is carefully studied by the Chinese, and they always regard the diction as bad, whenever the rhythm of the language is in any manner defective: this is the case with all their writings both in prose and verse. To make the cadence and preserve the measure of the sentences, various particles are employed, either as initials, finals, or medials [sic], forming an essential part of the written language. Some of these particles are used in a manner directly opposed to all the rules of European languages; but as genuine Chinese cannot be written without this class of words, they are consequently worthy of the careful consideration of the translator.

Reduplication and pleonasm are peculiarities which characterise this language; they are introduced and regarded as beauties, where anyone but a Chinese would expunge them. Antithesis is also often employed, and is considered a high excellence, adding force as well as beauty to the diction...To foreigners some of these peculiarities may seem to be mere affectation; but to Chinese, all writing, which is destitute of them, seems loose and spiritless. In speaking of these peculiarities, we would by no means admit that the meaning of the text should in any case be altered or obscured by their use; yet so far as the sense of the original will allow, and especially where the introduction of these figures will render the language more perspicuous, the translator though a foreigner ought to yield to the genius of the Chinese language.

From this article, it can be seen that Gutzlaff was aware of the problems Morrison's original translation of the Bible had: it was not 'localised'/domesticated enough, the translated Scriptures were still not sufficiently down to earth, and it had stylistic problems as well. This version was still not intelligible to a native Chinese speaker. That was why he

suggested the Chinese literati should be invited to revise the translation after its completion. The weaknesses of Gutzlaff's article are also very obvious, however: he never proposes specific solutions to problems or choices of words in translating the Bible in his discussion, which could have supported his argument. He insisted vaguely on the need to localise the target text without damaging the sacred spirit, but without suggesting how this might be done, or providing any examples. In fact, in some areas, such as attempting to include both 'euphony' and 'reduplication' in the Chinese edition, his viewpoint appears quixotic and impossible to realise.

In fact, in order to produce a good Chinese-English translation, the translator needs to be fully aware of the cadence and rhyme of the original text, especially in Chinese poetry. He or she may have to find a parallel structure in English, and at the same time, translate faithfully without changing the meaning of the source text. In some circumstances, when the reduplication issue is involved, the translation task is even more difficult to accomplish. The question of whether it is possible to produce a good translation of poetry, which means producing a version that is a perfect rendition in terms of rhyme, structure and meaning, is still under contention in translation studies. Herbert Allen Giles (1845 – 1935), a British diplomat and sinologist who taught Chinese at Cambridge University for 35 years, was famous for his translations of *The Analects of Confucius*, the *Lao Tzu (Lao Zi)*, the *Chuang Tzu (Zhuang Zi)*, and, in 1892, the widely published *Chinese-English Dictionary*. He modified the Mandarin Chinese romanisation system established by Thomas Wade, resulting in the widely known Wade–Giles Chinese romanisation system (Giles, Cambridge Alumni Database). In 1898, Giles published his rhymed translations of Tang poems, of which Lytton Strachey said: 'the poetry in it is the best that this generation has known', and it 'holds a unique place in the literature of the world through its mastery of the tones and depths of affection'. However, Arthur Waley refuted this idea. Born in 1889, he was an English orientalist and sinologist who achieved both popular and scholarly acclaim for his

translations of Chinese and Japanese poetry. Among his honours were the CBE in 1952, the Queen's Gold Medal for Poetry in 1953, and he was made Companion of Honour in 1956 (Anon, 1966). Waley argues that (Xu, 2007, p.7) 'if one uses rhyme, it is impossible not to sacrifice sense to sound' and insisted on translating Chinese poems into free verse. The controversy over the free verse translation (sense) and rhymed translation (beauty) of Chinese poetry has lasted for centuries. A Chinese scholar called Xu Yuanchong tried to reconcile the conflict between translating 'structure and rhyme' and 'sense' using his own expertise. He published a compilation of 300 translated Chinese poems, which enjoy a high reputation among readers. The following poem shows his approach to tackling the reduplication and rhyme elements in Chinese poetry:

杳杳寒山道 Long, Long the Pathway to Cold Hill

(唐)僧寒山 Seng Han Shan (Tang Dynasty)

杳杳寒山道，落落冷澗濱。Long, long the pathway to Cold Hill; Drear, drear the waterside so chill.

啾啾常有鳥，寂寂更無人。Chirp, chirp, I often hear the bird; Mute, mute, nobody says a word.

淅淅風吹面，紛紛雪積身。Gust by gust winds caress my face; Flake on flake snow covers all trace.

朝朝不見日，歲歲不知春。From day to day the sun won't swing; From year to year I know no spring.

Overall, this is an ideal translation. Xu manages to convey the author's 'lonely feeling' to readers, and the sentence is well organised. Through the careful choice of words, most of the beauty of the reduplication in the original version has been preserved in the translated version. However, it seems that there are still three weaknesses in this translation:

Firstly, the number of words in each sentence: the original poem is a ‘五言律詩’ in Chinese, which means there are five words in each sentence. However, in the translated version, the number varies from six to eight words, which means each sentence does not conform in structure.

The second weakness relates to the meaning of the reduplication. ‘杳杳’ in Chinese indicates a ‘dingy and dark’ state. The pathway to the cold hill is very ‘dingy and dark’, which emphasises the feeling of ‘being lonely’. In order to achieve a parallel to the reduplication, Xu has under-translated it as ‘long, long’. This seems to be an unfaithful translation.

Thirdly, the translation has failed to achieve ‘end rhyme’ for each sentence. ‘濱’, ‘人’ and ‘春’ at the end of each sentence all had the same vowel in ancient Chinese, which followed the rule of ‘end rhyme’, while the last syllable of ‘hill’, ‘word’ and ‘spring’ in English vary. Xu has only managed to achieve the euphony in rhyme between each sentence pair, such as ‘hill’ and ‘chill’, ‘bird’ and ‘word’, but has not been able to maintain the momentum throughout the whole poem.

The above example shows that achieving an all-round translation between Chinese and English is almost impossible. With regard to reduplication, euphony and idioms, they cannot be dealt with simultaneously. This confirms my suggestion that Gutzlaff’s expectations were quixotic.

While Gutzlaff’s article discussed above remained at a superficial level in purely discussing some general principles involved in translating the Bible, the following articles written in 1846 probed complex issues, such as the choice of words to translate the most difficult aspect of the Bible. With the passing of a decade, not only did the missionaries’ studies in Chinese advance, but also a radical change in attitude occurred - the defeat of China in the first Opium War marked a turning point in China’s status in the Sino-Western relationship. While the West started to enjoy greater power in discourses on China, China conversely, accepted greater demands by Western powers. This might also be one of the reasons why the

missionaries began to discuss Chinese culture more openly: they related the 'supreme god' in Chinese mythology to the Christian God.

Before this nation will receive the gospel and become a Christian people a great preliminary work must be done. Of this sort, none is more important than the revision of the Scriptures. Success in modern warfare, so far as it depends on second causes, is now made to depend very much on the machinery and weapons employed. By the use of steam vessels and the improvements in gunnery, conflicts between contending nations are brought to a speedy close. The modern champion has, in his armory, a great advantage over those who lived when months and years of toil were required to produce a single copy of the Bible. The truth, including the whole revealed word of God, is the grand ordinance by which 'the prince of this world', and 'the powers of darkness' are to be overcome (1846, pp.161).

The gunnery victory over China seemed to inspire Bridgman to discuss more openly the subject of translating biblical terms into Chinese. He first paid tribute to Morrison, and his assistants Milne and Marshman, for translating the Bible into Chinese, but later acknowledges that the 'first version could not but be imperfect'. What Bridgman argues next is quite similar to Gutzlaff's argument, which is faith-oriented. '(F)aith comes by hearing, and hearing by the word of God; and this word must be in a language that is intelligible'. In order that the language be intelligible, he added that 'a multitude of facts and ideas' and 'many thoughts and feelings' must be expressed in words 'already familiar to the minds of the people' (p.162). A Christian and a Chinese may speak of God, heaven or eternity, and each may use the most appropriate terms in their respective languages, while their ideas may differ completely. Bridgman turned his attention to several important words from the Bible: God, Father and Son, Spirit, Prophet, Soul, Baptism and Sabbath. These are discussed below.

God: '神' (shen). Bridgman preferred this word to other translations, such as '神天' (shen tian), '上帝' (shang di) and '天主' (tian zhu), to translate 'God'. Among the Chinese gods, there are '天主' (tian zhu, lord of heaven) and '地主' (di zhu, lord of the earth). To avoid confusion, Bridgman thought it would be better to use '神' to translate 'God'. It may be that Bridgman saw the general word '神' as indicating supremacy over other gods.

Father and son: ‘父’ (fu) and ‘子’ (zi) were preferred. Bridgman favoured this pair of translations to ‘神父’ (shen fu), ‘神子’ (shen zi), for they ‘would leave the reader to gather the true sense of the words from the context, or from any other means at his command’.

Spirit/Soul: Bridgman recommended ‘風’ (feng) as an ideal translation of ‘spirit’, which means ‘wind’ in Chinese. The Chinese say, ‘天地之使曰風’ (tian di zhi shi yue feng), the messenger of heaven and earth is called wind or spirit. As an equivalent for ‘soul’ he preferred ‘靈’ (ling).

Other translations included ‘聖人’ (shen ren) for ‘prophet’, ‘洗禮’ (xi li) for ‘baptism’ and ‘禮拜日’ (li bai ri) for ‘sabbath’ (Bridgman, 1846, pp.161-165).

It can be seen that Bridgman allowed a more ‘general’ and ‘vague’ approach to translating key biblical terms. However, there were apparent paradoxes between the examples Bridgman gave and the translation principles he advocated. Since there were so many gods (神) in Chinese mythology, how could this character be an ideal translation that would enable a Chinese reader to understand the omnipotent God in Christian culture? If he did not follow his ‘general approach’, and use a special term to translate ‘God’ the translation would be very confusing for Chinese readers, and it also seemed that it would be unacceptable to Bridgman’s fellow missionaries.

Lowrie, in an article called ‘Terms for Deity to be used in the Chinese version of the Bible’ (1846, pp.311-317), challenged Bridgman’s view. In order to justify his own opinion, Lowrie quoted a large number of Chinese classics (1846, pp.311-317) supporting his position that ‘上帝’ should be preferred:

商書 (Sháng Shú): 子畏上帝，不敢不正I fear Shángtí (high Ruler) and therefore do not dare not to correct him (K’ieh).

大學 (Tá Hioh): 殷之未喪師克配上帝 其為天下君而對乎上帝也 Before Yin (the emperor of the Yin dynasty) had lost the (hearts of the) people he could match with Shángtí. He is Ruler under Heaven and corresponds to Shángtí.

合講 (Hoh Kiáng): 君之命在天而天之心在民 得民心則上帝眷之而得國 失民心則上帝怒之而失國 The emperor's decree (by which he holds the empire) is from Tien, heaven; and Tien's heart is in the people. If he obtains the hearts of the people, Shángtí will regard him favourably and he will obtain the kingdom. If he loses the hearts of the people Shángtí will be angry with him and he will lose the kingdom.

中庸 (Chung Yung): 郊社之禮所以事上帝也 the word 郊社 (kiáu shié) is the ceremony by which they worship Shángtí .

上孟 (Shang Mang) :天降下民不能自理於是立之君使之主治 不能自教於是立之師使之教訓其意 要為君師者替天行道以輔助上帝之所不及 Heaven produced mankind, but could not himself govern them, therefore he ordained rules to govern; he could not himself instruct them, and therefore ordained teachers to instruct. His intention was that rules and teachers should, in the name or (place) of Heaven, carry forward the principles of reason in order to assist what Shángtí was not able to accomplish. (Chapter 2, paragraph 3)

From these quotations, it can be deduced that 'Shangti' indicates the Supreme Ruler in Chinese culture. However, it appears that this Supreme Ruler was not omnipotent, since he could not control the will of the people; if the people no longer supported the Emperor, he would take power back from the Emperor. My understanding is that 'Shangti' stands for the idea of 'justice' rather than 'religious faith'. It is more like a metaphysical force. 'Justice' regulated the rule the Chinese Emperor should follow. If the Emperor did not obey the iron rules that governed people's hearts, justice would be carried out and the regime would be replaced by other elites. The elite groups who toppled the old regime would usually claim that they had been appointed by 'Tien' to deliver justice, and once the tyrant had been overthrown, his successor would claim it had been done according to the will of 'Tien'. The only similarity 'Shangti' has to 'God' is 'his' supremacy in both contexts. However, the words did not refer to the same thing. Lowrie continues by introducing the idea of 'shin':

論語 (Lun Yu): 天地山川, 風雷, 凡氣之可接者, 皆曰神, 祖考, 祠享於廟, 皆曰鬼 Heaven, earth, mountains, rivers, winds, thunder,

everything with which Qi (the creating or operating power) is (or can be) connected, all these are called 'Shin'. Ancestors who are worshipped in the ancestral temples are called 'Kwei'.

中庸 (Chung Yung): 鬼者陰之靈也, 神者陽之靈也 'Kwei' is the spirit of Yin; 'Shin' is the spirit of Yang.

Lowrie finally remarks (1846, p.316) that 'Jehovah does not merely claim to be the highest deity acknowledged by a people, nor will he be satisfied with the name of their highest gods, but he claims to be God alone, to concentrate in himself all that ought to be worshipped; and he claims an appellation which involves in itself all that those who use it deem worthy of worship; this name, which the people had been accustomed to bestow equally on several imaginary beings he claims exclusively to himself, and he claims it without any qualifying epithet; and thus maintains his own exclusive divinity'. Surprisingly, he believed that 'Shin' was a better option for translation, since 'Shin is used in the same generic way as the original term; and I believe no other word is used; and therefore can be used uniformly in every instance where the word God occurs in the Scriptures, while every other expression which has been proposed must in various instances be changed'. Moreover, 'Shin' was not the name or title of any one god, but was applied to whatever those who used it considered to be worthy of worship. Other words are 'merely names or titles of particular idols, and however high their rank, they can neither answer to the generic comprehensiveness of the original word', nor can they 'come up to the high rank of the God of the Bible'.

In 'Terms for the Deity' (1846, pp.464-466), Gutzlaff again made his comment on the translation of 'God': 'Shangti is the most apposite term for rendering the word God into Chinese. According to Chinese ideas, every man, as long as he lives, has a "shin" (神). The "shin" (神), and "kwei" (鬼), are analogous to "ki" (氣), an ethereal fluid or the air; but the "Kwei shin" (鬼神), are demons and spirits; in the end they are indeed one and

the same thing: 共實一物而已’. Gutzlaff recommended Shin as the most eligible term— certainly for spirit, spiritual essence, subtle, fine, gods and idols—but not for what he intends to translate ‘God’. For him, ‘Shangti’ is the true term, and that Shin can never convey this idea.

The drawback to using ‘Shangti’ was that the Chinese tended to link shangdi to yu huang da di, saying things like: ‘oh you mean Yuh hwang ta ti 玉皇大帝’, and it would take the missionaries more time to convince them that they did not mean their ‘Shangti’ than it would have taken to teach them a new term.

From the translations mentioned above, it can be seen that after expending a great deal of time and effort studying Chinese maxims and history, the authors of the articles that appear in *The Chinese Repository* had developed their own ideas about which Chinese terms should be used to translate biblical terms. They offered different angles on how the words of the Bible should be translated at that time. However, in translating the biblical ‘God’ into Chinese, the missionaries inevitably placed themselves in a ‘Catch 22’ dilemma. If they employed the strategy of ‘domestication’, the missionaries would have to choose a word which already existed in Chinese. They had limited options, ranging from ‘天主’ and ‘神’ to ‘上帝’. The term ‘天主’ (lord of heaven) was deemed to be inappropriate, since it did not satisfy the criterion of ‘being exclusive’/ ‘alone’: as Bridgman noted, there is a ‘地主’ (lord of earth) in traditional Chinese belief. The two terms form a pair. ‘神’ (god) was eliminated for similar reasons: since there are so many gods in Chinese mythology, this word does not signify the omnipotence and supremacy over other gods that the Christian God has. As for the term ‘上帝’, although it indicated supremacy, Chinese people easily confused it with ‘玉皇大帝’, and it would have taken the missionaries a great deal of time and effort to change their religious beliefs.

In summary, the Protestant missionaries’ discussions regarding translating the Bible had two main stages. The first stage was up to 1836, when

Gutzlaff was the challenger. He made several points: for instance, he suggested using 'euphony' and 'reduplication' in biblical translations, and that it was wrong to look for declension and conjugation in Chinese during the translation. From the poetry quoted above, it appears that these ideas were quixotic. Ten years later, Lowrie took over the task of studying the translation of the Bible. From his narratives, we can see he had made a thorough study of ancient Chinese books and presented a more credible justification for his views. However, an interesting question arose from Lowrie's translation—he used a Chinese 'pagan' term to translate 'God'. All in all, the essence of the Protestant missionaries' dilemma in translating the word 'God' actually relates to the difference between 'polytheism' and 'monotheism'. A monotheist would prefer not to use the pagan term 'Shangti' in his translation; however, using any other term would make it difficult for Chinese readers to understand, which conflicted with evangelical purposes. Polytheists and monotheists would never agree on the term that should be used to translate the word 'God' into Chinese.

3.3 Other Syncretic Approaches

In November 1834, the missionaries residing in Canton, along with a few merchants, established the 'Society for the Diffusion of Useful Knowledge' in China. Bridgman and Gutzlaff acted as the secretaries of the society, and Morrison's son, John R. Morrison, served as the 'English secretary'. Other members of the society can be identified from articles in *The Chinese Repository* (1834, p.379). They declared their aims in founding the society to be as follows:

In our days, many nations have begun the race for improvement; and are now moving onward in swift career, their course being constantly made more luminous by the light of science, and more rapid by the force of truth. This has resulted from the diffusion of useful knowledge among them. But no influence of this kind has yet reached the 'central nation,' and China still stands stationary, shielding herself from the contaminating influence of barbarians. While, therefore, we must ascribe it chiefly to the apathy, the national pride, and the ignorance of the Chinese, that they have not joined the other nations in the march of intellect, we are by no means prepared to excuse ourselves from the guilt of indifference and inactivity in not having placed within their

reach the means of improvement, and roused their sleeping energies to inquiries after knowledge (J.R.Morrison, 1834, p.379).

In the first few years of its existence, the SDUKC published various works in Chinese that covered a range of topics. There are two works that should be mentioned here: *Mei li ge he sheng guo zhi lue* (*Concise Account of the United States of America*, 美理哥合省國誌略) by Bridgman, and *Dong xi yang kao mei yue tong ji zhuan* (*East-West Examiner and Monthly Recorder*, 東西洋考每月統記傳) by Gutzlaff.

3.31 Bridgman and *The Concise Account of the United States of America*

Bridgman believed that if he became acquainted with the Chinese language and the Chinese way of thinking, this would help convince the Chinese of the benefits of Western knowledge. Studying the Chinese language was a priority. After learning the language and basic Chinese philosophy, Bridgman's first attempt to reach the Chinese people was in his *Concise Account of the United States of America*. He first introduced himself in the book: he was born in the state of Massachusetts; he was now thirty-seven years old; he had met many scholars from different countries and become friends with them. For Chinese scholars, the fact that he had befriended people from distant places and discovered the joy of learning would bring to mind the Confucian Analects (it would remind them of Confucius' famous remark: 有朋自遠方來不亦樂乎? Is it not delightful to have friends coming from afar?). Then he introduced his days at school. He had spent all his nights studying: 'striving not to squander the years of his youth' (子在川上曰:逝者如斯夫!不舍晝夜). After finishing his studies at university, Bridgman was inclined to go abroad to broaden his horizons, 'so as not to see the sky as from the bottom of a well' (井底之蛙). In his communication with the Chinese, he was 'humbled by the breadth of their

learning', but realised they had no knowledge of the United States of America at all.

From these quotations, it can be seen that Bridgman had already mastered the traditional value Chinese literati revered: being humble. As Confucius advocates in his Analects: '博學而篤誌 切問而近思' (Rich in knowledge and tenacious of purposes, inquiring with earnestness and reflecting with self-practice), the Chinese literati were encouraged not only to learn extensively, but also to be aware of their shortcomings, thus driving them to thirst for more knowledge and to learn new things. Apparently, Bridgman had noticed this spirit and tried to use it to make the gospels appealing to them. This can be regarded as another 'domestication' strategy he used in preaching the gospel. As in several earlier articles for *The Chinese Repository*, Bridgman tried to 'domesticate' his life experiences in a Chinese context and appeal to educated Chinese. Through his frequent use of Chinese idioms and expressions, Bridgman tried to establish empathy between himself and Chinese scholars who were influenced by the Confucian tradition.

The first volume of a *Concise Account of the United States of America* consisted of twenty-seven chapters, and included different aspects of America, such as 'Agriculture', 'Trade', 'Government' and 'Literature'. In the preface, Bridgman explained how the first volume provided a general overview of America as a whole. Throughout the book, Bridgman experimented with using a system of punctuation which involved underlining the names of people and places. Since this sort of punctuation and capitalisation was not used in the traditional Chinese system, Bridgman explained that he was aiming for 'clarity' rather than elegance. He believed this simple approach would appeal to some Chinese readers who struggled to manage the elaborate and elegant style of the Chinese writing system, which was still prevalent among the Chinese educated class.

Later in the book, he started to call for reforms of Chinese society, and 'language' is included in his reforms. In 'The Origins of the National Language', Bridgman gave a detailed explanation of the Latin alphabet. In order to help Chinese readers understand pronunciation better, he even tried to transliterate the 26 letters of the alphabet into Chinese characters. In his book, Bridgman pointed out the intrinsic advantages of the phonetic alphabet over the mode of writing used by the Chinese, noting how 'easily it may be mastered by even a small child' (Bridgman, 1838, p.54)³³. The system Bridgman came up with was a phonetic language, using the English alphabet, and that had intrinsic advantages over Chinese. The system he proposed was in line with the reforms suggested by Stewart in *The Chinese Repository*. It is worth mentioning that due to the different dialects spoken in different regions of China, the common way for strangers who did not know each other's dialect then to communicate was writing characters down, since the written system was same. Bridgman's reform for changing Chinese characters to Latin alphabet somewhat deprived the most efficient way for Chinese people from different regions to communicate.

3.32 Gutzlaff and Milne's *East-West Examiner and Monthly Recorder*³⁴

East-West Examiner and Monthly Recorder was an original publication by William Milne. It was expanded by Gutzlaff, who hoped to use this periodical to make Chinese readers aware of the achievements and power of the West and to reduce their sense of cultural superiority.

In 1813, at the age of 28, Milne travelled to the China-oriented stations located along the south China coast as far as Southeast Asia. By the time of his death in 1822, Milne had contributed substantially to the writing, printing and distribution of Christian literature in Chinese. Apart from the *East-West Examiner and Monthly Recorder*, he published another well-known work called *The Two Friends* (兩友相論), which consists mainly of a

³³ 美理哥合省國志略

³⁴ 东西洋考每月统纪传

dialogue between two fictional Chinese friends: one a Christian and one a curious non-Christian. In order to suit Chinese tastes, their dialogue includes a certain amount of polite conversation in the form of greetings. It can be said that *The Two Friends* is a fairly understandable presentation of Christian doctrines. It shows clearly the nature of God that Christians worship. Although it was impossible to explain Christian concepts without contradicting some of the traditional Chinese beliefs and practices, Milne tried not to highlight these conflicts. For instance, he did not go into any detail about ideas such as salvation through 'grace' or through 'people's own acts. It can be said that Milne adopted a comparatively gentle strategy in portraying Christianity to the Chinese.

Gutzlaff, on the other hand, was more radical. Born to Prussian artisan parents in 1803, he was deeply influenced by the religious revivalism of the eighteenth and early nineteenth century (Barnett, 1973, pp.82-104). He was among the most flamboyant and indefatigable pioneer evangelists in China in the nineteenth century. In the first eight years of his stay in China, he published a journal of his travels in Dutch, French, German and English. He composed a two-volume sketch of Chinese history and contributed frequently to *The Chinese Repository*. With these efforts, he endeavoured to arouse European interest in China as a mission field and an economic market.

In one of the articles (1833, pp.186-187) he wrote in *The Chinese Repository*, Gutzlaff says:

While civilization is making rapid progress over ignorance and error in almost all other portions of the globe...the Chinese alone remain stationary, as they have been for ages past. Notwithstanding our long intercourse with them, they still profess to be first among the nations of the earth, and regard all others as 'barbarians'. ...This monthly periodical...is published with a view to counteract these high and exclusive notions, by making the Chinese acquainted with our arts, sciences, and principles. It will not treat of politics, nor tend to exasperate their minds by harsh language upon any subject. There is a more excellent way to show we are not indeed 'barbarians'; and the Editor prefers the method of exhibiting the facts, to convince the Chinese that they still have much to learn.

In order to attract Chinese readers' attention, Gutzlaff quoted and paraphrased several Confucian analects on its cover, such as 'the scholar studies widely with inexhaustible diligence and earnestly perseveres without tiring', and 'all within four seas [the world] are one family, and the ten thousand surnames [all the people of the world] are the children' (四海之内皆兄弟). In the same way as Confucius cherished the value of learning from others, saying that 'walking along with two others, one may be my teacher' (三人行必有我師焉), Gutzlaff encouraged Chinese readers to open their minds and learn from the West. Throughout the course of the publication of the *East-West Examiner and Monthly Recorder*, Gutzlaff introduced Chinese readers to a broad range of Western knowledge and history. This helped to acquaint the Chinese with the geography of the world and the natural sciences from the West. Gutzlaff also included some contemporary news both inside and outside China for Chinese readers. There is evidence that *East-West Examiner and Monthly Recorder* impressed some Chinese scholars. As Suzanne Barnett has noted, Wei Yuan's famous *Hai guo tu zhi* (*Illustrated Treatise on the Maritime Kingdoms*, 海國圖誌³⁵) was based in part on excerpts from this publication.

It is noticeable that there is a certain dualism in Gutzlaff's discourses on China. In *The Chinese Repository*, he emphasised overcoming the conceit of the Chinese, trying to prove to the Chinese that Western civilisation was superior, or at least not inferior, to their own. However, in the *East-West Examiner and Monthly Recorder*, he emphasised the concept of the brotherhood and friendship of all peoples, the need for the Chinese and foreigners to befriend each other, together with the hope that the combined knowledge of the various nations would contribute to peace under heaven. It can be seen that during this stage, some of the

³⁵ *The Illustrated Treatise on the Maritime Kingdoms* is a 19th-century Chinese gazetteer compiled by scholar-official Wei Yuan and others. The Treatise is regarded as the first significant Chinese work on the West (Hao, Wang; 1980, p.148) and one of China's initial responses to the Anglo-Chinese First Opium War (1839–1842). (Leonard, 1984, p.93) It contains numerous maps and much geographical detail covering both the western and eastern hemispheres. Wei's book also garnered significant interest in Japan and helped mould the country's foreign policy with respect to the West.

missionaries were already trying to strike a balance between appealing to Chinese and readers and appealing to Western readers. On one hand, they adopted a domestication strategy to draw more Chinese readers to their side; on the other hand, they attracted the attention of the European market. Their 'situation-considering' strategy was heightened in the anaphase of their linguistic activities.

3.4 On Syncretic Approach

In struggling to reconcile their religious beliefs with the historical facts found in the Chinese language, missionaries generally adopted a defensive strategy. I categorise this as a syncretic approach, and it further produces the idea of 'Euhemerism' and 'Figurism'. To summarise this approach, it shows that some of them tried to domesticate the Chinese language to make it compatible with the Biblical chronology, though others chose to avoid dealing with this aspect. In his translation of the Bible, Robert Morrison avoided certain controversial problems and expected people who came later to solve them, while others, like James Legge, tried his best to find similarities between the Bible and Chinese language and traditions, such as endeavouring to prove that the 'god' mentioned in the ancient Chinese classics was exactly the same God as the one in the Bible.

With regard to the Chinese language, all the missionaries could do at that time was rationalise its existence from the Bible (Tower of Babel), and avoid conflicts as much as they could. In the field of religion, and with Chinese people who did not believe in Christianity, however, this was not the case; the missionaries came down hard on Chinese religion and criticised Chinese paganism, as will be shown in the next chapter.

The Chinese Repository presented fairly objective narratives on the Chinese language. From these depictions, it can be seen that Chinese was admired for its antiquity and was found acceptable as a spoken language, but was also criticised for the difficulty in learning it; its written characters and grammar made it difficult for foreigners to master it. The study of Chinese

offered the Protestant missionaries access to Chinese philosophy and religion, and they established several stereotypes in their subsequent arguments.

J.R. Morrison, Bridgman, Stewart, and especially Dyer, all achieved a relatively high level in their Chinese studies. Unfortunately, their Eurocentric views, to some degree, affected their narratives on the Chinese language.

Chapter 4 Fundamentalist Attitudes on Chinese Religion

In the previous chapter, I discussed the Protestant missionaries' attitudes towards the Chinese language and their approach in introducing it to Western readers, which I characterised as a syncretic approach. This shows their willingness to incorporate the Chinese language into the conceptual framework of world languages they derived from the Bible. They believed the view of language expressed in the Bible was the only correct view, and tried to search for a way of incorporating what they had discovered about language in China into this framework. In this chapter, the missionaries' attitudes towards Chinese philosophy and religion are discussed; these attitudes may be described as fundamentalist. This means that missionaries in China in the 19th century believed that everything in the Bible was true and rejected anything that was not included in the Bible; nor did they compromise when confronted with Chinese religion and philosophy, which did not conform to the ideas in the Bible. Their subjective representations of Chinese religious and philosophical ideas reflected their orientalist views.

My initial examination of the subject revealed that the concepts of syncretism and fundamentalism alone were inadequate to explain the Protestant missionaries' representation of China in the 19th century, and that their discourses on various topics related to China and the Chinese needed to be explored in more depth. Syncretism and fundamentalism are also incompatible: a syncretic approach would mean that the missionaries were willing to incorporate Chinese culture into their biblical framework; adopting a fundamentalist approach, by contrast, they would be rejecting Chinese culture.

The chapter consists of three main sections. The focus in the first section is on how fundamentalism came into existence in the context of 19th century China: its possible origin and the theory behind it. In the remaining two sections the different embodiments of the Protestant missionaries' fundamentalist attitude—towards Chinese philosophy and religion, and even towards the Jesuits—are explored. Finally, the relationship between fundamentalism and syncretism is analysed in the conclusion to the chapter.

4.1 The Origin of Fundamentalism in China in the 19th century

In this section, I trace the origin of the Protestant missionaries' fundamentalist attitude. This includes an exploration of the rationale behind their view of Chinese religion and philosophy as paganism. In order to clarify the discussion in this section, I have borrowed some ideas from Sussman's discussion on the origin of races.

4.11 A Comparative Examination of Monotheism/Polytheism and Monogenism/Polygenism

Sussman's *The Myth of Race: The Troubling Persistence of an Unscientific Idea* (2014) inspired me in assembling the material for this section of the thesis. In his book, Sussman traces the origin of the concept of 'others' held by Americans in the 20th century. From the fifteenth century to the commencement of World War II, Western Europeans and Western

European colonists of the United States defined 'others' mainly within two fairly static paradigms: polygenism and monogenism. The polygenecists (or pre-Adamites) believed that people who were not Western Europeans were not created by God, but that they had been on the earth before Adam; thus, their physical characteristics and complex behaviour were biologically fixed. No environmental conditions could improve their lot. The monogenecists believed that all humans were created by God, but that some had degenerated from the original ideal because they lived in less than ideal environmental conditions (either bad climate and/or uncivilised social conditions). To the monogenecists these poor creatures could eventually be 'saved' if they could be reintroduced to Western European civilisation. Adherents to both paradigms considered Western Europeans to be superior to other peoples or races³⁶ (Sussman, 2014, p.198). Historically speaking, the pre-Adamite and degeneration theories originated from the question of whether the origins of Native Americans were traceable to the migrations of people referred to in the Bible who had somehow become degenerate, or whether they were not descendants of people referred to in the Bible at all, but had originated separately. In the polygenicists' view, American Indians were not descendants of Adam and Eve but had an independent, earlier origin - they were pre-Adamites. On one side, religious writers continued to be attracted to the theory because it appeared to solve certain exegetical problems, such as where Cain's wife came from, and at the same time exalted the spiritual status of Adam's descendants. Those of a scientific bent found it equally attractive but for different reasons, connected with a desire to formulate theories of racial difference that retained a place for Adam, while accepting evidence that many cultures were far older than the few thousand years' humanity had existed

³⁶ In Sussman's *Myth of Race*, he mentions Immanuel Kant's argument that 'the nature of the white race guarantees its rational and moral order, and they are in highest position of all creatures, followed by yellow, black and then red. White Europeans have the necessary talent to be morally self-educating; Asians have some ability to do so but lack the ability to develop abstract concepts. Innately, idle Africans can only be educated as servants (to follow orders) but must be kept in order by severe punishment. Native Americans are hopeless and cannot be educated at all. Furthermore, mixing of races should be avoided because it causes misfortune and damage' (p.27).

according to biblical chronology. The main difference between the two groups was in the evidence they used, the first relying principally on scriptural texts and the latter on what passed at the time for physical anthropology.

Compared to the 'pre-Adamite theory', the degeneration theory is mild. It assumed that all human races were created by God, beginning with Adam and Eve. Non-whites were thought to be inferior and to need the guidance and control of rational, moral men (i.e., white European Christians). Their condition was considered to be caused by some degenerative process that was related to climate or conditions of life, to isolation from Christian civilisation, or to some divine action explained in the Bible. This was, in fact, the more liberal point of view, since proponents of this approach believed that these degenerates could be cured if they were given the benefits of European education and culture, especially if they were converted to Christianity (Sussman, p.14).

Although there is no mention of monogenicism in the text by Protestant missionaries in China because the concept had not been developed at that time. Nevertheless, the ideas of the Protestant missionaries are similar to monogenicists' stand. Protestant missionaries went to China to preach the Gospel, believing the Chinese would change their religious beliefs when they heard about Christianity. In this way, a remedy would be found for the 'degeneration'. In order to obtain a deeper insight into their attitude and approach, the Protestant missionaries' monogenist views were set against their monotheism. As mentioned in the previous chapter, in translating the word 'God', the discussion that took place among Morrison's colleagues indicated that they viewed 'God' as exclusive. Hence, they based their views of the world on one, exclusive 'God'. On the basis of the missionaries' monogenicism and their monotheism, I concluded that they had a fundamentalist attitude in religious affairs.

The next sub-section contains a case study of Morrison's early life and his stay in China, with the aim of demonstrating how his fundamentalist

attitude came into existence, and how it shaped his orientalist views towards Chinese religion and philosophy.

4.12 The ‘Founders’ of Fundamentalism in the 19th century: Morrison and his tutor—David Bogue

Born in Northumberland in 1782, Robert Morrison grew up in Newcastle and joined the Presbyterian Church in 1798³⁷. He was the first Protestant missionary in China. It can be said that he set a fundamentalist pattern for Protestant missionaries in China in the 19th century. His works were quite influential on his colleagues, and he himself was heavily influenced by his tutor, David Bogue, when he was studying in London.

Robert Morrison was an important pioneer in the cultural exchange between China and the West; he was also one of the five main editors of *The Chinese Repository*. The first British Protestant missionary to arrive and reside in mainland China, after years of efforts, he compiled and published the first bilingual Chinese-English dictionary and a complete Chinese translation of the Bible. He set up an Anglo-Chinese college using his personal funds, with the aim of providing bilingual education for Chinese students. He recorded the first conversions of Chinese people to Protestantism, and he established a hospital that integrated traditional Chinese and Western medicine. According to H.R. Williamson, Robert Morrison ‘was influenced in his missionary purpose by the writings of William Carey’.³⁸ It was Robert Morrison who tried (unsuccessfully) to promote the study of the Chinese language within various missionary bodies, as well as at leading universities upon his return to England. His contribution to Chinese studies in the West was prodigious as well. He translated the first version of the Confucian Classics into English. Morrison published a number of works on China and missionary activities: *The Hora*

³⁷ There are several books introducing Morrison’s life and his experience in China, including *Robert Morrison: The Pioneer of Chinese Missions*, by William John Townsend, *Robert Morrison: A Master Builder*, by Marshall Broomhall, and *Robert Morrison: The Scholar and the Man*, by Lindsay Ride.

³⁸ This is from H.R. Williamson’s *Review of Robert Morrison: The Scholar and the Man*, written by Lindsay Ride. According to Williamson, in his book Ride does not take into account the impact of William Carey upon Robert Morrison.

Sinica: Translation from the Popular Literature of the Chinese (1812), A Grammar of the Chinese Language (1815), A Dictionary of the Chinese Language in three volumes (1815/1823), A view of China (1817), Embassy from the British Government to the Court of China in 1816, and the Chinese Miscellany (1825). In *The Chinese Repository*, it was written that (1834, p.11):

Previous to the embassy of Macartney, not more than one individual of that nation, so far as we know, ever undertook to acquire a knowledge of this language. ...at that time, and chiefly with a view to translate the sacred Scriptures, two individuals, Morrison in China and Marshman in Bengal, were successfully engaged in studying the language: both of those men still alive, and with others of their countrymen, not to omit Milne and Collie who rest from their labors, are doing very much to promote and extend a knowledge of the Chinese language and literature, and are far in advance even of the French.

Although Morrison made significant contributions to Chinese studies in the West, in doing so he was merely following his tutor's instructions. It was not his idea: he was asked to do it by Bogue. His contributions were therefore a result of his tutor's idea. From his *Memoir* (p.2), we can see that he had great talents in learning Christian doctrines: when he was 13, one evening he repeated 'the whole of the hundred and nineteenth psalm, Scottish version', and even when he was tested on different parts, backward and forward, Morrison nevertheless 'accomplished the task without a single mistake'. In 1803 he was admitted to the Hoxton Academy, and soon moved to the Missionary Academy at Gosport, from where he was transferred to London in 1805 to study medicine and astronomy. He took up the study of the Chinese language at the same time, since the London Missionary Society had decided to send him to China. The Gosport Training Academy was founded by David Bogue, who belonged to the LMS. There, Bogue taught his students a three-pronged approach to missions: **learn the language, translate the Scriptures, and establish a seminary.** Having been influenced by the philosophical school of Scottish Common Sense Realism founded by Thomas Reid, Bogue believed in the concept of common sense. This theory held that all humans possessed common sense (or the ability to identify reality and truth), and that if

people were just given access to texts containing knowledge (specifically, the Scriptures), they would recognise the truths contained in them. As a consequence, Bogue thought that translating the Scriptures and giving people the tools to read those Scriptures was of the utmost importance, which distinguished his students from the Jesuits in the 16th century. Once people had access to the Gospels and the ability to read them, Christianity would begin to grow in foreign countries. Bogue estimated that at the time of Morrison's studentship the world's population consisted of 600,000,000 pagans, 200,000,000 of which were 'Mahometans' and at least 3,000,000 of which were Jews. In producing this hierarchy of priorities (in other words, creating an order of importance among the nations which would enable the Church to decide where to preach the Gospel first), Bogue claimed to have used locations selected by the Apostles: for instance, he argued that the LMS must address 'civilised countries' before proceeding to the conversion of 'barbarous countries'. According to Bogue, it is possible to recognise a 'civilised nation' when: 1. Great numbers speak the same language, and the language is written and the books common; 2. the people are accustomed to reading, and to mental improvement and pursuits; 3. there is much intercourse of a social nature through a large country...where they have much intercourse with other nations...where the influence is extensive and reaches to all the surrounding nations (Daily, 2013, p.83).

After presenting his definition of 'civilised', Bogue predicted that there would be 'more virtue among civilised' people, since they were the most likely 'to promote the spiritual welfare of their own and other nations'. 'There is no instance,' he insisted, 'of a barbarous nation conveying the Gospel to one which was civilised, but on the contrary'. Given that he equated advanced civilisation with written language, it follows that his marker for a 'barbarous state of society' was 'when there is no written language' (ibid. p.83).

Therefore, it can be seen that China became an ideal starting point for Bogue and Morrison's evangelical work: the country had a large number of Chinese speakers and a unique system of written symbols, in addition to the influence it exerted on neighbouring countries. Before Morrison sailed to China, he received some Chinese language training with the help of a Chinese teacher - his first opportunity to get to know something about the Chinese people's way of thinking and their characteristics.

Morrison attended Bogue's Gosport Academy for a period of fourteen months before he was assigned to China to acquire the language and translate the Scriptures. He received preliminary tutoring in Chinese from his first Chinese teacher, 'Yong Sam-tak' (容三德), who had just arrived from Canton to study English, and was living at a boarding school in Clapham. An arrangement was made whereby the young Chinese came to reside with Morrison and became his teacher. Together they transcribed the whole of a Chinese manuscript in the British Museum, and a manuscript Latin and Chinese dictionary lent by the Royal Society. Through great efforts, these tasks were accomplished in a few months. It was then that Morrison first experienced the clash between East and West. His Chinese friend 'was of a proud and domineering spirit', and as both were strangers to one another's accustomed etiquette and national courtesies, misunderstandings were inevitable. On one occasion Morrison thoughtlessly threw a piece of paper on which his teacher had written some Chinese characters into the fire, after he had memorised them. The result was an outburst of indignation on Mr Yong's part, and as a protest, he refused to give any more Chinese lessons for three days. To this and other such experiences Morrison patiently submitted for the sake of the great cause involved; and to avoid any repetition of this offence, in the future he had the characters written upon a tin plate, from which they could be easily erased. From Eliza's *Memoirs*, it can be seen that Morrison had complicated feelings for his Chinese teacher. On one hand, he was grateful for Yong's assistance in learning Chinese; on the other hand, owing

to the differences in cultural background, he could not understand Yong's particular mode of thinking, and some of Yong's behaviour did not impress him:

Nov. 5-Yong Sam asked, this evening, if Jesus were a man or a woman. He said that he had seen some kind of figure of a woman in his own country. I cannot determine what he alludes to. He says he has often heard that God has no temper, that he is not angry-that God does not send evil on man-that if there be a storm, or a famine, it is not God who sends it. He says it is folly to pray without using the means-that it is man who makes his heart good. He seems quite fond of talking of God as the great Governor of the universe. I endeavoured to talk of God's creating the heart, and how ungrateful it was not to love him. O that the Lord may open his heart to receive the truth as it is in Jesus! (Eliza Morrison, 1839, p.81)

July 28-From morning to midnight I am engaged, and then there is much left undone. I take great pleasure in learning the Chinese, for which purpose, the books, which, in the good province of God, I obtained in London, are highly serviceable. And I by no means exclude poor Sam's assistance. It was he who first gave me insight into the subject. I feel my heart much knit to him, notwithstanding all his obstinacy and contempt of me. (Ibid. p.149)

The great differences in their cultural background caused Morrison to experience severe culture shock. A typical Chinese literatus paid great respect to his tutor, or instructor, who helped him with his studies, and the Chinese also advocated a sense of humility. These attitudes were derived from the Confucian Analects, which had been passed down from generation to generation for a thousand years. Yong's domineering attitude in teaching Chinese caused Morrison great displeasure, and his Chinese mode of thinking about Jesus also made him appear 'ignorant' in Morrison's eyes.

The above is a brief summary of Morrison's early life and educational background before 1807. He had a strong religious faith which could not easily be altered. It was not only China, a so-called 'heathen' nation, which was attacked by Morrison - any sort of blasphemy was intolerable to him:

Indeed, there is nothing here among the heathen that is a thousandth part so bad as the constant and irrational profanation of the names of the Divine Being, and of sacred things, so common in Europe. They do not, whether in good humour or bad humour, in earnest or jest, call upon Heaven to render them miserable in time and eternity; as wicked men, informed, but not

influenced by the gospel, do in countries called Christian (Memoir, 1808, p.199).

It is to be expected that the Chinese ignorance of 'God' would irritate Morrison. In tracing the origin of this attitude, it was found that David Bogue, his tutor, played an important part in shaping Morrison's desire to be a missionary. Bogue's plan for evangelising China was similar to a monogenecist's view: the Chinese people were originally created by God, but they had lost their connection with God and they needed Christian missionaries to help them renew their links to God. China needed the guidance of Christians and that the country could be 'saved' through Western science and culture, including Christianity. It can be said that his influence on Morrison was life-changing, and that it established a very firm tone in Morrison's feelings about China.

The paradoxes for Morrison, arising from Bogue's views, can already be sensed. Bogue believed that China was 'civilised': it had a systematic written language; books were common among the public; the country had a great deal of intercourse with other countries and its influence was extensive and reached to the surrounding nations. As a civilised country, when China was Christianised, its influence would spontaneously extend to the surrounding 'barbarous' countries. However, if China was to be regarded as civilised, then the problem for Morrison was how to view the civilisation of China without Christian influence.

4.13 Morrison's Activity in China

Following Bogue's instruction, Morrison went to China to start his religious task. On September 8th, he finally landed in Canton. He mentioned in his diary, 'The good hand of God has at length brought me to the place of my appointed labour. Last evening, about eight o'clock, I arrived here. The noise and bustle amidst the working of ships and the rowing of hundreds of boats, in which were thousands of Chinese shouting and calling to each other, were extreme. It was truly the most uncomfortable Sabbath that I had spent from the time of leaving you. ... I said to myself O what can ever

be done with these ignorant, yet shrewd and imposing people?’ (ibid. p.152). In this narrative, the Chinese are described as ‘ignorant, yet shrewd and imposing’. It is evident that Morrison had anticipated a tough situation for his evangelical work in China. The first difficulty he encountered was that no one was willing to tutor him in Chinese, since the Chinese government had forbidden the people to teach the language to foreigners. He asked George Staunton, an official of the East India Company, for assistance, and Staunton helped Morrison connect with a Chinese convert to Roman Catholicism, who became Morrison’s language instructor. With the aid of this tutor, along with his Chinese servants, Morrison gradually acquired fluency in Chinese. Through the arrangement with the servants, Morrison also began to build a Chinese library to supplement his tutorials. That is, some of the boys agreed to secure Chinese books for him, although it was to their potential detriment, since the Qing strictly forbade such transactions. Morrison acquired many valuable books in this way, giving him access to literature on the Chinese classics, philosophy, science and government, but one of the most notable acquisitions was secured by the servant ‘A Tsoi’, who ventured into the city and purchased a forty-volume set of books on the history of China for the missionary’s Chinese library.

During his study, Chinese religions soon attracted Morrison’s attention. On November 1st 1807, he wrote about contemporary popular religion and Buddhism, and this can be regarded as his first encounter with the Chinese religious sect:

They have idols in abundance, which they call Poo-sa [Pusa]...Illuminations, music, and theatrical exhibitions, enter into their religious rites. When they sing Poo-sa, they invite him to one of these entertainments, and place on the altar fruits and sweat-meats [sic], on some special occasions fowls or a roasted pig...On the island of Ho-nan [Henan], opposite to where I live, is a spacious temple, containing a large collection of idols, some of them twenty feet high, and where there are one hundred and forty priests. The priests shave their heads entirely, live only in the temple, observe celibacy, and abstain from all animal food (Hancock, 2008, p.40).

This is mostly an objective account of what Morrison found with no particularly critical comments. But we can see his ‘idols in abundance’ as a

negative comment on Buddhism. In contrast to the Catholic Jesuits, Protestants were strongly opposed to images of God, Jesus, Mary and the saints which were a regular part of Catholic churches. So we can see this antipathy to idols as being especially Protestant reaction, which would not have greatly worried Catholic missionaries. 'O how much need have this people of the missionaries of Jesus!' (Eliza Morrison, 1839, p.177), he concluded. 'In Canton the grossest idolatry prevails' (ibid. p.172). 'The religious rites, & c., of the Chinese are ridiculous and cumbrous' (ibid. p.163). 'So it is that this shrewd and polished people in all their wisdom know not God' (ibid. p.172). It was to this vibrant, diverse, 'pagan' city that Morrison had come in the name, and for the sake, of Christ. He had taken on a tough assignment: he had to preach the Gospel here. But, 'lest we overlook good news from this early period', he told his brother, on 29 November, 'I have, dear Thomas, ever since I left my native shores, experienced from persons with whom I have to do, every mark of civility, and what is called in the world politeness' (ibid. p.180). The hostility Morrison displayed towards Buddhism seemed to appear as soon as he arrived in Canton; he was displeased to see the 'cumbrous' rituals the Chinese performed in temples; to him, the idolatry was ridiculous. However, it was not just Buddhism and Taoism that included 'idolatry'; he noticed another important sect as well. On April 24th, 1808, he wrote:

Low-heen, in describing to me the temples of 孔夫子 Kung-foo-tsze, and the honours or worship paid to him, led us into a long conversation on the impropriety of giving similar worship to a man that they did to God. We allowed that Kung-foo-tsze, or Confucius, as he has been Latinized, was a wise and good man. Low-heen insisted that but for him the Chinese must have been mere brutes, and that not to worship him would be the highest ingratitude. We allowed that he should be esteemed and venerated; but then the Almighty, who was the Creator of the world, created him, and gave him the wisdom which he possessed. He was, to say the most that could be said, but the servant of God; therefore to pay equal honour to him as to God, or worship him instead of God, was altogether indefensible. Low-heen was in a difficulty here. His next resource was to compare Kung-foo-tsze to the Lord Jesus, and to claim the same honour for the Chinese sage that I did for the Saviour. But here again, allowing that Kung-foo-tsze was all that he claimed for him, the character and claims of Jesus were widely different, and vastly greater. Christ was 'God manifest in the flesh.' Kung-foo-tsze was good man, but merely a man. He

regarded only the Chinese, but Jesus extended his regards to the world (ibid. p.207).

From this comparison between Confucius and God, Morrison's fundamentalist attitude can be easily seen. Morrison made no concessions in his discourse concerning a comparison between God and the Chinese philosopher. In my words, this is a 'stage 1' phase – the first phase in Morrison's thinking after coming into contact with Chinese culture and philosophy - and it is predictable. This phase only required a presentation of Protestantism by Morrison; he actively introduced his own religious faith to Chinese folk and there were few clashes. However, when he started dealing with more thoughtful Chinese, the frequency of clashes rose considerably. On July 7th 1808, he wrote in his diary:

My assistants conversed with me at length this evening on the subject of the religion. They were of opinion [*sic*] that the notions of foreigners and of the Chinese are very similar in religious concerns. I acknowledged that there were many truths common to both, particularly respecting the duty of one man to another; but respecting God, our duty to him, and the way in which a sinful creature is accepted of God, they were widely different. I said that they burned candles, offered incense, slew sheep, &c., to make God propitious; but Jesus gave himself a sacrifice, to make atonement for sin. They remarked, with contempt, that those who abounded in those offerings were bad people: good people had no occasion to do so - Kung-foo-tsze did not teach it. There was no occasion to worship God daily, if the heart were good: many of those who worshipped were bad notwithstanding. – that some who worshipped were bad people, was true; but it would not make those good who neglected it. And to speak of those who did not worship God as having a good heart, was unreasonable; it was like saying that a man was a good son, though he neither loved his parents nor obeyed them. They were here rather at a loss for an answer; and asked me if I thought all the men in China were bad men? I said all the men in the world had offended God; that a man might fulfil many duties to his fellow-men, but we owe duties to God, the performance of which is necessary to constitute us good men. They asked me why the Chinese had not the doctrines to which I adhered, and why they were not sent to them of God? (ibid. pp.227-228)

I was unable to find any rationale behind these answers of Morrison's. He was basically expressing himself rather than explaining the issues. He could only ascribe all the achievements of the Chinese to 'God', whom the Chinese had never heard of. The following account of a conversation gives some idea of how Morrison dealt with the questions posed by more thoughtful Chinese:

I asked them why the Chinese were more civilised, and had many temporal blessings which some of the barbarous nations around them had not? They could not tell; but they thought Jesus and Confucius were alike — the one intended for Europe, and the other for China. I urged the striking difference that appears in one atoning for the sins of men, and teaching so largely the way of a sinner's being accepted of God, whilst the other never mentioned God's name, nor taught any thing respecting him. Observing that there was blame on the part of those who were unwilling to learn the right way, - here the conversation dropped (ibid. pp.227-228).

Morrison's argument were subjective and his explanations were opportunist. Instead of viewing the 'pagan' China as a civilised country with its own origins and culture, Morrison ascribed China's 'temporal blessings which some barbarous nations did not have' to a Christian influence, although he did not offer any justifications for this view at that time. As a result of this presumption, neither party could answer the other's questions. The conversation also reveals Morrison's growing attention to Confucian thought and his need to find points of comparison and contrast with Christian thought in order to communicate with thoughtful Chinese. Confucius' wisdom set a moral and intellectual standard in China, the influence of which could be considered comparable to Christ's standing in the West; his writings, to Morrison, were 'given the most unlimited assent, as though inspired by God'. Morrison took the Confucian tradition seriously, while critiquing it thoroughly:

I have now read to the middle of the third of the celebrated Four Books of the great oracle of this empire, Kung-foo-tsze. These have much that is excellent, and some things erroneous. Taken altogether they are, of necessity, miserably defective. He appears to have been an able and upright man; rejected, for the most part, the superstitions of the times, but had nothing that could be called religion to supply their place. On the relative duties betwixt man and man, he found himself able to reason and decide...All his disciples now affect to despise the two religious sects of Fuh and Taou, yet, feeling the defect of the cold system of Kung-foo-tsze, they generally practice the rites prescribed by one or both of these sects. They teach that assistance is to be derived from gods, and hence these gods are sought on various occasions, by prayers and offerings. Over almost every Chinese door in Macao is inscribed, 'The Ruler of Heaven sends down happiness:' or, 'The five Blessednesses enter here' (ibid. pp.281-282).

From 'erroneous' and 'had nothing that could be called religion to supply their place', we can see that Morrison's comments on Chinese religion

were subjective, and there was no strong logic behind. While he consistently and seriously criticised the Confucian Analects, his followers later could be found changing their positions in how they viewed Confucius. One of the main reasons for this can be found in the above paragraph: Confucius appears to have been an able and upright man. The fact that Confucius regarded himself as only a man and not as a god clearly distinguishes the Confucian sect from Buddhism or Daoism. In fact, Confucianism was regarded as a philosophical sect rather than a religious belief by many Chinese. It appears that Morrison and his followers initially turned their fire on Confucius and the Jesuits' tolerance of Chinese converts paying tribute to Confucius; however, they later changed their position by pulling Confucianism to the side of the Christian camp, quoting Confucian statements to attack Buddhism. They were obliged to do this because of the situation they found themselves in: Confucianism was too influential to eradicate in China, but Buddhism contradicted Protestantism more sharply; they therefore chose 'the lesser of the two evils'. Actually, this was exactly the same strategy the Jesuits had adopted several centuries earlier, a strategy called '驅佛近儒' (drive out Buddhism and come closer to Confucianism). The Protestant missionaries had no alternative but to choose the same pathway as the Jesuits, although they attacked their predecessors before they arrived in China.

Actually, there are many interpretations of Confucius' awe of 'destiny' (天³⁹) and his religious pursuits. He regarded himself as a mere man; however, he placed great emphasis on nature's law and encouraged people to have great respect for it. There is no fixed way of understanding Confucius' words on 'destiny', since different readers are bound to have different interpretations of Confucian beliefs, and the missionaries developed their own interpretations which facilitated their evangelical work. Here are some scholars' understandings of '天':

³⁹ There are various possible translations of this term: sky, heaven, celestial, fate etc.

Guo Moruo (郭沫若) interpreted it as ‘自然之天’ (nature) in his work ‘先秦天道观之进展’ (xian qin tian dao guan zhi jin zhan): ‘孔子所说的天，其实是自然，所谓命是自然之数或自然之必然性’ (The ‘destiny’ Confucius talked about was actually ‘nature’. ‘Destiny’ is something that will spontaneously happen according to nature). However, Guo’s interpretation can be refuted by one of Confucius’ sayings: ‘天之將喪斯文也，後死者不得與於斯文也⁴⁰’ (‘Destiny’ takes away rituals/manners, so later generations will not have them). This shows that ‘天’ is not merely nature, and that it will subjectively change things or take them away.

Others regard ‘天’ as ‘宗教之天’ (religion). Confucius said ‘五十所知天命’ (When he has reached 50 years old, a man should know ‘Destiny’). However, this does not necessarily mean that men should have religious beliefs by the time they are in their 50s.

Feng Youlan divided the idea into five categories: ‘物质之天’ (a material heaven), ‘命运之天’ (a heaven of fate), ‘自然之天’ (a heaven of nature), ‘意志之天’ (a heaven of determination), ‘道德之天’ (a heaven of morality), since there are different revelations of ‘天’ in different contexts. His interpretation is still under discussion at the present time.

The Protestant missionaries made careful selections of Confucian sayings in order to justify Christianity in China; for instance, ‘天之將喪斯文也’, mentioned above, could easily be linked to the idea of God’s anger, and they were able to argue that if the Chinese displeased God, there would be disasters. These blurred definitions of Confucian sayings gave Morrison and his colleagues a weapon to utilise and turn against Buddhism.

Actually, Morrison did not misuse Chinese religious and philosophical terms purely as a manipulative strategy that would lead his readers in a certain direction. His inadequate understanding of religions was a more important

⁴⁰ James Legge translated it as ‘If Heaven had wished to let this cause of truth perish, then I, a future mortal, should not have got such a relation to that cause.’ See the link <https://ctext.org/analects/zi-han/ens> (Accessed in November 2018)

reason for this misuse. The fact that his religious knowledge was limited to his own ground affected his comprehension of Chinese religion:

It appears to me that the Roman missionaries have made so much noise about forcing the Chinese to receive the term 天主 Teen-Choo; but then they have brought to them, at the same time, numberless objects of worship, saints and martyrs, perfectly of a piece with their old heathen ideas of the 菩薩 Poo-sa, or demi-deified spirits of departed good men—men who were esteemed so when on earth. The other day I was looking at the Catholic prayer books, translated into Chinese, and was grieved to find that they had been at so much labour to render all the unscriptural jargon, which is addressed to the mother of our Lord, with prayers to holy men and holy women, and for the souls in purgatory (Memoir, p.201).

It appears to me that Morrison was still unaware of the link between ‘菩薩 (Poo-sa)’ and Buddhism, and had absolutely no idea of what the Jesuits had been doing a few centuries previously. He rejected the Catholicism the Jesuits adhered to, and criticised everything which deviated from the Bible. It is unfortunate that he did not attempt to rectify his shallow understanding of Chinese religion, and even more unfortunate that it was this shallow understanding that influenced people who arrived in China after him.

In 1824, Morrison returned to Europe. He visited France, Ireland, Scotland and the principal towns of England, chiefly with a view to exciting more interest among literary and religious circles in the moral condition of the heathen - especially those inhabiting the regions of Eastern Asia. He advocated an attitude of sympathy and benevolence on the part of the Christian churches. One or two examples of the spirit and style of these public addresses may afford the reader some idea of the impression they were calculated to produce. With regard to the intellectual and spiritual condition of the Chinese, Morrison remarks:

To that people, the God of heaven has given an extensive territory, containing large portions of fertile, salubrious, and delightful country; and they possess a knowledge of useful arts, to a degree which supplies all the necessities, and most of the luxuries, of life. In these respects, they require nothing from Europe. They possess also ancient and modern literature in great abundance; and an unlicensed press, and cheap books suited to their taste. With poetry, and music; and elegant compositions; and native ancient classics; and copious histories of their own part of the world; and antiquities, and topographical

illustrations; and dramatic compositions; and delineations of men and manners, in works of fictions; and tales of battles and of murders; and the tortuous stratagems of protracted and bloody civil wars. With all these, and with mythological legends for the superstitious, the Chinese, and kindred nations, are, by the press, most abundantly supplied. Nor is their literature destitute of theories of nature, and descriptions of her various productions, and the processes of the pharmacopolist, and the history and practice of medicine (*The Congregational Magazine*, 1825, p.478).

The first part of this extract reveals his speculative attitude. Morrison briefly mentions the good side of the Chinese empire and people at that time. He attributes their prosperity to God's will. It is worth noting that Morrison mentions the fertility of the country and indicates that China 'required nothing from Europe' in this respect. However, in his narratives on trade and commerce in *The Chinese Repository*, he argued (1840, vol.8, p.615) that 'the trade is a reciprocal exchange of benefits', and criticised the Chinese government for its unwillingness to trade, namely, to buy goods from the UK. It can be said that his narratives vary according to context and actually reflect different representations of orientalism in various aspects. Statements made by Morrison and his colleagues on the subject of the Chinese government and society are discussed in the next chapter, and the paradoxes in their statements are examined in more detail.

Following the paragraph quoted above, Morrison turns his attention to the other side of the coin, beginning his argument as follows:

'What, then, do the Chinese require from Europe? –Not the arts of reading and printing; not merely general education; not what is so much harped on by some philanthropists-civilisation: they require that only which St. Paul deemed supremely excellent, and which it is the sole object of the Missionary Society to communicate –**they require the knowledge of Christ**. For with all their antiquity, and their literature, and their arts and refinement, they are still infatuated idolators; and are given up to vile affections, working at that which is unseemly. Not liking to retain God in their knowledge, they worship and serve the creature rather than the Creator; they are haters of the true God, are filled with all unrighteousness, fornication, and wickedness. With all their civilisation, still, envy and malice, deceit and falsehood, to a boundless extent-with a selfish, ungenerous prudence, and a cold metaphysical inhumanity-are the prevalent characteristics of the people of China.'

'Their well-known backwardness to assist persons in imminent danger of losing their lives by drowning, or otherwise; the cruel treatment of domestic slaves

and concubines in families; the torture both of men and women before conviction in public courts; and the murder of female infants, connived at, contrary to law; are the proofs I offer of the truth of the latter part of my accusation. Their principles are defective, and hence their vicious practice' (*The Congregational Magazine*, 1825, pp.478-479).

In discussing Chinese religion, he inevitably started by comparing Buddhism and Taoism with Christianity. Confucius was also, inevitably, mentioned. Like his predecessors in the 16th century, Morrison categorised Chinese religion into two types. As mentioned earlier, Confucius regarded himself as a tutor, and Confucianism did not obviously conflict with Christianity; some aspects of his system could even be utilised by Christianity, hence it was subjected to fewer attacks than Buddhism and Taoism. From his narratives, it is evident that Morrison directed his fire not only at Chinese 'paganism', but also at the Jesuits. The worship of images, such as St. Mary's portrait or the Cross, still existed in Catholicism, while Protestantism completely rejected the worship of the images. Morrison's colleague, Lowrie, showed similar attitudes to Morrison in his narratives on the Jesuits. These attitudes are described in more detail in the next section. With regard to the above extract, Morrison continues by stating that the philosophy of 'their celebrated ancient sage, Confucius, acknowledges no future state of existence; and, concerning the duties of man to his Maker, presents a complete blank'. He argues that it presents nothing 'beyond the grave' and that 'present expediency is the chief motive of action'. He states that 'of the great and glorious God who is infinitely above, and distinct from, the heavens and the earth, the teaching of Confucius makes no attention; it rises not superior to an obscure recognition of some principle of order in nature, which, when violated, induces present evil'. In his narratives on Chinese philosophy, Morrison first tried to familiarise his Western audience with Chinese culture by making comparisons with Western philosophy. For instance: Morrison found that, according to Chinese culture, the universe operates according to some internal principle. Heaven is the highest power in nature; earth is second to it, and both heaven and earth are superior to the gods. Heaven, earth, gods and

men, is the order recognised by the Chinese. However, at other times, the gods are excluded, and then heaven, earth and men are the three, great and co-equal powers. This atheistical theory, Morrison concluded, 'is at the foundation of the public belief, and influences also the superstitions of the religionists of China, induces in the human mind great pride and impiety, even when superstitious observances are attended to'. Morrison agrees that in some of the most ancient written documents in China, which Confucius collected and edited, 'there is a more distinct recognition of the supreme God, than is to be found in anything that he has thought as his own, or that the learned of China, in subsequent ages, have advanced'; and he believes that 'it is a fact that man, when left to himself, sinks into, never rises from, atheism or idolatry; and the written word of God is necessary to bring him back'. He pointed out that, in addition to the system of Confucius, there were in China two other systems, which make much more use of gods than the Confucian system, and which acknowledge a future state of rewards and punishments. These systems 'enjoin fastings, and prayers, and penances, and masses for the dead, and threaten the wicked with varied punishments, in different hells, in a separate state; or with poverty, or disease, or a brute nature, when they shall be born again into this world'. Morrison introduced these two sects in detail.

He first mentions 'Laou-keun', the founder of the Dao sect. He quotes Laozi's famous saying: 'One produced a Second, Two produced a Third, and Three produced all things', and argues that some Europeans believe this saying was inspired by 'The Triune God of the sacred scriptures'. Morrison comes to the conclusion that some of the Dao doctrines were inspired by Western philosophy from the era of Pythagoras. A similar syncretic approach, as mentioned in the previous chapter, can be found in Morrison's introduction of the Dao sect. Morrison also notes that Laozi's followers represent him as having been incarnate, as a teacher of mankind. He finally introduces the Dao sect's metaphysical ideas on immortality: through austerities and abstractions, the grosser part of human nature will

be attenuated; a divine state will be gradually achieved. Alchemy can also help one to exist without food or respiration.

Morrison subsequently mentions the third class of religionists in China, the 'Fuh-too', or Buddha sect. He notes that Buddhism was introduced to China in the first century, and that they believe in the transmigration of the soul. Buddhists have both priests and priestesses, but neither group receives emoluments. Morrison was aware of the conflicts between Buddhism and Confucianism, and he notes that the followers of Confucius who worked in the government did not employ priests. Morrison also mentions that 'fathers, magistrates, and princes' who worship different gods also worship the image of Confucius, although Confucius clearly claimed himself to be a man and declined the title of sage. Morrison sharply points out that the same Chinese philosophers who laughed at the religionists in their own country still observed rites and superstitions, even worshipping other religious sects. Local Chinese magistrates and governors of provinces often engaged in image worship and made large contributions towards the support of priests, the repair of temples and the making of new gods. He finally exclaims, 'Oh, how absurd! Man creates and dignifies the gods that he worships! Alas! My brethren, how long shall the millions of eastern Asia continue to inherit lies, vanities, and things wherein there is no profit? When shall they come from the ends of the earth, as the prophet speaks, and acknowledge their folly, and abandon their idols?' (Eliza Morrison, 1839, vol.2, p.275)

Through his speech, we can see that Morrison criticised Chinese people and religion for the purpose of propagating Christianity. The Chinese were depicted as envious, malicious, deceitful and selfish, and the tenets of Buddhism and Taoism were regarded as 'lies, vanities, and things wherein there is no profit'. Morrison's severely critical attitude towards the Chinese people, expressed on many occasions in his diaries and speeches, requires further examination here. There appear to be three reasons for this attitude:

Firstly, when Morrison arrived in China in 1807 for the first time, he already had some unpleasant memories of Chinese people. In his letters he mentions that he had been 'defrauded' several times by his Chinese servants and was quite angry about it. In a letter to Joseph Reynier (1807), he wrote:

I cannot board myself. At present, I have a boy to run on errands, make a bed etc., but he does not consider it his duty to bring a little water; for that there must be a labourer, who is called a 'coo-lee'; neither the boy nor the coo-lee will cook. I must then, if by myself, have three servants. That will not do. But I forget—a comprador, whose business it is to buy provisions, must, at the commencement of his services, have a fee, somewhat like entrance-money.

In another 'Letter to his Relatives (1807)', he wrote:

The Chinese, amongst whom I am, are, wandering in ignorance of God and his Christ. In every house, shop, and boat are burned, at morning and evening, little pieces of wood like matches, as a kind of offering to idols. They have a number of supposed gods. Good officers of government, called Mandarins, when they die, are sometimes supposed to be gods. I saw a Chinese the other evening worship the moon, by bowing and prostrating himself; and soon after he worshipped a bad being, or the devil.

It is a source of pleasure, and it is, moreover, cause of painful feelings, to witness daily irreligious men sacrificing every thing to worldly gain; and religious devotees around me falling prostrate to dumb idols, the work of men's hands. I say it is a source of pleasure, in the midst of this, to know myself the living and the true God, and Jesus Christ, whom He hath sent; but painful is it to witness the conditions of others.

I have not yet obtained any regular assistance in learning the language. The people are jealous and deceitful. One has defrauded me of thirty-two dollars, and when I detected him, was proceeding to cheat me out of twenty-two more. What can I do? I could be angry with him, but that would not mend the matter. I am obliged to bear it.

The material in these letters helps us to understand why Morrison referred to the Chinese as 'cunning', 'jealous', and 'inquisitive' in his 'Letter to Rev. A. Waugh, D.D' (1807).

The second reason might be the Chinese government's restrictions on foreigners' residence at that time. He complained in his another 'Letter to Joseph Hardcastle (1807)' that:

Now, it only remains for the Chinese to forbid me staying here, and the Portuguese at Macao. I trust the Lord will provide me a place of residence amongst this people. The human probability is, that I shall pass unnoticed. The

Romish clergy at Macao, Sir George informs me, have it amongst them that I am come out to oppose them: and that there they are as rigid, if not more so, than in Romish countries in Europe.

In the same letter, he mentions again his unpleasant experience with his servants:

In addition to this heavy expense, I have to keep a boy, at a cost of eight dollars monthly; find candles; purchase the little furniture necessary for the rooms; obtain a few Chinese books; and there is, moreover, the expense of a tutor. The Chinese with whom Europeans deal in purchasing the necessities of life are ever watching to take every advantage. A person whom I employed to obtain a few books from within the city, endeavoured to bribe my boy to aid him in defrauding me. He succeeded to the amount of thirty dollars.

The last reason for his attack on the Chinese character might be his biased views of religion. He believed Christianity to be the only orthodox religion. All pagans were backward and the people lived in 'darkness'. From his letter to his relatives, we can already see that he felt 'pleasure' in knowing that he himself believed in the true God, but that he found it 'painful' to see the conditions of others. As mentioned above, from the moment Morrison arrived in Canton, he was already referring to the Chinese as 'ignorant, shrewd and imposing'. His prejudice against Chinese religion might be the most important reason for this.

It thus appears that Morrison's depictions of the character of the Chinese people had a religious basis and motive. These repeated pointed remarks are illustrations of the views of a monogenecist: although the Chinese enjoyed wealth distributed by God, Morrison considered them to be inferior and to need the guidance and control of white European Christians. He thought their condition had been caused by some degenerative process, such as their acceptance of paganism (Buddhism), and their isolation from Christian civilisation. The Chinese were a misled race, blinded by cumbrous idolatry and superstitions. They needed a thorough religious reform to save them from their sins.

Indeed, these typical representations of the Chinese religions set a tone for his colleagues who arrived in China later, and they spared no efforts to find, or even to fabricate, negative sides to these religious sects, which they

then presented in *The Chinese Repository*. This again is an indication of their religious radicalism. Morrison and his colleagues also spared no efforts in criticising the Jesuits' activities in China, claiming that the 'spirit of accommodation' they adopted in their evangelical work did not reflect true Christianity. However, in their practical missionary work in China, the Protestant missionaries found it difficult to get Chinese to accept Christianity if they did not modify Christianity and domesticate it into the Chinese culture to some extent. They made concerted efforts to draw a clear distinction between themselves, as Protestants, and the Jesuits, only to find that they had ended up compromising their own doctrines to some extent in the same way that the Jesuits had.

4.2. First Embodiment of the Protestants' Fundamentalism: on Attacking 'Catholicism'

It is known that the Jesuits were one of the groups that arrived earliest in China. Some of them, such as Matteo Ricci, were quite influential in the cultural exchange between China and the West. As mentioned in the previous chapter, the Jesuits also introduced the Chinese drama *The Orphan of Zhao* to the West, and this work later attracted the attention of Voltaire. In the 19th century, the Protestant missionaries had to confront and make statements about their predecessors' works. In order to demonstrate how they did this, I have selected a book written by Lowrie, and divided it into three periods for the purposes of discussion: before the early Qing Period; the early Qing Period, and the post-Kangxi Period.

4.21 On the Jesuits before Yongzheng's Reign

In the 13th volume of *The Chinese Repository* (1844), there is a major article discussing the history of the residence of Christians in China. Because of its length, it was split into five segments (pp.113-123, pp.466-477, pp.537-552, pp.578-603, and pp.641-654). Although the author is not named in *The Chinese Repository*, I was able to find his name from the *List of Articles*

and Subject Index of Chinese Repository. He was Walter M. Lowrie, a member of the American Presbyterian Church who arrived in China on May 19th, 1844 (*Missionary Register*, p.50). This article was later edited and published as a book called *The Land of Sinim* (1845). In the previous chapter, Lowrie's views on the translation of 'God' into Chinese were discussed. It appears that he reached quite a high level in his study of Chinese literature and culture. Opinions of the Chinese typical of Westerners at that time can be found in his *Memoir* (1849): he advocated radical change in the literature and literary style of China, since it 'is not the language of the people, nor the nature' (Lowrie, 1849, p.271). The literature of China at that time reminded him of the state of European literature before the Reformation. He also criticised his Chinese teacher for worshipping the images of the sages, saying that he 'did not use images of Jesus Christ. The Roman Catholics used a crucifix, but that I thought this was wrong, and that it was folly to worship any image' (Lowrie, 1849, p.269). One obtains a strong sense of Lowrie's Protestantism from his writings in the *Memoir*. His Presbyterian background appears to have been the main cause of Lowrie's energetic rejection of the standpoint of the Catholic Jesuits and his active encouragement of the reformation of Chinese culture.

The first segment of Lowrie's article focuses mainly on 'the land of sinim [sic]' (Lowrie, 1844, pp.113-123). He endeavours to prove that the land of Sinim referred to in the Bible is China, rather than Egypt or Arabia. His aim in doing so was to establish a justification for preaching the Gospel in China, together with the authority and universality of Christianity. As mentioned earlier, this strategy is a kind of syncretism. Lowrie left an anticipatory remark at the end of this part of the article, saying that there were 'peculiar difficulties' in the missionary tasks in China, and 'a special promise of God' to China was 'support and encouragement in labor not to be lightly regarded' (ibid. p.123).

In the second segment of the article (*ibid.* p.476), Lowrie briefly mentions the three distinct epochs of the Roman Catholic Missions in China: the thirteenth century, the seventeenth century and the eighteenth century. There were few records of the first epoch to go on, and Lowrie passes over it with a few sketches. The Protestant writers themselves believed that Marco Polo had been to China, and that 'Romish' missionaries arrived soon after Polo's stay in China, which was around 1280 (Lowrie, 1844, p.476). Among them, John de Monte Corvino features most largely: his date of birth and the year when he travelled to China are supplied.⁴¹ By 1305, after 'indefatigable labors' (*ibid.* p.477), John had baptised nearly six thousand persons. He had also purchased one hundred and fifty children. Baptised and instructed in Latin and Greek, these children were taught to sing the services of the church, which greatly pleased the Emperor. When the Ming dynasty came into power in 1369 [sic], the 'Romish' missionaries lost ground, since the new government was hostile to foreigners. Nothing further concerning them could be found by the Protestant writers (*ibid.* pp.476-477).

It can be seen that the introduction to the first period of the Catholic missionaries' work in China did not include much information. Owing to the earliness of period and the lack of information, Lowrie deals with this age very carefully and makes few comments. Other points worth mentioning here are that the Protestant writers acknowledged Marco Polo's visit to, and stay in, China. However, the authenticity of the materials they based their study of his travels on is still a controversial issue in academia today. Furthermore, the word 'Romish' seems indicative of the Protestants' negative attitude towards their Catholic predecessors.

The second period in the history of Roman Catholic missions in China lasted for nearly two hundred years. In the third segment of the article that appears in the book (Lowrie, 1844, pp.537-552), Lowrie gives his readers many details of the missionaries' stays in China from the late Ming to the

⁴¹ He was born in Apulia in 1247 and went to China in 1292.

early Qing period (1552-1724). He first briefly mentions several unsuccessful attempts made by Christians to enter China, which happened in 1556, 1575 and 1579 (ibid. p.538). He then introduces Matteo Ricci: the facts of his life are presented in detail and his achievements in China are regarded as successful. When he died in 1610, he was buried 'with much pomp and solemnity' (ibid. p.539). The Jesuits extolled him as 'a man possessed of every virtue' (ibid. p.539). Interestingly, at the end of his discussion, Lowrie quotes a Roman Catholic writer's depiction of Ricci (ibid. p.540). This is placed at the bottom of the page and appears in smaller characters:

This Jesuit was active, skilful, full of schemes and endowed with all the talents necessary to render him agreeable to the great, or to gain the favor of princes; but at the same time so little versed in matters of faith, that as the bishop of Conon said, it was sufficient to read his work *On the True Religion*, to be satisfied that he was ignorant of the first principles of theology. Being more a politician than a theologian, he found the secret of remaining peacefully in China. The kings found in him a man full of complaisance; the pagans a minister who accommodated himself to their superstitions; the mandarins a political courtier skilled in all the trickery of courts; and the devil a faithful servant, who, far from destroying, established his reign among the heathen, and even extended it to the Christians. He preached in China the religion of Christ according to his own fancy; that is to say, he disfigured it by a faithful mixture of pagan superstitions, adopting the sacrifices offered to Confucius and ancestors, and teaching the Christians to assist and to cooperate at the worship of idols, provided they only addressed their devotions to a cross covered with flowers, or secretly attached to one of the candles which were lighted in the temples of the false gods.

-Anecdotes de la Chine, tom. I., pref. PP. vi, vii.⁴²

Not many articles in *The Chinese Repository* have such a long footnote. The footnote presents a sharp contrast between Ricci's success in China and his unrelated role of being a mere politician in the country. His concession to Chinese customs in the way he preached the Gospel was considered intolerable by Lowrie; the tactics he adopted were seen as unacceptable. The sharp contrast also lays the foundation for a discussion that appears later in the book.

⁴² The reference shown by *The Chinese Repository* is hypothesised as being *Anecdotes sur l'etat de la religion dans la Chine*, by Michel Villermables, published in 1733.

Lowrie's motivation in selecting this quotation can be easily detected. As mentioned above, Lowrie was a member of the Presbyterian Church and adhered firmly to Protestantism in his outlook. He could not tolerate the worship of the crucifix by Catholics, let alone accept Chinese rituals carried out for religious purposes. The stereotypical view he had of Catholics influenced his selection of the above quotation. He chose to use this angle to depict Matteo Ricci, a well-known representative of the Jesuits. By contrast, the other first-hand observer of the Jesuits in the 20th century, Dunne, had high praise for Ricci. As a Jesuit himself, Dunne (1962), in his book, claims that Ricci was 'attempting to restore the genuine ideal of Christianity as the leaven of the world; to renew the authentic character of the world mission of Christianity; to revive methods of cultural adaption which had played a prominent part in the earlier centuries of Christian expansion' (Dunne, 1962, p.13). Dunne also mentions the policy of accommodation that was operating in the early centuries – it was the well-known discipline of the *arcana* (ibid. p.5). This is the concept that scripture accommodates, or makes allowances for, the original audience's language and general level of understanding (McGrath, 1998).

Another observer, C. W. Allan (1975), mentions other facts about Ricci that illustrate his cultural adaptation to China: in the world map Ricci drew, he put the Chinese empire in the centre to accommodate the Chinese imagined idea of the world (Allan, 1975, p.34); he did not confine himself to the *literati*, instead, he gave much of his time to ordinary folk and welcomed any opportunity to present the Gospel to willing hearers. Allan adds that 'his tact and courtesy won all alike, and he was honoured and respected by all classes and society' (ibid. p.54). With regard to the worship of ancestors and of Confucius, Allan believes that Ricci had carefully studied Chinese literature and questioned many thoughtful men on the subject, reaching the conclusion that these observances were merely 'expressions of respect, and had no real religious content' (ibid. p.56). Allan thus presents Ricci as far more than a strategist betraying Christian values

in an unscrupulous way in order relentlessly to pursue his own personal ambitions. Rather, he was prepared to compromise with Chinese customs and habits in order to get closer to ordinary Chinese folk, and this was regarded as a considerate rather than a utilitarian approach. To conclude, the above two authors appear to regard the compromise Ricci made with Chinese rites as a type of 'domestication' of Christianity. Through communicating with ordinary folk and making things easier for them to understand, Ricci rendered Christianity more accessible to them. His strategy was in fact in line with that of the early Christian expansionists. Domesticating Christianity into a local context was considered an innovation. Rather than showing him as an unprincipled politician, Dunne depicted Ricci as a member of a 'generation of giants'. Through his tactics and knowledge, Ricci successfully eradicated the distrust the Chinese had of foreigners, a legacy of the 'Spanish and Portuguese freebooters from the 16th century' (ibid. p.26), and thus his achievements during his stay in China were remarkable.

4.22 The Turning Point: Early Qing Period

According to Lowrie, the missionaries were treated well by the first two Qing emperors: Shunchi (Shunzhi, 順治) and Kanghi (Kangxi, 康熙). Owing to the scientific knowledge of these Christians, Emperor Kangxi (who reigned from 1661-1722) received them with great favour: Lowrie mentions that Kangxi advanced these missionaries to the highest offices, and even asked them to send to Europe for additional associates (Lowrie, 1844, p.544). On one occasion, the governor of Hangchau (Hangzhou, 杭州) commenced a persecution against the missionaries. As a last resort, they appealed to the Emperor, and after some time, in 1692, the Emperor issued his celebrated⁴³ edict, declaring that the Christians' religion

⁴³ In fact, Kangxi's edict was in contrast to the religious intolerance in Europe, and it attracted the attention of European scholars. As mentioned in Chapter 2, Gottfried Wilhelm Leibniz, who tried to heal the vicious theological and political strife in Europe, found China a good example of how to reconcile different religions. In seeking a middle ground of compatibility with the Catholics and Protestants, Chinese beliefs could be fruitfully invoked. Kangxi's edict contrasted starkly with Louis

contained nothing hurtful, but was good and useful, and on no account should it be opposed or hindered. The power of the Christians in China reached its peak during Kangxi's reign: it was said that 'in 1703, they numbered 100 churches, and 100, 000 converts in the province of Nanking alone' (ibid. p.545).

Intermingled with his accounts of the Christians' activities in China, Lowrie also inserted references to contemporary affairs in Europe. He mentions that Louis XIV had taken the throne in France, and that both the King and his ministers were eager to extend the dominion of the Pope to China. They selected and sent men of outstanding talents, and spared no expense to provide them with everything they needed to accomplish their mission. However, in the late 17th century, Pope Innocent XI decided to condemn the Jesuits for their insistence that the Chinese rites performed in honour of the ancient sages and deceased ancestors were purely civil and could be lawfully performed by Christian converts. In 1703, Pope Clement XI also issued a decree that was detrimental to the Jesuits, and in 1715, issued another one, although this one was less severe. The decree of 1703 was carried to China by Tournon, and that of 1715 by Mazzabarba. Lowrie reports that neither of them pleased the Jesuits, and both of them offended the Emperor.

The above passage indicates the Emperor Kangxi's change in attitude. He imprisoned Tournon, and although he received Mazzabarba with courtesy, he granted none of his requests. In the same year, he issued an edict forbidding any missionary to remain without a patent from himself, which was given only after a strict examination. In 1707, several missionaries were 'driven out of China by order of the emperor, and others were kept in irons until their death' (Lowrie, 1844, p.549). However, the death of Kangxi in 1722 meant that the Jesuits had lost their best friend and most powerful ally, and the situation for them became even worse. In a decree issued in

XIV's revocation of the Edict of Nantes in 1685, which had protected the rights of Protestants in France for almost a century. Leibniz called Kangxi 'a prince of almost unparalleled merit' (Spence, 1999, p.84).

1724 by Emperor Yungching (Yongzheng, 雍正), those already in Peking were retained in the service of the Emperor, and the rest were sent to Macao; they were strictly prohibited from making any effort to propagate any influential religion. The report states that 'more than three hundred churches were destroyed, and more than three hundred thousand converts left without pastors' (ibid. p.550). Persecutions followed, and the members of 'a leading and distinguished family who had embraced Christianity, were loaded with chains, and treated with so much severity that three of them died in prison'. The remainder were 'dispersed through the provinces under sentence of perpetual banishment'. The formidable treatment the Jesuits underwent seems to have evoked Lowrie's sympathy.

The power of the Catholics was therefore undermined in the late years of Kangxi's reign, and completely collapsed when his son, Yongzheng, took the throne. In the third segment of his article, Lowrie quotes various statements made by the Protestant missionaries about the Jesuits. These statements include many negative expressions. The implication of these various expressions of disapproval is that the Catholics had betrayed the true spirit of the Gospel when they were preaching it, and as a result they deserved the ill treatment they received in later years. In his comments on the success of the Christian mission in Kangxi's early years (Lowrie, 1844, p.546), Lowrie admits that the Jesuits were the first successful missionaries. However, the Jesuits 'chose to esteem the honors paid to Confucius, and to deceased ancestors'. This was deemed by Lowrie to be 'culpable conduct'. The Jesuits also taught the Chinese that 'there was but little difference between Christianity and their own beliefs' (ibid. p.546). Lowrie's implication is that the reason the Jesuits experienced the appalling treatment described above was because they propagated an unorthodox gospel.

In the final part of the third segment (ibid. p.550), Lowrie comments:

Knowing as we do the character of the Jesuits, which has made their name synonymous with deception, ambition and selfishness, and which led, not only

to their expulsion from Japan and China, but to their suppression by every monarch in Europe, and by the pope himself although they were the firmest support of his throne, we receive all their statements with large allowances, and reject their miracles.

This paragraph confirms the view that the Jesuits' intentions were not entirely honourable, as mentioned above, and Lowrie finally adds that 'zeal and devotion are not peculiar to the true faith' (Lowrie, 1844, p.551). Chinese converts still did not have sufficient knowledge of Christianity, which was an unsatisfactory situation for them.

It was somewhat unexpected to find that Lowrie, a Presbyterian, saw the 'Principle of Accommodation' as a synonym for 'deception' and 'selfishness'. The roots of Presbyterianism lie in the European Reformation of the 16th century, and John Calvin was an influential figure involved in it. Calvin was also a key developer of the 'accommodation' principle.

Actually, the strategy of 'accommodation' seems to have been the only option for missionaries in China before the 20th century. In establishing elementary mission schools in China, the Protestant missionaries had no choice but to take into account Chinese cultural values in the form and content of the primary school curriculum. At one period, opposition arose to mingling Chinese cultural values in the curriculum: some missionaries argued that schools diverted needed funds and energy away from the more important task of saving souls; education secularised missions and diluted the evangelical purpose, so that these people were strongly against it. However, owing to the indifference the Chinese showed towards Christian literature and the Gospel, the missionaries were obliged to seek other channels through which they could communicate with the 'pagans'. Teaching Chinese culture was one of the channels through which they endeavoured to reach local Chinese.

With the goal of saving souls on their shoulders, the Protestant missionaries arrived in China with strong ambitions and enthusiasm, only to find a society based on realism where Christianity was apparently not needed. By the 19th century, China had become a bureaucratic society in

which the 'demand for education stemmed not merely from the lure of the civil-service examinations, key to upward social mobility, but from the rewards for literacy to be found in the marketplace and in everyday society' (Rawski, 1988, chapter 9, p.137). In China, even ordinary households relied on written contracts and documents for purchases, sales, loans, land rentals etc. Rawski argues that 'evidence of a network of privately financed schools, a clearly defined curriculum, and a supplementary network of charitable schools testifies to the fact that schooling was available for ordinary Chinese' (Rawski, 1979) in the 19th century. It can be said that the endowment of education was a worthwhile and noble activity in the eyes of the Chinese; the names of donors of charitable schools were honoured and listed on plaques commemorating their good deeds. For the Chinese, 'the mere act of the gathering of younger members together and providing them with an education is the wisest and best contribution that one could make' (Rawski, 1988, chapter 9, p.137). After a careful observation of the Chinese attitude towards education, the missionaries made a plan to establish schools. What frustrated them was the indifference Chinese showed towards them. There are missionary records showing the pervasive indifference or hostility that their efforts encountered among the Chinese. In the 1850s, the missionaries offered free tuition, books, rice and clothing to students, but were still 'barely able to gather a few pupils into their schools' (Wisner, p.481). The Chinese were not interested in obtaining knowledge outside the Chinese classics: many of them left as soon as they had 'gone through some of their own classics and obtained a smattering of English'. A report in *The Chinese Repository* also indicated that one school had only five or six pupils who had been there for more than two years. Education, valued in the Chinese milieu, had to meet Chinese standards in order to attract students. This salient point left no option for the Protestant missionaries.

Although they were reluctant to hire native teachers to instruct the classes at their schools and to adopt traditional Chinese primers, in the end the

missionaries had to accept the reality of the situation: 'if we expect to commend ourselves and our schools to the Chinese, we must respect their ideas as to what is necessary to be a scholar'⁴⁴. In fact, few missionaries had the linguistic skills needed to teach in Chinese, and they could not provide alternative textbooks to the ones used in Chinese schools. They were therefore obliged to hire native teachers. The Chinese teachers they hired were not only required to teach their own classes on a regular basis; they also had to help and instruct classes under an English-speaking teacher. In order to avoid being accused of betraying the true spirit of Christianity, the English-speaking missionary teachers tried to recreate the Christian tracts in the style of the Trimetrical Classic (三字經), with the idea that the huge popularity of the original might help in the dissemination of the Christian Gospel. The missionaries observed that to the Chinese the saving of 'ling hun' (soul, 靈魂) signified the Buddhist notion of salvation that involved the separation of the soul from the body, in contrast to the Christian idea of the resurrection of the body. In the absence of a clear alternative, however, the Christian Trimetrical Classic continued to use this phrase. The Buddhist terms for Heaven (tiantang, 天堂) and Hell (Diyu, 地獄) were also widely used. The Protestant missionaries allowed this on the assumption that Buddhist terms incorporated into the Gospel at least conveyed a religious meaning.

It can be seen from the above accounts that, in their contact with the Chinese people, the Protestant missionaries could not help but yield to reality. The Jesuits' betrayal of the 'true Christian spirit' and their tolerance of Chinese traditions was actually occurring among the Protestants as well. Actually, the missionaries' tolerance of the mingling of Buddhism terms with the words of the Gospel caused further confusion among the Chinese literati, who misunderstood it to be an unorthodox sect of Buddhism, and later a book called '辟邪紀實' (A record of facts to ward off heterodoxy/evilness, 1861) was written. This book distorted the image of

⁴⁴ 'Remarks, China Review, 23: 212 (1892).

Christianity among the Chinese still further, and is discussed in the next chapter.

4.23 Predicament during the Post-Kangxi Period

The fourth segment of Lowrie's article consists of 25 pages and deals with the third period of the Catholics' stay in China – the period after Kangxi's death (Lowrie, 1844, pp.578-602). As distinct from the previous segment of the article, the focus in this segment is on the torment the Catholics went through and the courage and fortitude they demonstrated in this tough environment. Furthermore, the achievements of the Catholics are praised by Lowrie. After the death of Emperor Kangxi, the conditions for propagating Christianity in China worsened, although on the 10th November, 1785, the new Emperor Qianlong issued a royal order, giving all foreigners the choice of either remaining in Peking in the service of the Emperor, or being conveyed at his expense to Canton, and leaving China. Lowrie attributes this deed of the Emperor to 'some unexplained reasons'⁴⁵. In general, the missionaries had a wretched situation in which to propagate their religion.

In the first half of this segment of the article, Lowrie focuses mainly on the achievements of the Catholics in China and the perseverance they showed in accomplishing their religious tasks. Some figures were mentioned specifically and praised. Contrary to the researcher's expectations, Lowrie's evaluation was found to be fairly positive.

The Catholic missionaries tried various methods of avoiding persecution by Chinese officials. They were helped by Chinese converts, adopted Chinese garb and the Chinese mode of dressing the hair. The missionary would make his way to his appointed field, sometimes 'on foot', sometimes by

⁴⁵ According to other references found (Shi, 2006), there were two reasons for issuing this royal order: firstly, it was the 50th anniversary of Qianlong's reign. In order to show his benevolence to the public, he might have decided to free the imprisoned missionaries. Secondly, the newly arrived French missionary Nicolas-Joesph Raux played an important role in persuading the Emperor to issue the order. He was favoured by the Emperor; therefore, his words might have influenced Qianlong's decision to set the missionaries free.

'boat', sometimes like 'a rich man in his sedan chair', and sometimes 'under the guise of an officer in his chariot'. If they were accosted, they either 'feigned deafness', or professed that they 'did not understand the dialect of the questioner' (ibid. p.579). Lowrie then goes on to describe the contrast between the contemporary situation in which the Protestant missionaries found themselves and the situation of their predecessors from the 17th century onwards. At that time, the country was 'opened to them'; the monarch 'smiled upon them'; the nobles of the land 'bowed to them'; and the rich and the great 'flocked to their churches' (ibid. p.580).

It seems that these few passages not only describe how much progress the Catholics had made when they were in China, but also reflect the gloomy situation the Protestants found themselves in. The Protestants were therefore inevitably influenced by a feeling of empathy for their predecessors. They began to express fewer criticisms of the Jesuits in their writings and instead placed more emphasis on the hardships the Catholics endured during this period.

Another article from *The Chinese Repository* is quoted here as further evidence of the unhappy situation of the Protestant missionaries in 19th century China. It was written by Charles Gutzlaff and is taken from the third volume (1834) of the *Repository*: the name of the article is 'Propagation of the Gospel in China'. In this article, Gutzlaff mentions that it was at that time twenty-seven years since the first Protestant missionary arrived in China.⁴⁶ While all other missions in the world had made rapid progress, the Chinese missions 'still have to look with sorrow' (Gutzlaff, 1834, p.244). Gutzlaff attributes this situation to a fear of arousing the jealousy of the Chinese government that had effectively 'paralysed' the efforts of the Protestant missionaries. He continues by stating that 'we have trembled at the persecutions which the Romanists underwent, in which the religion of the 'Lord of heaven' was proscribed; and we nearly feared that the pure gospel would share the same fate' (ibid. p.245). In this respect Gutzlaff

⁴⁶ Robert Morrison, the first British Protestant missionary, arrived in Canton in 1807.

therefore concurs with Lowrie's viewpoint, which is that their fear of the Chinese government, along with a mordant attitude towards Catholicism, was having a detrimental effect on the missionaries' work.

Lowrie then proceeds to discuss the achievements of the Roman Catholic missionaries. Their most successful missions had been in Fujian, Shanxi and Sichuan (Lowrie, 1844, p.581). He gives more details about these missions and gives credit to the missionaries: for instance, he mentions that in 1779, although the famine in Sichuan killed many citizens, it also 'carried many to heaven'. The dying children of heathen parents were baptised. It is reported that in three years, they baptised one hundred thousand infants, which 'aroused the compassion and excited the liberality of their countrymen in France'. The bishop even said 'it is certain that in these three provinces there die every year one hundred thousand infants who shall never see God' (ibid. p.584). The royal edict against the Roman Catholics issued in 1784 made Sichuan the worst place for foreigners to stay. The church suffered most severely there. Lowrie includes a letter from Dufresse, a member of the Sichuan mission, and comments that the lamentations of this letter 'came from a sincere heart', and that they are 'touching in the extreme' (ibid. p.587):

Alas! China is now deprived of its missionaries. How many infants must die without baptism, and adults without the sacraments! How many righteous must fall, while there shall be none to lead them back! How many heathen must fail of conversion! What superstitions must now prevail! No more sacraments! No more preaching! No more prayers and instructions! No more exhortation to good works, but idolatry resumes its ancient seat!

By this point in the article, Lowrie's attitude towards the Catholics has shifted from one of accusation to one of sympathy. In the next few pages he analyses more of the obstacles the Catholics encountered in converting pagans: the pagan ceremonies performed at the funerals of the dead and the marriage customs in China (ibid. p.589).

Organising betrothal parties for children at a very early age was one of the customs in China, so if the parents of the daughter became converts, while

the parents of the son remained pagans, a great difficulty arose. For Lowrie, it was the 'most common and the most annoying cause of troubles', since the daughter's parents would make many efforts to break off the engagement. In the fifth segment of the article, in which Lowrie talks about the Protestants' own stories in China at that time, he states three obstacles the Protestants encountered, one of which was 'the disposition of the people, or rather, the settled policy of the government' (p.650). It can be seen that the entrenched bias of the Chinese caused problems for the Protestants as well. The fact that the Protestant missionaries encountered the same difficulties as their predecessors in attempting to eradicate ingrained thinking from the minds of the Chinese people meant that their criticisms of their predecessors were milder than they would otherwise have been. In fact, they tended to show a sympathetic attitude. As a result, there is little difference in their discourses on this topic and we can view the Jesuits and the Protestants as a single group in this respect. Lowrie continues in praise of Dufresse, the member of the Sichuan mission mentioned above, for his piety and zeal. He adds details of the suffering and loss the Catholics underwent after Kangxi's death. Now a third party is involved - Lowrie starts to turn his fire on the Chinese government. He writes that 'the anger of the higher officers knew no bounds', and backs up his point by quoting the words of one officer: 'these wretches dispute about the possession of the country already, though it belongs to our great emperor' (Lowrie, 1844, p.592). Chinese converts were also treated badly by the government, with some being imprisoned, and others sentenced to wear the *cangue* for life. Again Dufresse is mentioned for his remarks: 'the government is fatigued with efforts to destroy Christianity... How shortsighted are the best of men' (ibid. p.593).

In the concluding part of his discussion of the Catholics, Lowrie says that 'it is always unpleasant to blame where there is much to praise' (ibid. p.595). The Catholics were blamed, of course, for exaggerating their achievements

in China: for instance, the Protestants believed the Jesuits' claims regarding the number of Chinese they had managed to convert to Christianity were enormously exaggerated. Some of the Catholic missionaries were already preaching the Gospel only three or four months after their arrival, despite an insufficient knowledge of the Chinese language and a complete lack of understanding of the great differences between Christianity and Chinese religions and belief systems (ibid. pp.598-601). In addition, the attacks on the Protestants by Catholic writers evoked Lowrie's criticism as well. The Anglo-Chinese college built by the Protestants in Malacca was depicted by the Catholics as 'pompous' and 'pretended' (pretentious). In addition, the Protestant minister of the school was accused of being ignorant of the existence of the Catholic translator (Premaré) of the Chinese grammar they were using (ibid. p.596). Unsurprisingly, these statements were refuted by Lowrie. However, in general, throughout the 25 pages of this section, many positive comments can still be found on the Jesuits.

The previous paragraphs have revealed that the helping hand the Jesuits lent to the Chinese people and the courage they showed in the face of persecution by the government were included in Lowrie's article and praised. From the researcher's point of view, observing at second hand, there appear to have been many points of similarity between the achievements of the Protestants and the Catholics, as shown in the previous section, and the angle Lowrie adopted in praising the Jesuits was also used in his references to his contemporaries, the Protestants. However, Lowrie's article also implies that, in addition to making a similar contribution to their predecessors, the 19th century Protestants went further: they preached the most orthodox gospel, were more proficient in languages⁴⁷ and were more down-to-earth: Morrison and his dictionary

⁴⁷ The Jesuits' proficiency in the Chinese language can be seen from another perspective: the Catholics developed a more hierarchical attitude towards Christianity. Priests functioned as intermediaries and interpreted the Bible for the public. Hence, it can be seen that the Jesuits never attempted to translate the Bible. The Protestants, on the other hand, were endeavouring to make it possible for every individual to get into direct contact with God, so they were keen to translate the

were highly praised; Bridgman arrived in China, followed by additional helpers from America. When the *Treaty of Nanking* was signed, five ports in China were forced to open to foreigners, and there were more Protestant missionaries ready to enter China. In the last segment of his article, Lowrie also expressed his own religious beliefs, which help to explain his views on Catholic doctrines:

1. The heathen, who die after they come to years of discretion without having heard of Jesus, cannot be saved.
2. It is no crime not to believe in him of whom they have not heard. They are condemned because they do not act according to the light of nature which they possess. They are justly condemned. But their punishment is by no means severe as that of those who have heard of Christ, and yet have refused to believe, who know their duty better, and do it not.
3. The children of heathen parents, who die before they have committed actual sin, it is believed are saved by the merits of Jesus Christ. (Lowrie, 1844, p.645).

These remarks can be regarded as disapproval of what Catholics did to save infants. They also indicate that the Protestants had more rigorous criteria for converts: they should not merely understand the simpler doctrines of religion; in addition, they needed to have a love for the truth, to repent of sin, to trust in the merits of Christ alone for their justification before God, and to consecrate the whole man to his service (ibid. p.646). As Lowrie himself foresaw, adopting these criteria would not result in many converts, for they required too much. It was 'very easy to become a Roman Catholic, but too hard to be a Protestant' (ibid. p.646). Lowrie then turns to the five tactics employed by the Protestants to achieve their religious goals in China: preaching the Gospel, producing a perfect translation of the word of

Bible and to create translating tools, primarily a dictionary, at that time. The problem was thus not one of linguistic competence, but one of differing priorities set by the two groups of missionaries.

God in Chinese, preparing religious tracts, educating Chinese youth of both sexes and healing people's bodies (ibid. pp.646-649). Their hard work in these areas brought about achievements in other, non-religious areas as well, including improving the social and literary habits of the Chinese people, bringing about more friendly relations between China and foreign countries, facilitating the learning of Chinese for foreigners, and helping in the signing of the recent treaty between China and America.

In summary, Lowrie's evaluation of the Catholics' role in China was not purely negative. Given the intense rivalry that had existed between Catholics and Protestants in Europe since 1685 when the *Edict of Nantes* was revoked, Lowrie's comments on the Jesuit missionaries are more generous than may have been expected. With regard to the compliments he paid the Jesuits in this article, apart from the similar experiences both parties had in China, it appears that this praise was intended to highlight the Protestants' contributions during their stay. Apart from doing what the Catholics had done before, the Protestants brought what they believed to be a more orthodox gospel to the Chinese people, contributing their Chinese-English linguistic expertise and building schools for children. However, it is common to find that the binary division between Catholics and Protestants has disappeared from the writings and it is difficult to tell the difference between the two groups, and there is a tendency to view them as one group – Christians. This is not surprising. Only by showing these positive elements to Western readers could the Protestants gain more support and sympathy, and this priority superseded the internal rivalry between the different groups of Christians. Another aspect of Lowrie's discourse that should be taken into account is that it is dominated by his own self-justification, and the difficulties he himself encountered during his interactions with Chinese people affected his perception and evaluation of the Catholics. The subject of the linguistic competency of the Protestant missionaries is examined in more detail in the next chapter.

4.3 Second Embodiment of Fundamentalism among the Protestants: On Attacking Chinese 'Paganism'

Chinese philosophy and religion came under severe attack by the Protestant missionaries. Morrison, Stevens, Parker, Williams, Gutzlaff and so on all used various methods to expose Chinese superstitions and the 'defects' of Buddhism and Confucianism to Western readers.

4.31 Morrison, the Pioneer

The focus in this section is on the 'pagan traditions' of the Chinese people. Through years of study and observation of the Chinese religion, the missionaries produced quite a few articles in *The Chinese Repository* regarding religious issues in China. They covered various topics, exposing the 'superstitions' and the 'dark side' of Eastern religions. The authors and their works are here examined chronologically.

The first person to turn his fire on paganism was Robert Morrison, and most of his works appear in the first two volumes of *The Chinese Repository*. He discussed several issues related to the superstition and religious ignorance of the Chinese people, from their idolatry to prayer, as well as the Chinese peoples' ideas on whether there was an after-life that was a happier state of existence than this one, which it is assumed, corresponds to judgment day in a Christian context.

Morrison first mentions the three characteristics of Chinese prayers (1832, pp.201-203). First, there was little or no confession of sin, or 'supplication for spiritual blessings'. The prayer service was composed 'entirely of ascriptions of pompous titles to the idols before them'. To confirm the wrongness of these prayers, Morrison then mentions their utilitarianism; he states that merchants, artisans, farmers and even scholars prayed with a vow, or promise. If the prayer was answered favourably, they would make an offering to the god or give money to the temple. One poor shop owner made a bargain in his vow, stating that 'if he profits much, he will give much; and if but little, his return will be little'. These comments are

designed to reveal the conditional and utilitarian nature of the prayers of the Chinese people. He further adds that disappointed supplicants would sometimes insult the idols, or break an ancestor's tablet into pieces. Finally, he includes examples of some specific prayers by the Chinese, such as parents praying to have sons and not daughters, and all classes in China praying for a sign from the gods. This consisted in 'drawing, from a bundle of bamboo slips, a particular one, which, by numbers, refers to certain printed decisions, in verse, laid up in the temple.'

One year later, Morrison (1833a, pp.373-374) switched his study to Chinese ideas regarding happiness in an after-life. He states that many Chinese seemed to have no idea of another world. He also attached a letter from his correspondent to back up his discussion of Confucian philosophers' anticipation of the future state, and of the beliefs of Chinese Buddhists. According to Morrison, Confucian philosophers anticipate no future state of existence at all, and they never speak about what happiness consists of. While Confucian philosophers are 'low principled', 'worldly minded', 'bestly or ambitious', 'as their turn of mind happened to be for sensual indulgence or worldly honors', the Buddhists might be supposed to be a 'lazy', 'inactive', 'do-nothing sect', for they hope for a super-human state, and the happiness of super-humanists is attained by few. Buddhists anticipate the divine truth that will come into being when they cease to be human beings anymore as a state of 'nihility'. Morrison's subjectivity on religion can be found. Since there was no scientific evidence on the future existence, Morrison's strong criticism on Confucian philosophers or Buddhists were based on his pure Christian beliefs.

Three months later, in another article (Morrison, 1833b, pp.502-503) introducing the worship of Confucius, Morrison estimates that there were more than 1,560 temples dedicated to Confucius in China, and that there were 62,606 victims during each service, namely, 6 bullocks, 27,000 pigs, 5,800 sheep, 2,800 deer and 27,000 rabbits. They were offered at the same time, with 27,600 pieces of silk altogether. After listing the considerable

number of offerings to Confucius, Morrison further comments that there was a contradiction between what Chinese people said and what they did. While the Chinese admitted that the one they paid honours to was a mere man, their fellow creature, they also believed that death is 'annihilation', hence some of them affirmed that there was no God, no angels and no spirits. Morrison could not see any way that the Chinese could reconcile their actions and their professed beliefs. He finally asks 'if the learned in China would simply do honor to a name, why sacrifice innocent victims by thousands, as an expression of the veneration which they feel for their benevolent master?' (p.502).

In an article published in the second volume of *The Chinese Repository*, Morrison (1833c, pp.327-329) lists several examples of the superstition and idolatry of the Chinese. On page 328, he quotes a report from the *Peking Gazette*, saying that two senior officials were beseeching his imperial majesty to confer honours on an old idol god, who lived in the time of the Shang Dynasty. During the recent highland rebellion, this idol showed 'wonderful power and was marvellously preserved'. The rebels passed the village where it stood without burning the village, since they prayed to this idol. Afterwards, these same rebels were caught and tied with cords in the idol's temple. At midnight, when they attempted to free themselves and escape, a red flame issued from the idol's temple and alerted the troops outside. A barrage of artillery fire was unleashed and the rebels were killed; the idol, however, remained undamaged. On this basis these two governors requested that the Emperor honour the idol's temple with a new tablet. Morrison finally remarked:

Surely it is hard to tell whether one should laugh or weep at this. Men, educated men, and thought fit to be governors over millions, thus petitioning for honors to be conferred on—what? Why, a block of wood it may be, or a piece of stone! Again, petitioning the emperor to shew his compassion to the gods! Doubtless they need it; and much good will the idol derive from his new honors.

4.32 A Short Discussion on Chinese Religion

Before discussing Chinese ‘paganism’ and the people’s worship rituals, a brief account of the history of Chinese religion is necessary. For the purposes of this thesis I have divided this account into two periods: the Confucian period, which was the era before Buddhism was introduced, and the Buddhist period. In both periods, idolatry and worship rituals were widespread, but the motives behind them were different. *The Religious System of China*, written by J. J. M. de Groot (1892), and *Researches into Chinese Superstitions*, written by Henri Doré (1966), are two of the major Western publications on the religions of the Chinese: both books are encyclopaedic in scope and offer a vast amount of material on Chinese religions which is classified under clear headings. In a book review of these two publications (1973), David Yu outlines some of the ideas in the Confucian era and refutes some of the viewpoints expressed in the two books. Firstly, Yu quotes a saying from the *Lunyu* (*Analects*, 論語) to demonstrate that the importance of rituals in connection with the deceased in ancient China was a result of the emphasis on rituals themselves: One should sacrifice to a spirit as though that spirit were present (*Analects*, III: 13)⁴⁸. It indicates that the soul/spirit issue was not a dominant issue in the pre-Buddhist era, and that rites in connection with the dead did not necessarily require a belief in a dead person’s soul. Rather, of paramount importance was Li (禮)/Etiquette. Li, as one of the five main Confucian virtues (仁Benevolence, 義Righteousness, 禮Etiquette, 智wisdom and 信sincerity) was a very practical concept, and both the living and the dead were supposed to benefit from it. Lowrie was aware of this belief, as revealed in his discussion of the best way of translating ‘God’ into Chinese (see the discussion on the Chinese language in the previous chapter).

In my personal view, the living perform the burial rituals to demonstrate their virtue, and the dead are remembered for their meritorious deeds (this is discussed in more detail in the conclusion to this chapter) when they

⁴⁸ 祭如在，祭神如神在。

were alive. The burial rituals lasted for centuries and influenced generation after generation. Interestingly, Yu also mentions Totemism in Chinese history. Totemism existed as a very early form of Chinese religion in the northern part of the country. The rulers of the Shang clan, which founded the Shang Dynasty, considered themselves to be the descendants of swallows; the Zhou clan believed their progenitor was a goat (Fehl, 1971). Many ancient Chinese divinities had human-like faces and animal bodies (Tao, 1969). Yu therefore deduced that the early worship of ancestors in China grew out of Totemism. Since Totemism is frequently mixed with other beliefs, such as ancestor worship, its exact nature is difficult to define. Sometimes Totemism is not regarded as a religion, since the focus is on ritual behaviour. All in all, the above two points made by Yu help to explain the points made by Morrison regarding the worship of the Chinese (see page 25).

It may be true that some of the superstitions recorded by Morrison did exist at the time he was writing, but as Yu observes regarding de Groot and Doré, European centrism affected the attitudes of Western writers in that era, and they appear 'condescending' and 'single-minded' in their works (1973, p. 378).

Now, after burning the paper, what remains? Merely a little ashes. No intelligent person, either in this world or the ghost-world, would ever take ashes for money... Moreover, who has even seen the ghosts, *Kuei*, come and gather up the ashes of burnt paper-money?...Let me simply tell you that you grossly insult your parents, for in offering them ashes as real money, you deceive them. You treat them as absolute idiots, who cannot even discern a heap of ashes from a silver ingot (Doré, pp.121-122).

Yu states that Dore's attack on Chinese myths and rituals is based on ordinary reasoning. Dore's view clearly confirms the views Morrison expressed in his remarks on Chinese rituals. Surprisingly, Morrison used 'logic'/scientific evidence rather than his subjective religious belief in criticising Chinese religion.

After Buddhism was introduced to China, religious concepts became more complex. Not only were many gods introduced, but also they all had

different philosophies of life. Morrison writes off this religious sect as a 'lazy', 'inactive' and 'do-nothing' religion. However, in the early 20th century, Gilbert Reid expressed a different idea. Although he himself was a Christian, he shows some appreciation of Buddhism (1916). There are several aspects of Buddhism that appear to have inspired this appreciation; for instance, the fundamental Buddhist principle of cause and effect (karma), and the Buddhists' emphasis on living a righteous life (Reid, 1916, p.20). Reid also mentions the Buddhists' sympathetic awareness of human suffering and their efforts to transform suffering into happiness and peace (ibid. p.16). He further points out that the desire to be happy and to escape suffering is universal. That is the reason why Chinese people worship Guan Yin, the goddess of mercy, who saves people from suffering and misery. The great classic of Buddhism - *The Awakening of Faith* - Reid mentions, states that the desire of all Buddhists is to 'induce all living beings to leave the path of sorrow and to obtain the highest happiness, rather than to seek the glitter of fame and the wealth of the world' (ibid. p.17). In his view, Buddhism is evidently not a 'do-nothing' sect. Concepts such as 'lazy' and 'inactive', when 'deconstructed' by Reid, point to a wise method of 'building up character'; he also points out that Buddhism has 'only a few positive commandments, but many prohibitions' (ibid. p.20). The notion of 'commandments' may have been drawn from Reid's Christian background, but it can be seen that he has compared Buddhism and Christianity and reached some positive conclusions about Buddhism, while Morrison, from my observation, did not. The latter's complete commitment to Christianity prevented him from reflecting with a more open mind on some of the Buddhist doctrines, such as the well-known ten precepts of Buddhism he might have learned in his early study of Buddhism:

1. Refrain from killing living creatures.
2. Refrain from stealing.
3. Refrain from unchastity (sensuality, sexuality, lust).

4. Refrain from incorrect speech.
5. Refrain from taking intoxicants.
6. Refrain from taking food at inappropriate times (after noon).
7. Refrain from singing, dancing, playing music or attending entertainment programs (performances).
8. Refrain from wearing perfume, cosmetics and garlands (decorative accessories).
9. Refrain from sitting on high chairs and sleeping on luxurious, soft beds.
10. Refrain from accepting money.⁴⁹

Morrison simply labelled the Buddhists as inactive and lazy without any deeper consideration of their beliefs. Reid, by contrast, proceeds to analyse the importance of its negative precepts. He states that, in the 'higher stages of development, whether intellectual or spiritual, the negative gives space to the positive, but in all the preliminary stages the positive is not grasped except by frequent reminders of the negative, of the prohibitive, of that to be avoided and shunned' (ibid. p.20). Reid started his 45-year career in China in 1882 as a Presbyterian missionary. His long contact with Chinese culture may have given him some new insights. In fact, the negative precepts are not only seen in Buddhist sects, they can be found in other sects too. In the Confucian era similar beliefs had already been propounded, and they spread widely. The saying '己所不欲 勿施於人' (Do not do to others what you do not want done to yourself) is generally compared with the saying: 'Treat others in the same way that you would want them to treat you', from the Bible. It can be seen that some Christians saw the difference in activity between the 'treat' rule and the 'do not' rule as the difference between a 'golden' and a 'silver' principle. However,

⁴⁹ "The Ten Precepts: dasa-sila", edited by Access to Insight. Access to Insight, 26 May 2010, <http://www.accesstosight.org/ptf/dhamma/sila/dasasila.html> . Retrieved on 20 September 2013.

there are intriguing factors to be considered behind these principles, such as whether or not empathy exists between people – do they feel the same way, or want to be treated in the same way, as others? For instance, one person's 'attentive care' could be another person's 'invasion of privacy'.

4.33 Morrison's Followers

It can be seen that some of the other missionaries had a doctrinal attitude similar to that of Morrison. They too were influenced by their strong beliefs rather than by logical reasoning when discussing Chinese religious ideas. Edwin Stevens is discussed here as an example of these missionaries.

One of the twelve Protestant missionaries who made up the Christian Union in China, Stevens wrote several essays on his travels and on China, which were published in *The Chinese Repository* (Mason, L.)⁵⁰. It is believed (Li, 2012) that it was he who gave Hong Xiuquan a summary of the Bible that led to Hong's adopting Steven's idiosyncratic version of biblical faith and then, as the leader of the Taiping Rebellion, establishing a 'Heavenly Kingdom' (1850-1864). The main subject of Stevens' 11-page article is Chinese idolatry (1833, pp.166-176). He defines idolatry as 'the climax of stupidity and impiety' (Stevens, 1833, p.166). The article presents a justification for one notion only, which is that this situation should be blamed on the present race of idolaters rather than on the misfortune of their ignorance of God. According to Stevens, the Chinese must have violated and blunted the divine principles of right and obligation which had originally been implanted in their nature, and Stevens attributes this fact to the literary and political regulations in China (ibid. p.172). Stevens adds that the condition of Chinese women is 'essentially the same as it has ever been in pagan countries'. Their 'consignment to ignorance, to perpetual seclusion from society, and to the almost complete control of the other sex, is strongly marked in the Chinese policy'. He finally remarks that 'this single custom operates effectually to the degradation, and dismembering

⁵⁰ Mason, L. 'Edwin Stevens', Biographical Dictionary of Chinese Christianity. Available at <http://www.bdcconline.net/en/stories/s/stevens-edwin.php> (Accessed: July, 2016).

from society of a hundred millions of persons in China' (ibid. p.172). Stevens finally turns his discussion to the personal character of the Chinese - he observes that the Chinese exhibited a 'settled' and 'extensive' apathy towards divine subjects, and the Chinese dislike of foreigners has 'long been matter of history'. He identifies 'narrow' and 'selfish' feelings as a 'national trait', fostered by 'national sentiment' (ibid. p.174).

Here, it is clear that Stevens's theological attitude was more dogmatic than that of some of the other Protestant missionaries, and may be described as fundamentalist. He attacked the Chinese people for their ignorance of Christianity, and blamed the Chinese government for its strict regulation of religion. There is no evidence of the Christian concept of love, concern for others or humility in his preaching, or perhaps it was simply misunderstood owing to his limited linguistic ability. However, ironically, it was Stevens' theological ideas that formed the basis for the Taiping (Heavenly Peace) Rebellion (1851-1864). The leader of the rebellion, Hong Xiuquan, distorted the Christian elements he had learned from Stevens in order to accommodate Chinese cultural values and for the sake of political expediency. The rebellion grew out of a situation compounded of Chinese resentment against the alien Manchu government, the inequality that characterised officialdom, agrarian distress and China's defeat in war. Christian values served as a contributing factor to this war of reformation, since it was a new ideology then, and reflected the anti-government sentiments of the missionaries. Neither side could have foreseen the outcome of the rebellion. For the Chinese, it was too 'Christian' to be understood and supported, while on the other side, few Christians saw the rebels as their brethren and even helped the government in suppressing them.

Other missionaries showed a similar attitude to Stevens towards the 'paganism' in China; some of them displayed it in an overt way, while others were more euphemistic. In an article in *The Chinese Repository* in 1839, Peter Parker, an American physician and Presbyterian minister,

describes 'a Buddhist stratagem' (1839): it appears that that year, in a place near Beijing, a dark fog had ascended to the sky. From beneath the mountain, black and red waters gushed forth, on which droves of foxes and flocks of birds were transported, pursuing both man and beast. In answer to the terrified people, the astronomer simply stated that it was difficult to avoid the calamities of fire and flood, and the judgments of war and plague. He asked people to transcribe ten copies of this statement, and to circulate them among men, adding that they should be written in red ink and on yellow paper, in addition to other rituals that needed to be performed. Parker describes these rituals in detail and finally adds a note indicating there might have been a volcanic eruption in the vicinity, but that the explanations of the astronomer were only to be expected from an unscientific and idolatrous people. Showing it one day to a Confucianist, he 'immediately explained it to be one of the stratagems by which the Buddhists impose upon the people and promote their tenets' (Parker, 1839, p.264). This story illustrates the 'cunning of the Buddhists'.

Charles Gutzlaff (1803-1851), mentioned at the beginning of this chapter, was another missionary who had an attitude similar to that of Stevens towards the idolatry of the Chinese. He describes the Chinese people as being 'destitute' of religion, but at the same time as being 'zealous' in their idolatry and their performing of idolatrous rites. Along with Morrison, Gutzlaff was one of the five main contributors of articles to *The Chinese Repository*. He was also a member of the SDUKC (Society for the Diffusion of Useful Knowledge) in China at that time. Gutzlaff's attitude towards Chinese religion can be summarised as typifying these religionists' views, and may certainly explain what they wanted to achieve.

Another missionary, Samuel Williams, in an article that appeared in 1849 in the 18th volume of *The Chinese Repository*, commented on the contradictory and irrational nature of Chinese ancestor worship. He states that 'Among the Chinese, ancestors have been worshiped from the earliest record of the nation, and religious homage is paid to them at the present

day by all ranks, some of them, as heaven and earth, being exclusively appropriated to imperial majesty, and others, as the gods which preside over harvests, over the seasons, &c., being sacrificed to by the people' (Williams, 1849, p.364). He then mentions that Confucius taught that the 'chief end of man is to serve his parents' (ibid. p.365). The two footnotes show his views:

How the Chinese Confucianists reconcile these observances with the doctrine of annihilation at death, we have not been able to ascertain. We have found nothing in books that throws light upon this dark subject; nor have we received anything but evasive answers from the natives with whom we have conversed...But it is the fact, that many of the Confucian sect boldly deny the existence of a soul separate from the body. And we have read Chinese statements, which turned the doctrine of rewards and punishments into ridicule, because at death the whole man was dissolved or 'dispersed,' and returned to earth, or water, or air: so that if any power wished to punish man after death, it was impossible to do it, for there remained nothing to be punished.

Common sense and reason suggest another difficulty arising from these *innocent rites* as we call them. How Buddhists in China who believe in the punishment of bad spirits in a separate state, reconcile the idea of wicked ancestors, who are themselves suffering punishment, being able to help their descendants on earth, we cannot tell. But constituency is not a quality of superstition. We leave the matter where it is; and sincerely pray that China may soon be illuminated by the Gospel of Christ. (Williams, 1849, p.379)

Words like 'evasive' and 'Confucian sect' show Morrison's strong criticism on the Confucian. As a final illustration of the nature and character of Chinese religion as it appeared to the Christian missionaries, it is useful to present a short selection of the Tenets of Buddhists that was published in *The Chinese Repository* (Jones, 1850, p.551). Six sections from the *Siamese Code* in 55 volumes have been selected. The tenets can be seen as being very cruel⁵¹:

Sub-sect. 47: If any malicious thief shall steal an image of Budh...and go and sell it, or destroy it...and if found guilty, let each be flogged 60 lashes; let the feet and hands of all his accomplices be cut off, and then fined 700, 000 cowries out of respect to the image of Budh...

Sub-sect. 48: If a thief steal an image of Budh, and use various devices for getting of its ornaments...let him be put into a furnace and treated in the same way as he treated the image...

⁵¹ The spellings, for example, 'Budh', are as they appear in the original text.

Sub-sect. 49: If any thief strip a Buddhist image of its gold or gilding, let him to taken to a public square, and a redhot iron rubbed over him till he is stripped of his skin as he stripped the image...

Sub-sect. 50: If any malicious person steal articles belonging to Budh...let him be flogged 60 lashes, his fingers cut off, and he fined four times the value of the stolen articles.

Sub-sect. 51: If the relatives or servants of any person who strips off the gold or ornaments of any image of Budh...1. To be put to death; 2. To have their mouths cut off; 3. To have all their goods confiscated, and themselves made to cut grass for the elephant; 4. To be flogged from 25 to 50 lashes; 5. To be disabled from all civil functions; 6. To be fined fourfold; 7. To be fined twofold; 8. To be fined one fold.

Sub-sect. 52: If any malicious person stealthily destroy any priest's dwelling, or consecrated shed, let him be obliged to repair the damage; and then flogged from 30 to 60 lashes, and delivered to his master...

From the above discussion, it is clear that negative comments on Chinese 'paganism' appear throughout *The Chinese Repository*, from the first to the nineteenth volume. The Chinese people and their government are blamed for their unwelcoming attitude towards Christianity, and Buddhism and Confucianism are criticised for their superstition and for misleading people. The analysis of the material revealed that the missionaries used footnotes and metaphors to criticise the Chinese religions. They exhibited an aversion to the 'religious rites and superstition' of the Chinese, but at the same time, they carried out extensive research into these practices and produced many articles on them, thereby displaying their ambitious goal of evangelising China. The discussion has also shown how the Protestants tried to differentiate themselves from their predecessors, the Jesuits, since the Jesuits tolerated the worship of Confucius, which was completely unacceptable to the Protestants.

4.4 The Relationship between Fundamentalism and Syncretism

While orientalism refers to a subjective attitude towards China based on the background and prejudices of the observers and their unwillingness to look objectively at Western practices and standards, but rather, their tendency to take Western practices as a universal standard which other countries should match, fundamentalism perfectly describes the Protestant

missionaries' religious attitudes in China. Morrison and his colleagues, based on their random speculations, picked ideas that accorded with their desired arguments in an ideological and unsystematic way, which is clear evidence of a fundamentalist attitude.

Fundamentalism is closely related to the first representation of orientalism: syncretism, which is intentionally intertwined with fundamentalism in the Protestant missionaries' discourses on Chinese 'paganism'. The origins of both are monogenicism. Since the missionaries believed there was only one 'God' in the world and all people were created by him, viewing other religions as pagan, they had no choice but to adopt a syncretic approach when looking at objective 'facts', such as the history recorded in Chinese books. With regard to subjective religious faiths, they attacked Buddhism and Confucianism ferociously. The following section offers an insight into the differences between traditional Chinese thinking and Christianity.

In *Guns, Germs and Steel*, Jared Diamond (1997) offers an interesting explanation for the stagnant situation of the Chinese empire from the late 18th century, that is, the geographical condition of the Chinese empire: a vast territory and absolute authority in the hands of the central government. Once an invention or technology had been banned by the government, it was impossible to reintroduce it. By contrast, continental Europe, which consists of separate nations, tended to provide more favourable conditions for business ventures or technological revolution. As the fact that Columbus' request for funding for voyages across the Atlantic Ocean was denied by the Italian court, but received support from the Catholic monarchs of Spain shows, Europe had more favourable conditions for innovation that time. Although Diamond's account does not help to explain the reasons for Chinese 'superstition', it coincides with Feng Youlan's geographical hypothesis. Feng refers to China as 'a continent country' (in contrast to a maritime country), relying heavily on the farming industry. Around 80% (1948, p.12) of the Chinese population of ancient China did farming-related work: thus, the key factor for them was the

distribution of land. This has been an issue of central importance throughout the history of China, both economically and politically. Farmers and landlords had to live on the land, which is immovable, and children had to live with their parents to help with the farm work. Soon, ancestral worship developed, usually of the first member of the family who had established himself there, who then became a symbol of the unity of the family, which was indispensable for such a large and complex organisation. The orthodox position the philosophy (rather than religion) of Confucianism achieved is based on its justification of this worship. To be more specific, a great deal of Confucianism consists of the rational justification or theoretical expression of this social system. Ancestor worship therefore existed long before Confucianism, and what the Confucian school did was to highlight its ethical significance. It met the needs and expectations of the Chinese at that time. In addition, Feng argues (1948, p.39) that the performance of worship springs from a sentiment of respect for departed forebears, as Yu also claims, although Yu acknowledges that superstition was the original reason for the emergence of ancestor worship. With the interpretations of the Confucianists, the superstition aspect of ancestor worship was purged. According to Feng, the religious elements of ancestor worship were transformed into poetry so that there were no longer religions (1948, p.100). Feng continues his exegesis of poetry by saying that both religion and poetry are expressions of the fancy of a man. They both mingle imagination and reality. While religion 'takes what it itself says as true', poetry 'takes what it itself says as false. What poetry presents is not reality, and it knows that it is not'. Whether religion is 'the fancy of a man' is not the concern of this chapter, but, as Feng adds: 'In poetry we obtain emotional satisfaction without obstructing the progress of the intellect' (p.100).

It can be seen that the Protestants who had their writings published in *The Chinese Repository* started their observations of Chinese religion from a very simple position: that is, anything opposed to their Christian belief was

wrong. Compared with their views on the Chinese language, they were more critical in this area. Elements of fundamentalism can be sensed from their discourses. They criticised the Chinese for their idolatry or worship of images, but made few comments at all on the worship of St. Mary's icon by some Christians; they relentlessly labelled Chinese rituals as 'pompous' or 'superstitious' without making a thorough study of them, or sometimes refusing to reflect openly on what they had found.

There could be several reasons for missionaries' simple viewpoint. Firstly, it was related to the people they met. While the Jesuits in the earlier period had the opportunity to become acquainted with the gentry's class, scholars and senior officials, the Protestants of the 19th century for the most part came into contact with ordinary folk. Few of the Chinese they met were able to justify or give reasons for their performing of these ancestral rituals, and these ordinary Chinese also tended to endow the rituals with their personal superstition, which left the above impression on Protestant observers. Secondly, the Protestants were faced with a situation worse than the one the Jesuits had to deal with. As mentioned in section 4.2, the Protestants saw the collapse of the privilege and power of the Christians in China, and the less favourable environment for them to preach the Gospel could be one of the reasons for their severe attacks on Chinese idolatry. Apart from their own fundamentalist religious beliefs, there could be another reason, which is the justification for a war launched against China at that time. Protestant missionaries did not only attack Chinese religions, but also Chinese social customs, and government. They advocated reforms which could get rid of these Chinese traditional elements so that Christian could be preached here. A war on China could fulfil this aim. The two Opium Wars (Sino-British War) which began in 1840 and 1856 respectively, indicate one of the strategies of the British Empire: legalising the opium trade, opening all of China to British merchants and exempting foreign imports from internal transit duties. In *The Chinese Repository*, there was a remark suggesting the waging of war, presenting it in a positive light:

What was true of all India is now in its fullest extent true of China. This whole nation is in a profound sleep, and while she is dreaming of greatness and of glory, she is borne backward by a strong and rapid tide of influence; and if the nation be not speedily roused, who can tell where her retrogression will end? It is justly the glory of our age, that in many parts of the world the condition of the human family is improving, and with a rapidity such as man has never before witnessed.

Shall we see the Hindoo join in the rapid course of modern improvement, and at the same time regard the case of the Chinese as hopeless? And what more effectual way can be advised for benefiting the Chinese, than to learn as accurately as possible their true condition; to exhibit it to themselves; and then to put within their reach the means of improvement? And to accomplish all this, what better means can be employed than those which have proved to be so effectual and successful in other places? (1833, pp.3-4)

These remarks are indicative of the cultural hegemony of the West. Gramsci (1971, p.323) suggests that popular world views exist especially in language, common sense and popular religion, which means the entire system of beliefs, superstitions, opinions and ways of seeing things and acting. He contrasts common sense with ideology, which is used by ruling groups as a justification and support for their positions. However, in the case of *The Chinese Repository*, this theory can be extended to another level: religionists try to integrate their own religious values with common sense, or the popular world view, with a subtle choice of words. By mixing their attitudes of cultural superiority with the stated purpose of enlightening people and saving them from their darkness, this sort of hegemony was disguised. The outbreak of the Opium War explains the true nature of this advocacy of revolution for the sake of China and Chinese people. The advocates claimed that a motive for the Sino-British war was for westerners to help eradicate the outdated, defective system in China and introduce modernisation to China. However, the true purpose was to facilitate missionaries' religious activities. When they preached the gospel in China, the local government could not interfere, or stop them anymore.

Notably, some of the missionaries were against the Opium War. James Legge (1815-1897) was an ardent opponent of Britain's opium policy, and he was also a founding member of the Society for the Suppression of the Opium Trade (Girardot, 2002). The society tried lobbying the British

government to cease its military pressure on China to allow opium imports. Legge himself was more open to Chinese traditions and culture. Although he declared himself a Christian all his life, he nevertheless accepted the Confucian Classics and translated many of them. He was a latecomer to China compared with Protestant missionaries like Morrison, and witnessed the outbreak of the first and Second Opium Wars. The fact that he saw the sufferings and losses Chinese people endured could be one of the reasons why he was not aggressive in propagating Western values in China and had a more neutral position in dealing with Anglo-Chinese conflicts.

In summary, for the first group of Protestant missionaries in China, it can be seen that their fervour for the reform of China had imperialistic motives. Intentionally or unintentionally, they contributed to the waging of war in the 19th century, as we will see many missionaries were either silent or tactically supported the war for practical reasons that will give them greater access to China. They suggested that the war was good for the Chinese people. Their redemption work actually caused substantial damage to China, as a result of their self-centred position and religious bigotry, as can be seen from the material presented in this chapter. The unrest set off by the Opium War lasted for a century.

Chapter 5 Progressivist Attitudes to Chinese Society

In the previous two chapters, I explored the two main approaches the Protestant missionaries adopted in viewing the Chinese language and religion—they applied a syncretic approach in combining the Chinese language and its history with biblical accounts, while rejecting Chinese philosophical and religious ideas, as a result of their fundamentalist beliefs. These two paradigms actually reflect the missionaries' dilemma when attempting to reconcile their religious beliefs with Chinese historical facts on the one hand, and the facts of Chinese civilisation with biblical accounts on the other. In this chapter, the focus is on another dilemma they experienced in China: what attitude to take to the opium trade and their compatriots who were engaged in it, since the opium dealing that was being conducted in China in the name of Western financial interests conflicted with the ideas the missionaries derived from the Gospel regarding 'saving' the people. I use the term 'social progressivist', i.e. a belief in progress, to describe the Protestant missionaries' attitude towards bringing reforms to China at that time. Missionaries found China backward and thought it was their job to bring progress to China. This attitude not only covered their views on opium dealing in China, it also included their judgment on the imperial Chinese ruling court and its code, and practices such as the foot-binding of women.

The main focus in this chapter is on the missionaries' changing attitude towards the opium trade, and this is discussed first: the missionaries changed their position from that of firm objectors to that of silent collaborators. They had no choice but to change their discourses as they struggled to justify opium dealing as being the will of God. The fact that the opium merchants provided funding for the missionaries' activities in China might also have been a reason for their change of heart. It can be seen that the missionaries' fundamentalist beliefs affected both their judgement and their discourses. These beliefs are evident not only in their discussions on the opium trade, but also in their accounts of the cruelty of Chinese law

and social customs. The material presented in this chapter complements the material presented in the previous two chapters, giving added weight to the argument that the missionaries' attitudes towards the Chinese changed during the course of their stay in China. At the end of the chapter, the impact of the missionaries' strong motivation to bring about reforms to Chinese society at that time is discussed. Before examining the missionaries' discourses on opium, however, the meaning of 'social progressivism' and the significance of the opium war are discussed.

5.1 The Meaning of Progressivism

I am taking 'progressivism' in a sense of belief in progress. Protestant missionaries insisted on a universal pattern of progress based on the West. This fits in with their opposition to foot-binding and support for western medicine and education etc. There were different motives, such as converting the Chinese to becoming Christians (establishing schools and hospitals could help attract people), humanitarian concerns (the abolition of foot-binding), the desire for a successful campaign, getting more propaganda and attracting money from the West, and self-interest (the harshness of Chinese criminal law affected the missionaries themselves).

The idea of 'progressivism' supported the advocacy of social reform. As a philosophical approach, it is based on the idea of progress, which asserts that advancements in science, technology, economic development and social organisation are an essential part of the improvement of the human condition. Progressivism became highly influential during the Age of Enlightenment in Europe, based on 'the belief that Europe was demonstrating that societies could progress in civility from uncivilized conditions to civilization through strengthening the basis of empirical knowledge as the foundation of society' (Mah, 2003, p.157). The meaning of progressivism has varied over time and according to the perspective of the practitioner. In the context of 19th century China, the Protestant missionaries whose articles appear in *The Chinese Repository* demonstrate a 'progressivist' attitude in their discourses on China, although in their

understanding 'utopianism' was equated with the goals of Christianity, and the period they were living in predated Darwinism. Their progressivism is based on Eurocentrism, but is more active. At the root of their attitude was the desire to change human nature and to create an ideal world by improving the environment. Missionaries insisted on a universal mode of development and behaviour, believing in the universality of basic human rights. Actually, this attitude was closely related to orientalism—this sense of superiority made them believe that it was one of their duties to reform Chinese society, making it more like western society. It can be clearly seen in their attitudes towards Chinese education. In the first annual report of the Morrison Education Society, Bridgman quoted Parker's speech:

No particular sect or nation is here brought together for a subordinate end; but we behold a converging of accordant minds to the great object of educating, according to the best systems of Christendom, myriads of the present, and millions of future, generations of the youth of this empire (1837, p.244).

In this report, Bridgman discussed several problems in the Chinese education system, such as the illiteracy of Chinese women, primary school education for children etc., and expressed missionaries' concerns to help Chinese children learn useful knowledge, such as science. Further details will be discussed in section 3.3.

The changes the missionaries had in mind for China were good. However, as a result of their subjective and partial discourses, which were influenced by their Christian beliefs, together with their changed attitude after the Opium War, China experienced a succession of disasters. The first event that needs to be mentioned is the Taiping Rebellion, a radical political and religious upheaval that took place in China in the 19th century. It lasted from 1850 to 1864, ravaging 17 provinces. The death toll from the rebellion was enormous. Most widely cited sources put the total number of deaths during the 15 years of the conflict at 20–30 million civilians and soldiers (Ho, 1959, pp.246-247). The outbreak of the rebellion was closely related to the Christian missionaries' activities in China. Some Chinese now and then partially believed that this rebellion was caused by Protestant

missionaries. It is noteworthy that there were several religious rebellions in the late Qing period: the white lotus rebellion which originated as a hybrid movement of Buddhism and Manichaeism (1796-1804); the Tongzhi Hui Revolt which was aroused by members of the Muslim Hui and other Muslim ethnic groups in Shanxi, Gansu and Ningxia provinces, as well as in Xinjiang, between 1862 and 1877. Asserting the Taiping Rebellion would not have happened without Christian's intervention might be too subjective. However, the missionaries offered a platform for Hong Xiuquan to start his rebellion. The alien Christian elements in their ideology gave Hong and his followers the stimulus to turn against the existing Chinese regime. As Boardman argues (1952, p.9), 'the Taiping Rebellion grew out of a situation compounded of dynastic decline, agrarian distress, overpopulation, foreign penetration, failure to provide an adequate officialdom, and Chinese resentment against the misrule of alien Manchu overlords'. It helped to justify Hong's rebelling against the Chinese emperor. The missionaries can be held responsible for Hong's use of a distorted version of Christianity. Boardman points out that the rebels were exposed to the 19th century missionaries whose linguistic ability was questionable and whose theological attitude was fundamentalistic.

By the 1890s the other turmoil - The Boxer Rebellion - had already reached the general populace. This was another violent rebellion which was both anti-foreign and anti-Christian. It took place in China between 1899 and 1901, towards the end of the Qing dynasty, against a background of severe drought and the disruption caused by the growth of foreign spheres of influence. After several months of growing violence against both the foreign and Christian presence in Shandong and the North China plain in June 1900, Boxer fighters, convinced they were invulnerable to foreign weapons, converged on Beijing with the slogan 'Support the Qing government and exterminate the foreigners' (Xiang, 2003, p. 115). Foreigners and Chinese Christians sought refuge in the Legation Quarter. On the Chinese government's side, Empress Dowager Cixi wanted to use

this rebellion to reverse the West's violation of Chinese sovereignty, so she supported the Boxers and issued an Imperial Decree declaring war on the foreign powers. Diplomats, foreign civilians and soldiers, as well as Chinese Christians in the Legation Quarter, were placed under siege by the Imperial Army of China and the Boxers for 55 days. On the other hand, the rebellion gave the Western allies a justification to intervene and make other demands on China. The Eight-Nation Alliance (the British Empire, France, the United States, Germany, Italy, Russia, Japan and Austria-Hungary) took 20,000 armed troops to China, defeated the Imperial Army, and captured Beijing on August 14, lifting the siege of the Legations. Uncontrolled plunder of the capital and the surrounding countryside ensued, along with the summary execution of those suspected of being Boxers. The Boxer Protocol signed in 1901 provided for the execution of government officials who had supported the Boxers, provisions for foreign troops to be stationed in Beijing, and 450 million 'taels' of silver—more than the government's annual tax revenue—to be paid as indemnity over the course of the next thirty-nine years to the eight nations involved (Hsu, 1978, p. 481).

There are several aspects of this rebellion which should be noted: the attacks on the missionaries, along with other Westerners, the policies of Chinese officials, the military intervention by the Western powers and Japan, and the disastrous diplomatic consequences for China. It appears that the widespread popular resentment of aggressive Christianity naturally encouraged the attachment of an anti-Christian message to older beliefs about spirit possession. The aggressive imperialism of the late 1890s disrupted the Chinese agrarian society and prompted a counter-mobilisation. Peasants interpreted new messages in the light of old sectarian practices and more generally held beliefs. However, ironically, Christianity played a role in encouraging older and conservative groups in China to develop a new potential for collective action in times of crisis.

5.2 The Significance of the Opium War

As part of the history of the Sino-British relationship, the 19th century opium trade is a very significant topic. It was the controversy over the free trade in opium that produced the tension between the Chinese government and the British Empire. Britain fought two wars with China, in principle in support of free trade and in opposition to Chinese restrictions, but in reality for the immense profits to be made from the trading of opium. These two opium wars led secluded China to open up to the rest of the world. After that, China suffered the 'great intervention' by Western imperialist powers. The outbreak of the first Opium War marks a turning point in the change in China's status in the world, and China started to suffer from the increasing number of demands made by the Western powers. During the period from 1839 (the outbreak of the first Opium War) to 1945 (the end of the Second World War), China lost most of its wars with Japan and the Western countries, and was forced to make major concessions to these powers by signing unequal treaties. This period is called the 'century of humiliation' (百年國恥) by Chinese scholars (Adcock Kaufman, 2010, pp.1-33.). This term is also be used by the Chinese government today to incite feelings of nationalism among the general public. With its focus on Chinese sovereignty and the integrity of its territory, references to the 'century of humiliation' are used to deflect foreign criticism of particular policies of the Chinese government and to divert attention away from domestic problems such as corruption in government⁵².

The use of nationalism is not, however, the focus of this research; the aim of this chapter is to explore the missionaries' attitudes towards opium dealing, the Chinese government and the Chinese people, based on the material found in *The Chinese Repository*. I argue that the missionaries

⁵² There are several speeches Xi Jinping delivered on 'the opium war and realising Chinese dream', such as '实现中华民族伟大复兴的中国梦是新时代中国共产党的历史使命'(2017), '告台湾同胞书 40 周年' (2019).

demonstrated a 'social progressivist' attitude towards these aspects, which, intentionally or unintentionally, was the cause of a series of disasters later on, and these disasters constituted part of the 'century of humiliation' in China. Since the opium trade played such an important role in the Sino-British war, it is discussed first, and the missionaries' comments on the use of the drug are used to show that their roles in Chinese affairs should be separated from those of other foreign actors, such as diplomats, merchants etc. Presenting a different perspective on opium compared to mainstream Western attitudes at that time, and trying to cure sick Chinese people suffering from opium-taking or other diseases, a 'progressivism' is evident in the missionaries' activities in China, as they endeavoured to dissuade the Chinese from sticking to old, bad habits that had lasted for years and steer them in the direction of a better and more enlightened life. However, when this 'progressive' attitude was taken to extremes, it became radical, and this radicalism was related to their fundamentalist Christian attitude. The outcome was thus the opposite of the one they had anticipated, as shown in the discussions in the second and third parts of this chapter.

5.3 Protestant Missionaries' Original Stand on Opium: Loathe the Habit but Be Sympathetic to Smokers

'There were opium-dens, where one could buy oblivion, dens of horror where the memory of old sins could be destroyed by the madness of sins that were new'.

-Oscar Wilde (*The Picture of Dorian Gray*, 1891, p.237)

This section is divided into three parts: the missionaries' own views on the opium trade in China, a review of *Confessions of an English Opium-Eater*, and the missionaries' motivation in criticising the use of opium.

5.31 Early Phase: Different Ways to Attack the Opium Trade in China

Before the Opium War started, Elijah Bridgman, one of the first of the few missionaries to begin discussing opium taking in *The Chinese Repository*, translated an article written by a Chinese author named 'Koo Kingshan' in 1836. Bridgman published his translation in *The Chinese Repository* in 1838 (1838, pp.107-109), under the title 'Foreign Opium a Poison'. In this article, he states categorically (p.107) that 'opium is a poisonous drug, brought from foreign countries'; smoking opium, 'in its first stages, impedes business; and when the practice is continued for any inconsiderable length of time, it throws whole families into ruin, dissipates every kind of property, and destroys man himself'. There could be 'no greater evil than this'. The article then lists ten harms opium brings to its takers, which are:

1. It exhausts the animal spirits.
2. It impedes the regular performance of business.
3. It wastes the flesh and blood.
4. It dissipates every kind of property.
5. It renders the person ill-favored.
6. It promotes obscenity,
7. It discloses secrets.
8. It violates laws.
9. It attacks the vitals.
10. It destroys life. (1838, pp.107-109)

In the other article from the same volume (1838, pp.437-456), Bridgman states that, since 1836, 'Peking' had issued strict edicts banning the smuggling of opium, and 'the party who are opposed to the admission of opium have gained the entire ascendant in the imperial councils' (1838, p.456).

From the above materials, it can be seen that Bridgman confined himself to translating other people's works, and referred to the Imperial court's edicts banning opium rather than giving his own views on the subject. There are two possible reasons for this: firstly, as mentioned in the previous chapter,

Robert Morrison, his close associate, worked for the British India Company, which had a considerable financial interest in the opium trade. As Lazich (2006, p.200) suggests, while 'declaring indignantly to the American Board that the drug is "death to China", Bridgman also gave the warning that 'it is here a most delicate subject to touch upon'. Bridgman also asked for 'his private condemnation of the trade not to be printed in the *Missionary Herald*', which was a popular missionary journal published by the American Board in New England. Secondly, it was the British merchants, including William Jardine, James Matheson and Lancelot Dent, who provided most of the financial support for the various philanthropic organisations that Bridgman and his colleagues set up at that time. In order not to offend them, Bridgman might have had to be cautious about expressing his views in *The Chinese Repository*. Although it was difficult for Bridgman to publicise his opinions on opium in *The Chinese Repository*, however, clear evidence of his attitude can be found in other sources. For instance, in a report to the American Board in May 1839, he wrote: 'Opium...is now showing its legitimate effects on the traffickers. We hope the traffic has received its deathblow. Our little community has been held these two months constantly in painful-fearful suspense. Nor does the prospect brighten. England, India - and Christendom - must now awake to the evils of this "hurtful thing".' (Lazich, 2006, p.205) In fact, during the 'Eradicating Opium Movement' organised by Commissioner Lin Zexu, Bridgman had even responded to an invitation by Lin to go and witness the destruction of the opium (Waley, p.50). Publicly describing his meeting with the commissioner after the event, Bridgman wrote: 'from the whole drift of the conversation and inquiries during the interview, it seemed very evident that the sole object of the commissioner was, and is, to do away with the traffic in opium, and to protect and preserve that which is legitimate and honourable' (Bridgman, *The Chinese Repository*, 1839, pp.76-77). Later, Bridgman printed Lin's famous letter to the Queen of England asking for suppression of the opium trade in *The Chinese Repository*. Noting that Lin had expressed 'an anxious desire to know how he should convey such a

communication to the English sovereign', by publicising his letter in *The Chinese Repository* Bridgman helped to get Lin's voice heard. As Lazich says in his article (2006, p.205), 'although Lin himself had eventually arranged for the letter to be carried to England by Captain Warner of the merchant vessel *Thomas Coutts*, the Foreign Office refused to receive it when they were informed of its contents'.

If Bridgman's personal opposition to taking opium can be seen as having been glossed over in *The Chinese Repository*, other missionaries' loathing of opium was much clearer. This might be related to the time when they wrote their articles. Unlike Bridgman, they had already witnessed the outbreak of the Opium War and seen more suffering in China caused by taking opium than he had. Benjamin Hobson was one of these missionaries. Hobson (1816-1873) was a British Protestant medical missionary serving with the London Missionary Society; he opened a pharmacy in Guangzhou and produced several medical works (Wylie, 1867, pp.125-128). In 1840, Hobson published his article 'Opium and Alcohol' in *The Chinese Repository*, in which he compared these two substances and expressed his views. He first mentions that 'alcohol has been known as an intoxicating drink for upwards of 900 years. The Saracens in the 11th or 12th century appear to have constructed a distilling apparatus' (pp.148-149). It 'operates upon the system as a powerful local and diffusible stimulant', and 'the degree of stimulation depends much upon modifying circumstances' (ibid.). Then, 'the operation of opium upon the constitution, greatly depends, like alcohol, upon the quantity and frequency of its being administered'. With very large doses, 'it acts as a rapid and powerful poison' (p.150). Hobson then points out another result of taking too much opium: addiction to the drug:

He is now taught practically to feel, how dependent is his enjoyment, health, character, and livelihood, upon the regular use of a false and dangerous stimulus; for however desirous he may now be to relinquish it, he finds that he is altogether unable to do so. He may attempt to put his good resolutions into practice for a few hours, but the prostration, debility, and inaptitude for all exertion which supervene are so great, combined with such distressing

restlessness, pains in the head and limbs, loss of sleep and irritability of the whole alimentary canal, with vomiting and dysentery, that he has no other choice than to return to the old habit as before, unless happily the native physician has succeeded in accomplishing a cure, which, however, either through his ignorance, or the irresolution of the patient, is rarely the case. (1840, p.153)

As a Protestant, in his essay he states that in 'Christendom', 'three fourths of all beggary and crime, and two fourths of all the cases of madness are traced to the used of distilled spirit; and that all manslaughters and murders, with a few exceptions, are connected more or less directly with the habit of spirit-drinking'. Hundreds of doctors have claimed that 'distilled spirit is not only unnecessary, but injurious to persons in health, that it contains no nutritive quality...leading to poverty, misery, and death, and that banning its entire use except for purposes strictly medicinal, would powerfully contribute to the health, morality, and comfort of the community' (pp.154-155).

At the end of the essay, Hobson says that 'in China, as long as foreign intercourse with the natives is so restricted, all scientific research must be limited', but he extends his wish for China: 'we hope a better day is dawning upon this land, and that what we know now only in part, we shall ere long be able both to confirm and greatly to improve'. He concludes that the 'smoking of opium is unquestionably injurious to the public health, happiness and pecuniary interests of the nation; that it blunts the moral sense, rendering those who use it the slaves of appetite, and the subjects of disease; and offers a very serious barrier to a friendly disposition, and commercial and religious intercourse with the people' (pp.155-156). The above extracts show that Hobson made his attitude towards opium much more explicit than Bridgman. Bridgman attempted to express his criticism by translating Chinese essays into English and quoting the royal edicts, whereas Hobson tried to link opium addiction to alcohol abuse, which in Christendom was already a longstanding problem, describing the horrible effects opium can have on the people who take it: people can become addicted to it and use of the drug can lead to poverty and crime.

Hobson was not the only missionary at that time to voice criticism of the opium trade. David Abeel (1804-1846), who was a missionary from the Dutch Reformed Church with the American Reformed Mission, joined in Hobson's criticism of opium. Abeel first arrived in China in 1830, and later established a mission in Xiamen in 1842 (David Abeel—Father of Amoy Mission, 2001). He tried to use the cases he had seen and heard about in China to alert his readers to how dangerous it was to take opium. The losses to an individual caused by opium addiction were unaffordable and the consequences were devastating. In 'Notices of Opium-smokers' (1840, pp.289-291), he describes some of the symptoms typically displayed by opium takers: 'I engaged a teacher whom I soon ascertained to be a confirmed opium-smoker', judging from his 'pale and emaciated face', 'the relaxed tone of his mind', 'the frequent escape of his thoughts from the subject in hand', and 'occasional stupidity and unconquerable drowsiness'. Abeel adds 'that symptoms, no less unequivocal, prove that the habit may be abandoned even after many years of indulgence'. The other case Abeel mentions is that of the teacher of a fellow student, who 'had become reduced to a skeleton', and 'contracted a disease which is even still more inveterate than the cause which produced it'. Sadly, 'one day he was missing, the next he was still absent, and on the third day his relations came with the usual request for money to bury him. Poor man!' The most 'affecting' case Abeel mentions in the end was that of two Chinese Christians, who were 'secretly indulging this habit', although 'they both stoutly denied it; and when the evidence became irresistible, instead of confessing and renouncing the sin; they were shameless enough to justify it'. Abeel then says that he could easily 'swell the list by many additional and striking examples'.

These articles show that the missionaries used different methods to alert people to how injurious opium was and how horrific the results of taking it could be. They were strongly against the opium trade and its use. It can be seen that the missionaries who contributed articles to *The Chinese*

Repository adopted a more sympathetic attitude towards Chinese opium-takers from the beginning. They criticised the practice of opium-taking in China and tried to free the victims from smoking the drug. This may be related to their identities – some were missionaries, some were medical missionaries, endeavouring to save the Chinese people from falling even further down. However, the attitudes of the British traders who sold opium were totally different. Contemporary Chinese scholars claimed that selling opium was ‘a deliberate conspiracy to make narcotic slaves of the Chinese empire’; this seems to be an over-interpretation of the practice of opium-dealing. As Julia Lovell (2011, p.25) summarises: it was simply ‘a greedy, pragmatic response to a decline in sales of other British imports (clocks, watches, furs)’. Since the importation of opium into China was banned by imperial decree in 1729, only 200 chests per annum were imported by Europeans. As Kitson mentions in his article (2016, p.62), this number rose steadily ‘to around 1,000 chests in 1760, 1,300 chests in 1780, and about 3,159 by 1805’. The East India Company had earned around £38 million and around 40,000 chests of opium per year had been exported into China by the end of the decade. It was so profitable that in the nineteenth century trading in opium was the most valuable trade in a single commodity in the world (Wakeman, 1978, p.172). Given the prodigious profits earned by selling opium to the Chinese empire, it is not surprising to find that the mainstream attitude among British people at that time was supportive of the trade. While some people expressed their attitude implicitly, others showed it more clearly. George Staunton, Macartney’s deputy, commented on how the Chinese indulged themselves in ‘the habits of luxury’, employing ‘part of their intervals of leisure in smoking tobacco mixed with odorous substances, and sometimes a little opium, or in chewing the areca nut’ (Staunton, 1797). John Barrow, in his *Travels in China* of 1805, directly accused the Chinese elite of hypocrisy and corruption when it came to opium, and, as Kitson (2016, p.63) argues, this was ‘a claim to be repeated many times by the British in justification of the trade’. For instance, Barrow writes about the governor of Canton as follows:

After describing in one of his late proclamations on the subject the pernicious and fatal effects arising from the use of opium, [he] observes, 'Thus it is that foreigners by the means of a vile excrementitious substance derive from this empire the most solid profits and advantages; but that our countrymen should blindly pursue this destructive and ensnaring vice, even till death is the consequence, without being undeceived, is indeed a fact odious and deplorable in the highest degree.' Yet the governor of Canton very composedly takes his daily dose of opium. (Barrow, 1804, p.153)

In summary, therefore, the missionaries had a completely different perspective on the opium trade from businessmen, diplomats and the literati of that time, who all adopted the mainstream attitude: they connived at the trade, blinding themselves to the dark side of the use of the drug, and emphasising the fact that the Chinese elites were already using opium before the British became involved in the trade, implying that since Chinese elites and policy-makers had accepted opium and smoked it so frequently, there was no point in attempting to eradicate the drug. The missionaries, by contrast, made no such comments, since saving people's lives was one of their most important secular goals. Although exporting opium was very profitable and connived at by many influential British people at that time, the missionaries still pointed out the deadly consequences of indulging in opium-taking and encouraged Chinese opium-takers to abandon this debilitating habit. Their courage should be admired. In this respect, the roles the missionaries played in bringing about 'the century of humiliation' in China should be separated from those of other Western imperialists, who were more utilitarian and money-oriented. In the beginning the missionaries assumed a less biased position in their view of opium dealing, and this formed the first stage of progressivism.

5.32 Views on *Confessions of an English Opium-Eater*

One work in particular worth mentioning here is Thomas De Quincey's well known book: *Confessions of an English Opium-Eater* (1821). This book marked the beginning of the tradition of 'addiction literature' in the West. As Zuroski-Jenkins (2016, p.107) argues, 'De Quincey performs a sleight of hand that directs our attention to the singular problem of opium; focusing on opium's narcotic effects allows him to frame Britain's ambivalence

about foreign goods as a matter solely of opium addiction'. In this book, De Quincey presents a picture of the opium experience that seems positive and enticing to readers. For example, in the chapter on 'The Pleasures of Opium', De Quincey describes the long walks he took through the London streets under the influence of the drug:

Some of these rambles led me to great distances; for an opium-eater is too happy to observe the motions of time. And sometimes in my attempts to steer homewards, upon nautical principles, by fixing my eye on the pole-star, and seeking ambitiously for a north-west passage, instead of circumnavigating all the capes and headlands I had doubled in my outward voyage, I came suddenly upon such knotty problems of alleys, such enigmatical entries, and such sphinx's riddles of streets without thoroughfares, as must, I conceive, baffle the audacity of porters, and confound the intellects of hackney-coachmen. (1971, p.81)

Even though the chapter 'The Pains of Opium' is in fact significantly longer than 'The Pleasures', De Quincey was criticised for paying too much attention to the pleasure of opium and not enough to the harsh negative aspects of addiction. And indeed, when he did try to convey the darker truths, he still appears to have been seduced by the compelling nature of the opium experience, as his language indicates:

The sense of space, and in the end, the sense of time, were both powerfully affected. Buildings, landscapes, &c. were exhibited in proportions so vast as the bodily eye is not fitted to conceive. Space swelled, and was amplified to an extent of unutterable infinity. This, however, did not disturb me so much as the vast expansion of time; I sometimes seemed to have lived for 70 or 100 years in one night; nay, sometimes had feelings representative of a millennium passed in that time, or, however, of a duration far beyond the limits of any human experience. (De Quincey, 1971, pp.103-104)

De Quincey also concludes that it is 'not the opium-eater', but the opium itself that is the 'true hero of the tale'. His accounts of his experiences of taking opium were popular among readers and were influential in encouraging others to take up the habit. Furthermore, he also participated actively in Britain's anti-Chinese discourse in his work on the Opium Wars. In 'The Opium and the China Questions' (1840), he was in favour of 'armed interference' to preserve British trading interests in China, specifically the export of opium to support the British import of tea, referring to the Chinese as 'vagabonds' and 'idolaters', and citing examples of the terrible

degeneration of moral distinctions among the Chinese in Canton. By contrast, he described the English in terms of 'our indomitable energy, and our courageous self-dependence' in imperialist endeavours; Englishmen were characterised by a capacity for 'relying upon themselves against all enemies', and as being 'in the very supreme degree' while China was 'in the lowest'. He goes on to claim that oriental powers like China are 'incapable of a true civilization, semi-refined in manners and mechanic arts, but incurably savage in the moral sense'.

Compared to De Quincey's advocacy of war in support of the opium trade in China, the missionaries displayed an attitude sharply opposed to opium dealing in China. Hobson touches on the opium problem again in another article echoing the title of De Quincey's work entitled 'Confessions of an English Opium Eater' (1840, pp.425-436). In order to make readers aware of the delusions that resulted from taking opium and to encourage them to abstain from doing so, Hobson poured criticism on De Quincey's work. After summarising the contents of the book, he first states the possible reasons why the Chinese started taking opium: for instance, thinking 'it is fashionable', or believing it was 'beneficial to them as a medicine'. Then he turns to the horrible effects opium abuse has on a person: seemingly 'agreeably exciting the brain and nervous system, its influence is cherished until it undermines the whole fabric'. He strongly doubted the saying that with 'a moderate allowance no harm would follow'. He later states that:

Mr. De Quincey, after three years' daily use and about eight at intervals, still regarded himself as a happy man. But how alas! His happiness forsook him - 'a long farewell.' He found now to his sorrow, that opium had pains as well as pleasures. His mental powers were prostrated almost to imbecility, torpor had succeeded to excitement, and a brilliant imagination had become the fruitful source of his acutest suffering. He is harassed by day, and haunted at night. Oriental imagery, the mist beautiful under the sun, was impressed upon his mind with unimaginable horror! The woes of opium are at last brought to a crisis. (Hobson, 1840, p.434)

Then, as in his previously mentioned article, he taught people how to abstain from opium, commenting that 'An individual in the enjoyment of good health requires no such stimuli for the maintenance of it, for they are

not only incapable of imparting real strength, but actually lessen it by exhausting the natural powers'. According to Hobson, there were two reasons for this: 'indirectly by diminishing, preventing the necessary supply of nourishment by the irritation and derangement they produce on the digestive apparatus', and 'directly, by the over excitement which they diffuse generally throughout the system, and which is strikingly shown to be incompatible with the natural energies of the body, and an occasion of considerable expenditure of vital power, by the depression, weakness, and functional disturbance that succeed'. He finally argues that opium addiction was 'an infringement upon the laws of our organization, which cannot be long sustained with impunity'.

5.33 Probing their Motives in Criticising Opium

The missionaries spared no efforts in attacking the abuse of opium. Their religious identities and morality, of course, could be one of the reasons why they did so. Another possible reason worth noting is the Chinese people's attitudes towards them. According to Lyman Peet, no questions have been more frequently put to me by the people of this place during my sojourn among them than those which relate to the subject of the opium. "Is it not brought from your country? Are not your Jesus Christ's men engaged in selling it to us?" Similarly, from preaching on the streets of Shanghai, William Aitchison (1856, p.165), a close associate of Bridgman, noted that opium was one of the 'most frequent topics of interrogation', and thus one of 'the mightiest obstacles to the triumph of vital religion'. Medhurst also notes an incident where an angry Chinese challenged the audacity of Westerners for criticising Chinese moral and religious practices when they themselves failed to live up to the basic Confucian moral standards, and on top of this, the missionaries were themselves involved in the opium trade. Medhurst mentions the great difficulty he felt existed in trying to disassociate the missionaries from the opium traders in the minds

of the Chinese⁵³. The criticism of the Chinese would have given the missionaries another reason to oppose the opium trade, since they needed to demonstrate that they had a different attitude towards opium abuse from other foreign groups. However, the criticisms that were levelled at them during their religious activities may also have changed their attitude towards opium in the following years.

The Nanjing Treaty, which brought an end to the first Opium War, was signed in 1842, and it represents an essential turning point in Sino-British/Sino-Western relations, for it brought an end to the restrictive Chinese 'closed' policy, and marked the beginning of China's more 'open port' system. Foreigners enjoyed more freedom in their activities in China. The missionaries, on the one hand, were relieved to see the opening up of China, since it offered more freedom for their religious activities. On the other hand, they were frustrated to see that the opium issue was still unresolved. To be more accurate, it had become more problematic. During their activities in preaching the Gospel, the missionaries might have encountered accusations and criticism from the Chinese people for selling opium to them. These factors have led some historians, such as Clifton Phillips, to argue that the missionaries 'quickly shifted their ground': interpreting the tragic injustices of the Opium War as instruments of God's plan for China's ultimate redemption:

Amid the distresses and perplexities which have overtaken the inhabitants of this land - by the introduction of opium, by the continuance of war, by inundations, by divisions of counsels, by the tumults of the people - God is evidently carrying on his own great designs; and in wrath he will remember mercy, bring order out of confusion, good out of evil, and make even man's wickedness promotive of the divine glory. His promises are sure; none can stay his hand; the heathen shall be given to his Son; and all the ends of the earth praise him as Lord of all. (*The Missionary Herald*, volume 38, p.336)

This sort of rationalisation of the opium trade did not mean that the missionaries had relinquished their objections to it, but, as Williams (1851, p.485) noted, 'Christian name [sic] is exhibited in China in connection with

⁵³ Medhurst, China, pp.80-86, 272-274, 296-306. LMS archives, Incoming from Batavia, 4 January 1825; 9 November 1825; 5 September 1827.

the opium traffic', and the discredit with which the Chinese viewed the missionaries' 'benevolence' and 'love' might have been instrumental in changing their attitudes towards opium later. It started to dawn on them that the illegal trade in opium had become a major obstacle to the preaching of the Gospel in China. To bring an end to the image of deceit, evil and corruption associated with Christianity, the missionaries could only support the legalisation of this drug. Humanitarian concern about the effects of opium abuse on the Chinese people had been replaced by a greater concern over the impact the illegality of opium taking was having on the reputation of the Protestants. This stage reveals that progressivism had moved to the next level: radical progressivism. This transition came about partly because of the real obstacle the opium trade was presenting to the missionaries in preaching the Gospel, and partly because of their radical religious attitude. In the wording of the 1858 treaties, opium was listed among the various goods that were subject to 'tariff', in effect legalising the drug. Williams's assessment of the legalisation implicit in the treaty, quoted below, reflects the contradictory sentiments of the missionary community. As an American, Williams blamed the British for the legalisation of the drug, which made him feel relieved about justifying the American missionaries' activities in China:

The Chinese government has yielded in its long resistance to permitting this drug to be entered through the custom-house; so the opium war of 1840 has at length ended in an opium triumph, and the honourable English merchants and government can now exonerate themselves from the opprobrium of smuggling this article. Bad as the triumph is, I am convinced that it was the best disposition that could be made of the perplexing question; legalization is preferable to the evils attending the farce now played; and we shall be the better when the drug is openly landed, and opium hulks and bribed inspectors are no more. (pp.291-292)

To conclude this section, the missionaries displayed strongly negative attitudes towards the opium trade in China whenever they touched on this topic. They advocated a ban on the drug and tried to persuade Chinese opium users to abstain from it. Their integrity can be seen in these efforts. This was one of the representations of their 'social progressivist' attitude:

by abstaining from smoking opium, the Chinese people would be able to save their money, their health and their spirits.

However, the misunderstandings prevalent among the Chinese and the success Britain had achieved in the Opium War somewhat changed their discourse in commenting on opium. They would still show sympathy to victims suffering from opium addiction, but became more conservative in attacking opium. Influenced by the Christian pattern they had in mind, they saw the opium problem in China as part of God's ultimate plan, and finally played an important role in helping to legalise the opium trade in China. Two key words: 'loathing' and 'sympathy', mark the main attitudes they had towards opium. The Chinese people's misunderstanding of Christianity would affect the missionaries' observations on other Chinese affairs.

5.4 Missionaries' Views on the Imperial Court and Law: Cruel and Uncertain

The focus in this section is on the missionaries' accounts of the Chinese imperial court and Chinese law. The section is divided into two main parts: the first deals with Inglis's general descriptions of Chinese law; in the second part, criminal reports found in the 'Journal of Occurrences' in *The Chinese Repository* are discussed.

Before the Protestants arrived in China, Chinese government and law had received some positive comments from the 18th century literati. Voltaire (Mackerras, 1987, pp.37-39) believed that China's governance was based on morals and law, and on the respect of children for their fathers. The educated mandarins were the fathers of the cities and provinces, and the King was the father of the empire. Quesnay (ibid.), a French economist and physician known for publishing the "Tableau économique" in 1758, saw China's government as despotic. However, he regarded this 'despotism' as benign, in contrast to that of his own country. He states that the 'Chinese constitution is founded upon wise and irrevocable laws which the emperor enforces and which he carefully observes himself'. Leibniz believed the Chinese were far ahead in what he called 'the precepts of civil life'. He says

that 'certainly they surpass us (though it is almost shameful to confess this) in practical philosophy, that is, in the precepts of ethics and politics adapted to the present life and use of mortals. Indeed, it is difficult to describe how beautifully all the laws of the Chinese, in contrast to those of other peoples, are directed to the achievement of public tranquillity and the establishment of social order, so that men shall be disrupted in their relations as little as possible'. In contrast to these positive descriptions, the 19th century witnessed an almost opposite image of the Chinese law and government.

The turning point for the image of Chinese law was the case of the merchant ship the 'Lady Hughes' (1784). An honorary salute fired as Chinese guests left the ship, having dined as the captain's guests, accidentally killed a sailor aboard a Chinese "chop boat" and mortally wounded another. In order to obtain the release of her supercargo in port, the captain of the merchant vessel handed over the young gunner who had failed to notice the Chinese vessel below his gun-port. The most grievous charge he would have faced under British law would have been negligent homicide. However, Chinese justice treated the young sailor as a 'murderer' and he was finally sentenced to death by strangulation. Chinese justice, as opposed to European law, operated, as Peter Ward Fay remarks, on two principles: 'collective responsibility and a death for a death' (Allingham).

This case illustrates the gap between foreigners' expectations of Chinese criminal law and the actual cruel executions they saw. In other words, they were viewing China through the prism of anglocentric expectations. The gunner would have faced a completely different, and in fact much less serious sentence from a British court. The discrepancy resulted from the fact that the Chinese had a different philosophy when judging the case. One writer has succinctly described traditional Chinese law as a production, and at the same time a reflection, of Chinese society. Traditional law:

was for the most part penal in nature, matters of civil law being left to custom and usage and mainly to private arbitration. It was the criminal law of an absolute sovereign designed to preserve the order of heaven, to maintain the dynasty, and to keep the balance or harmony of nature. It was concerned entirely with protection against the wrongdoer; it was not primarily concerned with the protection of the accused's rights. It was designed to protect the State from the people, not the people from the State. (Kim & LeBlang, 1975, p.79)

Actually, the principle of Chinese law was inciting fear. The Legalist School from the Warring States Period of China suggested 'governing by punishment', since 'the people will fear'. They believed 'being fearful they will not commit villainies; there being no villainies, people will be happy in what they enjoy. If, however, you teach the people by righteousness, then they will be lax, and if they are lax there will be disorder; if there is disorder, the people will suffer from what they dislike' (ibid. p.81). Furthermore, the fundamental principle in Chinese criminal judgment was 'equality'. If a victim was killed, the perpetrator would have to lose his or her life in compensation. This was 'an eye for an eye, a tooth for a tooth' justice. Foreigners who killed Chinese would be treated in the same way. In foreigners' eyes, however, this 'equality' was seen as 'discrimination' – There are several similar sayings from the Bible, though from the Old Testament, bearing similar connotations: 'but if there is any further injury, then you shall appoint as a penalty life for life, eye for eye, tooth for tooth, hand for hand, foot for foot, burn for burn, wound for wound, bruise for bruise' (*Exodus*, 21:23-25). In *Leviticus* (24:19-21), it says that 'anyone who injured their neighbour is to be injured in the same manner'. Protestant missionaries might not pay the same degree of attention to the Old Testament as to the new one, however, the 'equality' rule in the Chinese judicial system would not have been unfamiliar to missionaries. It is the view of this researcher that the missionaries' criticisms of China's 'life for life' principle may not have been based completely on the absolute nature of the law in claiming a criminal's life. I would like to put forward two hypotheses concerning their criticisms of this rule. The first is that they interpreted the rule as a manifestation of xenophobia. Foreigners had limited rights in China before the Opium War. Merchants were not

permitted to trade freely in mainland China, and missionaries were only allowed to stay in Canton in order to run religious courses. Thus, in the missionaries' eyes, the fact that a foreigner could be executed for manslaughter was a result of Chinese xenophobia: the emphasis was on the Chinese taking the lives of foreigners. The second hypothesis is that it was the cruelty of the Chinese criminal code that led to their criticism. In the missionaries' view, the cruelty of the Chinese penal code was reminiscent of the 'medieval era' in Europe. The emphasis was on killing people, which indicated that China's government did not have proper respect for human life, which is not a feature of a civilised country. They therefore called for a revolution to eradicate this cruel law code in order to make China 'civilised'.

5.41 Inglis on Chinese Government and Law

An article called 'notices of modern China', written by Robert Inglis, was published in two parts: in vol. 4 (1835, pp.17-29) and vol.5 respectively (1836, pp.202-212) of *The Chinese Repository*. In this article, Inglis states his views on the Chinese government and its law, and outlines the policy he believed necessary in order to deal with the Chinese government, China's international status and related issues. This article clearly shows Inglis's arrogance in his view of the Chinese government. Some of the methods he advocated for breaking through the restrictions imposed by the Chinese government were quite radical.

The article begins with a quotation from George Staunton's translated work, *Great Qing Legal Code* (大清律例), in which it is stated that 'with all its defects and with all its intricacy, the code of laws', although generally spoken of by the natives with 'pride and admiration', seemed to consist mainly of 'impartial execution, independent of caprice, and uninfluenced by corruption', and it was actually 'very frequently violated by those who are their administrators and constitutional guardians'. This quotation sets the tone for the rest of the article, which is one of disenchantment. The

aim of the article is to rectify the previous stereotypes of Chinese law Europeans might have, probably influenced by literati from the enlightenment period. Inglis describes the Chinese government as 'patriarchal', and states that China had been 'systematised by Confucius', which 'probably contributed to the stability of the empire', but may also have brought about the 'unimaginative insipid character of the people'. According to Inglis, China had attained 'in a high degree, the civilization of luxury', yet its institutions were 'defective', its rulers 'corrupt', its men 'without honor' and its women 'slaves'. He concludes by proposing that the obvious solution to China's 'problem' is Christianity 'for Christianity is the summary of all civilization: it contains every argument which could be urged in support, and every precept which explains the nature'. Because of China's shrinking from communication with the rest of the world, Europe 'has passed her in the career of knowledge', and China has never 'felt a moral renovation like that of the introduction of Christianity into the west, or of the printing press into Europe'. It is noteworthy that the movable printing press technology was invented by Chinese first, while westerners until now have not given credit to the Chinese. He also draws attention to the misleading nature of the descriptions of the Roman Catholic missionaries. They are misleading not only because the Jesuits were prone to exaggeration, but also because they judged China with reference to Europe, as both countries were then; in fact, at the time Inglis was writing, little had changed in China, whereas Europe had 'risen prodigiously in the scale of civilization' (1835, p.20). He proceeds to quote Ellis's account (1835, p.21) from Lord Amherst's embassy, which states that those who had 'an impression that the Chinese were to be classed with the civilized nations of Europe, have no doubt seen reason to correct their opinion; those, on the contrary, who in their estimate ranged them with the other nations of Asia, will have seen very little to surprise them in the conduct, either of the government or of individuals'. The radical progressivism and fundamentalism of the Protestant missionaries can both be seen in these narratives. It can be foreseen that the subsequent narratives on Chinese

government and law would be very negative. In his discourse on the Chinese law code, he describes a particular case (1835, p.26) to illustrate the 'uncertainty and futility' of the code: In Anhui province, six people were killed in an affray between two parties of salt smugglers. One of the murderers, a Mohammedan, ripped open one of the corpses of his adversaries, plucked out the viscera, split the head, and threw the different parts of the body into the river. This man was sentenced at his trial to suffer death by decapitation after confinement. The emperor censured not only the judge who passed this sentence, but also the Board at Peking who referred it to him, because they did not notice the gratuitous cruelty of the murderer, and he ordered a new law to be made to apply to such cases. (1835, p.26)

It appears that Inglis was trying to correct the wrong impression of Chinese government and law left by the Catholics. He tried to prove that, as a result of its isolation, China had already been surpassed by the European nations in these respects. He further extends his argument in the second half of his essay, where a bolder evaluation of Chinese government is presented. Below is a summary of his key arguments:

1. The principal cause of the stability and integrity of the Chinese empire is its isolated locality and the peculiar language, which debar communication with others; this accidental position established isolation as the principle of safety for its government. (1836, p. 202)

2. The policy of the government has been constantly confounded by the temperament of the people, which has supposedly made them averse to both foreigners and commerce. However, the Chinese, like other people, are impelled by self-interest, and willing to trade with anyone as long as it is profitable. The restrictions on foreigners are the policy of the government, without which the restrictions may soon cease to exist. (1836, pp.204-205)

3. There are two ways of breaking through these barriers. The first is by 'exciting its fears'. The Chinese government and its officials are afraid of the power of the British government, judging by the way they received the Macartney and Amherst embassies. The second is by inciting the people to insult the government and weaken its control over its own people. (1836, pp.205-206)

4. Inglis believed that 'commerce introduces civilization, and religion (meaning Christianity) is, as we have observed elsewhere, the summary of all civilization'.

5. China is losing the advantages of its former isolated position, and with this must decrease the resistance of its isolating policy.

6. There is no reason to suppose that the Qing Dynasty is immortal any more than the dynasties that preceded it. It is probable that China will be split into Tartar and Chinese kingdoms. Each will probably seek foreign aid against the other, and the contest for political influence now going on in other parts of Asia, between Russia and the Western European states, may be removed to China.

Inglis's statements show that he thought Europe had surpassed China at that time, and that compared with the British Empire, China was backward and was falling behind. Surely he spoke for Christianity as well; he believed Christianity was the best way to modernise China and introduce civilisation to the country. He also seems to have encouraged the Western powers to intimidate the Chinese government by military force. By 'exciting their fears', secluded China could be opened. Compared with his attitudes towards opium, Inglis's evaluation of the Chinese government and law was more radical and less rational, probably because the issues involved had fewer ethical implications. Inglis urged the need for revolution in China, and his advocacy was aggressive. He spoke for his own interests in his discourse on the Chinese government.

5.42 Various Criminal Reports, One Obvious Theme

There were six categories of homicide in the Qing legal code, which had been inherited from the Tang Dynasty. These were 'Mou Sha' (謀殺, by previous design, whether an individual does it with his own heart, or with companions), 'Gu Sha' (故殺, by instant design, wilful at the moment, though unpremeditated), 'Dou Sha' (鬥殺, by fighting in an affray), 'Xi Sha' (戲殺, by dangerous sports, such as boxing, where the perpetrator had foreseen the result, but ignored it.), 'Wu Sha' (誤殺, by mishap, hitting or killing the wrong person), 'Guoshi Sha' (過失殺, Killing by misadventure). In the 'punishment' stage, there were usually five forms of severe punishment: flogging, blows, captivity, banishment and the death penalty. There were different ways of carrying out the death penalty, such as hanging, beheading (梟首, severing and displaying the head) and decapitating (凌遲, slicing and dismembering). As one of the earliest Protestants who noted these criminal punishments, Morrison was especially interested in the death penalties in China. He observes that although distinctions were made between the different forms of homicide, in most cases, capital punishment was inevitable. He says (1834, p.39) the 'One with whom you had no quarrel, and to whom you intended no hurt. The persons found guilty of any of these crimes, are by law, punished with 'death;' some immediate, others after imprisonment'. He also mentions that the 'Chinese have a prejudice against all foreigners who approach them as equals', and that this urges them 'to require the life of a foreigner, whenever the death of a native is caused'. Morrison comments that 'the law of all civilised nations is tender of human life', while the Chinese 'consider homicide as a debt', and a debt can only be paid by the creditor. Morrison also pointed out that there was 'a glorious uncertainty' in Chinese laws, since a great deal depended on the station or rank of the two parties

concerned: the case of a master killing his 'slaves' was different from that of a 'slave' killing his master; another example is that if a woman kills a man who attempts to violate her person, it is considered justifiable homicide; however, 'if the assailant were her husband's father, a person to whom she owes great respect and submission, if she causes his death, she shall lose her own life'.

The two hypotheses put forward on p. 195 are confirmed by Morrison's statements. The missionaries complained that the Chinese treated foreigners with the utmost severity and that the legal code was cruel and inflexible. However, at the same time, they described the code as 'uncertain'. Whatever 'uncertainty' it had, the outcome for a foreigner who claimed a Chinese life was sure: death. Actually, many examples of criminal cases can be found in the 'Journal of Occurrences' of *The Chinese Repository*, most of which were taken from the *Peking Gazette*, a government bulletin that lasted until 1912, when the Qing Dynasty fell and the Republic of China was founded. The bulletin was called *Jingbao* (京報) in Chinese, meaning 'Capital Report'. It contains information on court appointments and edicts etc., released by the government or the emperor. The cases chosen by the missionaries do reflect the absurdity of the Chinese law code at that time:

A young man being vexed with a creditor, who was urging his claims with abusive language, picked up a stone and threw it at him. At that moment, the creditor stooped, and the father of the young man rose; and the stone, passing over the creditor, hit his father's head. The son, because for his manslaughter of his father, is condemned to be decapitated. Had it been intentional, he would have suffered the slow punishment of being cut into pieces (dismemberment); but as it was confessedly unintentional, the sentence was commuted to merely cutting off his head. (vol.2, p.432, 1834)

A widow and her mother-in-law both lived in illicit intercourse with different men. The widow brought in supplies of rice and money by her vicious conduct. Her paramour however, fell into poverty and supplies ceased. The widow's mother-in-law ordered her daughter to go after the men and ask for supplies. She failed. Her mother-in-law began to chastise her. The mother was killed during their fight. The daughter cast the body into a neighbouring river to remove all evidence of her crime. She was sentenced to be cut into pieces, but

given the illegal conduct her mother-in-law did, her sentence was changed to immediate decapitation. (vol.2, 1833, p.336)

Along with these dramatic criminal cases, there were also many reports indicating the large number of executions every year:

At Koten, in Tartary, as it appears by the Peking Gazettes, twenty-one persons, accused of an attempt to excite rebellions, and of murdering two Mohammedan begs, were in January last, fastened to a cross and cut to pieces. (vol. 2, p.192)

Public executions have been frequent during this autumn: twenty-four persons were decapitated yesterday, at the usual place of execution, just without one of the southern gates. (vol. 4, p.391)

Public executions - by decapitation in Canton and by hanging in Hongkong — have attracted attention during this month; the first on account of their great numbers and frequency, and the latter from the short period, 60.5 hours, between the passing and the execution of the sentence, on two malefactors, on a Chinese and the other Englishman. In Canton, more than twenty persons, some of them women, were decapitated in one day. (vol. 14, p.352)

So many people were executed every year that the Chinese people were seen as indifferent to bloodshed and numb to the losses of life. A browse through the 'Journal of Occurrences' revealed two interesting comments. The first is as follows: 'Through much uninteresting matter of this nature must we wade in order to avoid missing objects of a more interesting character which we often find' (vol. 5, p.44). The second comment questions the authenticity of *The Peking Gazette*: 'The state of the Chinese empire, so far as we are able to judge, from *The Peking Gazettes*, and from rumours and reports among the people, is quiet and generally prosperous. How such a mass of human beings, under existing circumstances, can be kept in a state of peace, it is not easy to explain' (vol.13, p.560). On one hand, the missionaries quoted from *The Peking Gazette*, arguing that the official government bulletin contained a great many examples of cruel criminal cases; on the other hand, they questioned the positive reports in this gazette. The self-contradictory attitude on the part of the missionaries shows their own purpose in discussing this topic. Their calls for revolution were not just because of the barbarity of the Chinese penal code, but were also designed to further their own aims in China. As mentioned in the previous chapter, in his book - *Concise Account of the United States of*

America, Bridgman adopted a domestication strategy in attempting to impart Western knowledge to his Chinese readers. In order to make Western culture appealing to them, he tried to use the spirit of 'humbleness' which the Chinese literati advocated. Intent on informing Chinese readers of the high state of culture in America, Bridgman introduced the American government and law in five separate chapters. He focused on those ideas which he felt were most useful and pertinent as role models for the Chinese to follow. In his discourse on government (guozheng), Bridgman explained the general structure of the local, state and federal governments. In the chapter 'National Leadership: Inner and Outer [National and regional] Yemens [government offices] Established by the Constitution', he described how the president was elected, mentioning that his term would be only four years. Bridgman added that 'if any one is found to be wiser, he may be elected to serve again'. State governors were also elected in this fashion, on condition that they were residents of the state in question. This practice completely contradicted the Chinese 'Rule of avoidance', which forbade regional officers from serving in their own home districts to avoid the possibility of abuse of power. Bridgman's Chinese knowledge enabled him to highlight those aspects of American culture that the Chinese literati might consider particularly worthy of emulation. In another chapter, he mentioned the limitations of the federal government, noting that even the president, 'must vow to conform to the laws, and do his utmost to govern the people without any consideration of self interest'. Bridgman then moved to the criminal justice system in America; he described how courts consisted of panels of judges and how unjust verdicts could be reversed through appeal. Using Massachusetts as an example, Bridgman cited the number and specific offences of criminals punished or imprisoned during 1821 to 1836. This statistic was used to show that there 'is no beheading, being sent to a remote place for penal duty, or beating and torture; instead, there are only three forms of punishment: hanging, imprisonment and fines' (MHGZ, pp.47-48). In his idealised portrait of America, most criminals were reformed by being

provided with good books and subjected to a strict regimen of hard work and daily worship.

The above extracts again revealed the 'progressivist' attitude the Protestant missionaries displayed in their narratives on the Chinese government and law. In addition to this aspect of Chinese society, they turned their fire on other areas, discussed below.

5.5 Missionaries' Views on the Chinese People: Partial and Discrediting

'When I knew I couldn't suffer another moment of pain, and tears fell on my bloody bindings, my mother spoke softly into my ear, encouraging me to go one more hour, one more day, one more week, reminding me of the rewards I would have if I carried on a little longer. In this way, she taught me how to endure — not just the physical trials of foot-binding and childbearing but the more torturous pain of the heart, mind, and soul.'

-Lisa See (*Snow Flower and the Secret Fan*, 2005)

If the missionaries' attitude towards China's government and its legal system can still be regarded as being within the bounds of reasonableness, since they did discover some reports of extreme criminal cases which reflected the weaknesses and contradictions in Chinese law, their depiction of the Chinese people as revealed in this section crosses the line of being 'reasonable'. The missionaries criticised the national character and traditions of China in order to justify their advocating of the modernisation of China, in both religious and cultural aspects. Their judgments of the Chinese people may also be described as subjective.

5.51 On National Characters of Chinese

William Milne (1785-1822), the second Protestant missionary sent by the London Missionary Society to China after his colleague, Robert Morrison, expressed his view on the 'national character of the Chinese' in the first volume of *The Chinese Repository*. He criticised China for its backwardness. He mentions (pp.326-330) that things which were 'really the consequences

of ignorance and barbarity', the Chinese 'sometimes mistake for virtues of high character'. According to Milne, the Chinese 'erroneously conceived, that the vices of their own times were rather the necessary consequences of high civilization, than the native corruption of the human heart'. This statement set the tone for his subsequent argument: that in terms of the arts and sciences, China was 'stationary'. This confirms the accounts of the Amherst Embassy, which described China as 'at present rather in a retrograde state'. Milne attributed this phenomenon to the Chinese people's 'want of genius'. He states that 'they are still the blind slaves of antiquity, and possess not that greatness of character which sees its own defects, and sighs after improvement'. The executive government treated the Chinese people 'with contempt'; Chinese people have no choice but to 'submit', and 'quietly eat down the insults they meet with'. Milne summarised his view as follows: 'the intrigue and deceit of the Chinese, and the rude courage of the Tartar, seem to unite in what may be considered the present national character of China'. Speaking of the Chinese people's national character, he states that 'the morals of China, as a nation, commence in filial duty, and end in political government. The learned reduce every good thing to one principle: viz. that of paternal and filial piety; every other is but a modification of this. In this they think they discover the seed of all virtues, and the motives to all duties'. Milne tends to quote extreme cases to attract his readers' attention. For instance, one example he gives to illustrate the national character of the Chinese is that if a fire broke out the 'filial rule' sometimes prevented people from attempting to put it out: the public had to wait until the superior authorities had been informed, and only then would they take action. This would have been seen as an aberration by his readers.

Notably, he seems to advocate a radical method (military intervention) to demolish the ailing social system in China; he states:

...and so far as that union [between the intrigue and deceit of the Chinese and the rude courage of the Tartar, mentioned in the previous paragraph] does exist, it will render her formidable to their enemies. What cannot be effected

by force, may be by fraud, and vice versa; and what any one of these qualities [force or fraud] singly may not be able to accomplish, the union of both [force and fraud] may'. It thus appears that Milne saw the union of 'the intrigue and deceit of the Chinese and the rude courage of the Tartar' as a formidable force to be reckoned with.

Milne's colleague, Morrison, on the other hand, puts Chinese society across to his readers through his observations on Chinese opinions of 'public calamities' (1833, p.232). He says that 'although the Chinese have no idea of Almighty God, distinct from and superior to the material universe, they still think that the wickedness of mankind destroys the harmony of nature, and causes public calamities'. The case he quotes is that of an 'awful storm and destructive inundation', which was described as 'a truly great heaven-sent calamity'. The Chinese attributed this 'extraordinary calamity to the defects of themselves and fellow officers'.

Morrison's depiction of China's public calamities can be related to the 'literature of climatic disaster'. In this view, unusually cold weather, crop failures or famine were regarded as a political failure of the regime in power. They were seen as being caused by the moral and socioeconomic corruption of an entire society, and as evidence of divine retribution from God. In *The Amherst Embassy in the Shadow of Tambora: Climate and Culture, 1816* (2016), Robert Markley has touched on this topic. On 10 April 1815, Mount Tambora on the island of Indonesia exploded in the largest volcanic eruption in modern history. The force of the blast created a plume of aerosol sulphates, covering nine million square kilometres, which reached the stratosphere and cooled the temperature in the northern hemisphere, including China, by around three degrees for three years. However, when the Amherst Embassy visited China in 1816, they interpreted the unseasonable weather conditions they encountered in moral terms; the climate was seen as a political failure on the part of the regime in power. After the Amherst Embassy's failure to fulfil its goals of dealing successfully with the Qing regime, many of its members confirmed this view, believing that the terrible weather was related to the Qing regime's 'ill treatment' of the Embassy. Markley argues (2016, pp.85-86)

that 'texts about environmental disasters well into the nineteenth century invoked the typology of Noah's flood to interpret catastrophic events as evidence of God's displeasure with sinful populations and corrupt regimes'. The narratives of members of the Amherst Embassy such as George Staunton, John Francis Davis and Robert Morrison all reveal how the perceptions of China in the nineteenth century both influenced and were influenced by the entwined discourses on climate, agriculture, politics and culture. It may be expected that Morrison, being a missionary, would relate the poverty in China to a climatic typology. The poverty of the Chinese peasants was attributed by Morrison to the 'flat, marshy, unproductive, gloomy region' (1820, p.16) in which they worked. In narrative and ideational terms, it is difficult to separate Morrison's accounts of the failure of the mission from his descriptions of the Chinese countryside, infrastructure and people. He tends to imply that the mission failed because the court was brutally insensitive to the effects of heat, dust and travel on Amherst and his retinue. This attitude was carried forward to his narratives on Chinese natural conditions in *The Chinese Repository*, in which he points out that the Chinese themselves admitted that the calamities they suffered from were the result of the 'wickedness of mankind'. There are two possible explanations for why Morrison did this: first, Morrison's linking of the natural calamities in China to the wickedness of the Chinese people may be seen as a 'climatic typology', indicating the displeasure of God. Morrison used this idea not only to justify the failure of the Amherst Embassy, but also to expose the political weakness of the Chinese regime. Secondly, as mentioned in Chapter 5, the linking of natural calamities to God's wrath is also an example of 'figurism', according to which ancient Chinese histories and books contained the mysteries of Christianity, and efforts were made to find things in common between these two entities. Since the Chinese themselves believed that such calamities were 'heaven-sent', possibly 'the displeasure of God' can be rationalised and the values of Christianity can be regarded as universal.

Apart from the narratives mentioned above, Morrison also criticised the Chinese people and government for being too reserved, and sometimes arrogant. For instance, 'they do not acknowledge that which is the fact, viz. that the trade is a reciprocal exchange of benefits; that they open a market to sell their commodities. No, for then there would be an equality in carrying on the trade, there would be reciprocal rights betwixt the buyer and seller'. Before the Opium Wars, there was only one port in China which was open for trade, which was Canton, and, as Morrison points out, the Chinese saw this concession as a display of 'compassion and benevolence' (vol.8, pp.615-619, 1840) on their part: 'they are benefactors, and therefore, foreign merchants, the recipients of their bounty, have no rights; there are no reciprocal obligations, it is all compassion and benevolence on the one hand, and there should be nothing but gratitude and submission on the other'. He goes on to mention that 'two to three thousand Englishmen, or persons subject to the English flag', annually 'visit China, and remain there six or seven months'. This large number of people had 'occasional intercourse with some of the worst of the Chinese community' and 'it is impossible to prevent totally the commission of crimes'. He then euphemistically admits that 'there will be occasionally acts of fraud, and violence, and murder'; however, 'the Chinese do not give the protection of their laws to foreigners. Almost annually, Englishmen lose their lives, or are robbed, without commonly any investigation being made; or if made, universally without success'. On the other hand, if Englishmen sometimes commit acts of violence, to hand them over to the Chinese government is 'not to give them up to justice, but to certain death, whether guilty or not'. This statement confirms his initial arguments in introducing Chinese laws and government.

It is worth noting that the foregoing article is extracted from the second volume of Morrison's *Memoir*, and it was written in 1814, 26 years before the First Opium War. During the First Opium War, this article was quoted by *The Chinese Repository*, and used to justify the 'necessity' of launching

this war against China. The 'progress' that the War could bring to China was not confined to 'reciprocal benefits on trade', but also included 'legal justice'. Unfortunately, Morrison did not live to see the outbreak of the Opium Wars and the suffering they caused China and the Chinese people, and his colleagues did not record the Second Opium War in *The Chinese Repository*, since the journal had already ceased publication by 1856. The First Opium War in 1842 witnessed the signature of *The Treaty of Nanking*, which granted an indemnity and extraterritoriality to Britain, along with the opening of five treaty ports, and the cession of Hong Kong Island. However, it is believed that the failure of the treaty to satisfy the British goals of improving trade and diplomatic relations led to the Second Opium War (1856–60). As mentioned in the previous chapter, China, as 'a continent country', relied heavily on the farming industry. Around 80% (Feng, 1948, p.12) of the Chinese did farming-related work in traditional China and were self-supporting, which meant they had no great desire to trade with others. The 'reciprocal exchange of benefits' mentioned by Morrison was not necessary at all; there was thus little increase in the Chinese trade market after the First Opium War, and this situation finally led to the outbreak of the Second Opium War. It can be seen that Morrison still did not understand the true nature of the Chinese social structure - how it functioned and worked; he blindly criticised it and chose not to see its strengths, adopting double standards in commenting on different topics: the 'compassion and benevolence' the Chinese showed in opening Canton for trade was interpreted in a negative sense by him, as though compassion and benevolence formed no part of the Chinese national character.

5.52 On the Foot-binding of Chinese Women

Morrison's colleague, Bridgman, on the other hand, turned his attention to the foot-binding of Chinese females (1835, pp.537-542). At the beginning of the essay, he states that 'not only the minds of the people, but their bodies also, are distorted and deformed by unnatural usages; and those laws, physical as well as moral, which the Creator designed for the good of

his creatures, are perverted, and, if possible, would be annihilated'. He then mentions that the aim of this tradition was to help husbands to 'oblige their wives to keep at home'. He says 'it is certain, that they are extremely confined, and seldom stir out their apartments, which are in the most retired place in the house; having no communication with any but the women servants'. Although the Tartar ladies did not yield to the cruel customs, in the large towns and cities, and 'generally in the most fashionable parts of the country, a majority of the females have their feet compressed'. According to Bridgman, the effects of this process 'are extremely painful'. He quotes a British surgeon's statement on foot binding:

To an unpracticed eye, the Chinese foot has more the appearance of a congenital malformation than the effect of art, however long continued; and although no real luxation has taken place, yet at first sight we should either consider it as that species of deformity vulgarly called club-foot, or the result of some accidental dislocation, which from ignorance and want of surgical skill, had been left unreduced. (1835, p.539)

The foot-binding practice in China was further evidence in support of the 'Degeneration Theory' referred to in the previous chapter: the Chinese were thought to be inferior and to need the guidance and control of rational, moral Whites. Their condition was considered to have been caused by some degenerative process that was related to climate or conditions of life, to isolation from Christian civilisation, or to some divine action explained in the Bible. This was, in fact, the more liberal point of view, since proponents of this approach believed that these degenerates could be redeemed by being given the benefits of European education and culture, especially by being converted to Christianity. Another article in *The Chinese Repository* (1834, p.42) mentions that 'Could the females of Europe and America witness the universal degradation of their sex in 'the celestial empire,' proudly and impiously so styled, ways and means would speedily be devised to shed light on these benighted minds. It is desirable that the attention of Christian ladies should be directed in a greater degree to the females of China, to pray more earnestly to the Lord for them, and in

every possible way to endeavour to teach them the knowledge of salvation by Jesus Christ'. The case of foot-binding was introduced for this purpose.

In discussing how the British saw the practice of foot-binding, Chang argues (2016, p.133) that 'to draw on the trope of the bound foot is not only about confronting a physical effect deemed gruesome by Victorian Britons, although it certainly is that. It is also a confrontation with imported and assimilated ideas of movement, freedom, and the power of narrative intervention'. She further argues that discussing foot-binding laid the foundation for later specific reform efforts, and that it could not have occurred 'without the particular literary conditions of that mid-century moment'. Apparently, the practice of binding women's feet is far more distressing and memorable than other Chinese customs. Chang (2016, p.137) has also mentioned something similar in her work. She argues that the bound foot itself can be regarded as a 'troubling imposition of immobility on Chinese women', who were 'helpless and dependent'. Chang also believes that drawing attention to the foot-binding of Chinese women could help 'delineate the limits and consequences of immobility for British subjects as well', such as the corseted waist. Other bodily modifications, such as the compression of the heads of American Indians or the corseted waists of European ladies, were similar, in that they all represented physical constraints on women, as shown in an extract from Chamber's *Edinburgh Journal* (1841, p.111): the 'deformity of the person is not always congenital, nor the effect of accident: it is often the result of a deliberate attempt to alter what nature has made perfect'.

It can be said that the example of the bound foot forced readers to consider not only the internal constraints imposed when an improper form is assumed, but also the range and limits of social exercise as externally defined. To propose that Chinese women's bound feet were an example of 'unliberated disability', is to propose that disability can be denied and that women's mobility can be obtained through reformation. In their reformist rhetoric, British reform activists usually saw the dual processes of

unbinding Chinese women's feet and unfettering Chinese international development as being inextricably linked, and 'emancipating Chinese women' was an excuse for the British to intervene in Chinese domestic affairs. Then China would be more easily accepted by the international community.

In summary, the missionaries tried various ways to indicate the backwardness of the Chinese regime and culture. Through the use of symbolism and typology, natural disasters and the Chinese foot-binding tradition were related to the regime's misdemeanours and the 'deformity' of the Chinese character and person, both physical and mental.

5.53 On the Defects of Chinese Education and Healthcare

It is not always the case that missionaries were only criticising how backward Chinese people and traditions were. At the same time, they endeavoured to help Chinese 'underrepresented' groups. We can mainly see their efforts in the topics of education and healthcare.

Bridgman (1839, p.551-552) once wrote down a story that happened in the medical missionary society's hospital. It not only showed missionaries' expertise in medical treatment, also their humanitarian concerns for inferior groups. On one occasion in 'Nanhae', a woman affected by dropsy and disease of the heart and liver arrived at the hospital. She was unable to walk and called a sedan, though she could not afford to pay the bearers. The woman 'entreated me to have compassion on her, that she was a solitary being without parent, husband, or child'. The medical missionaries decided to pay the bearers and provide her with food and other comfort. Though her disease was very bad, medical missionaries still 'would do what we could do'. Under medical treatment in a few days, the swelling of the legs subsided, and several gallons of fluid were drawn from her abdomen, 'showing a great enlargement of the liver'. On the 11th day since her arrival, it 'was found evident that she could not live long and it was proposed she should return home', however, the woman said there were no boat before

the commencement of Chinese New Year, missionaries accepted her request for staying for a few extra days. On the 13th, she 'fell backward in her chair and expired in less than an hour'. Missionaries contacted the officers regulated by law. After holding an inquest on the body, the officer ordered it to be buried. 'Everything was made as pleasant as possible, and so far as could be judged, both the magistrate and the hong merchants were perfectly satisfied.' Since this event, Bridgman suggests the institution gained a 'tacit recognition' from the officials, since no edict was given afterwards.

Actually, Bridgman was aware of the difficulty in setting up hospitals and schools in China. In an article called 'vaccination' (1833, pp.35-41), he introduced the practice of vaccine inoculation into China to western readers. There were two stages. The first stage was in 1805, when Mr. Hewit, a 'Portuguese subject and a merchant of Macao' first brought the vaccine from Manila. In Macao from 1805 to 1806, the inoculation started from the poorest classes, and later 'the numbers brought for inoculation were great'. Bridgman states that:

At that time it was considered judicious to endeavour to give the practice extension by vaccinating as many as possible, not fully aware of the characteristic apathy of the Chinese to what does not immediately appeal to their observation through the exigency either of their sufferings or interests, and erroneously thinking that such a benefit to be appreciated, required but to be known (ibid.).

Bridgman suggests that missionaries' efforts in helping public healthcare were underwhelming to the populace. Chinese were seen as short-sighted and unwelcoming to foreigners. These sayings were in conformity with their descriptions of Chinese people's characters. It appears that Bridgman wanted to show medical missionaries' determination to help Chinese people despite the strong opposition they encountered. In Canton, in 1816, workers who were employed or had been previously employed by the British factory were given vaccinations. At first, it met with 'strenuous opposition, and it still meets little acceptance.' However, Bridgman sees it on the whole as successful, since there were fewer obstacles than could be

anticipated. There were even some of the principal members of the Chinese commercial corporations, who have established a fund for 'affording gratuitous inoculation to the poor at all times, especially framed, and judiciously so, to allot small premiums to those who bring forward their children at that objectionable period.' The support from the Chinese commercial community proved the success of inoculation organised by medical missionaries, and also there is a 'helping hand' among Chinese.

Bridgman touched on the education in China as well. In 'First Annual Report of the Morrison Education Society' (1837, pp.229-244), he quoted the annual report of the society and discussed the defects of the Chinese education systems and highlighted what Morrison Education Society had been trying to do in order to improve and extend the level of education in China.

Bridgman firstly pointed out that there were two problems in Chinese education: the great lack of education, and the great defects in that which exists. Based on systematic research, the Morrison Education Society listed 18 aspects relating to Chinese education, ranging from the Chinese population, different classes of people, the proportion of males and females, different kinds of schools, the number of males and females who were able to read, methods of teaching, examinations, punishment in schools etc.

The society was aware (1837, pp.233-237) of the four classes since ancient China, namely, 'scholars, husbandman, mechanics and merchants' (士农工商), though in my viewpoint, it is more appropriate to translate '士' as 'officials' rather than 'scholars'. The four divisions of classes probably reminded Bridgman of Indian four classes, as he tended to link the Chinese education with Indian education, he mentions earlier in the article (ibid. p.230): here, as in India, 'it is just as necessary to know the extent of the ignorance that prevails where education is wholly or almost wholly

neglected, as to know the extent of the acquirements made where some attention is paid to it.'

The report suggests the inequality between men and women: 95% of men were married, a 'plurality of wives is not uncommon'. In 'Nanhae', one of the cities in Canton where people were remarkable for their literary spirit, nearly all men were able to read, except agriculturists, gardeners, fisherman etc., while no more than 1% of women could read. Since ancient times, boys commenced their primary school at 8, while girls 'after they reached the age of ten, were not allowed to leave their apartments.' In terms of the primary books used for education, Bridgman comments that 'none of the branches of science, properly so called, enter into any part of these primary books.' He further argues that:

They are from beginning to end unfitted for the minds of children, being, for the most part, hard to understand, and wholly devoid of topics calculated to awaken interest in the minds of children or to enlarge their understanding (ibid. p.235).

Besides, the reports also points out other problems they found in Chinese primary education: the rich could give their sons the advantage of a full course, but the poor class were restricted by their poverty from giving their children any education. Missionaries were not aware of any houses or school-rooms provided by the government for education, and a 'great majority of teachers, in common schools, are unsuccessful candidates for literary honors'. The examinations of primary schools were 'both informal and unfrequent', and few 'parents or friends ever visit the schools in which their children are being educated.'

As discussed in section 2, Bridgman was also aware of the 'punishments' and spent several strokes on it. He suggests punishments in school were 'often and severely inflicted'. Some misbehaviours such as being late, or unable to acquire the lesson in a given time could affect students 'by reproof, chastisement, expulsion.'

In summary, the report pointedly suggested the defects in Chinese education, which could be mainly concluded as:

Illiteracy of women and the poor.

Insufficient primary schools.

The poor quality of school teachers and textbooks.

The report comments that 'the natural capacities of Chinese children are every way equal to those of Europeans', but in terms of 'mental discipline', partly due to 'the nature of books used, and partly from the method adopted in teaching, is very inferior to that enjoyed by European children.'(ibid. p.236)

It further discussed Chinese overseas, such as Chinese in Batavia and Pinang, suggesting that the problems in overseas Chinese education were more or less the same.

In order to help improve primary school education in China, the Morrison Education Society was set up in 1835, with an attendance of 12 girls and 2 boys. The school was under the 'auspices of the Ladies' Association for the promotion of female education in India and the East'. Pupils coming to the school were also furnished with clothing, stationary, board and lodging for free. Bridgman also introduced the story of a beggar helped by the school: the orphan was left to wander in the streets, with no food, shelter or clothing. This kid later became the first one who entered on the school's list. Due to Chinese being short-sighted, the Morrison Education Society was under great 'animadversion', for it was unable to 'immediately display the fruits of its labors'. However, missionaries still showed their strong determination in helping Chinese primary school education. The report proudly says 'in the moments of calm reflection, when the mind revolves the various objects of virtue and philanthropy, some may equal, but few will surpass, in desirableness or moral grandeur, the Morrison Education Society.'

From the descriptions of missionaries' activities in setting up schools and hospitals, we can see that they showed a 'progressivist' attitude; they tried to offer the children and patients in China the same level of treatment in the West, which is based on the universal values missionaries had in their mind.

5.6 What Comes with Progressivist Attitude?

As mentioned earlier, in this chapter I have employed the concept of 'progressivism' to discuss the missionaries' narratives on the Chinese people and government. In *Progressivism in America: A Case Study of the Era from Theodore Roosevelt to Woodrow Wilson*, Ekirch (1974) sees the growth of a strong centralised national government in the United States as the progressivists' response to domestic problems. With regard to domestic reform, American progressivists became convinced that by improving the environment where people lived they could change human nature and create a utopian society. In their relations with other nations, the same conviction led them to support war as a means of creating a better world community. They seized on the concept of strengthening American government as the means of achieving both ends. Ekirch's investigation of the European roots of American progressivism begins with Darwinism, and Reform Darwinism is especially important: once American intellectuals accepted the premise that changing the environment could improve human nature, utopianism became practicable.

Missionaries such as Morrison and his colleagues had a similar 'progressive' attitude in their discourses on China, although 'utopianism' in their dictionaries would have been equated with Christianity. This progressivism was an active, Eurocentric attitude. The purpose behind this attitude was to change human nature and create an ideal world by improving the environment. As mentioned earlier, the end the missionaries had in mind for China was good. As shown by their attitudes towards opium, at the beginning they hoped the Chinese people would give up the habit of taking the drug and that 'a better day is dawning upon this land'. Given the huge

profits opium could bring to the West, the fact that the missionaries stuck to their ground in opposing the opium trade can be seen as evidence of their determination to create a better environment for the Chinese people.

In an article called 'Medical Practitioners in China' from *The Chinese Repository* (1835, pp.386-389), Colledge appeals to his fellow missionaries in China to help 'the Chinese understand the feelings which Christian philanthropists cherish towards them'. Colledge (1796 – 1879) was a British surgeon working for the East India Company in Guangzhou who also served part-time as the first medical missionary in China. In 1837 he founded the Medical Missionary Society of China and became its first president. According to the article quoted above, within a period of six weeks, more than four hundred and fifty invalids had receive medical aid from the hands of a foreigner. He further states that 'we know it is as much more important to cure the maladies of the mind than those of the body, as the one is more valuable than the other: still it is the duty of those who would follow the example of 'the teacher sent from God' to do both'. In his eyes, the Chinese were 'more sensible to what affects their temporal or personal interests, than to any efforts which have been made to improve their moral and intellectual condition', so for those who 'seek to convert', the first thing to do is to gain the confidence of the Chinese 'by rendering themselves useful'. He suggests that:

Those societies that now send missionaries should also send physicians to this benighted race, who on their arrival in China should commence by making themselves acquainted with the language; and in place of attempting any regular system of teaching or preaching, let them heal the sick and administer to their wants, mingling with their medical practice such instructions either in religion, philosophy, medicine, chemistry, &c., &c., as the minds of individuals may have been gradually prepared to receive (Colledge, 1835, pp.386-389).

From the materials presented above, it can be seen that the missionaries did bring positive things for the Chinese people. While Colledge's approach was quite mild - in order to convert the Chinese to Christianity he suggests first curing their physical illnesses - most of his fellow missionaries adopted a more radical approach. The narratives on Chinese law and the Chinese

people described in the previous section revealed the methods they adopted to depict China as a 'barbarian nation' – the methods of hyperbole and symbolism. In order to illustrate the cruelty and absurdity of Chinese law, the missionaries paid more attention to extreme and 'bloody' criminal cases, while in their depiction of the Chinese people they described phenomena such as women's foot-binding and peoples' attitude towards natural disasters, attempting to use typology and symbols to indicate China's corruption and weakness. Even with regard to opium dealing, on being interrogated by educated Chinese, the missionaries stealthily changed their position, stating that opium abuse in China was all part of God's will. When the missionaries went too far in their methods, the good ends they originally hoped for were not achieved. In fact, the opposite was the case.

In summary, the radical progressivism the missionaries introduced in China in the 19th century only succeeded in exacerbating the state of unrest and turbulence that had existed in the country for some time. The war against China, advocated in many articles in the publication of *The Chinese Repository*, did in fact occur a few years later. However, the results of this war were not those they had hoped for. The military intervention by the West did nothing to evangelise China, and instead spurred the resentment of the Chinese of both the Manchu government and of foreigners. Christianity then became a puppet that Chinese rebels used to justify their campaigns, and was later utilised in the same way by Western imperialists and Western military interventions.

In the 19th century, while it was common for merchants and diplomats to collaborate because of the nature of their work and goals, the Protestant missionaries, by virtue of their calling, were 'aggressive' individualists in both their attitude and their thoughts - they often clashed with the established order of China and called for revolution. Although some of their aggressiveness was shared by the merchants who were seeking profit and by the diplomats who were seeking to open up China, the missionaries

remained unique in terms of their background and their actions: they came to China with the self-confidence of evangelists who felt they had received God's call, believing Christianity was a major component of Western progress in general, and that they must share Christianity with the pagan Chinese. The Protestant missionaries were the only group who sought to establish contact between the common people of two different civilisations. Thus, their spirit of 'progressivism' was quite distinctive - it was intertwined with a variation of orientalism that was based on their religious background, namely, fundamentalism, and the mixture of these two attitudes led to unexpected consequences. After 1842, the British victory in the Opium War gave the missionaries the right to preach the Gospel freely in China, and helped to confirm their conviction that they had a worthy message to spread. Unfortunately, their involvement in this invasion subsequently helped to bring about the Taiping Rebellion. The leader of the rebellion - Hong Xiuquan's - use of his own personal version of Protestant Christianity inevitably distorted the rebels' original plan, and the failure of the rebellion in the 1860s left the Protestant missionaries with a worse reputation than ever among the educated Chinese elite.

Chapter 6 Conclusion

In *Orientalism*, Said discusses Christianity's division of the 'intra-Oriental spheres': a near Orient and a Far Orient; a familiar Orient, which René Grousset calls 'l'empire du Levant', and a novel Orient. Said further suggests that neither of 'these Orients was purely one thing or the other: it is their vacillations, their tempting suggestiveness, their capacity for entertaining and confusing the mind, that are interesting' (1978, p.58). He then describes the reliance of orientalism on Christianity to establish an image of an immortal East, and on the other side, Christianity's reliance on orientalism to provide it with a justification for moralising the world:

Not only is the Orient accommodated to the moral exigencies of Western Christianity; it is also circumscribed by a series of attitudes and judgments that send the western mind, not first to Oriental sources for correction and verification, but rather to other orientalist works.

Orientalism thus comes to exert a three-way force, on the Orient, on the Orientalist, and on the Western 'consumer' of Orientalism. For the Orient is corrected, even penalised, for lying outside the boundaries of European society, 'our' world; the Orient is thus Orientalised, a process that not only marks the orient as the province of the orientalist but also forces the un-initiated western reader to accept Orientalist codifications as the true Orient. Truth, in short, becomes a function of learned judgment, not of the material itself, which in time seems to owe even its existence to the Orientalist (1978, p.67).

In other words, in order for such a cultural discourse to function, a negative image of a barbaric Orient (Near/Far) is necessary. According to this discourse, morality and virtue are the province of the West alone, and do not feature in Western scholars' discussions of the Orient.

The visits of Protestant missionaries to China in the nineteenth century were not personal missions, nor were they disparate, sporadic occurrences. Rather, they were the result of the Evangelical Movement that had been flourishing in Europe since the late 18th century. The movement evolved as part of Protestantism, and the missionaries expected to share their joy of being saved with others, while at the same time saving others through evangelism. These 'others' included not only their fellow countrymen, but also people overseas. Britain, therefore, as the most powerful Protestant

country in the world at that time, organised and supported many British Christians in their overseas activities.

It was inevitable that these missionaries would face a dilemma in choosing between evangelism and imperialism; should the 'other' in most parts of the Orient first be Westernised, or should he first be Christianised? In China, missionaries such as Morrison also had to deal with the conflicts between biblical accounts and Chinese historical facts. From their discussions of this problem, it appears that the early Protestant missionaries often self-righteously imagined that the Chinese were eagerly awaiting the light of the Gospel in their darkness, rather than empathising with them. The subjectivity in their reactions to an oriental culture meant that the Protestant missionaries had their own 'China'; their views were a mixture of imagination and prejudice tempered by their knowledge and experience. As a consequence, the Gospel brought not only Western civilisation and science to China, but also diplomats and opium merchants.

For my examination of the first group of Protestant missionaries in China, as primary representatives of orientalists, here I adopt the metaphor of a 'trifle' to illustrate their activities. Seen from the top layer (the 'cream') down, the missionaries' contributions are superficially quite obvious: they introduced Western style hospitals into China, which improved medical conditions for patients; they provided Chinese people with a knowledge of the world; they also introduced the Western tutorial style in Chinese schools. When you go a bit deeper, you find the 'custard' part of the trifle: the missionaries served as moderators between the two cultures—attempting to bring about some sort of mutual understanding through their published works and translations. Underneath these two layers one finds the 'sponge, fruit and jelly' at the bottom: this layer is the thickest and has the strongest taste, and equates to the missionaries' religious faith and their appeal in China.

It seems that the early Protestant missionaries in China were a group distinct from other Westerners, for they resisted traditional Western

imperialistic views by not simply viewing themselves as being from a superior culture. Judging by their devotion to the study of the language and culture, the missionaries who came to China after a period in China, decided to learn about a 'foreign' culture, rather than a 'lesser' culture. As Fred Drake notes, before Bridgman came to China, he held the typical belief that the Chinese were 'simple natives', who resembled 'heathen idolaters who were awkward and ignorant'. However, in 1830, having been in the country for less than a year, his conviction had altered 'to a significant degree', and he became increasingly aware of the antiquity and great accomplishments of Chinese civilisation (1985, Drake, p.92). It is noteworthy that the missionaries' services as translators and interpreters were sought by merchants and even government officials, and some of the missionaries retired to become scholars of Chinese studies at European universities.

However, the early Protestant missionaries were also exclusivists in their religious faith. Although some, such as Bridgman, appreciated the antiquity of Chinese civilisation, the early Protestant missionaries did not view China's corresponding religions/philosophies as equal to Christianity. They chose to reject, or even attack them. This distinctive 'layer' always remained below the surface, and affected their discourses on China.

These three distinct layers that I have used to describe the different aspects of the missionaries' activities in China can also be seen to represent their ideological standpoints: a socially progressivist approach at the top, combined with a syncretic approach in the middle, and a fundamentalist attitude as the bottom layer.

Of these three, fundamentalism is the key. To be specific, it is the basic ingredient of this 'trifle' and illustrates the underlying spirit of the early Protestant missionaries who arrived in China, such as Robert Morrison and Elijah Bridgman. The beliefs of these early arrivals affected those of latecomers for decades. Instead of viewing the Bible as something symbolic which needed to be illustrated, they insisted on sticking to a literal view,

believing it all to be God's Word and that everything in it was true. The great value they attached to the Bible also affected their evangelical approach: people such as Morrison believed that if the Chinese people had the opportunity to read the Bible in their mother tongue, it would be easier to proselytise them. Therefore, the Protestant missionaries swarmed into the streets and disseminated Christian tracts to the local people. However, the fact that their fundamentalism made them adhere firmly to their own faith and to regard other religious sects as unorthodox or pagan caused them some trouble in their activities in China. The incompatibility between the beliefs of the Chinese, who were immersed in Buddhism and Confucianism, and Christianity was the cause of the hostility of the Chinese towards the new religion, and in turn the cause of their hostility towards and suspicion of the Protestant missionaries themselves. As the Opium Wars worsened the Sino-Western relationship, this hostility reached a peak. It can be said that the 'bottom-up' approach the Protestants developed on the basis of fundamentalism was no better than that of the Jesuits, and actually, it even made things worse: they neither won the favour of the imperial court as the Jesuits had, nor did they develop any good relations with ordinary Chinese. When some of the missionaries were disseminating booklets on the streets, they were asked if it was God who had brought opium to China.

Syncretism can be regarded as a by-product of fundamentalism. When dealing with the conflicts between biblical accounts and Chinese historical facts in their narratives, the early Protestant missionaries had no choice but to adopt a syncretic method, although they seem to have endeavoured to remain within a fundamentalist framework. Similarities can be found between the Protestants' method and that of the 16th century Jesuits. The Jesuit missionary Bouvet, for example, found 'figures' for the future redeemer in Chinese canonical books, and he interpreted Chinese mythology as if it referred to real historical events and personages. Thus, most mythological Chinese emperors and heroes were compared with the

patriarchs of the Old Testament or even identified with them. It seems likely that the main reason the Jesuits did this was in order to curry favour with the Chinese and attract their interest in the missionaries' religion by emphasising how splendid Chinese history and culture were. However, as mentioned earlier in this thesis, there may have been other reasons for the Jesuits' use of this strategy. According to Wu (2005), James Ussher's viewpoint represents the mainstream Christian view on the world's timeline: the world was created around 4004 B.C., while the flood occurred in 2348 B.C. However, the Jesuits found from Chinese historical records that its monarchical system was established in 2952 B.C, 600 years before the flood, and then lasted continuously for more than 4000 years. The story of the flood indicates that everything in the world was destroyed apart from Noah and those on his ark. However, the Chinese record shows that the Chinese race was not eradicated by the flood. In dealing with such an obvious conflict, some of the Jesuit missionaries argued that the flood actually happened around 3000 B.C, while others chose not to believe the Chinese record and insisted that the first monarchy in China must have been established in 2357 B.C. However, since there were so many facts in Chinese history that conflicted with biblical accounts, simply denying their veracity was not always the ideal option. Then came a syncretic method — the Jesuits deliberately glossed over the timeline problems and instead identified the Chinese emperors and heroes with the patriarchs from the Bible. For example, Martino Martini identified Shennong as Cain, since they were both farmers; he identified Fu Xi as Adam, since they came more or less from the mud/earth, and Huang Di as Enoch (Wu, 2005). Aiming to reconcile these conflicts, the Jesuits unintentionally initiated a long-lasting debate in Europe on the authenticity of the biblical accounts of world history. Although the Protestant missionaries had once severely attacked the Jesuits' evangelical approach in China, however, in discussing the same topic they had few options but to follow the Jesuits' approach. Narratives relating Adam and Fu Xi are not found among the Protestants' writings, but claims that China was the land of Sinim depicted in the Bible can be found

in *The Chinese Repository*. When introducing the long history of China and its distinctive culture, the Protestants still linked it to the Christian view of world history. Their religious attitude remained radical, and it seems that their adoption of a syncretic approach was inevitable as a result. These two ideologies (fundamentalism and syncretism) were closely related. As Said concluded, 'the Orient and the Oriental, Arab, Islamic, India, China or whatever, become repetitious pseudo-incarnations of some great original (Christ, Europe, the West) they were supposed to have been imitating. Only the source of these rather narcissistic western ideas about the Orient changed in time, not their character' (1978, p.62).

Finally, it appears from the materials investigated in this research that the missionaries justified their fundamentalist attitude on the grounds of social progressivism. The Protestant missionaries thought the purpose of their stay in China was to bring modernisation and other positive changes to the stagnant and backward Chinese society, and the advanced technology they brought from the West, to some degree, supported their religious goals in China. There is no denying that the Protestant missionaries made many positive contributions to Chinese society at that time; in addition to those mentioned above (introducing hospitals, Western technology etc.), they were strongly opposed to opium dealing in China in its early stages. However, as long as it was based on fundamentalism, their social progressivist attitude and thoughts would always be imbued with a Christian character. The change in their discourses on opium dealing in the later stages of the trade is evidence of this. Their progressivist attitude thus not only brought advanced technology to China, but also political unrest.

It can be said that these three approaches (fundamentalism, syncretism and progressivism) were closely linked to each other and could not be separated in this context. One example is when the missionaries tried to fit the Chinese language into the framework of languages described in the Bible; in order to do this, they applied a syncretic approach. Fundamentalism was the key and the basis; it produced the sense of

syncretism, and the progressivist attitude supported the fundamentalist approach. Both syncretism and progressivism provided rationales for the Protestant missionaries' religious activities in China and were used to justify their evangelical works and the necessity for them to travel overseas. Their fundamentalism, helped by the spirit of progressivism, was also utilised by their fellow countrymen who were pursuing imperialistic and financial interests - interests which finally created turmoil and unrest in China in subsequent years. The Protestant missionaries wanted to preach the Gospel more freely in China, since they had at first been restricted to Canton and were not permitted to venture into inland China; on being questioned by the Chinese over whether the opium dealing in China was also the will of an omnipotent and kind God, they could not answer. They wanted to bring modernisation and Western science to China as well as Christianity, but in the end this objective led them to support, or at least connive at the British invasion of China. Indeed, a close look at *The Chinese Repository* reveals a covert advocacy for war against China (1833, pp.3-4):

What was true of all India is now in its fullest extent true of China. This whole nation is in a profound sleep, and while she is dreaming of greatness of glory, she is borne backward by a strong and rapid tide of influence; and if the nation be not speedily roused, who can tell where her retrogression will end? It is justly the glory of our age, that in many parts of the world the condition of the human family is improving, and with a rapidity such as man has never before witnessed.

Shall we see the Hindoo join in the rapid course of modern improvement, and at the same time regard the case of the Chinese as hopeless? And what more effectual way can be advised for benefiting the Chinese, than to learn as accurately as possible their true condition; to exhibit it to themselves; and then to put within their reach the means of improvement? And to accomplish all this, what better means can be employed than those which have proved to be so effectual and successful in other places?

This change in India was the result of British military intervention, and implicitly here is supporting a similar solution in China. Therefore, it appears that the Opium Wars, to some extent, were supported by the Protestant missionaries in the belief that they would help them spread the Gospel. The Christian influence in inciting domestic rebellions such as the Taiping and Boxer uprisings should also not be overlooked. The leader of

the Taiping Rebellion, Hong Xiuquan, was deeply inspired by Christian doctrines and integrated his own thoughts with them; the Protestant missionaries could never have anticipated the devastating effect their religion would have in China – with a death toll caused by the Taiping Rebellion of over 20 million people (Britannica Concise). Chinese hostility towards Christianity and Chinese xenophobia finally reached a peak in the late 19th century, and the Boxer uprising aggravated the situation of unrest. This was clearly not a result wanted or anticipated by the missionaries, but they must bear some responsibility for this.

It should be pointed out that these three manifestations of orientalism were limited to the context of the early 19th century. As the Protestants remained in China and witnessed the outbreak of these wars and rebellions at first-hand, it appears that they changed their standpoint on various issues. For example, *The China Review: or Notes and Queries on the Far East* was an academic journal published in Hong Kong from 1872 to 1901, which consisted of 25 volumes in total. Judging by its stated purpose, *The China Review* seems to have had many similarities with *The Chinese Repository*: both were aiming to introduce contemporary Chinese affairs, along with Chinese history, culture, geography etc., to Western readers. However, the general tone in *The China Review* is much milder. One possible reason for this is that there were far fewer missionary writers for *The China Review* than there had been for *The Chinese Repository*. The standpoint of these few missionaries in their narratives was also different from that of the contributors to *The Chinese Repository*. One of the writers for *The China Review* was James Legge (1815-1897), a Scottish missionary serving as a representative of the London Missionary Society in Malacca and Hong Kong (1840–1873). In order to comprehend the ideas and culture of the Chinese, in 1841 he began a translation in many volumes of the Chinese classics. Unlike the earlier Protestant missionaries, he was not a strong opposer of these ‘pagan’ works, and instead, after completing his missionary work in China, he became the first professor of Chinese at

Oxford University. The fundamentalist attitude of the earlier evangelists is not evident in Legge's works.

About five years after *Orientalism* was published in 1978, Said began to develop some ideas about the general relationship between culture and empire. In 1993, he published his book *Culture and Imperialism*, which he named 'not just a sequel of *Orientalism* but an attempt to do something else (1993, xiv).' In this book, he suggests the impact from western literature on colonialism and imperialism. The comments he made on one of the authors, Joseph Conrad, might be used as the gist of both Said's works:

Conrad seems to be saying, 'We Westerners will decide who is a good native or a bad, because all natives have sufficient existence by virtue of our recognition. We created them, we taught them to speak and think, and when they rebel they simply confirm our views of them as silly children, duped by some of their Western masters.'

It is no paradox, therefore, that Conrad was both anti-imperialist and imperialist, progressive when it came to rendering fearlessly and pessimistically the self-confirming, self-deluding corruption of overseas domination, deeply reactionary when it came to conceding that Africa or South America could ever have had an independent history or culture, which the imperialists violently disturbed but by which they were ultimately defeated (1993, xxii).

This equally applies to the Protestant missionaries of the 19th century who seemingly took a similarly paradoxical attitude towards imperialism.

Appendix

Articles from *The Chinese Repository* (64 Articles altogether)

Article	Author	Year	Volume	Page Number
Notices of Opium-Smokers	Abeel D.	1840	No.9	pp.284-291
Population of the Chinese Empire	Anon	1833	No.1	pp.345-363
Introductory Remarks	Anon	1833	No.2	pp.1-9
Journal of Occurrences	Anon	1833	No.2	pp.189-192
Journal of Occurrences	Anon	1833	No.2	pp.430-432
Education of Chinese Females	Anon	1834	No.3	p.42
Journal of Occurrences	Anon	1835	No.4	pp.390-392
Journal of Occurrences	Anon	1836	No.5	pp.44-48
Mode of Teaching the Chinese Language	Anon	1836	No.5	pp.61-65
Names of Foreign Residents in China	Anon	1837	No.5	pp.426-431
Journal of Occurrences	Anon	1844	No.13	pp.559-560
Journal of Occurrences	Anon	1845	No.14	pp.351-352
Vaccination	Bridgman E.	1833	No.2	pp.35-41
The Chinese Language	Bridgman E.	1834	No.3	pp.1-14
Small Feet of the Chinese Females	Bridgman E.	1835	No.3	pp.537-542
European Periodicals beyond the Ganges	Bridgman E.	1836	No.5	pp.145-160

Morrison Education Society	Bridgman E.	1837	No.6	pp.229-244
Foreign Opium Poison ^a	Bridgman E.	1838	No.7	pp.107-109
The Second Annual Report of the Morrison Education Society	Bridgman E.	1838	No.7	pp.301-310
Suspension of Trade	Bridgman E.	1838	No.7	pp.437-456
Medical Missionary Society's Hospital	Bridgman E.	1839	No.7	pp.551-552
Crisis in the Opium Traffic	Bridgman E.	1839	No.8	pp.57-83
Revision of The Chinese Version of the Bible	Bridgman E.	1846	No.15	pp.161-165
Chronology of the Chinese	Bridgman E.	1841	No.10	pp.121-159
Medical Practitioners in China	Colledge T.	1835	No.4	pp.386-389
Remarks on the Chinese Language	Dyer S.	1839	No.8	pp.347-359
Periodical Magazines	Gutzlaff C.	1833	No.2	pp.186-187
Remarks on Chinese History	Gutzlaff C.	1834	No.3	pp.53-61
Propagation of the Gospel in China	Gutzlaff C.	1834	No.3	pp.244-246
Revision of the Chinese Version of the Bible	Gutzlaff C.	1836	No.4	pp.393-398
The Shoo King	Gutzlaff C.	1839	No.8	pp. 385-400
Terms for the Deity	Gutzlaff C.	1846	No.15	pp.464-466

Opium and Alcohol	Hobson B.	1840	No.9	pp.147-156
Confessions of an English Opium Eater	Hobson B.	1840	No.9	pp.425-436
Notices of Modern China (I)	Inglis R.	1835	No.4	pp.17-29
Notices of Modern China (II)	Inglis R.	1836	No.5	pp.202-212
Tenets of the Buddhists	Jones J.T.	1850	No.19	pp.548-551
The Land of Sinim (I)	Lowrie W.	1844	No.13	pp. 113-123
The Land of Sinim (II)	Lowrie W.	1844	No.13	pp.466-477
The Land of Sinim (III)	Lowrie W.	1844	No.13	pp.537-552
The Land of Sinim (IV)	Lowrie W.	1844	No.13	pp.578-603
The Land of Sinim (V)	Lowrie W.	1844	No.13	pp.641-654
Chinese Terms for Deity	Lowrie W.	1846	No.15	pp.311-317
Miscellanies (National Character of the Chinese)	Milne W.	1832	No.1	pp.326-335
The Chinese Written Language	Morrison J.R.	1834	No.3	pp.14-37
Society for the Diffusion of Useful Knowledge	Morrison J.R.	1834	No.3	pp.378-384
Worshipping at the Tombs	Morrison R.	1832	No.1	pp.201-203
Miscellanies	Morrison R.	1833	No.1	pp.373-374
Worship of Confucius	Morrison R.	1833	No.1	pp.502-503
Public Calamities	Morrison R.	1833	No.2	p.232
Superstition and Idolatry	Morrison R.	1833	No.2	pp.327-329

Journal of Occurrences	Morrison R.	1833	No.2	pp.335-336
Homicides in China	Morrison R.	1834	No.3	pp.38-39
The Honorable I.E. Company	Morrison R.	1840	No.8	pp.615-619
Ophthalmic Hospital at Canton	Parker P.	1836	No.4	pp. 461-473
A Budhistic Stratagem	Parker P.	1839	No.8	pp.263-264
Idolatry	Stevens E.	1833	No.2	pp.166-176
Remarks on this System of Orthography	Stewart J.C.	1836	No.5	pp.65-70
Remarks on the Opium Trade with China	Stewart J.C.	1836	No.5	pp.297-305
Study of the Chinese Language (I)	Tracy I.	1838	No.7	pp.204-205
Study of the Chinese Language (II)	Tracy I.	1839	No.8	pp.338-345
The Worship of Ancestors among Chinese	Williams S.	1849	No.18	pp.363-384
Bibliographica I Notices	Williams S.	1851	No.20	pp.472-489
Historical and Fabulous Personages	Translated from the Arte China of P. Goncalvez by Dr. Bowring	1851	No.20	pp.94-105

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