

Comparative Studies on Chinese & American Areas

中美区域对比研究

主编 陈杰 王欣



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美国研究论丛

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编者的话

美国研究是一个跨学科的广阔的研究领域，涉及人文学科和社会学科的多个方面，其研究对象、视角和方法具有极大的包容性和开放性。美国研究的跨学科性质，对我国高校传统的学科体制、科研运作和人才培养模式均提出了严峻的挑战。如何避免“大而全”的肤浅研究，如何兼顾美国研究的广度和深度，如何在研究中突出重点和特色，都是需要认真思考的问题。

四川大学美国研究中心自2012年6月成为教育部区域与国别研究培育基地以来，即将中美西南区域对比研究作为中心的一个重点研究领域，希望借此整合校内外的研究资源，构筑一个跨学科的学术平台。我们希望在研究中以跨文化和跨国界的视野，引入多元和比较的视角，通过中国学人的视角去观察美国，同时又通过研究美国来反思自身。2013年11月“中国和美国的西南区域比较研究”国际学术研讨会的召开，即是我们在这方面努力的结果。该会议由四川大学和美国亚利桑那州立大学联合主办，聚集了中美学者六十多人。参会学者就中美西南区域中的文学、文化、经济、旅游、教育及少数族裔等诸多话题进行了比较研究，并展开了热烈讨论。这部文集主要就是以参会学者提交的论文汇编而成。

本书以《中美区域对比研究》命名，是四川大学美国研究中心推出的“美国研究论丛”系列文集的第一部。今后，我们将陆续出版中心的学术研究成果。借此机会，我们感谢2013年四川大学“中国和美国的西南区域比较研究”国际学术研讨会参会学者的赐稿，感谢四川大学美国研究中心学术委

员会对入编论文的审阅，感谢美国亚利桑那州立大学凯瑟琳·莫门（Kathryn Mohrman）教授为本书撰写英文前言，感谢外国语学院数位研究生同学对论文摘要的编译，感谢我中心项目主管洪舒老师在书籍出版过程中所做的联络与校稿工作，感谢四川大学出版社余芳、敬铃凌编辑为本书出版付出的辛苦努力！

陈 杰

2015年4月

Foreword

Sichuan is located in the southwest of China and Arizona is located in the southwest of the United States. Sichuan University and Arizona State University are sister institutions, not just because of their geographic locations but because of their common commitment to creative, interdisciplinary research and teaching that are linked to the communities in which they reside.

The two universities are collaborating on a series of activities that look thoughtfully and comparatively at the southwestern regions of China and the United States. This volume is one result. A quick glance at the chapter titles reveals the wide range of topics that fall under the theme of Southwest Studies: American missionaries in China in the 19th century, modern Chinese students in the United States, history of indigenous peoples in both southwestern regions, the development of high-tech industries in Sichuan and Arizona, immigration and population flows, and the impact of globalization in many spheres.

Many of these topics were first presented at the 2013 International Conference on Chinese and American Southwest Studies, held at Sichuan University and co-sponsored by Arizona State University. At that symposium, Wang Xiaolu from Sichuan University noted that comparative studies help us to develop new understanding of ourselves as well as of other cultures. The focus on the southwestern regions of the two countries is especially valuable in creating greater understanding, since both regions have been under-represented in scholarly explorations in the past. This volume adds an important set of perspectives to Sino-American comparative research.



中美区域对比研究

This volume is also the first publication of the newly upgraded American Studies Center at Sichuan University. In existence since the 1980s, the American Studies Center was designated as a National Research Base in 2012 by the Chinese Ministry of Education. We look forward to further collaboration between Sichuan University and Arizona State University in the future.

The opening keynote speaker at the November 2013 conference on Southwest Studies was Dr. Huang Ping, Director of American Studies at the Chinese Academy of Social Sciences. He commented that the intersection of cultures can lead to new solutions for important social issues. By investigating the southwest of China and the southwest of the United States, using many different academic perspectives, we hope this volume will lead, not only to greater mutual understanding, but to real solutions to the challenging problems facing both countries.

Kathryn Mohrman

Professor, School of Public Affairs

Arizona State University, USA

10 June 2014



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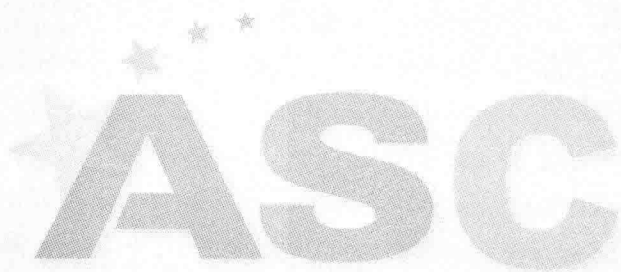
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区域研究

Area Studies

Utopian Communities on the Southwestern Frontier of the United States and China

J. Eugene Clay

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Abstract: The frontier regions of Sichuan Province and the state of Arizona have long been separated by great distances from the centers of political and economic power; both of these regions have become the sites of unique communities, alternative ideas, and encounters among diverse cultures. On the frontier, utopian and heterodox groups have an opportunity to flourish away from the centers of orthodox authority; in both Sichuan and Arizona, new and alternative religious movements found the space to grow and develop. This paper compares two utopian communities: the Spiritual Christian Molokan Jumpers of early twentieth-century Arizona in the US and the Celestial Masters of late second century southwest China. Each of these movements constructed an alternative vision that challenged the orthodoxies of their respective societies.

Key Words: Sichuan Province; the State of Arizona; Utopian Communities; Comparison

Sichuan Province and the state of Arizona have both been frontier regions for long periods of time. Separated by long distances from the centers of political and economic power, both of these regions have become the sites of unique communities, alternative ideas, and encounters among diverse cultures. On the frontier, utopian and heterodox groups have an opportunity to flourish away from the centers of orthodox authority; in both Sichuan and Arizona, new and alternative religious movements found the space to grow and develop. Because frontiers are situated far from the centers of wealth and power, they offer an

opportunity for religious and political dissenters to develop communities that offer alternatives to the dominant hegemonies. These southwestern regions of China and of the United States are both territories where settlers have formed new communities, developed new ideas about social organization, and created innovative networks of human and material resources to meet the difficult challenges of daily life. This paper compares two utopian communities: the Spiritual Christian Molokan Jumpers of early twentieth-century Arizona in the US and the Celestial Masters of late second century southwest China.

Many historians have argued that the peculiar features of frontiers have had a profound effect on religion. As Michael Khodarkovsky, a historian of Muscovy, has observed, a frontier—a “*region* that forms the margin of a settled or developed territory, a politico-geographical *area* lying beyond the integrated region of the political unit” (2002: 47)—must be distinguished from a border, which is “a clearly demarcated boundary between sovereign states” (2002: 47). Situated between two different ecologies, the liminal region of the frontier offers new opportunities and challenges to the peoples who contest it. Frederick Jackson Turner (1861-1932), who argued that the frontier had a democratizing effect on US history, has long dominated the study of the American frontier. Turner first advanced this thesis in his 1893 paper “The Significance of the Frontier in American History,” which he published in four versions over the next three decades (Turner, 1938: 275-292). Extending Turner’s argument into religious history, William Warren Sweet (1881-1958) suggested that free-church Protestants, including the Methodists and Baptists, helped to civilize, Protestantize, and Americanize the frontier, which in turn had a democratizing effect on American Protestantism (Sweet, 1964). More recently, Nathan Hatch, in his magisterial *Democratization of American Christianity*, also suggests that the frontier provided a space where radical egalitarians (such as the Methodist revivalist Lorenzo Dow) could challenge traditional notions of authority and leadership in ways that were not possible in Europe (Hatch, 1989). Likewise, Laurie Maffly-Kipp has both rejected and extended Sweet’s arguments by suggesting that the classical Protestantism of the Eastern United States

ultimately failed to take root in California—that Protestant values of hard work and community had little purchase in the western gold-rush. At the same time, however, Maffly-Kipp contends that the California frontier helped to forge a new and highly individualized form of religious life (Maffly-Kipp, 1994). These schools of thought emphasize the power of the frontier to shape religious experience and institutions.

Frontiers are liminal regions, where radically different cultural, social, and economic systems can come into contact and influence one another. For example, in the Southwestern United States, Native American farmers, such as the Hopi of north-eastern Arizona, dealt with a series of migrants, including the Athabascan-speaking Diné (or Navajo) who arrived in Arizona and New Mexico from the north roughly a millennium ago, and with Spanish settlers and missionaries, who came in the sixteenth century. These frontier societies engaged in a vigorous exchange of narratives, rituals, agricultural practices, and trade. The Diné adopted the farming practices of the Pueblo peoples that they met in northern Arizona as well as some of their cosmological narratives; the Diné emergence cosmogony is very similar to that of the Hopi. Likewise, the Hopi adopted Athabascan hunting technologies that the Diné introduced, including sinew-backed bows and arctic style microblades (Dykeman & Roebuck, 2008). Spanish explorers, such as the Franciscan father Marcos de Niza (1495-1598) who traveled to Arizona in 1539, also contributed to the interplay of languages, practices in the southwest. In the same way, the region now known as Sichuan Province was an ethnically diverse frontier region in the second century. The *Shu* culture that dominated the Sichuan region in the centuries before the unification of China under the Qin in the third century BC was probably not ethnically Han (Sage, 1992: 43; Farmer, 2007: 9-14). Later, Sichuan became one of the earliest sites of Chinese Chan (Zen or meditation) Buddhism (Adamek, 2006). In both the American and the Chinese Southwest, cultural diversity flourished.

Even into the early twentieth century, Arizona remained a frontier region where a variety of cultures came into contact. A booming mining industry attracted many Eastern European immigrants to the Southwest. Agriculture,

promoted by irrigation projects such as the completion of the Roosevelt dam, also encouraged farmers to move to Arizona. In the late summer of that year, a group of 170 Russian immigrants arrived in Glendale, Arizona, to establish a Christian agrarian colony on the outskirts of the state capital, Phoenix. A persecuted movement of pacifist religious dissenters, the Spiritual Christian Jumpers (also known as the Molokans) had fled from Russia to Arizona by way of California to avoid military conscription. The Spiritual Christians had originally broken away from the Russian Orthodox Church in the 1760s when a group of state peasants in central Russia rejected the Orthodox sacraments, fasts, hierarchy, and rituals. Instead, they contended that the true church was made of ribs and flesh, not wood and stone; the true image of God was found in living people, not in icons; and the true sacraments were spiritual, not physical. Calling themselves “spiritual Christians,” they were later tagged with the moniker “Molokan” because they drank milk [*moloko*] on fast days when dairy products were forbidden to Orthodox Christians. In the 1830s the Russian state began exiling these “most harmful” heretics to the Caucasian frontier, and it was from the Caucasus that the first Molokan settlers to the US arrived in California in 1904. Settling in Los Angeles and San Francisco, many Spiritual Christians longed to return to an agrarian life, and one such group decided to move to Arizona in 1911. They arrived with a strong eschatological hope, for one of their prophets, Maksim Gavrilovich Rudometkin (1832?-1877) had spoken in hauntingly beautiful images of the terrestrial kingdom that the faithful would inherit after struggling against the beast of false religion (Clay, 2011: 109-138; 2013: 221-243).

In many respects, the history of the Arizona Spiritual Christians echoes that of the early Daoist movement known as the Way of the Celestial Masters (*Tianshi Dao*) or, more pejoratively, as the “Five Pecks of Rice” (*Wǔ Dǒu Mǐ Dào*). This utopian community was formed by Zhang Lu on the southwestern frontier of China in the late second century. Zhang Lu’s grandfather, Zhang Daoling, had moved from Jiangsu Province on the eastern coast to the more remote and ethnically diverse Sichuan region. Attributing his doctrines to his

grandfather, Zhang Lu, like the Spiritual Christians of Arizona, sought to create a virtuous communal society in which all would cooperate to care for the needy and advance the common good. Zhang's movement evolved into one of the most important forms of Daoism (Robinet, 1997: 53-77).

Both Zhang Lu's Daoists in the second century and the Spiritual Christians of Arizona represented alternative, textual communities that had settled far from the centers of power in order to construct their own utopias. Zhang Lu's community in what is today Sichuan Province, was centered on two important texts: the *Daodejing* (*The Way and Its Power*), attributed to the legendary sixth-century BC sage Laozi, and the *Xiang'er*, the community's authoritative commentary on Laozi's classic work. More than simply a scholarly exegesis of the *Daodejing*, the *Xiang'er* provided a radically new interpretation that sometimes went against the apparent sense of the original. Although the *Daodejing* was originally a handbook for rulers that questioned the efficacy of artificial rituals, the *Xiang'er* provided the new community on China's southwestern frontier with a panoply of rituals designed, in part, to strengthen social bonds. These included complicated rules for sexual hygiene, diet, and invocations of the emanations of the *Dao* (Bokenkamp, 1997: 1-148).

The Spiritual Christian Molokans, on the other hand, preserved the writings of the sacred prophets, especially those of Maksim Rudometkin, who provided an apocalyptic script for understanding their position in their new country on the eve of the First World War. Seeing their community as the Woman Clothed in the Sun of Revelation 12, the Spiritual Christians had fled into the wilderness to escape the pursuit of Satan, the seven-headed dragon. By establishing an agrarian commune in imitation of the early apostles who held all things in common, the Spiritual Christians in this way prepared themselves against the famines that the Antichrist would soon provoke. Like the Daoists, they maintained their own separate rituals that marked them as a unique community. Although Christian, they followed the Old Testament calendar of feasts, including Passover, Tabernacles, and Trumpets (Rosh Hashanah). The Molokans' strong pacifism and their direct connection to God through their prophets also distinguished their

community as God's chosen bride, the Woman of the Apocalypse (Clay, 1928: 332-372).

Situated between two different ecologies, the liminal region of the southwestern frontiers in China and the US helped shape the "social imaginaries" of these two religious communities (Taylor, 2004). For both communities, the frontier provided a space for the development of their alternative visions of society. At the same time, neither of these utopian communities was able to escape entirely the power of the center. Zhang Lu's rebellion against the Han was crushed in 215, and the Spiritual Christian Molokans were compelled, despite their pacifist convictions and determined resistance, to register for the draft during the First World War (Moore, 1973: 281-302). Both communities survived these temporary defeats and adapted to their new conditions in ways that continued to enrich the frontiers where they had settled.

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