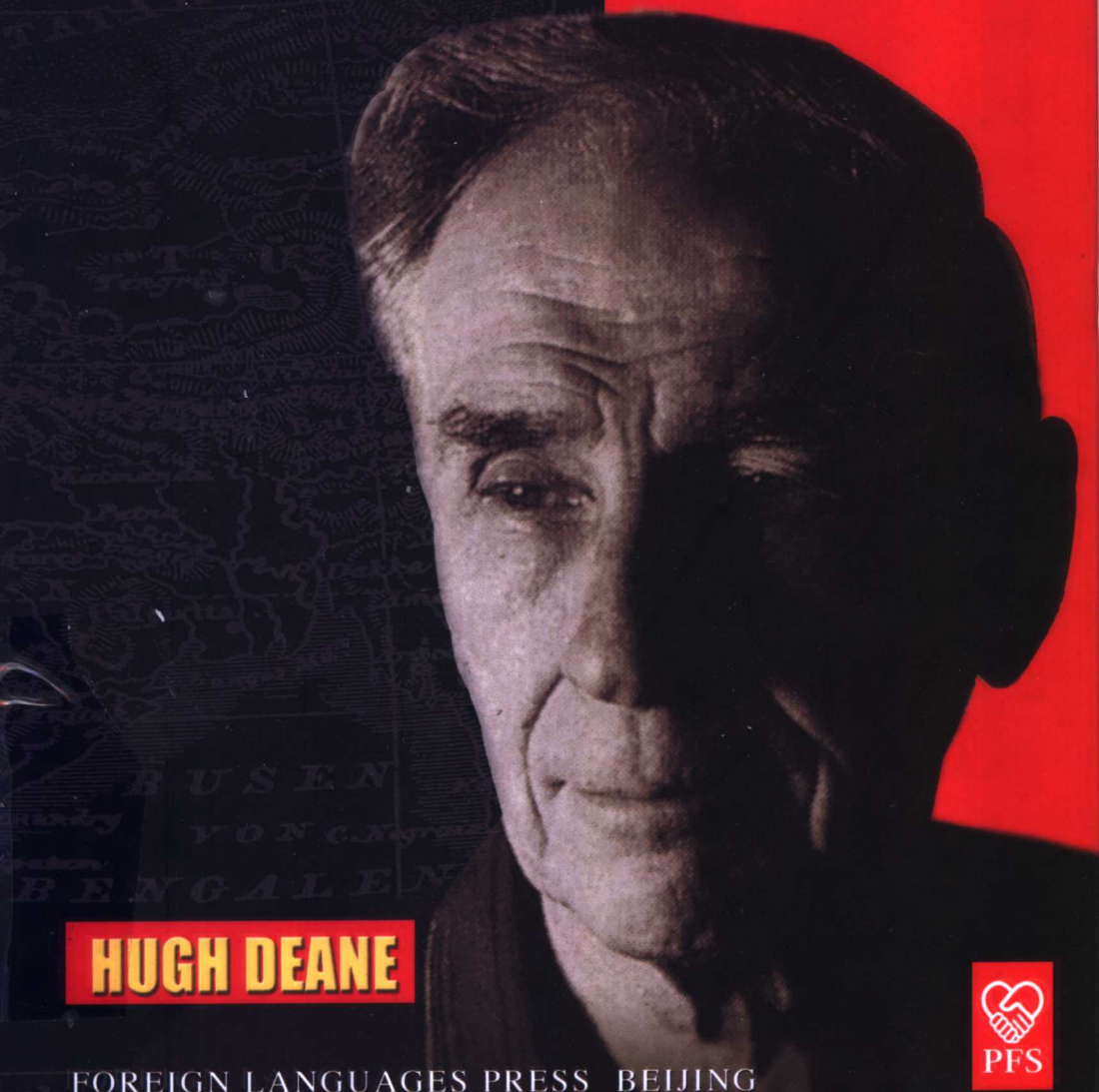


# GOOD DEEDS & GUNBOATS

TWO CENTURIES OF AMERICAN-CHINESE ENCOUNTERS



**HUGH DEANE**

FOREIGN LANGUAGES PRESS BEIJING



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Hugh Deane

Foreign Languages Press

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## PREFACE

*Huang Hua*

It is a great honor for me to write a preface for the new, PFS (China Society for People's Friendship Studies) 50-book series under the general title of *Light on China*. All these books were written in English by journalistic and other eyewitnesses of the events described. I have read many of them over the seven decades since my student days at Yenching University. With some of the outstanding authors in this series I have ties of personal friendship, mutual regard, and warm memories dating from before the Chinese people's Liberation in 1949.

Looking back and forward, I am convinced that China is pursuing the right course in building a strong and prosperous country in a rapidly changing world with its complex and sometimes volatile developments.

The books in this series cover a span of some 150 years, from the mid 19th to the early 21st century. The numerous events in China, the sufferings and struggles of the Chinese people, their history and culture, and their dreams and aspirations were written by

foreign observers animated by the spirit of friendship, equality and cooperation. Owing to copyright matters and other difficulties, not all eligible books have as yet been included.

The founder of the first Chinese republic, Dr. Sun Yat-sen wrote in his Testament in 1925, "For forty years I have devoted myself to the cause of the people's revolution with but one end in view: the elevation of China to a position of freedom and equality among the nations. My experiences during those forty years have convinced me that to attain this goal we must bring about an awakening of our own people and ally ourselves in common struggle with those people of the world who regard us as equals."

Chairman Mao Zedong declared, at the triumphal founding of the People's Republic in 1949, "The Chinese people have stood up." Today, having passed its 53rd anniversary, we see the vast forward strides that have been taken, and note that many more remain to be made.

Many foreign observers have traced and reported the real historical movement of modern China, that is: from humiliation — through struggle — to victory. Seeking understanding and friendship with the Chinese people, their insight and perspective were in basic harmony with the real developments in China. But there have been others who viewed China and the Chinese people through glasses tinted by hostile prejudice or ignorance and have invariably made irrelevant observations that could not stand the test of time. This needs to be better understood by young people and students, at home and abroad. The PFS series *Light on China* can help them gain an overview of what went before, is happening now, and will

emerge in the future.

Young students in China can additionally benefit from these works by seeing how foreign journalists and authors use fluent English to record and present historical, philosophical, and socio-political issues and choices in China. For millions of students in China, English has become a compulsory second language. These texts will also have many-sided usefulness in conveying knowledge of our country to other peoples.

Students abroad, on their part, may be helped by the example of warm, direct accounts and impressions of China presented by their elders in the language that most readily reaches them.

Above all, this timely and needed series should help build bridges of friendship and mutual understanding. Good books long out of print will be brought back to strengthen the edifice.

My hearty thanks and congratulations go first to ex-Premier Zhu Rongji, who has been an effective supporter of this new, PFS series. They go to all engaged in this worthy project, the Foreign Languages Press, our China Society for People's Friendship Studies, and others who have given their efforts and cooperation.

Chairman Mao Zedong has written: "So many deeds cry out to be done, and always urgently. The world rolls on, time presses. Ten thousand years are too long. Seize the day, seize the hour."

The hour has come for making these books available to young people in China and abroad whose destiny is to build a better world together. Let this series add a small brick to that structure.

*Beijing, Autumn 2003*

## *FOREWORD*

In this book Hugh Deane spreads before us a rich tapestry: vivid in color, varied in pattern, and surprising in details.

Perhaps it was to be expected, as the China-born son of missionaries, that I should have thought of American-Chinese encounters more in terms of missionary activity. Certainly the missionaries had an effect in China. But perhaps more important to this story was their effect in the United States: shaping the American perception of China, inventing "the loss of China," chilling the American response to China's revolution.

Another commonly remembered thread was American business. "Oil for the lamps of China" and "400 million customers." The business did not come up to those early expectations; but at least we had the self-congratulatory pleasure of having sponsored the Open Door doctrine in China.

Mr. Deane shows us that there is much, much more to the story of American involvement in China. Turn, I suggest, to the Table of Contents for an overview of his all-encompassing reach. Here is a brief sample: Samuel Shaw, Frederick Ward, Ezra Pound, Mark Twain, Frank Meyer, Joseph Stilwell, Agnes Smedley, Koji Ariyoshi, Douglas MacArthur, Paul Robeson, John William Powell. Many others are there—Edgar Snow and Evans Carlson, for example—who do not have chapters of their own. We find poet and singer, plant hunter and road builder, soldiers and sailors, journalists and publishers, students and revolutionaries, prisoners of war and rescued aviators, opium merchants and soldiers of fortune, diplomats and practitioners of covert operations, enemies and friends.

One important addition that Mr. Deane has been able to make to the story, partly no doubt because he was there, are incidents relating to the period of our alliance with China in World War II—and also to the time of our bitter hostility in Korea.

Not all our author's subjects liked the Chinese and China; and not all were on what he (and I) would consider the right side. He is wise to be realistic: the history of our relations, both as nation states and as peoples, has had sharp ups and downs. Nonetheless, there seems to be a sort of chemistry between Americans and Chinese that favors friendship. During America's self-imposed isolation from China in the 1950s and 1960s, the American people were far ahead of their timid officials and politicians in favoring a return to the traditional friendship. Hence the overwhelming popularity of President Nixon's "opening to China."

Mr. Deane himself could be a case study of this chemistry of American-Chinese friendship. His first contact with China was as a Harvard student when he spent his junior year at Lingnan University in Canton [Guangzhou]. He doesn't tell us what led him to make this—for that time quite unusual—venture; but his life since then has shown that it had a lasting effect. After graduating from Harvard he returned to China as a journalist for several years during China's Resistance War against Japan. Following war duty as an officer in naval intelligence, he returned to journalism and was in China in 1945 and 1949. During the years when direct contact was not possible, he kept up his interest and wrote widely on China affairs and American policy. When times changed for the better, he was a founder of the US-China Peoples Friendship Association, has taken an active role in non-governmental relations, and has made many trips to China. He writes from broad experience and intimate knowledge.

Although these histories of American-Chinese encounters necessarily relate to the past, it is surely the hope of our author that knowledge of them will help to smooth the encounters of the future. I heartily share this hope.

The potential benefits and gains of cooperation between China and the United States are so broad and so clear that definition seems superfluous.



The pursuit of world peace, protection of the environment, economic development, health and medicine, population control, food production and living standards, technical exchange, the cross-fertilization of arts and literature—all these are part of our common cause of humanity. Our great population and rich resources require us to be major partners on spaceship Earth. It is a cliché that cooperation needs understanding, and will be facilitated by—if not dependent on—friendship.

So what of the future? I am optimistic. It certainly will not all be smooth and easy. Some of the problems will be on the Chinese side. China's long authoritarian political history, and present governance by a Marxist party which is trying to carry out and accommodate itself to a very rapid process of economic liberalization and growth, have brought about a difficult period of tension and adjustment. The Chinese have a great capacity for common sense, moderation, and compromise. They will find a way out of their present situation, and it will be better than the past. But it will develop from their own character and experience; it will never be a carbon copy of Western free enterprise and American democracy. The need for us Americans is to accept that fact, and to be patient.

Perhaps it is only by looking at the past that we can see how things have changed. The nature and basis of our relations with China have fundamentally altered, and that is good.

I have spoken already of American smugness about "our" Open Door doctrine for China. Today, China is following her own open door policy. It is far wider than ever before. And it is being carried by China's own volition, for her own interest and benefit (though we also benefit in many ways in addition to business). On my first trip back to China, in 1971, the strongest first impression, almost tangible in what I saw and sensed in the people around me, was that China "had stood up."

Another way of looking at this is that there are literally millions of people in China today studying English—many times more than ever before. And there are probably hundreds of thousands of Chinese whose work puts them in contact with foreign travelers and businessmen—again, many times more

numerous than in the old days. But all these people are studying and speaking "proper" English. In seven visits and extensive travel in China since 1971 I have not heard a single Chinese speak pidgin English. Thank goodness!

It is also a fact that we know much more about each other than in the past. Many of us have had contact with some of the many thousands of Chinese scholars (perhaps as many as twenty thousand at any one time) who have studied at American universities in recent years. Local chapters of the US- China Peoples Friendship Association have done great work in helping numbers of these scholars make their adjustment to a confusing and very different society.

There are also far more American students in China. In Mr. Deane's student days there were only two universities in China—Yenching in what was then called Peiping, and Lingnan in Canton—that had programs for American students. Both programs were small and operated for only a few years; and both universities were missionary institutions—hence under foreign administration. I have lost track of the numerous Chinese—100 percent Chinese—universities and institutions that today are operating various kinds of study programs for American and other foreign students.

It is reasonable to hope that both these waves of students—Chinese in America, and Americans in China—are seeds for a fruitful future. Although that early contingent of Americans in China were few in number, I know of at least three (two besides Mr. Deane) who went on to achieve distinction in American-Chinese relations. One was Fulton Freeman, who studied at Lingnan; the other was John P. Davies, who was at Yenching. Both made their careers in the American Foreign Service. And both, in varying degrees, were victims of McCarthyism. It would be interesting to know the full story of what became of all that band of pioneering American students in China.

Friendship, obviously, is a two-way street. Mr. Deane tells us of many Americans who have contributed in different ways to friendship with China. Some of them have done it in unpopular ways or at unpopular times—and have paid a price. McCarthyism has just been mentioned. Mr. Deane himself was blacklisted in his journalist profession and had to support himself for a

time by managing a laundromat. In China the numbers involved were far greater, and the periods of fierce nationalism and anti-Americanism even more intense. Some day I hope to read a book like this written from the Chinese side. When that day comes, we will know that the friendship of the American and Chinese peoples is on an even firmer footing.

JOHN S. SERVICE

*Oakland, California*

1987

## AUTHOR'S PREFACE

Szuma Chien observed centuries ago that "though death befalls all men alike, it may be weightier than Mount Tai or lighter than a feather." Mao Zedong quoted this in his 1944 essay, "Serve the People."

Between my typewriter and these printed pages weighty deaths have occurred. In October 1987 Rewi Alley invited me to dinner at No.1 Tai Ji Chang. The only other guest was Dr. Ma Haide. I was honored to dine and converse with them but painfully aware of their weakened health. Rewi was frail and ate very sparingly, despite Ma's urging. Ma himself could no longer eat with his usual gusto. Rewi died in December shortly after his ninetieth birthday and Ma, his closest friend, died a year later. He had just turned seventy-eight.

Rewi's last energies were largely devoted to the revival of the Chinese Industrial Cooperatives, the movement which added the term "Gung Ho" to our language. A worthy cause—Chinese economics and politics would be well served by a national network of cooperatives democratically managed by their members. The movement which is Rewi's legacy has made some progress since I wrote my chapter on the subject and a supportive International Committee has been formed. Rewi and his associate Lu Guangmien decided I should be a vice chairman and I hope to justify their confidence in me.

I met Dr. Ma (born George Hatem in Buffalo, New York) in Edgar Snow's books and in person in 1973. Encounters over the years strengthened my admiration for him. My tribute to him was published in *China Daily* of De-

ember 16, 1988 and in the Spring 1989 issue of the *US-China Review*. But Ma would wish to be memorialized by efforts in behalf of his last great cause, the eradication of a disease of the poor, leprosy.

Su Kaiming—Frank Su to his many American friends—was the first editor of my manuscript and offered both encouragement and very helpful criticisms. I deeply regret that he did not live to see the published book. He left us his own admirable book, *Modern China: A Topical History*, to which I turn often for information and insights.

In writing the section on Agnes Smedley and Lu Xun (pp. 99-106) I was helped by articles by Janice R. and Stephen MacKinnon. Their impressive biography, *Agnes Smedley: The Life and Times of an American Radical*, was published in 1988. The result of fourteen years of the most searching investigation and writing, their book is worthy of its subject, the best kind of American. They conclude that Smedley's lifelong task "was to communicate the desperate, endless nightmare of poverty and ignorance. Her goal was the overthrow of these two dragons. Her life was a battle, without truce or compromise, to that end." I reviewed the book for *China Daily* (March 11, 1989) and the *US-China Review* (Spring 1989).

An updating note on the section on Lingnan/Zhongshan (pp. 213-219): In November 1987 I attended a reunion, rich in nostalgia, of the 1936-37 Lingnan exchange students in San Francisco. In May, leading a tour group, I again visited Zhongshan, bringing a gift of books for the new library and a report on the reunion. We had an afternoon of realistic discussion of progress and problems with faculty members of the growing university, which had revived ties with Harvard, the University of California, and other foreign academic institutions. I was pleased to learn that the old university name of Lingnan would be given to a college that would be part of the university.

At Zhongshan I did not have an opportunity to meet Professor Arnold Xiangze Jiang, historian and author of the admirable work, *The United States and China* (Chicago University Press, 1988). I regret that by the time his book came to my attention my own manuscript was completed, but I am pleased that our views very often coincide. Drawing on both Chinese and

Western sources, he argues forcefully that self-interest outweighed friendship in the minds of those shaping Washington's policy, and that invariably the U.S. supported reactionary Chinese regimes. And he points to the illusions that undermined U.S. decisions and strategies.

A well-attended and useful two-day conference celebrating the fiftieth anniversary of Edgar Snow's *Red Star Over China* was held in Beijing in June 1988. I presented a paper on Snow's persuasive rejoinders to his critics which was published in the American edition of the *Beijing Review* (September 19, 1988). My chief source was the rich collection of Snow papers at the University of Missouri, Kansas City.

The idea of the book came in conversation over lunch in the Xi Yuan Hotel in 1985. Chen Xiuzheng of New World Press was there and receptive. I am most obliged to her and others at New World Press and I am grateful that China Books & Periodicals in San Francisco agreed to be the copublisher. My thanks to editor Bob Schildgen and his colleagues.

I am honored that John S. Service took the time to write an eloquent and wise foreword that adds to the usefulness of the book.

*New York City*

*May 1989*

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# I

## Sweet and Sour

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### THE US-CHINA RELATIONSHIP IN PERSPECTIVE

In 1771, four years before the outbreak of the American Revolution, a member of the American Philosophical Society argued that the colonies could gain much by emulating the ancient land of China. "Could we be so fortunate as to introduce . . . the arts of living and improvements in husbandry, as well as their native plants, America might in time become as populous as China."

The China reached in 1784 by the *Empress of China* and the other trading ships that followed swiftly in her wake was generally seen as a formidable power and held in respect. Captain Amassa Delano, an early trader in seal skins and a collateral forebear of President Franklin Delano Roosevelt, wrote that "China is the first for greatness, riches and grandeur of any country ever known."

But the outward appearance of strength and serenity concealed inner decay and disintegration. China's pyramidal society, in which a landed elite lived in refined comfort and splendor on the surplus produced by an industrious peasantry, was showing signs of cyclical decline. The impact of the traders and opium traffickers from the West interacted with and exacerbated the internal causes of social dissolution, which were linked to the rapid growth of population. The opium trade, in which Americans quickly joined the British,