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Across Lands: Double Consciousness and Negotiating Identities in Early Chinese American Literature, 1847-1910s

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ACROSS LANDS: DOUBLE CONSCIOUSNESS AND NEGOTIATING IDENTITIES IN EARLY CHINESE AMERICAN LITERATURE, 1847-1910S

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DISSERTATION

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To Xu Zetu, who introduced me to the worlds of literature,

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Liu Xiangying, who loves me with open hands so I can soar high and free,

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ABSTRACT

This dissertation analyzes the works of three early Chinese immigrant writers (Yung Wing, Yan Phou Lee, and Wong Chin Foo) and two mixed race writers (Edith Eaton and Winnifred Eaton) in late nineteenth-century and early twentieth-century North America in order to critique the formation of early Chinese American literature. Borrowing W. E. B. Du Bois's construct of double consciousness and Amy Ling's theory of between worlds, I argue that the complicated double consciousness exhibited in the works of these early immigrant writers demonstrates their across lands strategies of negotiating identities prior to and during the Exclusion Era (1882-1943). My formulation of what I call "across lands theory" focuses on the self-representations of Chinese and mixed race immigrants in their struggle to acquire a place in the United States as well as other countries while simultaneously coping with anti-Chinese regulatory laws. While they negotiate their identities across geographical terrains (China and the U.S.), they also construct their self-image across other terrains such as psychological, legal, discursive, and aesthetic ones with a range of responses that cannot be limited to just resistance and

assimilation. Double consciousness is the dilemma immigrant writers face, and across lands strategies demonstrate their self-fashioning and negotiation of identity during the Exclusion Era.

The first chapter of this dissertation analyzes the ways in which double consciousness is utilized by Yung Wing to construct his memoir as the text of a self-made man. I argue that Yung's memoir revises the nineteenth-century cult of the self-made man to provide a prototypical model of autobiographical writing for the othered, racialized immigrant subject. The second chapter focuses on Yan Phou Lee's autobiography and periodical writing and investigates Lee's construction of difference in revising the stereotypical image of the Chinese in the late nineteenth century. I point out that the double consciousness shown in Lee's works proves that he is, like Yung Wing, another across lands figure who negotiates "between worlds" in often sophisticated, complex, and nuanced ways. The third chapter focuses on complicated across lands strategies in Wong Chin Foo's construction of Chinese American identity in relation to "the intelligent class of China" vis-à-vis "heathenism." In this chapter, I argue that Wong's periodical writing, translation, and political activities contribute to the project of constructing the new identity—Chinese American. My last chapter examines Edith and Winnifred Eaton's writings in terms of acts of passing against a paradigm of resistance and acculturation. By studying Mrs. Spring Fragrance and a Japanese Nightingale in the Eatons' works, I argue that their across lands strategy of utilizing and subversively undermining racial constructions of white American culture helps revise the abject Asian female body, including their own mixed race authorial bodies.

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Preface

My study of double consciousness and across lands experiences of early immigrant writers of Chinese descent comes from researching and questioning the formation of the "beginning" of Asian American literature in course papers as well as being an "across lands" immigrant myself.

The project originated from a course on nineteenth-century American women writers offered by Prof. Gary Scharnhorst in 2007. Edith Eaton (her Chinese penname Sui Sin Far) was included in the syllabus among American women writers such as Harriet Beecher Stowe, Linda Brent, Fanny Fern, Kate Chopin, and Edith Wharton. It was the first time I heard of Edith Eaton. I was fascinated by her. She was recuperated by the editors of *Aiiieeeee!* (1974), the first Asian American anthology, as "one of the first to speak for an Asian-American sensibility" (Chin xxxi). She invented her own voice and also gave a voice to Chinese North Americans at the turn of the twentieth century. But was she really the first Chinese North American writer? How authentic and reliable were her representations of Chinese immigrants? What was the voice of Chinese immigrants in late nineteenth-century and early twentieth-century America?

My term paper, "Sui Sin Far's Performative Writing: Racial and Ethnic Construction in *Mrs. Spring Fragrance and Other Writings*," argued that although Sui Sin Far did break stereotypes of Chinese immigrants being "yellow peril," her exploitation of exterior registers such as costumes, fans, and Chinese manners and language in her writings paradoxically perpetuated stereotypes of the Chinese. Her invention of Chineseness is her performance of race and ethnicity that helped express her anxiety about being a Eurasian woman and writer at the turn of the twentieth century.

This paper demonstrated my initial interest in exploring Edith Eaton/Sui Sin Far's place in the construction of early Chinese American literature and made me search for the voices of early Chinese immigrants in the nineteenth century.

While I was researching Edith Eaton/Sui Sin Far, I was also taking a seminar on "Globalization and Literary Studies" with Prof. Hector Torres. We studied Jacques Derrida's *Archive Fever* in class, which became instrumental to my quest to find the "beginning" of Chinese American literature. The archive is the institutionalized memory of a culture. It is the residence of the authority that commences the meaning of the materials archived in the "house." Its "archontic power" is paired with "the power of consignation," which involves the functions of collection, of identification, and of classification, and in the end, it requires a unification of the signs archived (Derrida 3). Interested in the archiving of Edith Eaton/Sui Sin Far by earlier Asian American critics and scholars, I started to question the ontological and nomological nature of the archive of Chinese American literature. Who were the early Chinese American writers? Who has the right and power to archive their lives and writings? How do they/we consign the archive of Sui Sin Far and early Chinese American writers? What technology is involved? My term paper, "Passing and the 'Sin': Reconstructing the Archive in Sui Sin Far's *Mrs. Spring Fragrance and Other Writings*," contended that Sui Sin Far's attempts to reconstruct the archive of American memory at the turn of the twentieth century reflect the reality of the racial and ethnic constructions of the Eurasian and the minority of the time period. This paper expressed my exploration of the archiving of early Chinese immigrants, which led to my discovery of a group of "forgotten" writers and texts in the late nineteenth century.

The larger questions unanswered in the term papers prompted me to further examine the construction of canons in both American literature and Asian American literature and the relations between "major" literatures and "minor" literatures. Is the construction of Chinese American literature always supplementary to that of Asian American literature? Is it true that in a similar way we reiterate the same regulatory laws and orders in situating Asian American studies in relation to a symbolic body of American literary studies? I think this is partly the dilemma of earlier anthologies such as *Aiiieeeee!* as well as the emerging interdisciplinary fields such as Ethnic Studies, Women Studies, Third World Studies, and Cultural Studies. Lisa Lowe illustrates such a dilemma between being an independent discipline and the institutional uniformity in her work *Immigrant Acts*:

> The definition of an 'ethnic literature,' figured by an 'ethnic canon,' may compromise the *critical* project of institutional change if it is forced to subscribe to criteria defined by the majority canon in order to establish the formal unity of a literary tradition; for it is precisely the standard of a literary canon that the Eurocentric and professionalizing university demands of Asian Americans and other racial and ethnic minority cultures so as to formalize those cultures as 'developed' traditions. (42-3)

The figurative "unity" between "major" and "minor" literatures, such as that between American literature and Asian American literature and that between Asian American literature and Chinese American literature, represents a double consciousness in these "minor" literatures. While demonstrating its privileges as a discipline to challenge social injustice and establish discourses to mediate and contest social concepts,

a “minor” literature is often subject to the “regulating ideas of cultural identity or integration” of a “major” literary canon in terms of literariness, genres, political agendas, and cultural identities, etc. (Lowe 43). Take Asian American literature as an example; there is a contradiction between its heterogeneity in terms of subjects (the unfixed, unclosed fields of texts by authors from different cultures, generations, and home countries as well as the variety of generic and discursive forms of expressions) and the institutional demand for assimilation to major literary criteria; so is there between Asian American literature and Chinese American literature. Here lies the significance of studying the double consciousness of Chinese American literature.

My project thus questions the archiving of the “beginning” of Chinese American literature. I uncover a double consciousness embedded in Asian American studies, which tends to focus on twentieth-century writers such as Jade Snow Wang, Diana Chang, Luis H. Chu, Maxine Hong Kingston, and Amy Ling, and dismisses nineteenth-century Chinese immigrant writers such as Yung Wing, Yan Phou Lee, and Wong Chin Foo as either following “Christian confessional autobiographical traditions” or being “cultural ambassadors,” therefore lacking literary values (Chin, “Come All Ye Asian American Writers of the Real and the Fake” 8; Kim, *Asian American Literature* 12). Using Du Bois’s concept of double consciousness and combining Amy Ling’s “between worlds” theory, I create the concept of “across lands” to examine the double consciousness of these writers and the strategic negotiation in their writings that disrupts a unified national identity. I point out that their identity is not fixed, but rather flexible and fluid, for these people crossed lands and waters, as well as terrains of different concepts, practices, cultures, customs, religions differences, and ideologies, constantly negotiating their

identities to adjust to new environments and literary markets. They belonged to two cultures and two worlds, but oftentimes encountered a deep sense of alienation. While struggling for inclusion in both citizenship and national narratives, these earlier writers often exhibited fissures and contradictions in their writings that challenged imaginary national and cultural uniformity; their heterogeneous and strategic negotiations between two worlds thus gave rise to establishing new voices during the Exclusion Era (1882-1943) and made them the forerunners of Chinese American literature.

Lastly, my own experience being a person across lands has deepened my understanding of double consciousness. Like the subjects of my dissertation, I am an immigrant. My identity has changed from an international student studying at an American university to a "green-card holder," and it is still undergoing further transformation. I would like to think of myself as a person with a fluid identity, but such concepts as Chinese citizenship and the American green card create the tension between a national identity and an intellectual identity. I feel I am constantly caught between worlds: territories, languages, political structures, ideologies, disciplines, and citizenships. Traveling back to China, I am viewed as an "Americanized" Chinese woman; living in Albuquerque, I am a foreign woman who is in an interracial marriage and speaks English with an accent. Being a Chinese student studying American literature, I am acutely aware of my own double consciousness of studying a "master" discourse and being a "racialized" subject. My identity, like that of the subjects of my dissertation, is constantly shifting, changing, reconstructing, and reshaping, full of promise, pain, ecstasy, and frustration--a mixture with meanings. My dissertation is my response to being a subject across lands who is able to negotiate her own identity.

Introduction

Re-appropriating Double Consciousness

> The Negro [was] … born with a veil, and gifted with second-sight in this American world, -- a world which yields him no true self-consciousness, but only lets him see himself through the revelation of the other world. It is a peculiar sensation, this double consciousness, this sense of always looking at one's self through the eyes of others, of measuring one's soul by the tape of a world that looks on in amused contempt and pity. One ever feels his two-ness, -- an American, a Negro; two souls, two thoughts, two unreconciled strivings; two warring ideals in one dark body, whose dogged strength alone keeps it from being torn asunder (Du Bois 9).

> The 'double consciousness' with which W. E. B. Du Bois characterized the black American: 'this sense of always looking at one's self through the eyes of others, of measuring one's soul by the tape of a world that looks on in amused contempt and pity' equally characterizes Chinese Americans (Ling, *Between Worlds: Women Writers of Chinese Ancestry* 105).

> The between-world condition is a duality that is characteristic of all people in a minority position …. Between worlds is the 'divided consciousness' that W. E. B. Du Bois in 1903 noted as characteristic of blacks in America …. It is Mary Helen Washington's 'divided self, woman split in two (which is closely akin to double consciousness) … found in literature by women, white and black.' It is Elaine Showalter's 'double-voiced discourse' that 'always embodies the social, literary, and cultural heritages of both the muted [female] and the dominant [male].' It is Gerda Lerner's observation that 'women live in a duality—as members of the general [male] culture and as partakers of women's culture,' which she recognizes as a paradox, for 'women are subordinate, yet central; victimized, yet active' (Ling, *Between Worlds: Women Writers of Chinese Ancestry* 177).

W. E. B. Du Bois's construct of double consciousness, articulated in *The Souls of Black Folk* (hereafter referred to as *Souls*) published in 1903, expressed, and still expresses, "a mournful cry" not only of African Americans but many minorities split by the sense of "twoness" (1, 9). Amy Ling notes that many scholars have given it various names in a variety of contexts (*Between Worlds* 177). As illustrated in the epigraphs to

this chapter, she enumerates the duality in a divided self or a double-voiced discourse represented in women writers and applies it to Chinese American women writers in her *Between Worlds: Women Writers of Chinese Ancestry* (1990). Building upon Du Bois's construct and Amy Ling's theory, my project extends the study of double consciousness to a group of early immigrant writers of Chinese ancestry (Yung Wing, Yan Phou Lee, Wong Chin Foo, Edith Eaton/Sui Sin Far, and Winnifred Eaton/Onoto Watanna) in the late nineteenth century and early twentieth century, who are neglected by both the American literary canon and the Chinese American literary canon. I argue that the oblivion of these writers reflects double consciousness of the U.S. nation state, which exhibited a paradoxical relationship to immigrants at the turn of the twentieth century, as well as that of Chinese American literature[1] that has been subject to the institutional regulatory demands since its inception in the 1970s. By examining double consciousness and contradictions exhibited in these early writers and texts, I create a term, "across lands," to describe their complicated negotiating processes of identity formation. Their navigation among worlds and strategic constructions of adaptable identities challenge current notions about assimilation and resistance, which fail to recognize the mobility and fluidity of early immigrants prior to and during the Exclusion Era (1882-1943).

The introduction of Chinese immigrants to the United States since the mid-nineteenth century challenged the imagination of the U.S. nation-state as homogenous, as Chinese immigrants differed from the patterns of European immigrants in every possible aspect of life. Lisa Lowe points out, "the American *citizen* has been defined over against the Asian *immigrants*, legally, economically, and culturally" (4). "Asia" has become a complex site on which manifold American anxieties of the U.S. nation-state have been

figured (Lowe 4). America has a different relationship with the Orient than Europe, as Said distinguishes at the beginning of his *Orientalism* (1979). Because of its special place in European Western experience, the Orient has become deeply interwoven in the conceptualization of "European *material* civilization and culture" (Said 1-2).

However, the U.S. contact with the Orient since the mid-nineteenth century was contextualized internally by its predicament to form a national body and externally by its competition with other Western powers in the global market for cheap labor and resources. Hence, the U.S. exclusion acts and laws in the late nineteenth and early twentieth century manifested such a double consciousness. The demand for cheap labor led to the import of Chinese immigrants who played an indispensible role in the construction of the transcontinental railroad as well as in the mining and agriculture in the west coast; however, citizenship, which is an ideological apparatus in "placing, displacing, and replacing" individuals in relation to the national policy (Lowe 2), required the "purging" of Chinese immigrants in order to protect the "abstract American body" that was male and white. Therefore, the symbolic figuration of "Asia" and "Asian immigrants" as exotic, barbaric, alien, and unassimilable demonstrates such anxieties and double consciousness. The issue of immigration, especially the conceptualization of Asian immigrants in the nineteenth century, becomes the site for "the emergence of critical negations of the nation-state for which those legislations [anti-Chinese exclusion acts and laws] are the expression" (Lowe 8).

The U.S. state went through numerous adaptations to reconfigure Asians and Asian Americans, first in a series of Exclusion Acts (1882, 1924, and 1934) to exclude Chinese, Japanese, and Filipinos, then in the McCarran-Walter Act of 1952 and the

Immigration and Nationality Act of 1965, which repealed some exclusion acts, but is still grappling with positioning and "policing" Asian immigrants today. No wonder Lisa Lowe states that immigration is the "most important and discursive site of Asian American formation through which the national and global economic, the cultural, and the legal spheres are modulated" (10).

It is in the context of understanding the double consciousness of the nation state that my study of the double consciousness and "across lands" experiences of early Chinese immigrants matters. They were not merely passive subjects to the racial regulations and interpellation (policing),[2] even though they were subjugated to the policing of naturalization and citizenship of the state. While the state was conceptualizing their position in American society through the enfranchisements denied or extended to them, early Chinese immigrants were shaping American consciousness and challenging the imagination of a homogenous national body through contesting the meanings of home and citizenship. As Lowe writes, "if the law is the apparatus that binds and seals the universality of the political body of the nation, then the 'immigrant,' produced by the law as margin and threat to that symbolic whole, is precisely a generative site for the critique of that universality" (8-9).

Building upon Lowe's critique of immigrant acts, many later scholars and critics, including both Jinqi Ling and David Palumbo-Liu, propose to study Asian American literary discourse as "a contested and multiply negotiated process of transformation" (J. Ling 9) and to situate Asia and America in a mutually constitutive and transformative relationship (Palumbo-Liu, *Asian/America* 8). My project applies such approaches to the study of a group of neglected or dismissed writers and their texts in the context of the

formation of early Asian American literature. Through grappling with the concepts of race, ethnicity, class, gender, and citizenship, these early writers represented the attempts not only to negotiate identities for themselves and early immigrants but also forced America to redefine itself. I contend that the dismissal of these early writers based on the dichotomy of "the real" and "the fake," resistance and assimilation, or the literary and non-literary, fixes them in our investigation of situations of early immigrants and does not provide a full picture in understanding the formation of Chinese American literature. A beginning that focuses only on "representative" texts such as Carlos Bulosan's *America is in the Heart* (1946), John Okada's *No-No Boy* (1957), Luis Chu's *Eating a Bowl of Tea* (1961), and Maxine Hong Kingston's *The Woman Warrior* (1976) ignores the rich legacy of earlier writers and immigrants who were the first to challenge America's redefinition of itself in an age "marked by the arrival of new immigrant groups and new foreign policies" (Palumbo-Liu 8).

These aforementioned foundational works all display a double consciousness that had largely been neglected by early Asian American critics and scholars. Dealing with the Filipino immigrant experience in early twentieth-century America, Carlos Bulosan's loosely autobiographical work, *America is in the Heart*, was once considered "the epitome of the American dream" (Pierce 29). However, Epifanio San Juan, Jr.'s *Carlos Bulosan and the Imagination of the Class Struggle* (1972) uncovered Bulosan as a politically charged social activist against the image of a blindly optimistic and patriotic immigrant writer. In fact, it is the double consciousness in Bulosan's patriotism and his complex social criticism that redefines him as a complicated pioneering Asian American writer today. Focusing on Japanese Americans' reflection upon and memory of the

internment experience during WWII, John Okada's *No-No Boy* has been recuperated by the first anthology of Asian American literature, *Aiiieeeee!* (1974), but the editors dismissed the theme of a dual identity while emphasizing the Asian American sensibility and literariness of the book (Chin viii, 128).

Defying the stereotype of Chinatown as a bachelor society, Louis Chu's *Eat a Bowl of Tea* portrays a Chinese immigrant's physical and symbolic reacquisition of potency in terms of the historical consequences of exclusionary policies on Chinese communities in America. Jeffery Chan, one of the *Aiiieeeee!* editors, valorized Chu as "the first Chinese-American writer" to refuse a model of acceptance that was based on "stereotyped differences of culture between 'East' and 'West'" (Introduction 3-4). Nevertheless, the protagonist Ben Loy only achieves his manhood through sacrificing the agency of his Chinese wife Mei Oi, who is subject to triple oppression: Chinese patriarchy, American racism, and sexism. Chu's dual treatment of Chinese men and women remained unquestioned for a long time. Maxine Hong Kingston's memoir, *The Woman Warrior,* was criticized for its representation of Chinese culture and its literary form when it was first published. In *The Big Aiiieeeee!* (1991) Jeffery Paul Chan, Frank Chin, et al. condemned Kingston for following the Christian autobiographical tradition, and therefore writing a literature of "the fake" (xii).

A brief review has demonstrated a recurring theme of double consciousness in these foundational Asian American works in relation to cultures, identities, gender, and literariness, which indicates the complexities of identity formation that are characteristic of minority literature. My goal is to question the exclusion and omission of early Chinese immigrant writers in both American and Asian American literature and extend the study

of double consciousness and "across lands" to early Chinese immigrants. I believe their negotiating identities between worlds and cultures through self-definition influenced later generations of Chinese and Asian American writers and critics who face a similar dilemma of being Americans and being Asian Americans. Early immigrant writers represented their double consciousness in complex paradigms—resistance, acculturation, collision, agency, and sometimes ambiguity. The term double consciousness does not precisely describe the consciousness of early Chinese immigrants. Instead, it is a term that symbolizes the dilemma of the immigrants, who, recently having landed in the U.S., had to find new forms and language to express their experiences. They adopt different strategies in response to the double consciousness. Some adopt or revise the nineteenth-century cult of the self-made man—both self-made Chinese and American—to present a new kind of citizen in both countries. Some constantly change their identity and utilize the American democratic rhetoric to argue for the inclusion of the Chinese while retaining Chinese traditions and customs. Some give up their Chinese citizenship and focus on the condition of the Chinese staying in America after the passage of the Exclusion Acts. By revising the concepts of "heathenism" and civilization, they prove that Chinese immigrants should be recognized and included because they are more American than Americans. Some are almost post-modern in their belief that identity could be performed in terms of nationality, ethnicity, and gender. All these strategies show their brilliant, nuanced across lands negotiation.

In the following two sections, I will illustrate the theoretical foundation of my project and then discuss early Asian American scholarship since the 1970s, whose dismissal and under-evaluation of early immigrant writers of Chinese ancestry reflect its

own double consciousness in contextualizing the establishment of the discipline. In my chapter layout, I will introduce the subject of each chapter and present my main arguments. One of the difficulties of the project is how to deal with the large amount of historical context and information. Although sharing the experience of being subjugated to racism and exclusionist discourses, these writers did not embrace a universal background. Indeed, it was their different backgrounds and specific historical moments and events that made their representations of immigrant experiences heterogeneous and significant. It further reveals that their identities were flexible and fluid. My solution to historical complexity is to insert historical information and context related to specific writers between chapters, which will give readers a sense of historical context before reading each chapter and enables me to focus on closer reading of the texts and developing arguments in each chapter as well.

Du Bois's Construct of Double Consciousness, Amy Ling's Theory of Between Worlds, and My Theoretical Concept of "Across Lands"

Du Bois's *Souls* appeared in 1903, a significant moment in Asian American history. In 1892, California Congressman Thomas Geary introduced the Geary Act, which extended the previous 1882 Exclusion Act for another ten years and required all Chinese to acquire certificates of eligibility within one year. In 1901, the Chinese Exclusion Convention in San Francisco published a memorial, "Eye on the East: Labor Calls for Ban on Chinese Immigration," calling on Congress to further limit Chinese immigration. Similar Exclusion laws passed in 1902 and 1904 made the Chinese exclusion permanent, and Chinese who were already in the United States not only were

denied citizenship but also were "abused, publicly denounced in the press and from the pulpit, vilified, and physically attacked and even killed" (Huntley 21). The year 1904 witnessed the birth of Pardee Lowe, one of the first Chinese American writers, whose autobiographical work, *Father and Glorious Descendant* (1943), records growing up in San Francisco during the early years of the century. In 1900, Ng Poon Chow, a newspaperman known as the "Chinese Mark Twain," established the first Chinese daily newspaper, *Chung Sai Yat Po*, in San Francisco, which helped the Chinese "break through their social and cultural isolation and, in effect, to become Americans" (Sun 85). Situated in contexts of the Asian American's struggle for equality against institutional racism, Du Bois's theory serves as a point of departure in examining the complicated double consciousness of early Chinese American writers.

Du Bois's notion of double consciousness is best summarized in a passage in his *Souls*. In investigating the situation of black people after the Civil War, Du Bois states that an African American was "born with a veil" in an American world,

> a world which yields him no true self-consciousness, but only lets him see himself through the revelation of the other world. It is a peculiar sensation, this double consciousness, this sense of always looking at one's self through the eyes of others, of measuring one's soul by the tape of a world that looks on in amused contempt and pity. One ever feels his twoness, -- an American, a Negro; two souls, two thoughts, two unreconciled strivings; two warring ideals in one dark body, whose dogged strength alone keeps it from being torn asunder. (9)

Du Bois's construct of double consciousness was influenced by the Hegelian "lordship and bondage" relationship, in which self-consciousness is both independent and dependent on an *Other* (Adell 16).[3] Du Bois stages the split self, the inherent "twoness," of being an American and a black with "unreconciled" strivings. The subject is deprived of self-consciousness, which is only constructed through modeling the regulations of the dominant [white] culture. Du Bois's metaphor of the "veil" situates the construction of such double consciousness. This "veil" metaphor, according to Manning Marable, represents "the structural barriers between the black and white segregated world" (19), which perpetuate the situation of the black people and make them a "split subject" within themselves.[4]

Since its publication, Du Bois's *Souls* has been widely used by theorists in their analysis of the situation of African Americans. Du Bois's theory articulates a sentiment that represents a shared alienation by many ethnic groups and underrepresented populations in the U.S. However, besides the sense of alienation and twoness, Du Bois, nevertheless, expresses a hope to "merge" his double self into "a better and truer self" (9). In the process of creating the new self, he wishes "neither of the older selves to be lost" (9). He does not want to "Africanize" America, nor does he wish to bleach his "[black] soul in a flood of white Americanism" (9). The "merging" is paradoxical as Du Bois expresses the wish to resolve the twoness while still maintaining the integrity of older selves. My reading of Du Bois's double consciousness, therefore, focuses on the paradoxical "merging" and the desire to keep doubleness -- that is, to be both a black and an American -- for they both can teach each other and the world. Du Boisian "merging,"

thus, indicates "a bringing together of two (or more) 'strivings' without erasure of the differences between them" (Wyatt 23).

As early as 1987, Asian American scholar Amy Ling, in her examination of "Outsiderhood" of women, paid homage to Du Bois for the usefulness of his theory in her study of Chinese American women. She states, "Du Bois's elaboration of this double consciousness is applicable to all women" ("I'm Here" 154). She enumerates a long list of authors that includes Elaine Showalter, Carol Gilligan, Mikhail Bakhtin, Rachel Blau DuPlessis, and Maxine Hong Kingston to illustrate the universality of the phenomenon of the split self and many voices reflected in the texts ("I'm Here" 155). Her interest in the theory of double consciousness is fully displayed in a later work *Between Worlds: Women Writers of Chinese Ancestry* (1990), in which she describes the situation of "between-world complexity" of Chinese women in America who are conscious of their difference in a white society, "a society whose attitude toward them as 'other' has fluctuated depending on political circumstances" (xv, 177). Complicating the question of identity for America-born Chinese Americans, Ling borrows Du Bois's theory to refer to this deeply felt alienation, "this sense of always looking at one's self through the eyes of others, of measuring one's soul by the tape of a world that looks on in amused contempt and pity," which "equally characterizes Chinese Americans" (*Between Worlds* 105). She applies the theory to her study of Chinese American women.

The subordinate relationship between double consciousness in Du Bois's construct, being gazed upon and gazing, has been revised by Ling in her emphasis on the agency of the gazed. The between-world complexity of Chinese women in America, Ling argues, is a paradox, implying that women are "simultaneously subordinate and central,

victimized, heroic and active" (*Between Worlds* 177). Acknowledging Chinese women's "triple vulnerability"[5] in American society (15), Ling, nevertheless, highlights the experience of belonging to two worlds. According to Ling, what created a sense of alienation (such as culture, race, religion, etc.) in one world were the very factors that would enable one to perform the act of bridging; therefore, the person between worlds is ideally positioned to be a bridge (177).

Ling's model of between worlds in terms of Du Bois's construct of double consciousness provides a powerful tool in analyzing the construction of the consciousness of the racialized subject, which proves particularly helpful in her examination of Chinese American women writers. However, Ling's theory emphasizes "writing as rebellion" and gender differences (*Between Worlds* 1). Her article "Reading Her/stories Against His/stories in Early Chinese American Literature" shows the limitation of the between-world perspective when she is confined by a dichotomy of resistance and acculturation in evaluating four early Chinese American writers: Edith Eaton/Sui Sin Far, Winnifred Eaton/Onoto Watanna, Yan Phou Lee, and Yung Wing. Ling praises Sui Sin Far for her focus on the "experience of being a Chinese in a white society"; yet she accuses Yung and Lee of not showing the "slightest indication of their awareness of or concern about how others perceived them" ("Reading Her/Stories Against His/Stories" 78, 84). Thus, Yung and Lee are dismissed as fitting the "tourist guide" role, which merely provides "titillation by [their] exotic and quaint revelations" (Ling, *Between Worlds* 16).

Praising Amy Ling's pioneering theorizing of Chinese American literature, many Asian American critics have responded to such reductive reading of Asian American

literature in terms of a binary structure. In his *Narrating Nationalisms* (1998), Jingqi Ling views Asian American literary discourse from 1957 to 1980 "as a contested and multiply negotiated process of transformation" (9), which helps "advance critical methodology beyond the model that assumes a simple dichotomized relationship between Asian American literature and mainstream America" (Zhou 12). Moreover, David Palumbo-Liu's *Asian/American* (1999) situates Asia and America in a mutually constitutive and transformative relationship. Recently, Viet Thanh Nguyen's *Race and Resistance* (2002) contends that the paradigm of resistance and accommodation "polariz[es] options that do not sufficiently demonstrate the *flexible strategies* often chosen by authors and characters to navigate their political and ethical situations" (4). Such alternative approaches deconstructing a double construct have greatly helped me appropriate Du Bois's double consciousness and Amy Ling's between-world theory to create my own concept of "across lands" to study early Chinese immigrant writings.

My concept of across lands describes the movements of immigrants between and among worlds, and it also suggests multiple crossings, both geographically and figuratively, to negotiate identities. "Lands," in my project, refers to not only geographical distinctions, but, more importantly, terrains of cultures, customs, practices, religions, ideologies, and conceptualizations of race, gender, and class. The latter meaning of "lands," or terrains, points to the bodily discourse that fueled anti-immigration regulation of the late-nineteenth and early-twentieth century. The exclusionary discourse relied heavily on the "conceptualization of exclusionist and anti-miscegenation psychologists, sociologists, and jurists on the 'science' of eugenics/ethnology and the rhetorical politics of racial exclusion" (Shimakawa 7). Hence,

terrains that immigrants must cross and negotiate refer figuratively to "scholarly discoveries, philological reconstructions, psychological analyses, landscape and sociological descriptions," which designate what Edward W. Said calls "a *distribution* of geopolitical awareness into aesthetic, scholarly, economic, sociological, historical, and philosophical texts" (12).

In light of this, my across lands approach evokes the significance of reexamining Orientalism, which, according to Said, is a discourse that is "produced and exists in an uneven exchange with various kinds of power, shaped to a degree by the exchange with power political …., power intellectual …, power cultural …, power moral" (12). Therefore, across lands strategies immigrant writers of Chinese descent employed demonstrate their crossing "power political," "power intellectual," "power cultural," and "power moral" terrains to negotiate their identities to counter control, manipulation, and exclusion (Said 12).

Moreover, my theory of across lands describes immigrant writers' tactical negotiation to construct their identity during the Exclusion Era. The exclusionist discourse relies heavily on conceptualizations of differences -- figuratively the differences between "us" (American, the civilized, Christian, etc.) and "them" (Chinese, the barbaric, heathen, etc.). The immigrant seems never to be able to reconcile the differences and cross boundaries. However, these immigrant writers, living between worlds and constantly negotiating their identities through mediating differences, are neither "us" nor "them," for they create new selves through redefining what is American. Their being immigrant designates their "twoness," being a citizen of another country and being a resident in America (Du Bois 9). Yet, immigration regulations that forbid the

naturalization of the Chinese and their becoming American citizens compel their split self. They are both Americans and not Americans; they are both Chinese and not Chinese. At some points, they are citizens of both countries; at others, they are rejected by both countries. They exhibit the double consciousness that Du Bois refers to as "two souls, two thoughts," and "two unrecounciled strivings" (12).

They are really "new" people, that is, Chinese Americans. Their identities are flexible, adjustable to different situations. Their between-worldness contributes to their construction of the self, which is the "merging" that Du Bois emphasizes -- bringing together the "twoness" without erasing differences between the double consciousness (12). This "merging" could be interpreted in different terms such as metamorphosis, union, reconstruction, reinvention, rewriting, bridging differences, or passing that the subjects of my project have demonstrated in their writings. Through across lands strategies, these writers negotiate identities that both conform to American ideals and preserve their Chinese cultural heritage. Identity formation for them is conditioned by many exterior factors. Even though subjugated to racism and exclusionary acts, they manage to construct a desirable image that would maximize their ability to adjust to new living conditions. They challenge readers to rethink who were/are Americans and redefine what is American.

Moreover, research on Asian immigrants, specifically Chinese immigrants in the nineteenth century, tended to focus on forms of racial discrimination to which early Chinese immigrants were subjected. However, such emphasis on the subjugation of early immigrants reduces their agency, depicting them as passive victims of racial and legal injustice. On the other hand, promotion of resistance from the underprivileged and

disfranchised Asian immigrants, an approach the *Aiiieeeee!* editors encouraged, seems to oversimplify the subtlety and complexity of the interaction between the immigrants and mainstream society and within the immigrant groups of this first generation of Asian American writers. In light of this, Palumbo-Liu's break from a binary paradigm is significant. Thus, it is incumbent upon scholars to reread these early narratives, because they question a reductive reading of Asian American history and literature in terms of resistance and acculturation, provide space for heterogeneous representations of Chinese immigrants and Chinese Americans, and exemplify negotiating identities between nations, cultures, languages, ideologies, and geographies which would later shape the scope and field of Chinese American studies in the twentieth century.

Lastly, my concept of across lands also examines the Chinese immigrants' view of themselves while they were across lands and constructing identities. It suggests a consciousness within the self, rather than driven by an exterior force, hence giving agency to the self who is examining its split status to attain a full self understanding. Thus the former approach of examining the contradiction between being Chinese and being American becomes a new method in which the Chinese self looks at his/her American self or vice versa. In this way, the exterior conflict moves into the body of the colonialized and racialized subject. No longer is it a dynamic in which a self struggles against some exterior forces, but one in which a subject battles with himself or herself, the very body being the site of transformation. It is this last interior struggle that gives birth to a new being-in-the-world, an identity that would give rise to Asian American identity in the mid-twentieth century.

The Making of Asian Americans: Why were/are earlier immigrant writers neglected?

The study of Asian American literature emerged as a discipline during the 1970s as a result of the Civil Rights Movement. Ever since its emergence, the theorists and critics of Asian American studies have faced the problem of tracing its roots. Chinese American literature appeared as the first group of texts to be recuperated due to the widespread influence of Chinese culture among other equally invisible minority groups. In the early days of the discipline, the quest to locate the origins of Asian American literature often started with the task of tracing Chinese immigrant writings and accordingly defining Chinese American literature. There were some recurring questions that dominated the forum of Asian American studies. Who were Asian Americans? If the term did imply the transition of geographic and cultural sites as well as political allegiance, how and when did Asian subjects who arrived in large numbers only around the mid-nineteenth century become Asian Americans? A close examination of the making of the canon of Asian American literature from the 1970s to 2000 demonstrates that early immigrant writers were often neglected or omitted due to their lack of authenticity, resistance, or literary value while Asian American studies tried to establish itself as a discipline.

Three early anthologies helped shape Asian American literature in the 1970s: *Asian American Authors* (1972), edited by Kai-yu Hsu and Helen Palubinskas; *Asian American Heritage: An Anthology of Prose and Poetry* (1974), edited by David Hsin-fu Wand; and *Aiiieeeee! An Anthology of Asian-American Writers* (1974), edited by CAPR (the Combined Asian Resources Project) members[6] Frank Chin, Jeffery Paul Chan, Lawson Fusao Inada, and Shawn Hsu Wong. These early anthologies of Asian American

literature attributed the long silence of Asian American writers to their subordinated linguistic, educational, and economic conditions (Wand 15), legislative racism, and white racism (Chin et al. vii). They generally located a representative beginning of Asian American writing in the 1940s and 1950s, while writings from a previous period were often ignored or dismissed for their lack of resistance or literary value. The early anthologies display a gap between the present and the past.

Among the first to undertake the task of charting a history of Asians in America, Hsu and Palubinskas gave a brief chronology of the Chinese in America at the beginning of the book, locating Pardee Lowe's *Father and Glorious Descendant* (1943), Jade Snow Wong's *Fifth Chinese Daughter* (1945), and Virginia Lee's *The House That Tai Ming Built* (1963) as the representative Chinese American writers. They also reviewed works by Japanese American and Filipino American writers, but ignored writings by the early immigrants due to their perceived lack of literary value. Wand's *Asian American Heritage* raised the questions with regards to geographic locations, places of birth, languages used in writing in defining Asian American literature, which represented the earliest attempt to analyze the subject from the perspective of an Asian American diasporic identity.[7] Noticing the vernacular newspapers published in Chinese and Japanese since the 1850s, Wand asked, "Should we include in an anthology of Asian-American literature writers who publish exclusively in Chinese, Japanese, Korean, and Tagolog?" (3)

Compared with the first two anthologies, *Aiiieeeee!*[8] made a more significant impact on recuperating the suppressed voices of Asian American writers; however, these suppressed voices are usually read simplistically as angry, wounded, and whining. The

sophisticated and subtle nuances of the writing by early immigrants are often ignored in these early anthologies. For example, in the preface to the book, the editors of *Aiiieeeee!* listed a few early writings by Asian immigrants but dismissed them as works that reinforced "the whining, apologetic tone of books by Chinese government officials giving the official explanations of Chinese cultures and the nonthreatening, beneficial, humble motivations of the Chinese presence and immigration to America" (xi). Yung Wing's *My Life in China and America* (1909) was used as an example of "early yellow white supremacy," a term the editors coined to refer to the converted Chinese Christians and their works. The editors condemned them as promoting white supremacy and confirming the inferiority of China (xi).

The construction of early Chinese American writers is problematic. In the first place, the Chinese exclusion laws had barred the naturalization of Chinese immigrants, so legally early Chinese writers did not fit the standards of Asian American writers used by the *Aiiieeeee!* editors, who stated that Asian-Americans were American born and raised (Chin et al. vii). Moreover, if those early writers did become American writers, at what point were they recognized as such? How did "Asian" or "Chinese" and "American" merge to form Chinese American identity?

Asian immigrants' transformation from subjects of foreign countries to the hyphenated Americans (Chinese-American, Japanese-American, Filipino-American, etc.) and then to Americans without a hyphen indicates a history of "persistent reconfigurations and transgressions of the Asian/American 'split,'" as David Palumbo-Liu observes in his *Asian/American: Historical Crossings of a Racial Frontier* (1). The "liaison" between "Asian" and "American" suggest "*a sliding over* between two

seemingly separate terms" (Palumbo-Liu 1). Examined literarily, the split between the two terms designates a merging process, "a sliding over" as Palumbo-Liu notes, which connects "Asian" with "American." However, "a sliding over," if the relationship of two parties involved is examined carefully, usually implies the dominance of one party over the other in the colliding terrains.

Such a relationship between the dominant and the subordinate was reflected in the *Aiiieeeee!* editors' observation of "Asian-Americans," who were "American born and raised, who got their China and Japan from the radio, off the silver screen, from television, out of comic books, from the pushers of white American culture that pictured the yellow man as something that screamed 'aiiieeeee!' when wounded, sad, or angry" (Chin et al. vii). This statement suggests the early critics' awareness of a racial gaze that disciplined and shaped the consciousness of the Other in terms of Du Bois' theory of double consciousness. However, the editors challenged the stereotypes to create new sensibilities of "Asian-Americans." Such new sensibilities evolved "cultures and sensibilities" distinctly not Chinese or Japanese and not white American (Chin et al. vii). There were two implicit interpretations in the editors' formulation of "Asian-American" sensibilities. First, they seemed to divide America into white-America and not-white America, and the construction of "Asian-American" identity was obviously related to the latter. Second, the editors tried to navigate outside of the construct of double sites—Asian and America—to develop a space for Asians in America, which they termed "Asian-Americans." The category of Chinese-American appeared under such an umbrella.

Building on the work of the early anthologies, four later books continued to examine the construction of Asian American literature. Elaine H. Kim's ground-breaking

Asian American Literature: An Introduction to the Writings and Their Social Context (1982) brought an entire body of little known Asian American work into the American literary consciousness (Huntley 20). *The Big Aiiieeeee!: An Anthology of Chinese American and Japanese American Literature* (1991) revised the definition of Asian American writers by *Aiiieeeee!*. Palumbo-Liu's *Asian/American: Historical Crossings of a Racial Frontier* (1999) traced the formation of the body, the psyche, and space of Asian Americans from the early twentieth century to the present day. Lastly, Xiao-huang Yin's *Chinese American Literature Since the 1850s* (2000) expanded this examination to include both non-traditional materials and writings in Chinese that shaped the literary landscape of Chinese American literature.

Kim's work traced the "topography and rich textures of the Asian American experience" and expanded the category to include foreign-born Asian writers who immigrated to the United States (xi). [9] Her definition of Asian American literature is "published creative writings in English by Americans of Chinese, Japanese, Korean, and Filipino descent" (xi). Kim was aware of the problematic definition as she states that it does not encompass writers in Asia or even writers expressing the American experience in Asian languages (xi).[10] She claims that racism has been a critical factor for these people and therefore it is no accident that literature by writers from these groups is concerned with "this shared heritage" (xiii). However, the rubric of the commonly shared heritage of racism excludes early texts such as Yan Phou Lee's *When I Was a Boy in China* (1887).[11] Kim argues that the earliest Asian American writers were not representative of the general population of Asian Americans as they were generally students, scholars, merchants, and diplomats exempt from the Asian exclusions laws

(24).[12] Therefore, earlier writers such as Yan Phou Lee and Yung Wing were viewed as "ambassadors of goodwill" who did not represent the early Asian American literary voice (Kim 12). Kim's emphasis on the commonly shared heritage of racism reduces the subject of Asian America to a dichotomy of racism and non-racism. The richer texts of early immigrants were overlooked, dismissed as belonging to the privileged class that "tended to accept discrimination against the poor and uneducated members of their own race" (Kim 25).

The Big Aiiieeeee! reexamined the Asian American sensibilities proposed in the previous anthology under a new rubric that divided Asian American consciousness into "the real" and "the fake." *The Big Aiiieeeee!* editors declared that "Every Chinese American book ever published in the United States of America by a major publisher has been a Christian autobiography or autobiographical novel" (Chan et al. xii). They claim that such writers portrayed China and Chinese America catering to "white racist imagination," which are not "fact, not Chinese culture, and not Chinese or Chinese American literature" (Chan et al. xii). The "real" Chinese American literature should reflect the experience of "non-Christian bachelor Chinamen" and Chinese women who were subject to white fantasy (Chan et al. xii-xiii).

The Big Aiiieeeee! tried to recuperate "the real" from its sources in the Asian fairy tale and the Confucian heroic tradition to make the work of these Asian American writers understandable "in its own terms" (Chan et al. xv). The editors confronted a paradox while attempting to assign new sensibilities to "the real" Chinese America; that is, on the one hand, they claimed an identity that was neither Chinese nor white American. On the other hand, in order to portray the reality of Chinese America, they had to fall back to the

culture, philosophy, and literature in the home country for a reference of authenticity. *The Big Aiiieeeee!* challenged racial stereotypes in representing Asian American experience, which shifted the focus from a default value centering on white America to exploring the consciousness of Asian American writers in articulating their own experience. However, in the course of seeking the "real," they overgeneralized and rejected what they called "works following the Christian tradition."

In *Asian/American: Historical Crossings of a Racial Frontier*, Palumbo-Liu reinstates the relations between Asia and America in terms of Chicago sociologist Robert E. Park's idea of "racial frontier," which views America's movement toward and across the Pacific as a further westward movement. Palumbo-Liu claims that such movements helped shape the narratives of the nation, which conceptualized a modern America that either "stopped at such frontiers in order to preserve a certain definition of the nation" or was forced to contemplate the incorporation of Asians into the American imagination (2). He reads *The Big Aiiieeeee*'s reference to Asia for a set of points of origin as "a particular kind of cross-cultural capital," which is used to "materially sustain the physical body as well as secure a particular psychic equilibrium" (*Asian/American* 9). His construction of Asian/American designates a "split" that questions historical reformulations and transgressions of the merging of the terms. Palumbo-Liu is also aware of the risk of the tendency to situate the minor only at the margins of the dominant (that was adopted more or less by previous critics), which "downplays the uneven, complex, and multiple imbrications of Asians in America" (3). He suggests that Asian America is a complicated and particularly contradictory concept that cannot be so easily reduced and objectified (3).

Xiao-huang Yin's *Chinese American Literature Since the 1850s* traces the origins of Chinese American literary tradition to the major pieces of writing in English by Chinese immigrants in 1852 (5). While focusing on socio-historical interpretations, Yin analyzes "the artistic values of Chinese American writing" along a binary line of "Americanized" and "un-Americanized" (4). The early writers such as Yan Phou Lee and Yung Wing, whom both Frank Chin and Elaine Kim dismissed, are categorized, in Yin's term, as "cultivated Chinese," who were the predecessors of contemporary "uptown Chinese" (6).[13] Yin thus identifies them as a separate group, whose writings were concerned chiefly with improving the Chinese image by introducing the fine qualities of Chinese civilization to the American public (6). Yin praises Edith Eaton for her representation of the Chinese; however, he does not mention Winnifred Eaton[14] who was Edith sister but adopted a Japanese identity in her writing. Yin's book provides thorough socio-historical interpretations of the changing experiences of the Chinese in the United States. But his treatment of early writings, which he deems the work of the "cultivated class," fails to recognize the complexity of these early writers. Besides, an agenda based on "Americanized" and "un-Americanized" tends to reduce the sophisticated writing of early immigrants to a dichotomy that is already proved in Yin's polarized treatment of the Eaton sisters.

This examination of the making of Asian Americans has shown the instability and undecidability of the term. As the genesis of Asian American literature leans toward a modern origin which started in the twentieth century, it has neglected the writings preceding the establishment of the discipline, in particular the immigrant writing in the late-nineteenth and early-twentieth century.

There is also a tendency of highlighting literary value with regard to the texts' resistance to the mainstream culture. Critiquing the Christian Chinese American autobiography as the only Chinese American literary tradition, Frank Chin declares that his fight as a writer and a "Chinaman" is against "extinction and the white western civilization that demands [his] extinction and the traitors, the yellows who stooge and goon the work of the church of white supremacy" ("This Is Not an Autobiography" 110). In light of this, Yung Wing's autobiography, *My Life in China and America* (1909), is a typical Christian confessional autobiography, which, according to Chin, perpetuates and advances the stereotypes of "a Chinese culture so foul, so cruel to women, so perverse, that good Chinese are driven by the moral imperative to kill it" (*The Big Aiiieeeee!* 11).

The early writings we recognize today are mostly autobiographies by Chinese immigrants who were able to read and write English. It's rare to find material narrated by the laboring class for two reasons: first, they were generally illiterate in Chinese; and second they could hardly read and write English when they came to the United States. [15] Therefore, the documents that depict the early immigrant experiences that are available to us are the autobiographical works by immigrants who managed to enter the discourse of English writing and publication. Not following rules of the genre of autobiography, they challenge the history of autobiography in the Western tradition. Rather than privilege Eurocentric perspective, these alternative versions of autobiography challenge the "power relations of the literary production site and marketplace and the specific social and historical context of the autobiographical subject" (Thoma 155).

The exclusion and dismissal of these earlier writers from the canon of Asian American literature indicates the double consciousness of Asian American studies in the

early days of its establishment. On the one hand, Asian American studies as an emerging discipline needed to establish itself as a "distinct, self-determining group" (Lowe 42). Many early anthologies stressed resistance and "new Asian American sensibilities" that featured "American nativity, exclusive use of English, Asian American as intended audiences, participation in the Asian-American heroic tradition, and the reassertion of Asian-American manhood as an objective" (F. Chen 42). Earlier immigrant writings were dismissed as works of the "ambassadors of goodwill," "cultivated Chinese," and Christian confessional autobiographies that are fake (Chin, "Come All Ye Asian American Writers of the Real and the Fake" 8). On the other hand, as part of a project of institutional change, Asian American studies tried to create a new educational space to articulate Asian American history and experience. However, the establishment of the Asian American canon still followed the standards of the Eurocentric literary canon, which dismissed many early immigrant writings as lacking literary value.

Locating a mixture of immigrant writing in the late nineteenth century and at the turn of the twentieth century, my project examines early immigrant writers of Chinese ancestry who were caught between two worlds: not only between two countries, but between two identities—one seemingly to be strictly sojourners as they were deprived of the opportunity of naturalization and the other an emerging identity that claimed to become American. Thus, my dissertation undertakes to reconstruct heterogeneous modes of representations by early Chinese immigrants and Chinese Americans, which challenge not only the paradigm of resistance and assimilation but resist the pressure of a unifying Chinese American cultural identity.

Chapter Layout: Negotiating Identities across Lands

My dissertation project consists of four chapters covering five Chinese American writers in the period from 1847 to the 1910s. The Gold Rush in California, started in 1848, introduced a large number of Chinese laborers to the United States. But a year prior to the Gold Rush, Yung Wing entered this country as a missionary-sponsored student. He was the first Chinese student to graduate from a distinguished American college. He launched the Chinese Education Mission, which sent 120 Chinese boys to study in the U.S. in the 1870s and 1880s.

My project ends around 1916. When the San Francisco earthquake and fire destroyed the city's immigration records in 1906, many Chinese immigrants took the opportunity to claim American birth, which challenged the racial laws barring Chinese immigrants from naturalization. By the 1910s, Ng Poon Chow's *Chung Sai Yat Po*, established in 1900, had became a leading Chinese language newspaper among the Chinese community in California and supported the 1911 Revolution that overthrew the Qing Dynasty in China. Starting on January 21, 1910, the immigration station on Angel Island in San Francisco Bay officially opened. There thousands of Chinese immigrants were detained until it was closed in 1940. The writings of Angel Island detainees continued the early Asian immigrants' struggle for equality by condemning racial discrimination and unfair treatment. The inclusion of the Eaton sisters (Edith Eaton and Winnifred Eaton) in my project shows the problem of racial and interethnic reading. Edith Eaton published at the turn of the century and died in 1914. Her younger sister Winnifred Eaton published two autobiographical works (1915, 1916), which present an alternative staging of Asian Americans in American society. Besides the Revolution in

China, the whole world seemed to be caught in a trend of precipitate changes. The First World War started in 1914, which anticipated many changes in the future world, including the situation of Asian immigrants, Asian Americans, and the offspring of Asian immigrants.

The construction of double consciousness is the central theme in chapter one, "Caught between Two Stools: Re-signifying Double Consciousness in Yung Wing's *My Life in China and America* (1909)." Through analyzing the ways in which double consciousness is utilized by Yung to construct a text of a self-made man, I argue that Yung's memoir provides a prototypical model of autobiographical writing for the otherized and racialized writing subject. Yung Wing's work, in my analysis, is "already-read" work in two senses. In the first place, his hometown, being influenced by the Opium Wars, was actually a "contact zone" serving as a space of early colonial encounters. Second, Yung's family's choice of a missionary education over a traditional Confucian education had prefigured him as a split subject before he came to the United States. Yung's Chinese Education Mission (1872-1882) was a site of Yung's double consciousness represented in a nationalistic project which encompassed his complicated feelings toward China and America. The examination of his memoir finds his unbalanced distribution of space to events in his life, revealing a model Yung uses to construct a favorable picture of a Chinese self-made man. I argue that Yung Wing, the "inauthentic" native, reconstructs a self image, unlike that of the victimized Chinaman, along the line of the popular nineteenth-century cult of the self-made man in his autobiography. The complexities in Yung's text demand a new reading against a dichotomy of acculturation and resistance.

Chapter two, "'Good Heathen' and 'Bad Heathen'": The Construction of Difference in Yan Phou Lee's Writings (1887)," focuses on Yan Phou Lee, a former CEM (Chinese Education Mission) student, whose life story was different from Yung's success story. Elaborating the difference between the true heathen and good heathen, that is, between the American heathen and true Christian Chinese, Lee revises the stigmatized image of the Chinese and exposes the injustice and violence of exclusionists. His across lands perspective discussed in this chapter refers not only to his across lands experience in both China and America which influences the writing of his autobiography *When I Was a Boy in China* (1887), but also refers to his negotiating strategies while he navigates conceptual, religious, cultural, and political differences in defending the Chinese. Oftentimes, he employs viewpoints from conflicting parties and merges ideas from different groups to create a new image of the Chinese against the stereotypical image of them perpetuated by the exclusionary discourse, arguing for the inclusion of the Chinese in American society.

Unlike Yan Phou Lee, Wong Chin Foo did not publish a monograph, so critics of early Chinese American literature seldom mention him except for comparing his "Why Am I a Heathen?" published in the *North American Review* in August 1887 with Yan Phou Lee's "Why I Am Not a Heathen" published a month later in the same magazine. In fact, Wong was one of the most eloquent nineteenth-century Chinese authors published in English. His construction of Chinese Americans vis-à-vis "heathenism" and reference to the rhetoric of American democracy reflect his flexible negotiating processes of identities for Chinese men and women in late-nineteenth-century America. My third chapter, "'Why Am I a Heathen?' Wong Chin Foo's Construction of the Chinese American in the

Nineteenth Century," examines across lands strategies shown in Wong's periodical writings, political activism, and his translation, arguing that Wong constructs a new Chinese American identity that both conforms to and finds positive qualities in American citizenship while also retaining a fierce sense of pride in the Chinese heritage. Wong's proposal to infuse Chinese characteristics with American systems demonstrates his effort to redefine what is American, hence arguing for the inclusion of Chinese immigrants in American society. His "across lands" strategies involve not only his negotiation of identities in both China and America, but his ability to navigate between religious differences and racial concepts. The examination of Wong's writings shows that he, like Yan Phou Lee, in his effort to revise the stereotypes of the Chinese, creates a new image of both Chinese American men and women. Wong's parody of the "heathen" actually subverts the racial configuration that subjugated the Chinese by reassigning the values associated with civilization and barbarity.

My last chapter centers on the Eaton sisters, Edith and Winnifred Eaton, who were recuperated by the critics as the literary mothers of Asian American literature, but favoring Edith, the elder sister, as representative of the disenfranchised Asian Americans while condemning Winnifred as selling out her cultural and ethnic identity for literary success. I argue that the identification of the Eaton sisters as the founders of Asian American literature suggests the importance of the origin of a literary tradition, which requires a further exploration of the construction of the "beginning" of Asian American literature. In my final chapter, "Mrs. Spring Fragrance and a Japanese Nightingale: Passing and the Abject Body in Edith Eaton and Winnifred Eaton," I scrutinize two central tropes to argue that their performance of race, gender, ethnicity, and class is a

strategic move to revise the abject female body of Asian women. The Eaton sisters exhibit what I call the across lands complexities. Across lands, in the case of the Eaton sisters, designates both their "situational positionality" that involves geographical movements and their navigation of social concepts, cultures, and conceptualization of race and ethnicity in negotiating identity. Thus, their adoption of different authorial personas, an across lands strategy to negotiate identity by navigating different terrains and concepts, shows their strategic passing of the Asian female body through inventing new women figures that must be interpreted against the racialized picture of the "contaminating" Asian women. So, both Mrs. Spring Fragrance, whom Edith creates as an ideal Chinese lady, and the Japanese nightingale, whom Winnifred portrays against and alongside a myth of Madame Butterfly, can be read through an across lands strategy of passing the abject Asian female body for an acceptable or even desirable new body. The Eaton sisters' solution to the problem of racial and inter-ethnic reading helped build alternative constructions of the Asian American female body.

I want to end my introduction with the problem of racial and inter-ethnic reading, which is revealed in a Chinatown trunk mystery that occurred in New York in 1909, where a missionary lady was killed by a "Chinaman." The pursuit of the suspect by the police proved futile as the police could often not tell the Japanese from the Chinese. Moreover, the successful escape of the suspect might indicate his exploitation of the stereotype of a "Chinaman" by simply cutting off his queue and putting on Western dress.

The case serves as a symbolic gesture of the racial reading in the nineteenth century and complicates the methods of "manifesting" identity by early Asian immigrants. The transitions in various identificatory terms, from sojourners to aliens, from Chinese

laborers to privileged immigrants, from Chinese-Americans to Chinese Americans without a hyphen, from Chinese Americans to Japanese Americans, and so on, has complicated our notions of Asian/Americans, rather than resolved them. My analyses of the formulation of Chinese American identity illustrates how the composition of the category is a flexible concept, which should be understood in a variety of contexts.

Historical Context

Yung Wing, the Missionary Discourse of "Making the New Orient," and the Chinese Educational Mission (CEM)

Yung Wing,[1] the subject of the first chapter, was the first immigrant Chinese graduate of a distinguished American university (Yale, 1854). He launched the Chinese Education Mission (CEM, 1872-1881) and is known as the founder of modern Chinese education. He spent his time living in both China and the U.S. In his autobiography, *My Life in China and America* (1909), he constructs himself as a self-made Chinese American, arguing for the recognition of the Chinese in America. He was born on November 17, 1828, in Xiangshan County, within miles of the Canton-Macao-Hong Kong triangle. The historical significance of his birthplace and his early missionary education would account for many conflicts embodied by Yung Wing.

Macao was a trading port for Portuguese traders from the middle of the sixteenth century (Wan 17).[2] Born in such a place in the vicinity of foreign influences, Yung's family knew the benefits of a missionary education, as Yung explains in his autobiography why his family sent him to a missionary school instead of a traditional Confucian school:

> I can only account for the departure thus taken on the theory that as foreign intercourse with China was just beginning to grow, my parents, anticipating that it might soon assume the proportions of a tidal wave, thought it [worthwhile] to take time by the forelock and put one of their sons to learning English that he might become one of the advanced interpreters and have a more advantageous position from which to make his way into the business and diplomatic world. (2-3)

So from the very beginning, Yung's family was faced with a choice between an English education and a traditional Chinese education, which was an indicator of how the invasion of colonial forces affected traditional Chinese life. Missionaries, along with merchants, spearheaded the colonial invasion of the East, primarily reflected in their project of converting the "unscientific" and "uncivilized" Chinese who sat "in darkness" (Twain, "To the Person Sitting in Darkness" 372).

Yung Wing was introduced to his first missionary school, a girls' school headed by Mrs. Gutzlaff (wife of the Rev. Charles Gutzlaff, a missionary to China) through Mrs. Gutzlaff's comprador in 1834, who was Yung's father's friend and neighbor (Yung 2). His learning about the existence of the missionary school through a comprador illustrates the influence of missions on social ambition in nineteenth-century China. A comprador was a person who enjoyed some privilege in the village as he raised himself from a rice eater who was bound to his land to a freer laborer working as an agent on borders between Macao and Hong Kong. The process was very much shaped by the invading imperial powers and the reluctant withdrawal of the traditional Chinese way of life. For example, in her journal, Harriet Low[3] describes life in Macao: The comprador took care of the house and his service helped build the hierarchy supporting her social standing (Taketani 101). Therefore, Yung's family decision in favor of an English missionary education was more motivated by a combined desire for economic and social mobility than a concern for the salvation of souls. The presence of foreign influences in China greatly changed the fate of many Chinese. Hence Yung's autobiography, starting with a chapter telling his connection with missionary work in China, is preconfigured that

reflects the constantly negotiated process of transformation happening to the speaking subject of the autobiography.

Yung Wing studied at Mrs. Gutlaff's school for three and a half years (1839-1842), from age seven to eleven, before the school was closed due to the onset of the first Opium war. Yung hawked candies and gleaned grain from fields to help the family before he was recruited by the Morrison School, which was established in 1836 in honor of the pioneering British missionary Dr. Robert Morrison, who died in 1834.[4] The purpose of the Morrison Education Society, according to Samuel Robbins Brown,[5] a missionary and Yale graduate who taught at the Morrison School from 1839-1847, was to "educate Chinese boys in both English and Chinese, thus putting in their hands the key to sources of knowledge from which they had up to that time been excluded, of instructing them in the principles of Christianity" (29). In a letter to his father dated January 21, 1838, Samuel Wells Williams[6]described a classroom scene at the Morrison School. He describes, "I hear the boys recite their lessons. This is a set term and does not convey the idea, for the truth is they learn but little except while they are with me; the Chinese think but little, and study consequently is dull as well as hard work" (108). Both Brown's and Williams' words regarding the Chinese students at the Morrison School indicate a discursive dismissal of the traditional Chinese education as inherently inferior to Western education. As "the Chinese think little," it was the responsibility of people like Brown and other missionaries to "put in their hands the key to sources of knowledge" and "instruct them [in] the principles of Christianity" (Williams 108).

The Chinese were excluded from modern knowledge, which is Western in Williams' opinion, so the project of building a "civilized" Christian China was the goal

of the Morrison School. It set moral training and the building of character before intellectual discipline. The stress on "moral training" and "the building of character" was also central to the missionary's discourse of nation building at home. In her book *Sensational Designs* (1985), Jane Tompkins notes that the popular acceptance of didactic literature in the mid-1850s was imbued with the "Protestant-Republican ideology" (156). The characteristic of such an ideology is that it identified "the spreading of the Gospel with the building of a nation" (156). The welfare of the nation seemed to depend upon the virtue of the individual citizen, which might account for the overflow of meticulous retrospective examination of tedious everyday life in many sentimental works (Tompkins 156-7). Read in light of Tompkins' analysis, the Morrison School's agenda equates the building of a nation with the spreading of the Gospel overseas. The missionary preference for "the building of the character," "moral training," and acquisition of "intellectual discipline" reflects the Western Protestant-imperial ideology. In the case of the Morrison School, the missionary project of building character was concomitant with the colonialist building of a nation, which was supported by the U.S. government.

Samuel Robbins Brown, the principal and most important teacher of the Morrison School, was dubbed "a maker of the new Orient" by his biographer William Elliot Griffis. In the preface of the biography Griffis states, "There is a new Orient, and the chief instruments in its making have been the English-speaking peoples" (7). Published in 1902, Griffis' biography illustrates the nineteenth-century West's self-proclaimed ambition to make the "new Orient." For example, in one instance, he reports that a former pupil stole some of Brown's books and went back to his father's house in the country, but then "conscience smote him" (Griffis 80). The student, with tears in his eyes, returned the

books to the teacher, and explained that he had two hearts: one bad, the other good. He struck his breast and said that he put down the bad heart. Brown was quite pleased and cheerfully forgave him (Griffis 80). Brown must have felt the success of "the building of character" and "moral training" in transforming the student, who put down his "bad" or Chinese heart which was plagued by ignorance and barbarity, and praised his "good" or Christian heart which recognized the importance of individual virtue in making a "new Orient."

Being one of Brown's students at the Morrison School, especially one of only three Chinese students Brown brought with him to America, Yung Wing could hardly escape the influence of such an education. From the very moment Yung's father chose an English missionary education over a traditional Chinese Confucian education for his son, Yung faced inevitable conflicts between two cultures, embedded within a colonial discourse. The missionary rhetoric about rebuilding China according to a Western model emphasizes the teaching of Christian principles, aiming at producing a colonial subject under the gaze of a condescending imperial power. In light of this colonial disciplinary education, Yung Wing is no longer a country boy, but one that is preconfigured in the missionary discourse of nation building.

Yung's early missionary education had pre-configured him as a split subject. He is caught between a missionary discourse of "making the New Orient" and his personal ambition to reform his country through Western education, science, and technology. His proposal of establishing the Chinese Educational Mission was closely related to China's situation. China was at that time suffering from foreign aggression and domestic rebellion, "most seriously by the consequences of the Opium War and the on-going Taiping

Rebellion" (Wan 46). An article published in *Christian Union* in 1872 recalled Yung's refusal to pursue his college education in Scotland due to his indignation at the wrongs inflicted by England upon China during the first Opium War. Birdsey Grant Northrop, the author of the article, who was Secretary of the Connecticut State Board of Education, concluded, "It was solely the Opium War which led him [Yung] to pursue his collegiate course at Yale" (Northrop 65).[7]

Yung was obviously concerned about the fate of his country. As he confesses in his autobiography, "All through my college course, especially in the closing year, the lamentable condition of China was before my mind constantly and weighed on my spirits" (40). He even wished that he had never been educated so that he would not suffer from the awareness of his responsibilities as an educated man (40-41). He asked himself, "What am I going to do with my education?" (41)

The nobler call Yung mentioned in his letter to Williams in 1849 was transformed into the seed of the CEM in his last year at Yale (1854). He writes in his autobiography, "I was determined that the rising generation of China should enjoy the same educational advantages that I had enjoyed; that through western education China might be regenerated, become enlightened and powerful" (41). It took him about two decades to finally realize his plan when the CEM project was launched by the Qing government in 1872. One hundred and twenty young boys would be sent to different schools in the U.S. in four groups of thirty students each. Their stay in the U.S. would last an estimated fifteen years. Besides their English courses, these students were assigned Chinese teachers to go abroad with them so that their Chinese education would not be neglected (Yung 173). Yung refers to this period (1854-1872) promoting his educational plan as "a

checkered life," which indicates the vicissitudes and hardship he encountered while seeking a way to reform and modernize China (41). However, such "a checkered life" can be also applied to accounting for the larger picture of his life caught across the lands of China and America, which is displayed in his conceptualization of a western education in regenerating China.

I

"Caught between Two Stools"

Re-signifying Double Consciousness in Yung Wing's *My Life in China and America* (1909)

> Like many who navigate two cultures, Yung Wing felt caught between two stools. In America, he felt Asian, but in Asia, he felt American. (Harold Hongju Koh, "Yellow in a White World" 97)

Yung Wing has interested many scholars. Historians and scholars are particularly interested in his connection with Western missionaries, his education in America, and his involvement in the modernization of China in the late-nineteenth century, including his role in launching the Chinese Education Mission (CEM) in 1872. However, the significance of his autobiography, *My Life in China and America* (1909), is not fully explored as researchers often draw on its historical factuality with little regard to the complexity of the consciousness reflected in the text. Meanwhile, literary critics generally ignore Yung Wing because he did not show "greater awareness of the interior self and greater revelation of this interiority" as the Eaton sisters did (Ling, "Reading Her/stories against His/stories" 85).[1] In other works on early Asian American literature, Yung was dismissed either as a mere "ambassador of good will" (Lim 24) or a writer of "cultivated culture" (Yin 54).[2]

In response to a general disregard of the merit of Yung's autobiography, I intend to recover Yung in early Chinese American literary history. I will use Du Bois's theory of double consciousness as a point of departure to analyze the sophisticated consciousness shown in Yung's autobiography. Through configuring Yung in complicated contexts that shaped him in both China and America, I argue that Yung's body as well as his text

should be viewed as troubled sites reflecting a series of conflicting forces at play in late-nineteenth- and early-twentieth century China and America. By historicizing the construction of Yung's text and his CEM project in relation to the nineteenth-century cult of the self-made man, I argue that Yung's autobiography is a reflection of the negotiated process of a self-made man as well as a self-made text influenced by many factors. Lastly, referring to recent scholarship in Asian American studies regarding the issue of binaries, I propose to historicize and contextualize Yung's autobiography and similar texts which are obscured in a literary war centering on the dichotomy of resistance and accommodation.

Yung Wing's Text as a Troubled Site

Many works on Yung Wing have been published both in Chinese and English since the publication of *My Life in China and America* in 1909. In this section, I will peruse scholarship (in both Chinese and English) on Yung Wing's autobiography by American historians, Asian American literary critics, and Chinese scholars, arguing that Yung Wing's text has become a troubled site where different perspectives and interpretations converge.

One of the earliest studies on Yung in English was an address entitled "'The Senior Returned Students': A Brief Account of the Chinese Educational Commission, 1872-1882," delivered by Arthur G. Robinson, a missionary in Tientsin [Tianjin], at the North China Union Language School in Beiping on May 31, 1932 (Robinson 2). It was reprinted on the Tientsin Rotary Club's celebration of the sixtieth anniversary of "the sailing of the first detachment of Chinese students to the United States" (Robinson 1).

The club's title for the event, "Pilgrims to Western Seats of Learning," reinforces the image of Yung Wing as a pious pilgrim seeking enlightenment in the West. This is substantively different from the Chinese depiction of Yung as a Prometheus stealing the fire of knowledge from the West. "China's First Educational Mission to U.S.," the subtitle of the speech, was described as "The Breaking of Chinese Intellectual Isolation" (Robinson 1). Therefore, a discourse of power politics was early established in the study of Yung Wing by scholars in both countries.

Thomas E. LaFargue's monograph *China's First Hundred* (1942) is the first important historical study on Yung Wing and the CEM. However, by calling Yung "the pioneer of pioneers," LaFargue reinforces the dichotomy of the civilized West and the barbarous East embodied in the myth of Yung Wing (xv). LaFargue sets the West as morally and epistemologically superior to the East in his picture of Yung as "the first Chinese to break through the mental confines of the Middle Kingdom and to view and evaluate the Western World from a Western viewpoint" (xv). LaFargue's binary value system favors a Western viewpoint, which would benefit China through its influence on people like Yung (xv).

The dichotomy LaFargue adopts in his study of Yung Wing and the CEM sets a model for many later works in English on Yung. For example, another important article on Yung is "Yung Wing in America" (1965) by Edmund H. Worthy, Jr., an earlier version of which was awarded the Samuel Wells Williams Prize at Yale University in 1963. Worthy's article shows a continuation of LaFargue's dichotomy, which is reflected in his emphasis on Yung's assimilation and westernization. Worthy believes a study focusing on "What Yung Wing learned from America" would set up "a case of American

influence upon the Oriental student or resident" (265). According to Worthy, Yung's naturalization and conversion to Christianity are, no doubt, the manifestation of Yung's "leaning toward the West" (270). Even Yung's achievement in English, which refers to Yung's winning of the first prize in English composition two of three terms in 1852, is "a positive indication of his assimilation of Western culture" (Worthy 270).

The early studies of Yung Wing indicate a colonial look at the East as the Other, as Yung Wing was cast as "a pioneer among pioneers," whose significance is understood within a binary construct that stresses the superiority of the West. Asian American literary critics were aware of such a colonial gaze while seeking voices of resistance to form new sensibilities for an emerging discipline in the 1970s. In this context, Yung Wing's autobiography was only studied by *Aiiieeeee*! editors (1974) as an example of early "yellow white supremacy," a term the editors used to condemn converted Chinese immigrant writers who promoted white superiority and confirmed the inferiority of China (Chin et al. xi). Likewise, Elaine Kim's *Asian American Literature* (1982) denounces Yung Wing as inauthentic because he wrote from the "vantage point of privilege" of the "exempt class" (26). Yung's autobiographical writing was viewed, at best, as the work of one of the "ambassadors of goodwill" (Kim 12). According to Kim, their writings focused on Asian high culture and the indignation they expressed at American race policies was "often tentative and apologetic" (25).

The condemnation of such "fake" Chinese American writers is best summarized in Frank Chin's "This Is Not an Autobiography" (1985). Agreeing upon the importance of autobiography in establishing a literary tradition, Chin claims that the tradition of autobiographical writing among Chinese American writers is a fake one, which follows

only the "Christian autobiographical tradition" (110). His list of fake authors has extended from early writers like Yung Wing to contemporary writers such as Maxine Hong Kingston, David Henry Hwang, and Betty Bao Lord (110). They fall into a "Christian stereotype" which tells the "same Cinderella story of rescue from the perverse, the unnatural, and cruel Chinese into the one true universe" (Chin, "This Is Not an Autobiography" 110). Chin tries to establish an authentic "yellow" voice through the enactment of Sun Tzu and Guan Kong, both heroic figures in Chinese culture. The antithesis of the "real" and the "fake" culminated in the publication of Chin's "Come All Ye Asian American Writers of the Real and the Fake" (1990), which was reprinted and anthologized in *The Big Aiiieeeee*! (1991). Pinpointing writers (from Yung Wing to Kingston and Amy Tan) following a Christian autobiographical tradition, Chin argues that these writers perpetuate and advance the stereotype of "a Chinese culture so foul, so cruel to women, so perverse" that it is not "real" (Chin, "Come All Ye" 11).

A similar thread of prejudice against early immigrant writing based on a rubric of "the real" versus "the fake" is also in Xiao-huang Yin's groundbreaking work *Chinese American Literature Since the 1850s* (2000). Yin excavated the forgotten voices of early immigrants in his work. However, he dismisses the writing of the "cultivated Chinese" who focused primarily on the high culture of traditional Chinese society and aimed to "improve an image [of China] to win sympathy and acceptance" (55). Yung Wing, Yin argues, was the epitome of an assimilable "Chinaman," whose autobiography is his testimony that the Chinese were capable of becoming "a good American citizen" and integrating into American society (Yin 70-71). Yung's book did improve the image of the Chinese through his own success story, yet he did not speak for the majority of early

Chinese immigrants, so Yin concludes that Yung's views on racism are limited and do not carry much weight in terms of criticizing social reality.

While American historians and Asian American literary critics exhibit varying levels of contempt for Yung Wing and his memoir, nineteenth-century Chinese scholars applauded Yung Wing's efforts to modernize China. The first Chinese translation of Yung Wing's autobiography appeared in 1915 in the form of literary Chinese, but its translators changed the title to *The Story of West Civilization Moving East—Autobiography by Rong Chunfu*. Published immediately after the collapse of the Qing Dynasty (1912) at a time when China was seeking to modernize, Yung Wing's memoir seemed to point the way to modernity and democracy, which the translators as well as the publisher were eager to convey in the rendering of a new title. The first translation of Yung Wing's autobiography in Chinese continued and reinforced a generally accepted mode of cultural exchange that assumed Western superiority.

Unlike American historians who usually highlight the impact of Western civilization on the making of a new China, Chinese historians and scholars try to interpret Yung Wing in terms of his role in China's struggle for modernization around the turn of the twentieth century. Yung Wing's name is often associated with Zeng Guofan [Tseng Kuo Fan] (1811-1872) and Li Hongzhang [Li Hung-Chang] (1823-1901), the leaders of the Self-Strengthening Movement[3] of the Qing court, as well as Sun Yat-sen [Sun Zhongshan] (1866-1925), the leader of the anti-Manchu republican movement, whose effort eventually resulted in the collapse of the Qing Dynasty in 1912. Yung's autobiography becomes a valuable text with historical details charting the important political and social changes in late-nineteenth-century China. Most Chinese scholars

credit Yung Wing for helping modernize China through his Chinese Education Mission; therefore their historical assessments of Yung's autobiography are "uncritically positive" (Cheung, "Yung Wing" 416). Li Zhi-gang's *Rong Hong and the Contemporary Chi*na (1981), Gu Changsheng's *Yung Wing: The Pioneer Learning from the West* (1981), and Zhong Shuhe and Yang Jian's *The Story of Western Civilization Moving East* (1985) generally represent such an approach. Recent Chinese publications on Yung Wing are permeated with a patriotic tone about Yung Wing's role in the making of China, which shows unquestioned acceptance of Yung's accounts of events.[4]

It is my purpose in the rest of this chapter to complicate the scholarship on Yung Wing by using the concepts of double consciousness and "across lands." As the title of Yung Wing's autobiography indicates, it covers an individual's life in two countries. Thus, from the very beginning the body of Yung Wing's text becomes a troubled site that mirrors the contradictory views of American historians, Asian American literary critics, and Chinese scholars. Early American historians tended to view Yung as an exemplary product of American education, whose achievement is indicative of a superior Western civilization. The binary construct of the West and the East seen in early American scholars of Yung Wing is replaced by a dichotomy of the real and the fake adopted by most Asian American literary critics, who generally dismiss Yung as catering to Christian autobiographical tradition and being inauthentic in reflecting the reality of Chinese immigrants. Most Chinese works, with a few exceptions such as Timothy T. Kao's books on CEM students, appear to be overwhelmingly patriotic, therefore less objective.

Like many Chinese immigrants, Yung could not escape the racial gaze imposed on him; therefore, he conscientiously constructs himself as a gentleman in accordance

with the nineteenth-century cult of the self-made man in his autobiography. His intention to redress the distorted image of the Chinese shows his double consciousness. In a speech he delivered to celebrate the 150th anniversary of Yung Wing's graduation from Yale in 2004, Harold Hongjue Koh, Dean of Yale law school, captures Yung's ordeal as "a yellow man in a white world" by acknowledging Yung's status of being "caught between two stools" ("Yellow in a White World" 97). The epigraph to this chapter states Yung's in-betweenness, noting that "In America, [Yung] felt Asian, but in Asia, he felt American" (97). Being caught between two stools suggests Yung's failure in both places as he seemed to fall short of the requirements in two countries. However, his failure reflects American exclusionary policies and racial discrimination, as well as the Qing government's futile attempts to reform and strengthen the country in the face of foreign invasions and industrialization, more than Yung's lack of success.

The double consciousness in Yung's text is not always easily defined as being Chinese or American. In his complicated narrative, he exhibits the ambiguity of living across lands: He considered himself a patriotic Chinese man, but he could not find his position in China; he was a naturalized American, but in his later years he lived as an undocumented immigrant in his home at Hartford, Conn. Although, as some critics argue, Yung's writing and social activities might not be representative of Chinese laborers in the nineteenth century, his sense of alienation and of belonging nowhere represents the situation of Chinese immigrants caught between worlds and across lands. As Amy Ling argues, such between-world experiences give the writer the privilege to see a more whole world outside of the confining structures in both countries. The examination of how Yung Wing presents himself as simultaneously "belonging nowhere" and "belonging to two

places" will yield abundant understanding of the social and historical realities about early Chinese immigrants. Yung's "across-land" experience enables him to navigate and negotiate different cultural contexts he finds himself in, which leaves us a legacy to understand earlier Chinese immigrants caught between worlds.

Re-signifying Double Consciousness in Yung Wing's *My Life in China and America*

Yung writes in the preface to his autobiography that his education scheme was "an expression of [his] undying love for China" and "the most feasible method of reformation and regeneration for her" (iii-iv). Despite being his "life work" (198), however, the CEM accounts for only two of twenty-two chapters of the book. A further examination of the memoir reveals ambivalence in Yung's narrative. His nationality and marriage are deliberately left out of the memoir. Besides his account of the CEM, there are many unrelated descriptions of his other activities in two countries. He constructs himself as a self-made man by modeling the nineteenth-century cult, and his plan to uplift China resonates with other popular narratives about modernizing China. Yung, however, appears perpetually caught between two countries and across lands—a deep sense of belonging nowhere permeates his autobiography. Exemplifying what I call the "across lands" dilemma, Yung's double consciousness provides a model for us to understand the complicated negotiation of identity for Chinese immigrants in late-nineteenth and early-twentieth-century China and America.

There is a confusing point of view in Yung's autobiography, which suggests his ambivalent sense of belonging. The book can be roughly divided into four parts, with each ending in his "return" to China. The first part includes six chapters describing his

education, including his missionary education in Macao and Hong Kong and his American education, which ends when he returns to China upon graduation from Yale in 1854. The second part charts his efforts to find a position in China from 1854 to 1865, which ends in chapter fifteen with the dubious title "My Second Return to China," when he was actually on a business trip to the U.S. The following five chapters delineate the beginning and the end of the CEM project, concluding with "his journey to Peking" in chapter twenty. The last two chapters describe "his recall to China" in 1894 and his involvement in the coup d'état of 1898 in the Qing court.

The multiple references to his "return to China" suggest Yung's complicated sense of belonging. Return usually refers to coming back to one's hometown, where one belongs. Yung's use of "return to China," however, suggests a sense of a split self caught between two worlds and across lands. Yung describes his first return to China in 1854 as "my reentrance into the Chinese world" after a "metamorphosis" of "an Oriental" made by "an Occidental civilization" (iii). He then elaborates how he feels like a stranger in his own land in the preface (iii), which becomes the implicit theme of his autobiography. The word "metamorphosis" implies Yung's sense of alienation, a split subject caught between a Western education and Chinese roots. It also suggests Yung's strong sense of the ability to navigate different cultural contexts and accordingly negotiate his identity in different situation. Moreover, "metamorphosis" indicates the process of change and negotiation is not always stable, which allows the subject to constantly adjust to his or her environment as he or she sees the need. Thus, the first time Yung returns to China, he comes home as a "new" Chinese man, who has been metamorphosed by a Western education. His account of experiences in China is that of an inauthentic native, as most of

the time he approaches the events from the perspective of an outsider, that is, he becomes alienated from China because of his Western education. In this sense, the anecdote of his visit to the Taiping rebels, which seems unrelated to the theme of his educational plan, demonstrates his awareness of double identities: first, a native Chinese who was embraced in a colonial discourse of civilization, and, second, an educated Chinese who adopted an anthropological perspective in examining China, which alienated him from the natives in China. Thus, what Du Bois calls "the sense of always looking at one's self through the eyes of others" characterizes Yung's examination of his own status and China through the lens of western education (45).

However, Yung's reference to his "second return to China" at the end of the second part of his memoir is problematic for it should have been properly titled "My Return to America." He obtained an interview in 1863 with Zeng Guofan and was then commissioned by Zeng to go to America to buy machinery to equip an arsenal.[5] It is in such a context that Yung's return to America is narrated. However, a focus on his "return" to China suggests his unconscious alignment with America as his home, while a return to China seems temporal.

Such a position is emphasized in two other references to his "return" or "recall" to China in the rest of the memoir. As the title of Yung's autobiography implies, the book is about his life in both China and America. An inherent problem in his point of view demonstrates Yung's dilemma of finding a position in the world. While most of his adult life was devoted to the CEM, he was viewed by his countrymen as a foreigner, with his Western education signifying the loss of trust of his countrymen. Li Hongzhang once commented that Yung's foreignness was the source of his dilemma: "But even in him

there is the defect—his Chinese education is insufficient, and he does not quite understand the basic proprieties in matters of government" (qtd. in Worthy 281).[6] In Li's opinion, Yung's Western education made him a "defect," with both an inadequate Chinese education and understanding of China. LaFargue describes Yung as "thoroughly Americanized" by the time he graduated from Yale in 1854 (22). In fact, by the time Yung returned to China in 1854, he could hardly speak Chinese after being away for so long. He recorded a detail on the voyage back in which he failed to translate for the captain of the ship. He was laughed at for "being a Chinese" who "was not able to speak the language" (48). Yung spent some time in improving his Chinese when he returned, but his lack of a Chinese education and western education made him a perpetual foreigner in his own land (LaFargue 28).

While Yung was criticized in China as being Westernized and Americanized, he did not find America his home, either. Throughout the autobiography, he exemplifies a deep sense of lost identity. His shifting point of view already displays his confusion with reference to home. The silence about his naturalization in the memoir, read in the context of seeking home, demonstrates his strategic construction of the identity of a citizen of the world. He was naturalized in 1852 but mentions this fact only briefly in his autobiography (LaFargue 22, Worthy 270, Wan 48). Also, he converted to Christianity around 1847, which is omitted entirely from the autobiography. If the failure to mention his conversion signifies Yung's double consciousness toward missionaries, his deliberate ambiguity about his naturalization exhibits the writer's dilemma about finding his place in the world and his ability to situate himself as across lands. Yung deliberately rejects the "conversion" narrative genre, which would be appropriate for his time period and

personal experiences. He is, after all, least like what Frank Chin accuses him of following Christian confession tradition in his autobiography, as he does not confess his conversion, nor does he highlight his naturalization. He understands his situation of being between worlds and experiences double consciousness in both countries. His autobiography becomes his manifestation of crossing lands to find a place in the world. He revises the genre of the self-made man to include the Chinese subject in the Western philosophical tradition.

The American media's conflicted depiction of Yung's identity during his stay in America suggests their inability to move out of binary distinctions. Yung was often referred to as "the commissioner" of the CEM by American media due to his advantage of American education, although he was officially appointed co-commissioner to assist Chen Lanpin, a well-educated Chinese scholar.[7] During Yung's stay in America as a Mandarin official, he was an example of a "Chinaman" elevated by a Christian education. The *New York Evangelist* called Yung "the perfect, cultivated, Christian gentleman" whose story showed "what a Chinaman may become by Christian education" ("Notes on Travel" 43). Joseph H. Twichell's[8] speech on Yung in 1875 with the title "What Hath God Wrought" reinforced the point that Yung was "a fruit of the missionary work" ("A Remarkable Career" 46). In reports like these, Yung was "one of them," the Other, whose attainments exemplified how a Chinaman could be elevated by Christian education.

Occasionally, the point of view that considered Yung "one of them" was challenged by a new perspective that referred to Yung as "one of us." According to an 1874 article in the *New York Evangelist*, Yung was "dressed just now in Chinese costume

and with Chinese queue, yet his manner and voice, and idiomatic English, and style of expression, and the play of his countenance, were not only American, but so *New England* like that one might have 'guessed' he was brought up in Connecticut or thereabouts ("Life in Japan" 45)." In this short passage, Yung performs two identities. As he was a Mandarin, his Chinese clothes and queue signify his Chineseness. However, his manner, voice, English, style, and even his countenance mark him American. In the end, the writer reveals, "He is in fact an American citizen, for he said he was naturalized some twenty years ago." If the article still showed hesitancy in claiming Yung as "one of us" in 1874, by 1875 an article published in the *New York Evangelist* fully recognized Yung as American. Summarizing the impact of Yung's education, the article comments, "He was all made over within—a *New Englander*. He belonged to us, was of our society, and China was as foreign to him as to us" ("A Remarkable Career" 46).

The difficulty in reading Yung made his citizenship an intricate case to Americans. An article published in the *Independent* in 1878 refers to Yung's citizenship in its interrogation of the federal circuit's denial of Au Yup's application for citizenship ("Naturalization of Chinamen" 30). The 1878 *In re Ah Yup* decision declared Chinese immigrants ineligible for American citizenship, which was reiterated in the 1882 Chinese Exclusion Act. The ruling was based on the 1875 amendment to section 2169, which stated that the naturalization laws be extended to "aliens, being free white persons, and to aliens of African nativity and to persons of African descent." The author used Yung's legitimate citizenship to challenge the logic of the amendment which excluded Mongolians, hence illustrating the necessity to redefine "white" to include Chinese immigrants and other races ("Naturalization of Chinamen" 30).

In another article on Chinese immigration in 1879, Yung was cited as an example of successful assimilation and as a counter to the popular belief that the Chinese were unassimilable (Cook 6). But in 1898, Yung was stripped of his U.S. citizenship by the American government. The Secretary of State John Sherman (1823-1900) instructed the American minister to China (when Yung was seeking his assistance in China) that the State Department "does not feel that it can properly recognize [Yung] as a citizen of the United States" (Daniels 203). At that time, Yung was involved in The Hundred Days of Reform in China, and was forced to flee China when the reform failed.[9] Practically, Yung became "a man without countries" (Worthy 284). He no longer possessed his American citizenship and was barred from reentering America; and in China he was considered *persona non grata* (Worthy 284). Yung returned to his home at Hartford, Connecticut in 1902. How he managed to get into America is a mystery. The United States Immigration and Naturalization Service did not have a record of Yung's entry into America (Worthy 285). Ironically, Yung lived as a known undocumented immigrant in Hartford till his death in 1912, and his autobiography was written in this amorphous spatial and psychic mode of being across lands.

Yung exhibits complicated attitudes toward his identity in the autobiography. Considering the context in which the book was written, it is understandable why Yung's naturalization is omitted. However, Yung tells an anecdote to illustrate "his love for his adopted country" in his autobiography. In 1864, when Yung was commissioned by Zeng Guofan to buy machinery in America, he paid a special visit to Brigadier-General Barnes of Springfield, Mass., and volunteered to serve in the Union Army. He justifies his act in his autobiography: "I felt as a naturalized citizen of the United States, it was my bounden

duty to offer my services … for at least six months, simply to show my loyalty and patriotism to my adopted country" (158). It is the only time in the autobiography that Yung ever mentions his naturalization. Writing this anecdote as an undocumented immigrant in 1909, Yung's narrative could be read both as his defense of his citizenship and his criticism of the unjust treatment of him by the American government.

Yung's double consciousness and sense of being across lands are also reflected in his silence about his marriage to Mary L. Kellogg in 1875, the daughter of one of Hartford's leading physicians. The ceremony was performed by Joseph H. Twichell who left an interesting account of the marriage in his diary: "The match was a good deal commented on. Some people feel doubtfully about it; some disapprove it utterly; some (like me) gloried in it" (qtd. in Lafargue 42). Early in the autobiography, Yung mentions the two dreams he had while on his voyage to the United States in 1847: One of them is the Chinese Education Mission; the other is to "marry an American wife" (24). It is strange that he elaborates on his first dream while eliding the second dream. Yung's silence about his marriage shows his across lands strategy of appealing to a larger audience, both Chinese and American. By marrying an American woman, Yung became a Chinese man crossing racial boundaries, a sensational issue in the late nineteenth century. Yung's failure to mention his marriage to a white woman suggests his awareness of his American readers' potential hostility towards interracial marriages. However, Yung's silence also could be read as his performance of Chineseness to pacify his Chinese audience. As discussed earlier, because of his Americanization, Yung was not trusted by the Qing government. His naturalization made him suspect in China, and

marriage to a white woman made his Chineseness even more doubtful. As a result, Yung seldom publicly spoke of his marriage.

Yung was caught between two countries. He was both Chinese and American, but he was also "a man without countries" as illustrated by his lack of citizenship in both countries. His autobiography is his across lands strategy of constructing a new kind of identity modeled on the nineteenth-century image of the self-made man. His autobiography belongs to neither the "conversion" narrative genre nor the "naturalization" genre, but it is his manifestation of constructing a new citizen in both countries by revising the cult of the self-made man. By constructing himself as a self-made man, he argues for the inclusion of the Chinese in America and challenges the genre of autobiography by including Chinese subject. In three cases in the autobiography, Yung turns to this term for evaluation of his friends and contacts, which shows the concept of the self-made man as central to the formation of Yung's subjectivity. I will list here three "privileged moments" (Kristeva, *The Revolution in Poetic Language* 58) to illustrate the unconscious of Yung's text of self-representation.

Samuel Robbins Brown, Yung Wing's tutor and patron, gets primary attention in Yung's narrative. In his first encounter with Brown, Yung observes, "Brown…showed evidences of *a self-made man* [my emphasis]. He was cool in temperament, versatile in the adaption of means to ends, gentlemanly and agreeable, and somewhat optimistic" (16). After describing how Brown endears himself to the students and how apt he is in conveying meaning to his Chinese pupils, Yung concludes that "[h]e impressed his pupils as being a fine teacher and one eminently fitted from inborn tact and temperament to be a successful school master" (17). The depiction of Brown shows some characteristics of a

self-made man, who, in Yung's words, was an agreeable gentleman whose inborn tact and temperament that would enable him to accomplish his mission in a foreign land.

The same emphasis on character and internal virtues is echoed in chapter four, where Yung describes his first meeting with the principal of the Monson Academy in 1847. In Yung's eyes, Rev. Charles Hammond was "in every sense *a self-made man*" [my emphasis] (27). Hammond was also a Yale graduate. He was "enthusiastically fond of the classics, and a great admirer of English literature" (27). He was well known in New England as "an educator and a champion of temperance and New England virtues" (27). So again, we see the importance of character, mastery of the classics, in particular, of English literature, in deciding if one is a gentleman and a self-made man in Yung's text.

The third time Yung Wing refers to this term, it is applied, interestingly enough, to a Chinese subject, Zeng Guofan, who rose from the position of "an obscure provincial official" (LaFargue 3). Recalling his first meeting with Zeng Guofan in 1863, Yung was impressed with Zeng's "external appearance," which showed an unusual character. Yung writes:

> He had a broad chest and square shoulders surmounted by a large symmetrical head...[H]is eyes were set on a straight line under triangular-shaped eyelids, free from that obliquity so characteristic of the Mongolian type of countenance usually accompanied by high cheek bones, which is another feature peculiar to the Chinese physiognomy. He allowed his side whiskers their full growth; they hung down with his full beard which swept across a broad chest and added dignity to a commanding

> appearance…His mouth was large but well compressed with thin lips which showed a strong will and a high purpose. (146)

It should be noted that Yung Wing wrote his autobiography in a retrospective tone, which reflects his admiration for Zeng and is also a response to anti-Chinese sentiment.[10] His minute description of Zeng's appearance counters the popular "physiognomy" of the Chinese of the time. Zeng's appearance, unusual for a Mongolian, gives him dignity, strong will, and nobility, which would justify Yung's categorizing him into the western family of the self-made man. Yung continues, "[r]egarding his characters, he [Tsang] was undoubtedly one of the most remarkable men of his age and time. As a military general, he might be called *a self-made man* [my emphasis]" (146).

The conferring of the title of the self-made man to Zeng is a "privileged moment" in Yung's autobiography, which reveals an unconscious submerging of a text on a Chinese official. Yung's emphasis on character, virtue, sensitivity, and noble purpose in such self-made men as Brown and Hammond reflects the nineteenth-century cult of the self-made man. Moreover, his "reading" of Zeng in terms of the rhetoric of the self-made man implies, on the one hand, a textual unconscious that conforms with a subjectivity dictated by the Western individualist discourse of his time; on the other hand, it suggests that Yung's across lands strategy of borrowing the Western ideology to appraise a Chinese self-made official, thus, setting the tone for the theme of his autobiography; that is, it is a text about Yung Wing, the self-made Chinese American.

The theme of a self-made man underwrites Yung's narrative about his life in China and America, which makes it different from the conversion narrative or naturalization narrative. Yung announces on the very first page of the book that his book

is devoted to "the working-out of my educational scheme, as an expression of my undying love for China" (iii). However, underlining this project of "regenerating" and "reforming" China (Yung iv) is his rise from poverty to wealth and fame, which is suppressed by the "official"—uncensored and unrepressed expression—testimony of Yung's patriotism. Yung's narrative, in other words, should be viewed as a text about a Chinese man's rise to the status of a self-made man in nineteenth-century America.

Mainly educated in missionary schools in China, Yung Wing was a product of the missionary project of education, which evolved from a greater rhetoric of nation-building.[11] In analyzing how religious tracts helped shape the mind of nineteenth-century Americans, Tompkins quotes a passage from the twenty-second annual meeting of the American Home Missionary Society (1848) which declares that

> [N]o nation can either prosper or last without popular virtue--…the virtue of the Bible, in all its purity and life, and generous conviction! Religion, Protestant religion, is our great national want, as it is our greatest national security…Our power…dwells in the workshops, the manufactories, in the open fields, by the firesides, in the homes and haunts of our widespread population… (156-7)[12]

It is clear in this declaration that the rhetoric of nation building evokes the rhetoric of the self-made man in the nineteenth century. From my discussion of Yung Wing being influenced by the missionary discourse of nation-building, we see the significance of "the building of character" and "moral training" in fulfilling the project of producing "self-made" men outside of the traditional Confucian doctrines, who in the future would Christianize and civilize his fellow-countrymen.

Yung's construction of a self-made man echoes Benjamin Franklin's philosophy of improvement. Nowhere do we see the cult of the self-made man better represented than in Franklin. Central to his picture of a self-made man is his philosophy of improvement, which he credited in part to his reading of Cotton Mather's *Essays to Do Good* at a tender age (Wyllie 12). "Silence Dogood" was a revealing pseudonym Franklin used as a boy of sixteen (Houston 108). According to this philosophy of moral improvement, Franklin proposes the preaching of useful knowledge. As his list of thirteen virtues indicates, some counterparts of the virtues like argumentativeness, idleness, and indecision are bad not because they are vicious, but because they make people "useless" to themselves and to each other (Houston 38). Hence, the promotion of the useful knowledge is an important part of Franklin's politics of improvement.

Yung models himself as a self-made man in the fashion of nineteenth-century New England. His ambition to "do good" echoes Franklin's pursuit of Mather's advice in his "Essay to Do Good." In a letter to Samuel Wells Williams, dated December 20, 1850, Yung described his feeling as a freshman at Yale. He feels the college life seemed "best calculated to make a practical man" (qtd. in Worthy 269). Then he mentions that there was great "mental excitement" among the students, which he clarified as "a generous ambition" which was "productive of good results" (qtd. in Worthy 269). Considering the influence of such Yale graduates as Brown and Hammond, whom Yung regarded as self-made men, it's understandable why he would mould himself into a self-made man with an ambition. His ambition is revealed in a critical moment in his autobiography, where he declines financial aid offered by the trustees of Yale, who asks him to sign a pledge to study for the ministry (Yung 34-5). Yung declines the offer by stating his "ambition to do

good" in China does not necessarily mean missionary work (35). Illustrating his ability to exist across lands, his ambition to "do the greatest good" in China suggests his translation of the cult of the self-made man for his own purposes as a Chinese self-made man. The fulfillment of his plan was carried out through the CEM project, which was his "life work" in China.

Yung's educational project is not only the fulfillment of his ambition to "do good," but accentuates the same concern over promoting "useful knowledge" in relation to building the "right principles" and virtues in the making of his version of the self-made man. The CEM project carries Yung's hope of "regenerating" China "through western education" to make China "enlightened and powerful" (Yung 41). Moreover, his educational plan, based upon the belief of promoting the "useful knowledge", demonstrates his idea of uplifting his country. Yung declares that "China is going to educate and elevate her sons as never before" with the implementation of the CEM in 1872 (Brown, "Yung Wing and the New Chinese 'Mission'" 4). Upon the publication of his autobiography, the *Outlook* highly praised Yung's educational plan for "uplifting China to enlightenment and power" and called Yung "a patriotic American as well as a Chinese patriot" ("The New Books" 407). By then, Yung had become "A Maker of the New Orient," a title *The Independent* conferred on Yung ("Review: *My Life in China and America*" 544).

Floyd Cheung argues that Yung's autobiography might have been modeled on Booker T. Washington's 1901 autobiography, *Up from Slavery*, thereby displaying the same philosophy of racial uplift ("Early Chinese American Biography" 35). Like Washington, who practiced tactics of accommodation designed to help his people, Yung

also fashioned a version of himself as a self-made Chinese American that "deployed his authority in a manner designed to change European American attitude toward China and Chinese" (Cheung 35). Yung's accounts of his adventures in both China and America are proof of his political resistance, which attests to his manhood and the manliness of his country of birth (Cheung "Political Resistance" 85). Cheung argues that Yung's manhood should be contextualized with Theodore Roosevelt's speech, "The Strenuous Life," delivered in 1899, in which Roosevelt asserts that manly men make manly nations and manly nations make manly men ("Early Chinese American Autobiography" 32, "Political Resistance" 84-5). Yung's construction of his autobiography following the mode of success stories affirms the manliness of the Chinese, showing that they are capable of "striv[ing] manfully to deserve success" (Roosevelt 686); therefore, though it can be argued that Yung is co-opted by the West, his autobiography also defends the Chinese against the discourse of exclusion.

Cheung's reading of Yung's autobiography in terms of manhood addresses the criticism put forward by the *Aiiieeeee!* editors and Amy Ling, who also dismisses Yung due to his lack of resistance. Although Cheung recuperates Yung in the study of early Chinese American literature, his emphasis on manhood and political resistance reiterates a binary construct of the "real" and the "fake," which he initially critiques. The complexities of Yung's double consciousness and across lands situation are not sufficiently studied. By double consciousness, I mean to study "a contested and multiply negotiated process of transformation," which Jinqi Ling proposes in examining Asian American literary discourses in his book *Narrating Nationalism* (1998) (9). Yung's across lands situatedness is characteristic of early Chinese immigrants, who belong to

both countries, yet are alienated to both places; therefore, they often feel a sense of belonging nowhere. However, Yung employs his knowledge of concepts, notions, and racial conceptualization in both countries to create a new self, a "metamorphosed" self that is not fixed, but constantly adjusting to new environments. Therefore, he realizes what Du Bois calls for the merging of a double self (9).

As a subject caught in the missionary discourse of education which underwrites the building of nation overseas, Yung's double consciousness and across lands perspective are characteristic of the response of the colonial gaze at the Other. However, Yung's own Westernized self is not always full of contempt as in Du Bois's construct of double consciousness would allow, where the black self is aware of the racial gaze of the white society. Yung's CEM project is part of the Self-Strengthening Movement in the late Qing court, and consequently inherits the conflicts between Chineseness and westernization underlying the Movement. The internalized colonial gaze in Yung is accompanied by a motif of patriotism towards China, which underlies his involvement in political reforms and many other activities besides his educational plan. In Yung's autobiography, the double consciousness of a Westerner examining the Chinese is replaced by a reversed gaze: Yung-the-Chinese man examines Yung-the-Western-educated male. In order to maximize opportunities to carry out his educational plan, Yung has to perform his identity strategically, and across lands, to fit the circumstances. He proposes a pro-Christian school system when visiting Taiping rebels. However, in his proposals to the Qing court, he distances himself from associating with missionaries to gain the trust of the ruling class, who was exasperated by foreign invasion and aggregation.

Yung's double consciousness is further complicated by his complex across lands positions in both China and America. He returns to China a naturalized American and later returns to America a Mandarin official. His Western education makes him see the necessity to promote China's position in the world order; however, it also makes him a "defect" according to Li Hongzhang. Yung represents many contradictions. On the one hand, as a Chinese, he was raised a "New-Englander" and converted to Christianity. Excelling at English writing, Yung, however, could not write classic Chinese and was suspected by his own countrymen. On the other hand, Yung's naturalization did not grant him acceptance in America when he returned as a commissioner of the CEM and later minister to the United States. Being a Mandarin official makes him "one of them," and subjugates him equally to the anti-Chinese sentiments. His loss of American citizenship and exile from China make him literally "a man without countries," a man living across lands.

This motif of living across lands, as distinguished from experiencing a double consciousness, is also reflected in the irony of his performance of Chineseness in China and Americanness in America. In order to gain the trust of the Qing government, Yung has to align himself with the interests of the Qing court, selectively proposing projects that would suit the needs of the leaders of the Self-Strengthening Movement, such as building arsenal factories and buying western weaponry. He has to restudy Chinese and resumes Chinese costume to manifest his Chineseness. His autobiography, read in terms of the popular nineteenth-century motif of the self-made American man, is his testimony of being American, therefore defying the discourse of exclusion against the Chinese. Constructing himself as a self-made man, Yung highlights the possibility of the Chinese

being included as the subject of Western philosophical tradition as well as being recognized as equal citizens in American society. This form of self-fashioning takes on a different ideological significance when a subject of color revises the genre of Western autobiography to construct the self via their own agency. Yung Wing's text first proves that he is a self-made Chinese, different from his countrymen at home; it then shows that he is also a self-made American, for he has uplifted himself from a country boy to a man of success. More importantly, he asserts that he is a new kind of figure—a self-made Chinese American, for he differs from both Chinese and Americans and his autobiography is his testimony of self-fashioning. The adoption of the self-made man motif is Yung's across lands strategy to negotiate his double identities, which makes his text a readable "American" genre that, in the hands of a marginal/ethnic writer, becomes an affirmation of agency and identity-making contrary to "American" ideologies of exclusion and silence.[13]

Double Consciousness and Across Lands Negotiation in Yung Wing's Educational Project

As a product of a missionary education, Yung Wing's educational plan was, first of all, modeled on western education. It is obvious that his plan to reform China through education reflects the well-accepted conviction of Europeans that it was their Christian duty and manifest destiny to bring to China the fruits of Western civilization. George F. Seward,[14] the United States Consul at Shanghai in 1861, illustrates this conviction:

> I confess that I should think less of western civilization and of western manhood if it were not pushing and aggressive in China. Take the average

> American or Englishman used to well-kept roads and streets, to well-policed towns, to the comforts and conveniences, and advantages of steamships, telegraphs, and railroads … and put him down in China where there is not one carriage road; where there are no sewers nor lamps in the towns; where telegraphs and railroad are unknown, and steamers only where foreigners have forced them … and he would be unworthy of the Anglo-Saxon blood which runs in his veins if he should teach himself the Chinese habit of thought. (2)

Seward's lengthy elaboration on the difference between two worlds highlights a sharp contrast between a superior western civilization and the barbarous Chinese way of life; therefore, it requires Western manhood to enlighten the ignorant Chinese. Moreover, the affiliation Seward deliberately builds between England and America through the evocation of "the Anglo-Saxon blood" justifies a colonial cause that was first undertaken by England through the Opium Wars and then followed by the U.S.'s expansion of its influences in China.

In another letter to Williams, dated April 25, 1849, Yung painted a picture of China in a dichotomized mode:

> You know ful[l] well that the prejudice of the Chinese, how they misrepresent things, and that they are not able to see as you or any enlightened mind do, the object, the advantage, and value of being educated. Ignorance and superstition have sealed the noble faculties of their minds, how can they appreciate things of such worthy. (qtd. in Worthy 273)

Yung's letter echoes the missionary promotion of "the building of character" and "moral training" in making "a new Orient." He implied that he was "enlightened" because he perceived the "ignorance and superstition" of his countrymen, although the nature of his enlightenment was not exactly known at that time. But close to his graduation at Yale, he contemplates, "By dint of hard work and self-denial … I had come right up to the conventional standard and idea of a liberal man. I could, therefore, call myself an educated man" (41). It was at that time that he determined that the enlightenment of his "ignorant and superstitious" countrymen was to be carried out through western education, which became the center of his CEM project (41).

The conventional standard and idea of a liberal man that Yung wrote about was the western conventional standard; that is, the enlightened Chinese would eliminate their "ignorance and superstition" through a western education, hence being capable of representing China by adopting the same language of civilization. Twichell reiterated Yung's argument in an 1878 speech delivered before the Kent Club of the Yale Law School. According to Twichell, Yung was perplexed by China's want of educated men. China suffered disadvantages and detriments from "want of men capable by education of acting as her representatives" (265). As a result, China was forced to rely on foreign agents to represent her in international relations, commercial and other intercourses with foreign peoples. As an example, Yung cited Anson Burlingame, who represented China in negotiating the Burlingame Treaty between China and the U.S. in 1868 (Twichell 265). Yung believed that the training of such capable representatives of China would only be possible through western education. The *New York Evangelist* summarized his view thusly: "China, in order to deal successfully or intelligently with foreign nations must

have young men educated there to be able to act as mediators" ("A Remarkable Career" 46). In this illustration of across lands strategy, the process of "westernization," for Yung, was a gradual process in which China would find her proper place in the modern world.

Yung's relationship with missionaries is a complicated issue in his autobiography. Yung received his early education at missionary schools in Macao and Hong Kong. His trip to and education in the U.S. were sponsored by a few Anglo-American merchants in Guangzhou under the condition that Yung would return for missionary work after his two-year study in the U.S. (Wan 33). Such connections with missionaries made it only natural that Yung was converted at Monson shortly after he came to the U.S. (Twichell 254). Yet, he never mentions this important fact in the autobiography. On the contrary, the incident in his autobiography in which he refuses a missionary call epitomizes his struggle for spiritual and intellectual independence. The narrative is preceded by Yung's detailed description of his financial difficulties after he entered Yale. His benefactors in Guangzhou had ended their support as Yung did not return to China after his graduation from Manson. It was at this time that Yung was summoned to meet the trustees for a funding meeting at Yale, who asked him to sign a pledge that he would study for the ministry to become a missionary (34-35). Yung refused to sign it based on the following. First, he wanted "the utmost freedom of action to avail [himself] of every opportunity to do the greatest good in China" (35). Second, the calling of a missionary was not the only way to help China (35). Third, Yung thought it might prevent him from "taking advantage of any circumstance or event that might arise in the life of a nation like China" (36).[15] Yung's refusal of a missionary call despite his great financial need is constructed

in such a way that Yung appears as a Chinese self-made man—as constructed through an across lands strategy--who relies on his own hard work to finally realize his dreams.

Most Chinese scholars interpret the incident as a proof of Yung's love for his country overcoming the Christian call.[16] Yung's statements, such as that "the utmost freedom of action" and doing "the greatest good in China," are frequently quoted to evince his patriotism. However, Yung's friend Twichell viewed it differently. Stressing that Yung was "the direct fruit of Christian missions," Twichell interpreted Yung's refusal as his response to a higher call—"he [Yung] was wanted for something else" (254). The higher call was to serve his own people, which resulted in the CEM eighteen years later. Twichell quoted a Scripture to explain Yung's return to China in 1854, stating, "If any provide not for his own, and especially for those of his own house, he hath denied the faith, and is worse than an infidel" (257). "His own people" and "his own house," of course, refer to China. Through this quote, Twichell illustrates that Yung, after all, did follow a Christian call, though it was not to be a missionary as expected. The polarized views on Yung by Americans and Chinese indicate a double consciousness in understanding Yung's educational plan.

Yung's failure to mention his conversion in his autobiography attests to his awareness of the adverse reception of western missionaries in China. In the incident of declining the financial aid from Yale, Yung's third reason is that it might prevent him from taking advantage of circumstances or events in China that would give him opportunities to help his people. As missionaries often infringed on local authorities or customs in their preaching of the Gospel in China, there often occurred misunderstandings, conflicts, riots and violence. Being a converted Christian did not

prevent Yung from noticing the encroachment of foreign powers upon the sovereignty of China, especially as typified by the missionaries' jurisdiction over their converts. In his 1870 proposals, Yung included one to "prohibit missionaries of any religious sect or denomination from exercising any kind of jurisdiction over their converts, in either civil or criminal cases" (Yung 175). In fact, it was during the crisis of the Tianjin Incident of 1870 when Yung's proposal of the CEM was eventually accepted by Zeng Guofan and Li Hongzhang. The Tianjin Incident occurred between French Catholic missionaries and the local population in Tianjin in 1870, leading to rioting, the death of the French consul, the burning of the French Consulate and churches, and the abuse and death of Catholic nuns (Wan 75). As Yung had predicted, not being a missionary helped him take advantage of the crisis to present his proposal to the high officials. It is perhaps based on such concern that Yung never explicitly discussed his connections with Christianity in his memoir, although he was often described by American newspapers as "the cultivated Christian gentleman" (Bush 1).

Yung's complicated relationship with missionaries reflects his double consciousness and across land strategy toward Christianity. On the one hand, to a great degree his missionary education informs his educational plan with a nineteenth-century colonial discourse of education. On the other hand, Yung's silence about his conversion and his failure to mention his ties with missionaries in the autobiography show his strategic across lands construction of an identity that best fits his project. He deliberately distances himself from missionaries, and even proposes to limit the power of the missionaries over Chinese converts. However, in an earlier visit to the Taiping rebels in Nanjing in 1860, Yung submitted a seven-point proposal of political reform to one of the

leaders of the rebels, which includes establishing an educational system of graded schools and making the Bible one of the text books (Yung 109). Yung was, thus, a pragmatist, adapting his strategies to differing circumstances. The Taiping Rebellion was led by the Christianized Hong Xiuquan, who proclaimed their intent to build a new Christian China modeled on the gospels; therefore, Yung's inclusion of the Bible as a mandatory text caters to the Christian nature of the rebels.

Nevertheless, Yung's visit to the Taipings is criticized by Wan as seeking "the advancement of his personal interest" (63). But to my mind, it describes Yung's across lands strategy of negotiating his place in the world. He was initially attracted to the revolutionary ideas of Taiping rebels and thought to join them, but his observation of the rebels in Nanjing made him withdraw his proposals and seek elsewhere to realize his educational reform. As a converted Christian, he rightly points out that the rebellion was the outburst of "a religious fanaticism," which explains why the rebellion lost the Christian support that it initially received at the start of the movement. In his account of the visit to the rebels, Yung serves both as a native informant describing the event and as an authoritative Western educated narrator evaluating the event to his American audience. Yung's criticism of the Taiping Rebellion in the autobiography serves a double purpose: first, he will not offend the Qing government by describing openly his visit to the rebels, and second, he shows his American readers the characteristics of a self-made man, courage and adventure being essential to that image. His being across lands is not only demonstrated by his geographical movement, but literarily represented in his ability to control his narrative to navigate between different ideas and expectations in negotiating his varying identities.

Another form of being across lands exemplified in Yung's educational project is the inherent conflict between his students' maintenance of their Chineseness vis-à-vis their increasing Americanization, which should be examined in the larger context of the Self-Strengthening Movement (1861-1895) in the late-nineteenth-century Qing Court (Wan 86).[17] The reformers' underlying principle of "Chinese learning for value; Western learning for instrumentation" became the core of the Self-Strengthening Movement (Wan 65-86). Yung's educational plan came at a time when the Manchu rulers realized they needed to modernize China modeled on the West.[18] As early as 1864, Li Hongzhang proposed in a memorial to learn western science and technology to master foreign weaponry; this means that he embraced the idea to send Chinese students abroad, especially in the context that Tokugawa Japan sent its students overseas (Wan 77).[19] Therefore, Yung's educational plan was part of the Self-Strengthening Movement and was informed by its principle as transformed by his across lands consciousness. The self-making motif of American cultural production and China's "self-strengthening" movement constitute another layer of double consciousness that underlines Yung's educational project and his autobiography. His autobiography is a "merging" of both the American self-making motif and the Chinese self-strengthening movement, if not literally, then at least symbolically.

The principle of "Chinese for values; Western for instrumentation" designates that the acquisition of western science and technology would serve the existing system of Confucianism and monarchism. In Zeng Guofan and Li Hongzhang's 1872 memorial to the court, they emphasize the importance of continuing the students' traditional education by sending along Chinese instructors. Students were prohibited from seeking US

citizenship, or securing employment in America (Wan 83). However, a fine balance could hardly be reached between the two parties. Yung recorded many instances in his autobiography in which students were conflicted over maintaining their Chineseness and becoming Americanized. They covered almost every aspect of students' lives, particularly involving the degree to which the Chinese students' dress, their personal finances, exercise, and church attendance should conform to Chinese standards (Yung 201-2).

The conservative forces in the court opposed to the CEM were upset to see students becoming "barbarianized" (LaFargue 44). They believed that CEM students had neglected their Chinese studies and had become Americanized.[20] In 1881 the CEM was disbanded and the students were recalled to China. *The Independent* reported the abolition of the CEM in an ironic tone:

> The commissioner[21] was shocked at the rapid Americanization of these young men. He dreaded, and probably not without reason, that they might be alienated from their country and return with ideas too foreign to be useful and perhaps foreign enough to be dangerous.[22]

The CEM project was disbanded due to its innate conflict between Chineseness and Westernization, and the students seemed to fall "between two stools," as Koh suggests. However, it was these CEM students who built railways, mines, and served as the core of the new government in the following decades and played a vital role in modernizing China. Yung Wing's story is distinct in that he exhibits across lands experience and employs multiple strategies to navigate political, educational, cultural, and racial maps.

To conclude, Yung's ambiguity about his nationality and marriage, along with many other gaps, fissures, and silences in the autobiography, demonstrates what Viet Thanh Nguyen calls "the flexible strategies" practiced by Asian American authors to navigate their political and ethnical situations (4). Moving between two countries, Yung constructs himself as a subject caught in China's encounter with the imperial and colonial expansion of Western forces in the nineteenth century who must utilize various forms of Western and Chinese rhetoric to negotiate that anomalous identity. Therefore, his conflicted point of view represents a transitional, temporal mode typical of a pioneering figure. Moreover, his construction of his identity as a self-made man should be read in relation to the significance of the introduction of Chinese immigrants in actively changing the racial landscape of the United States.

His autobiography, with its complicated references to home and nations, provides a model for understanding early Chinese immigrants across lands negotiating identities. Amy Ling's "between-world" model, in this sense, persuasively summarizes the complexities of double consciousness in Yung and other early Chinese immigrants. But, as I argue throughout this study, although this between-world situation causes alienation in both China and America, it also gives the immigrant Chinese the rare opportunity of bridging and fluidly navigating across lands. Thus, the dichotomous models of resistance and acculturation, the real and the fake, and being Chinese and being American are insufficient to interpret the realities of early Chinese immigrants. It is in the context of studying such ambiguities, complex double consciousness, and across lands strategies that we gain new insights into the making of Chinese American literature.

Historical Context

Yan Phou Lee and Yung Wing's CEM

Yan Phou Lee was one of the CEM students. He came to study in America in 1873 and was recalled to China with other CEM boys in 1881 when the educational project was disbanded. Lee then managed to return to the U.S. in 1884 and graduated from Yale in 1887. Although his autobiography, *When I Was a Boy in China* (1887),[1] was published earlier than Yung Wing's autobiography, *My Life in China and America* (1909), his connection with Yung's CEM requires our knowledge of Yung's educational project first before I discuss his writing in detail. In this intra-chapter section, I will introduce briefly Lee's background, his connection with the CEM, and his subsequent careers in order to facilitate my thorough discussion of Lee's autobiography, graduation speech, and periodical writing in chapter two. An understanding of his background helps explicate different voices Lee takes in his writings.

Yan Phou Lee was born in 1861 in Xiangshan [Fragrant Hills], seventy-five miles south of the city of Canton [Guangzhou]. Notably his grandfather was an officer in Literary Sub-Chancellor[2] in Fungshun, Guangdong (*WIWBC* 8), according to his autobiography. He began school at age six and had stern Confucian training, unlike Yung Wing who attended Morrison's mission school and received a Christian missionary education. Lee recalled his strict training in Chinese classics in his autobiography (55-7). This early Confucian training was important to frame Lee's perspective in Chinese education when he later commenced to compare his Chinese and American experiences in his writing.

Two factors were instrumental for Lee's involvement in Yung Wing's CEM. One is that he was born in Canton, where the residents were already exposed to the western lifestyle that came with the influx of western businessmen, missionaries, travelers, and diplomats after the Opium Wars. In 1871 a cousin of Yan Phou Lee, who was in business in Shanghai, came to Lee's mother with glowing accounts of the news about a school established in Shanghai, which would recruit prominent Chinese boys to be sent to study in the US for a period of 15 years (*WIWBC* 93-95). Earlier that year, the Qing court had already given its sanction to Yung Wing's proposal for an educational mission and commanded Zeng Guofan [Tseng Kuo-fan] and Li Hongzhang [Li Hung-chang] to set up the organization of the Chinese Educational Mission (LaFargue 33). A bureau as well as a preparatory school was established in Shanghai with officials and teachers appointed, where the recruited boys would receive preliminary training before they were tested and sent abroad (LaFargue 33). But the recruitment of students proved difficult, as there were no newspapers except in the capital and some treaty ports (*WIWBC* 94).[3] In the end, 70% of the CEM students were from Guangzhou province.[4]

Lee was twelve years old when the family heard of the CEM. His father had died three years previously, and his liberal mother was in charge of three sons and let Lee decide if he wanted to go (*WIWBC* 95). Obviously, Lee's mother, living in the vicinity of Canton, was not unfamiliar with the immigrant stories, though the nature of her son's departure from China to study abroad was quite different from that of the "coolies". It's important to note that both Yung Wing and Yan Phou Lee were conditioned by the colonial influence of the area where they lived.

The second factor is the role of a comprador in helping Lee's family make the decision to send Lee abroad. Lee's cousin took Lee to Shanghai to see their aunt whose husband was a comprador in an American tea warehouse (*WIWBC* 99). The uncle acted as interpreter and also as agent for the company, which had "a corps of accountants, assistants and workmen under him" (*WIWBC* 99). Lee's family connection with the uncle undoubtedly played a role in Lee's mother's knowledge of the benefit of a western education as well as her decision to agree to send her boy overseas for fifteen years. It's striking to see the role of compradors in both Wing and Lee's life. The news of the Morrison School was also brought to Yung's family by a comprador neighbor. The class of comprador acted as the frontier of the contact zone between the West and the East.

Lee stayed at the preparatory school in Shanghai for a year learning English and Chinese before he sailed for San Francisco with the second detachment of thirty CEM boys in 1873.[5] He describes the exciting voyage as well as his train ride from San Francisco to Springfield, Massachusetts, then the headquarters of the CEM, in his autobiography. There was an interesting account of a train robbery on their journey to Springfield, when the train was robbed of the gold bricks it carried and the engineer was killed (*WIWBC* 107-109). In one of her early articles on Yan Phou Lee, Amy Ling interprets the episode as a humorous exception "in a text given to rather dry explications of culture and customs" ("Gender Issues" 109). But in her later argument on Lee being the "very first frontier man," Ling revises her earlier view on the "train robbery" and sees it as one of the frontier adventures for the Chinese students ("Yan Phou Lee on the Asian American Frontier" 275). Furthering Ling's argument, Floyd Cheung sees the episode as "an entertaining yet subversive Western adventure story," pointing out that the robbery

itself seriously critiques U.S. civilization by "reminding readers that chaos and destruction already coexisted with progress in the American West" ("Early Chinese American Autobiography" 30). Lee's narrative defies the popular notion that "a pristine, virginal frontier lay exposed to the dangerous incursion of the Chinese 'yellow peril'" (Cheung, "Early Chinese American Autobiography" 30).

Thus, in 1873, Lee, aged thirteen, arrived in Springfield, Massachusetts. Lee later attended Hopkins School in New Haven, Connecticut, and graduated with the highest rank in his class and first prize in both English and Greek composition, according to a report in the *New York Evangelist* in 1880 ("Robert Raikes Memoranda" 4). But, unfortunately, the CEM students were recalled to China by the Qing court in 1881 when the project was aborted. Lee had already begun studies at Yale in 1880 and was a freshman when he was forced to return to China (Ling, "Yan Phou Lee on the Asian American Frontier" 276). In 1884, he managed to "escape" from China and returned to the United States with the help of his missionary friends.[6] During his absence, his New England friends appeared well informed of his plans. For example, before he even returned in 1884, the *Independent* reported his intent to reenter Yale to continue his study in the near future: "Yan Phou Lee, who was one of the students at Yale ordered home by the Chinese Government, is to return from his native country, to graduate in the class of 1886. He loses a year by his enforced absence and would have graduated in 1885, had he been allowed to remain" ("School and College" 9). An 1887 item in the *New York Evangelist* announcing Lee's marriage to Elizabeth Maude Jerome reveals a romance embedded in an "escape" story. The piece reports that "before [Lee's] return to his native land Miss Jerome had fallen in love with him, and the couple were engaged" ("Current

Events" 8). Lee's relationship with Elizabeth Maude Jerome was perhaps one of the chief reasons why he returned to the U.S.

Lee's experience after he returned to China in 1881 contextualizes his criticism of Chinese customs in his autobiography. One of the reasons the Qing court recalled the CEM students to China was they were afraid those Chinese boys, after having stayed in the U.S. for eight or nine years, would have been thoroughly Americanized and thus would not serve the Qing government as well as expected (LaFargue 44). Hence, these young students were summoned back to China under suspicion by the Qing government. Consequently, when they arrived at Shanghai in 1881, they were shocked by the "indifference and almost hostile reception that met them when they once stepped on shore" (LaFargue 55). The CEM students were separated and assigned to different positions in the navy, army, and government departments. They were sometimes treated like prisoners, with little freedom of movement, for it was feared that they might run away. Yung Wing in his autobiography showed his indignation at the hostile treatment of the former CEM students. He surmised that these former CEM students could not "fail to make an impression upon their innermost convictions of the superiority of Occidental civilization over that of China" (216).

Yung's speculation was reconfirmed in the correspondence between some former CEM students and their American host families and friends, in which the former CEM students confessed their frustration and confusion. For example, Liang Chen, one of the CEM students, wrote a Mr. Shaw after he landed China in 1882 to describe the hostile treatment the Chinese students received at home. Liang was immediately reassigned to study in a navy school in Tianjin. His request to meet his family before the school started

was denied. Comparing the harsh and tyrannical treatment received in China with the tender and caring reception in America, Liang lamented: "My God! How long will it go on like this?" (Kao 61-65).

Though Lee's letters were not available,[7] his grandson recalled Lee's predicament in the introduction to the 2003 edition of *WIWBC*. Lee and thirteen others were consigned to the navy. They laid numerous plans to escape, but all were futile. The officials at the navy said they must post bail as security for their return if they wanted to go home to see their parents after a ten-year absence.[8] Lee's escape nearly turned into a melodrama. Half of the former students serving at the navy branch were allowed to leave at first, but if they failed to come back, the other half should have no vacation. Nevertheless, Lee escaped to Hong Kong, and then to the U.S. (Richard V. Lee 14-15).

Lee went back to Yale in 1885. He graduated from Yale with honors in 1887 and delivered a graduation speech (July 1887) at the commencement denouncing the U.S. government's anti-Chinese policies. In the same year, the D. Lothrop Company published his autobiography *When I Was a Boy in China*. In September 1887 he published, "Why I Am Not a Heathen," in rejoinder to Wong Chin Foo's, "Why Am I a Heathen," in the *North American Review*. Lee's next important article was, "The Chinese Must Stay," published in the *North American Review* in April 1889. These three articles and his autobiography, together with the installments of the chapters of the autobiography in various newspapers and magazines, reflect Lee's change of attitude towards China and America, showing his development of a discourse of difference in defending Chinese culture and Chinese immigrants in America.

Lee worked in many occupations after his graduation from Yale.[9] Of chief interest was his involvement in editing both Chinese and American newspapers, which will be discussed in chapter two in relation to Lee's double consciousness and his construction of difference in his writing. Lee complicates his ambiguous identity as a Chinese immigrant caught between two worlds and across lands. But most significant in Lee's life story is his "disappearance" in 1927. Lee moved back to China in 1927 and left his family behind in America. He kept contact with his family in America intermittently over the next several years but disappeared entirely from view in 1938.[10]

II

"Good Heathen" or "Bad Heathen"

The Construction of Difference in Yan Phou Lee's Writings

Published in September 1887 in the *North America Review* as a rejoinder to the Chinese journalist and writer Wong Chin Foo's "Why Am I a Heathen?" Yan Phou Lee's "Why I Am Not a Heathen" redefines heathenism by distinguishing "good heathens" from "bad heathens." Despite a title opposite to Wong's sensational article that confronts the hypocrisy of Christianity, Lee's defense of Christianity could be read, in fact, as a defense of Chinese immigrants from American exclusionist propaganda that proclaimed the Chinese immigrants to be unassimilable.

Claiming to be a former heathen, Lee argues that the faculty of reason, formal logic and a desire to tell the truth qualify him to sign himself a "Christian" ("Why I Am Not a Heathen" 308). By listing such qualities Lee challenges the notion of an essentialized Chinese identity and argues for the inclusion of Chinese immigrants in American political, cultural, and religious forums. He frames his argument within a structure of "good heathen" and "bad heathen," with the former referring to Chinese immigrants who were persecuted and denied privileges as citizens and the latter referring to the American exclusionists who claimed to be Christians yet launched riots against Chinese immigrants. Elaborating the difference between the true heathen and good heathen, that is, between the American heathen and true Christian Chinese, Lee revises the stigmatized image of the Chinese and exposes the injustice and violence of exclusionists. Lee's construction of a discourse of difference is characteristic of the across lands strategies employed in his writings, by which he negotiates identities at

different times. His across lands perspective discussed in this chapter refers not only to his across lands experience in both China and America which influences his writing of his autobiography *When I Was a Boy in China* (1887), but also refers to his negotiating strategies while he navigates conceptual, religious, cultural, and political differences in defending the Chinese. Oftentimes, he employs viewpoints from conflicting parties and merges ideas from different groups to create a new image of the Chinese against the stereotypical image of them perpetuated by the exclusionary discourse, arguing for the inclusion of the Chinese in American society.

However, the nuance in Lee's construction of such a discourse of difference has not been sufficiently remarked as most research on Lee focuses on his autobiography, which is either categorized as the writing of an "ambassador of goodwill"[1] or a "cultivated Chinese,"[2] or as an example of autoethnography[3] or early Asian American frontier writing.[4] In fact, although Lee's *WIWBC* criticizes prejudice against the Chinese, the context under which the autobiography was produced illuminates Lee's ambivalent attitudes towards China and America after his complicated experience being recalled to China and then returning to America. Moreover, Lee's later publications, such as his graduation speech, "Why I Am Not a Heathen" (1887) and "The Chinese Must Stay" (1889), demonstrate his across lands strategies of constructing a flexible identity in relation to the popular media's depiction of the American Christian community vis-à-vis Chinese and Irish immigrants. In negotiating an identity for Chinese immigrants, Lee exhibits a complicated double consciousness. For example, his defense of Chinese immigrants is occasionally achieved at the expense of disparaging Chinese working class and other ethnic groups. His writing also shows his sense of not belonging in either China

or America. By examining the construction of differences and complicated double consciousness in Lee's autobiography and his other writings, this chapter discusses his across lands strategies in negotiating identities for the Chinese in the late-nineteenth century.

Yan Pou Lee's Transitional Identity in *When I Was a Boy in China* (1887)

Yan Phou Lee's autobiography *When I Was a Boy in China* (1887) is usually credited as the first Asian American literary text published in English.[5] It was written in the context of growing anti-Chinese sentiment in America. After California passed a series of discriminating laws and regulations[6] targeting Chinese immigrants in the 1850s and 1860s, the "Chinese Question" became one of the most controversial issues in the country. Anti-Chinese rhetoric was perpetuated by Bret Harte in his widely popular poem "The Heathen Chinee" in 1871. Likewise, Dennis Kearney and William Wellock, leaders of the Workingman's Party of California, called for the deportation of Chinese laborers in order to establish "a white man's country and a white man's government for white men and their posterity" (Frank Roney Papers 7); the agitation against the Chinese culminated in Henry Grimm's four-act play "Chinese Must Go" in 1879. Bret Harte and Mark Twain tried to redeem the heathen Ah Sin in an 1877 play, *Ah Sin*, by depicting him sympathetically as a "good" heathen, but their project, as well as Charles Parsloe's yellowface performances,[7] failed to change the negative image of the Chinese. Yan Phou Lee responded to such rhetoric with an urgent need to "correct" the misrepresentations of China and the Chinese. His autobiography and articles in the *North American Review* established a new rhetoric on the "heathen."

It is vital to understand the context in which Lee's autobiography was published, as it enables us to see Lee's ambiguous feelings toward both China and America while writing this series of articles on Chinese customs. Many critics[8] point out that Lee's *WIWBC* was meant to correct the stereotypical picture of China. However, few argue that while Lee was correcting misjudgments about China, he also criticized the late-nineteenth century reform plans of the Self-Strengthening Movement in the Qing court. Lee's focus on Chinese customs, religion, boy- and girlhood, and philosophy in *WIWBC* often invites criticisms by later critics. For example, Elaine H. Kim, who recuperated Lee in her foundational text *Asian American Literature* (1982) dismisses Lee as a mere "ambassador of goodwill" (24). The early Asian Americans' writings, according to Kim, are "characterized by efforts to bridge the gap between East and West and plead for tolerance by making highly euphemistic observations about the West on the one hand while explaining Asia in idealized terms on the other" (24).

Amy Ling was one of only a handful of scholars who have done thorough research on Yan Phou Lee, yet in her early writing concludes that Lee's autobiography is a book of "dry explications of culture and customs" ("Reading Her/stories Against His/stories" 83; "Gender Issues" 109). Although Xiao-huang Yin stresses the significant place of Lee's book in his *Chinese American Literature Since the 1850s* (2000), nevertheless, he categorizes Lee as one of the "Cultivated Chinese" and views Lee's book as but an "attempt to introduce Chinese civilization to Americans" (55). Lee's autobiography, writes Yin, portrays Chinese people as "exotic, quaint, and delicate rather than mysterious, evil, and threatening" (61). In either case, they are mystified and Othered.

Recent scholarship tends to interpret early Chinese American writers like Yan Phou Lee in terms of resistance. K. Scott Wong's comments on how the role of print journalism for the Chinese could be used to summarize Lee's writing:

> The Chinese elite in America attempted to gain some control over the images of the Chinese that were being presented to the American public. By offering alternative representations of themselves and by answering some of the charges levied against them, these writers hoped that attacks against the Chinese would lessen, that immigration legislation would be liberalized, and that the Chinese would eventually find acceptance in the American policy. (4)

Supplementing Wong's historical approach, Floyd Cheung examines Lee's rhetorical strategies in *WIWBC* in "Early Chinese American Autobiography." Cheung argues that Lee's autobiography should be read as autoethnography, in which the author succeeded in "acquiring the cultural capital of the Other" and authorized his text, which gained him entry into U. S. discourses and enabled him to negotiate a higher standing in American society (36).

Most critics fail to recognize Lee's ambivalent feelings toward both China and America as exhibited in the autobiography; they either criticize Lee for catering to a white supremacist society by depicting China as exotic or defend Lee's resistance to the racial gaze. Lee's autobiography was initially published as children's literature, supplying American readers with information about the exotic other. However, Lee's experiences as a former CEM student and then a refugee from China make his writing more than "idealized" writing that corrects the image of the Chinese. The gap between 1885 and

1887, when Lee finished most of the chapters in *WIWBC*, serves as an important transitional period, which would eventually transform Lee from a recent refugee from China to a champion of equal rights for the Chinese in America. While crossing lands, Lee sees both Chinese systems and American culture in a new light. Lee's "between-world," across lands experience puts him in a unique position not only to criticize American anti-Chinese agitation but also to reflect upon his own culture and education.

After Yan Phou Lee returned to the United States with the "help of his missionary friends" in 1884, he secured a position in the publishing house of D. Lothrop and Co. of Boston through the influence of his friend Marion Harland[9] (Richard V. Lee 15). Lee did not reenter Yale College until after he signed a contract with D. Lothrop & Co. to write for one of its magazines (Richard Lee 15). Lee contracted to write a series of articles entitled *When I Was a Boy in China,* to be published in *Wide Awake,* a children's magazine that Daniel Lothrop started in 1875 and edited by Mary Mapes Dodge,[10] the founding editor of *St. Nicholas,*[11] which published two of Lee's articles in 1888 and 1890 ("A Chinese Market" 546-7; "The Boys and Girls of China" 362-3). A review in the *Christian Advocate* on 8 September 1887 explained the relationship between Lee's *Wide Awake* series and Lee's autobiography: "Yan Phou Lee wrote some papers for the *Wide Awake,* entitled *When I Was a Boy in China,* which have so largely interested youth that they have been given more permanent form in a book" ("Literature" 582). The articles published in *Wide Awake,* and later published in the form of a book, were written between January 1884 and July 1887, a period of time when Lee had just "escaped" from China and reentered Yale. The following analysis of the two-year gap, between *WIWBC*'s initial appearance in *Wide Awake* in 1885 and its publication by D. Lothrop Company in

1887, will illustrate the context in which Lee's autobiography was written and shed new light on double consciousness in Lee's autobiography.

Lee's escape from China and his disappointment with Chinese education and the Chinese government were still fresh when he commenced writing the articles for *Wide Awake* at the end of 1884. There were at least five articles already printed in *Wide Awake* before the publication of the book in 1887. The tone of these articles is quite different from the tone in some later articles, which suggests the author's ambivalent feelings toward China and America. For example, "How Chinese Boys Live," is one of the first articles published in *Christian Union* in March 1885, in which Lee gives ethnographical accounts of the family structure in China. "Obedience and respect, rather than affection, are required of the Chinese child," writes Lee (31). Although they "foster sullenness and a spirit of rebellion," Lee explains that the rigid hierarchy and harsh physical punishment practiced in Chinese families are methods "absolutely necessary for the preservation of authority" (31). Lee's ambivalence toward Chinese authority is obvious in this early article. Recently returned from China, where he had been subjected to the arbitrary treatments of Chinese government officials, Lee was resentful of the rigid discipline and obedience required of Chinese youth. He admitted that rebellion was unavoidable, as his escape in 1884 proved. Meanwhile, he simultaneously corrects the inaccurate depictions of the Chinese and claims that their rigid family structure helps to preserve authority as well as culture.

In this article, Lee further distances himself from "the lower and less educated classes," whose family discipline is "less strict than among the higher orders of our people" ("How Chinese Boys Live" 31). This distinction between the "higher orders of

our people" and the "lower, less educated classes" strategically underwrites Lee's plea that the United States accept the Chinese and divest itself of pervasive anti-Chinese sentiment. Illustrating a sophisticated rhetorical understanding of double consciousness, Lee interprets the hierarchical Chinese family structure conditionally so as to navigate class difference and cultural preservation.

Similarly another of Lee's articles on Chinese school life published in May 1885 in *Wide Awake* shows similarly his nuanced position in defending and critiquing Chinese education. Lee introduces in this article the characteristics of the Chinese school system and lists the primers and classics that gave him his first Chinese training. This article later became chapter six, "Schools and School Life," in the book. Lee gives a witty depiction of a near-sighted Chinese schoolmaster wearing "an immense pair of spectacles that marks him as a trainer of the mind" (*WIWBC* 51). The schoolmaster was distinguished among a crowd by "his long gown, by his stern look, by his bent form, by his shoulders rounded by assiduous study" (*WIWBC* 51). Such humor would definitely win American readers for Lee, subverting the image of the "strange" and "exotic" Chinese among the American public and substituting for it a stereotypical image of the American schoolmaster.

At the end of this article, Lee narrates a farcical scene in his early school days where the students ran wild and ended with them exploding some fire crackers in the absence of the old schoolmaster. The old gentleman flogged the whole class when nobody confessed, saying that he was sure to "get hold of the right one and that the rest deserved a whipping for not making the real offender known" (*WIWBC* 62). Of course, the scene is more comic relief to entertain Lee's American readers; but implicitly, it also

contains Lee's criticism of Chinese education. Just a few years earlier, when Lee was still a CEM student studying in Springfield, Massachusetts, he and other students had complained about the rigid rules imposed on the CEM students. Besides attending schools, the students who were assigned to live with different host families in different cities and towns were summoned regularly to Hartford, Massachusetts,[12] to study Chinese. It was there that they received a period of Chinese education and would take tests before they were released.[13] The Chinese teachers' arbitrary disciplines at the CEM were not far from what's described in the article on Chinese school life.

These articles are just two examples that call our attention to the making of Lee's *WIWBC*. Lee's nuanced position is revealed in his ambivalent feelings toward China; while he was refuting the exclusionists, he was constantly examining the difference between China and the United States, in particular in education and religion. In this sense, Lee was a "cultural broker" like Yung Wing, who "sought to bridge the distance between Chinese and American perspectives" (K. Scott Wong 31). But I disagree with Wong on his claim that such "cultural brokers" tried to bridge differences through "shedding the Sinocentric approach to international relations while fully maintaining concern for China's future and compassion for his Chinese compatriots" (31). Lee does not necessarily show a "Sinocentric" approach in his writing, but he does show a deep concern for his countrymen and for China's future in the autobiography. His effort to repair the distorted depiction of the Chinese and his conscientious criticism of China formed his unique form of double consciousness in the book.

The publication history of *WIWBC* from serial to book indicates that it was written during a transitional period when Lee crossed the borders between countries and

was forming his perceptions of China and the United States. His CEM experience and his recent escape from China impel the early articles published in *Wide Awake*, which are full of pungent criticism of China and subtle sarcasm about Chinese customs and education while he simultaneously defends the Chinese in America. However, in the process of publishing his series on China and Chinese life in *Wide Awake*, he went through some fundamental changes: his early resentment towards the CEM officials and Chinese government officials was gradually replaced by an increasing awareness of discrimination against the Chinese. In an article on Chinese cookery published in *Wide Awake* in March 1885, the third article of his series, Lee was already conscious of the Americans' prejudice against Chinese customs. So while giving an anthropological account of Chinese kitchen and cookery, Lee adds a passage introducing Chinese etiquette. He writes, "When one finishes [eating], he bids the rest to 'eat leisurely,' which is our mode of saying, 'Excuse me!' The Chinese invariably wash their hands and faces after every meal" (30). The explanation that the Chinese did say "Excuse me!" and wash their hands and faces was Lee's subtle defense of Chinese customs.

The subtle defense of Chinese culture shown in the early articles becomes explicit in the later chapters of *WIWBC*. Chapter five of the book, "Girls of my Acquaintance," is a good example. Lee openly condemns the Americans' ignorance of Chinese customs and culture. The opening lines in the chapter read: "I still continually find false ideas in America concerning Chinese customs, manners, and institutions. Small blame to the people at large, who have no means of learning the truth except through newspapers or accounts of travelers who do not understand what they see in passing through our country" (41). Here Lee denounces the inaccurate reports on China and Chinese culture. The

travelers were described as incapable of understanding things foreign and different. Only people like Lee who has experience across lands can appreciate differences in both countries, and hence bring that across lands perspective to readers in both places. The structure of the narrative is also a form of double consciousness, as it appears in two different genres and betrays two different sentiments.

WIWBC was not published with the intent of being an autobiography, although the text is definitely ethno-autobiographical. It appeared first in a juvenile magazine side by side with other writings introducing the exotic customs and peoples around the world. As the title of the book suggests, it covers only the period when the author was a boy in China; therefore, Lee's important years as a CEM student, his recall to China, his return to the United States, etc., are not recorded in the book. The book includes twelve published articles as chapters, ending with a chapter relaying Lee's first experience in America. Amy Ling notes that Lee's narrative is "abruptly and unfortunately cut short just as it begins to become really interesting" (Reading Her/stories Against His/stories" 83). She suspects that the publisher had considerable control over the presentation of the book (qtd. in Cheung, "Early Chinese American Autobiography" 31). Floyd Cheung agrees that the scope of Lee's book was limited because his criticism of racism and social injustice might not meet expectations of most Euro-American readers ("Early Chinese American Autobiography" 31).

To summarize, Lee's *WIWBC* does not start out as a text of resistance; instead, it shows his negotiation of a position while navigating across the lands of China and America. On the one hand, Lee did somehow serve as a "tourist guide," introducing Chinese culture and customs to an audience that knew little about China or had

Sinophobia (Ling, "Reading Her/stories" 80); on the other, Lee was hoping to inform his countrymen of the importance of receiving a Western education to reform his country while China was subject to colonial powers. Lee's across lands experience reflects his double consciousness in negotiating his identity. He simultaneously faces two groups of audiences who have different interests and are situated differently in a colonial discourse of making the "new Orient." His double consciousness in America is represented in his defense of the Chinese against the exclusionist discourse; while in China his double consciousness is demonstrated in his defense of the necessity of reforming China through Western education. Therefore, his across lands perspective allows him the unique position to critique both American prejudice and Chinese bias. Such double consciousness and across lands strategy was clear in an interview upon his graduation. In an interview that took place around 1887 when his book was published and he had finished most of the articles for *Wide Awake*, he was asked about his post-graduate plans. Lee replied: "I desire first to prove to the American people that the Chinese are capable of receiving a high degree of education and culture; and in the second place I wish to prove to my own people that the American system of education is not a failure. I desire to follow up a literary career, and I think I can do a great deal of good in this country by simply correcting erroneous American ideas concerning Chinese affairs" (Richard V. Lee 15).

The passage suggests that his audience was two-fold: The book was meant to prove to his American readers that the Chinese were not barbarous and were capable of assimilation, contrary to the popular anti-Chinese propaganda; it was also meant to prove to his own people that he could utilize an American education to help improve the image

of the Chinese and do good for his country and his people. Moreover, the construction of the book indicates that it was written not only with the intent to correct the wrong image of Chinese culture and customs, but also against a backdrop of the failure of the CEM and the negative response he received from its conservative Chinese officials. *WIWBC* is a young man's impression of both China and America written while Lee was crossing lands, but it also exhibits his criticism of education and bureaucracy in China and the anti-Chinese sentiment in America.

The writing style in Lee's *WIWBC* also display the across lands feature, that is, he strategically combines Chinese content with Western style in his writing to appeal to his readers. Critics such as Floyd Cheung and Xiao-huang Yin[14] suggest that Lee's frequent reference to Western literature and allusions to Greek and Roman culture in *WIWBC* strategically appeal to his American audience. Xiao-huang Yin comments that the narrator's subjectivity is supposedly Chinese, yet it is surprisingly Western in many respects (58). I suggest that such rhetorical choices illustrate his across lands navigational strategy as he often cloaks his criticism of American ignorance about Chinese culture. Indeed, Lee's protests and criticisms sometimes sound apologetic or even tongue-in-check. For instance, in chapter five, "Girls of My Acquaintance," Lee refutes the common misconception of Chinese infanticide by emphasizing that "these girls had not been 'killed during their infancy'" (43). He goes on to explain that sons are more desired in China because women do not appear in public life; thus family honor and ancestral worship usually depend on male performance. This instance of explanation clarifies the false idea of Chinese infanticide; meanwhile it subtly criticizes Americans' ignorance and generalization of other cultures.

Yan Phou Lee's Graduation Speech (1887): From an Urban "Ambassador" to a Champion for the Chinese in America

Compared with this earlier identity in the autobiography, his identity changed when he delivered his graduate speech on Commencement Day at Yale in July 1887 and later articles "Why I Was Not a Heathen" (1887) and "The Chinese Must Stay" (1889). If his tone was still hesitant in *WIWBC* and Lee presented himself as a "reasonable, urbane, well-read, Christian Chinese gentleman guide" (Ling, "Gender Issues" 108), by the time he delivered his graduation speech at Yale in July 1887 his tone had changed to straightforward repudiation of American racism and injustice against the Chinese. His across lands experience is no longer the one crossing countries, but the one that navigates the differences between Christian Chinese and American heathens. His double consciousness is represented in his reconstruction of heathenism and Christianity. He exhibits again across lands strategies to negotiate identities for the Chinese in America in redefining Christianity and heathenism

When Lee's book was advertised upon its publication in the *Dial* in July 1887, his name also appeared in news of Yale graduates in the *Christian Union* on July 7, 1887 ("College Notes" 19). Claiming it was the "most interesting address on Commencement Day at Yale," the reporter did not conceal his appreciation of Lee's graduation speech on the exclusion of Chinese immigrants ("College Notes" 19). Two months later, Lee's graduation speech was published in its full length in the September issue of the *American Missionary*, entitled "Graduating Address of Yan Phou Lee at Yale College: The Other Side of the Chinese Question." In contradiction to his much remarked *WIWBC* and his later articles "Why I Am Not a Heathen" and "The Chinese Must Stay," Lee's graduation

address has rarely been discussed by scholars of early Chinese American literature. In fact, that Lee's graduate speech was delivered between the publication of *WIWBC* and that of "Why I Am Not a Heathen" and "The Chinese Must Stay" indicates the significant change Lee went through from being an "ambassador of goodwill" to acting as a champion for the Chinese in America. The subtle criticism in the autobiography was fully developed in the later writings challenging the justice and conscience of American society in his graduation speech. The graduation address displays his transformation from a protégée of missionaries to a political activist, an important page in his life that should not be neglected in any reappraisal of his contributions to nineteenth-century discourse about Chinese American identity and political rights.

In his graduation speech, Lee employs Western concepts of justice and enlightenment and alludes to Western religion and public systems to condemn the exclusionist policies against Chinese immigrants, which illustrates his across lands strategy in applying the accusers' logic and notions to defend the accused. Condemning the torrents of hatred and abuse of the Chinese immigrants in American society, Lee lambastes the racism as a "catastrophe" at the beginning of his graduation speech. He states that the Chinese would never fail to "keep sad record of faith unkept, of persecution permitted by an enlightened people, of rights violated without redress in a land where all are equal before the law" (269). Here, Lee's rhetorical strategy is revealed in his criticism of the Christian faith and the Declaration of Independence when he refers to "an enlightened people" and equality before the law.

Lee established his ethos as a person across lands in the graduation address. He is both Chinese and Americanized. He shows the American people that he is already

"Americanized" because he can quote chapter and verse of key American political documents, thus illustrating that the Chinese are capable of understanding American legal concepts and becoming American citizens, despite the American contention that the Chinese are "barbarians" and unassimilable. Moreover, his across land strategy is demonstrated in his utility of his double identity as a person born in Confucian China and a Christian. He shows these two identities do not necessarily contradict with each other; instead, they help him better understand the sufferings of the Chinese. He criticizes the general indifference to the wrongs done to Chinese immigrants by lamenting that "in a Christian community only a feeble voice here and there has been raised against this public wrong" (269). He thoroughly understands how American laws are founded upon Christian principles, and here again he shows the Chinese capacity for understanding the nuances of the American legal system—ergo the Chinese should be considered equal. Lastly, Lee appeals for sympathy by the use of a biblical allusion by declaring "Halt! Thus far shalt thou go, and no farther!" Such a rhetorical tactic is often employed by authors and speakers addressing an audience familiar with Christian beliefs in the nineteenth century.[15] The language used in the graduate address is clearly bolder, more political charged, and more direct than that in the *WIWBC*.

In this 1887 graduation address, Lee summarizes "three erroneous assumptions" about the Chinese and proves, in his words, "the groundlessness of [sic] which the whole superstructure of fallacy and falsehood can be made to totter" (270). In response to the first accusation that Chinese laborers would drive other laborers out of employment, Lee addresses the Chinese Question by relating it to a larger political issue. He warns his audience that after the departure of the Chinese, the mob that drove the Chinese away to

eliminate job competition and to get high wages would "turn against other peaceful sons of toil" (270). Such warning is followed by a rhetorical question, "who would venture to say that there will be absolute safety for the native American?" (270)[16] Exposing the danger of mob agitation against Chinese immigrants, Lee argues that the expulsion of the Chinese laborers is not only an economic question, but it also becomes "a political question" (271). Hence, Lee laments that "disinterested demagogues easily won mob favor by advocating the cause of the sand-lot, and the Chinese workmen were sacrificed to the Moloch of political ambition," and the Congress was "borne along the waves of prejudice" (271). Lee's "warning" is a very powerful rhetorical form, suggesting great confidence and lack of fear, which is different from the apologetic and explanatory tone of the earlier autobiography. In this across lands rhetoric, Lee impeaches the patriotism of Americans who would defy their own laws through discrimination against other fully equal immigrants. By showing his across lands perspective, Lee exhibits that he is fully equal by his able, knowledgeable, American individualist rhetoric, indicating and strategically displaying his wily rhetorical understanding that in America, everyone has a right to speak.

Lee then moves on to explain the Qing government's aversion to its citizens' emigration, denouncing flatly the absurdity of the second accusation that China was anxious to get rid of its redundant population (272). He uses the Burlingame Treaty[17] (1868) and the Angell Treaty[18] (1880) as evidence of the Qing court's restriction of Chinese immigration to the United States. As to the third accusation that China's four hundred millions were only waiting for an opening to "inundate" the United States (272), Lee dismisses it by comparing the statistics of the population of Chinese immigrants in

the United States, roughly 200,000 after twenty-five years of immigration, with that of the residents in Canton and its neighboring areas, where most Chinese immigrants came from, which was around 5,000,000. Ridiculing the fear of the "Mongolization of America," Lee juxtaposes the small proportion of immigrants among the Chinese in Canton with the 3,000,000 immigrant "princes" from "English Poland" out of 8,000,000 inhabitants in Europe (270). Lee's bold sarcasm in calling the European immigrants "princes" further directs his audience's attention to the differences in treatment of European and Chinese immigrants.

Combating the three erroneous assumptions about the Chinese, Lee turns to the differences between American and Chinese concepts of home, family, and death, topics he had discussed in his *WIWBC*. But in contrasting such differences, Lee displays a double consciousness which, on the one hand, indicates his critique of the idolatry and superstition in Chinese religions and on the other hand, demonstrates his defense of Chinese rituals and customs from the "myth" that the Chinese were "unassimilable." As he has proven in his across land rhetoric, he is assimilable because he speaks an American rhetoric of individualism vis-à-vis justice and law while he also maintains much of his Chinese heritage.

The study of his different attitudes toward Chinese religions in *WIWBC* and his graduation speech illustrates his double consciousness and wily across lands rhetorical strategies. This can be seen when comparing an excerpt from chapter seven of *WIWBC* with his graduation speech. These two passages seem to show Lee's contradictory views of Chinese religions and customs; however, I argue that they demonstrate different across

lands strategies. In Chapter seven, Lee compares Christianity with Chinese religions and mocks the ritual of burial in China:

> The priests of this sect [Taoists] are men whose business is to impose on the people, and who make a living out of their superstitious fears. Thus, if a person falls sick, or is supposed to be possessed by an evil spirit, a Taoist priest is summoned to intercede for him and to offer up vows for his recovery. So also when a person dies, one of them rings a bell in front of the corpse, and, by mumbling a lot of gibberish, pretends to open the gate of the lower world for the departed to enter….The educated classes despise both Taoism and Buddhism. Nevertheless in sickness, or in death, they patronize them. (65, 68)

In this passage, Lee unfavorably describes Chinese religious practices having to do with death and sickness, criticizing the wide spread superstition and fear among uneducated people, though here again he distinguishes the educated classes from the lower class. By comparing Western religious education with superstition and idolatry in China, Lee asserts in his autobiography that China should give its young people enlightened religious training so they would be better informed of gods and thus be better cultivated in their own origins and characters (70). As the production of *WIWBC* was influenced by Lee's recent experience in both China and America, Lee's attempt to correct America's image of China could also be motivated by his desire to correct the wrongs he saw in China. Hence, we see his harsh criticism and mimicry of Taoist priests in this passage.

However, in his graduation speech, Lee substitutes an elucidation of the concepts in relation to family and home for the earlier condemnation of cultural practices

concerning death and burial. Explaining that the Chinese are not naturally a migratory people, Lee states in the speech:

> [The Chinese] dislike to [be] cut adrift from the ties of kindred, the associations of home, the traditions of fatherland. The belief that their welfare in the future life depends on the proper burial of their remains in home-soil, followed by sorrowing children and tearful widow, curbs their desire to go abroad, even with the hope of bettering their condition. (270)

Unlike the passage in *WIWBC* where Lee demonstrates an awareness of the need to reform Chinese religious education, the passage in his graduate speech displays his across lands strategy that addresses a different need in relation to "the other side of the Chinese Question," as indicated in the subtitle of the speech when it was published in *American Missionary* in 1887. Accordingly, the other side of the concepts such as burial, death, family, and home, which are previously criticized in *WIWBC* in comparison with the more enlightened Western education, is presented with a new interpretation in relation to accusations against the Chinese. The emphasis on a proper burial and close ties to family and fatherland, which are commonly criticized as the Chinese immigrants' lack of desire to immigrate, illustrates the social structure and customs important to Chinese immigrants; thus, Lee strategically establishes a different set of criteria to measure Chinese cultures and customs. Lee's contradictory views of Chinese customs and rituals actually reflect his across lands strategies. He does not offer "idealistic" or "exotic" depictions of China; instead, as a well-educated person both in Chinese and English, Lee's writing shows his concern over injustice and wrongs in both countries.

The differences between Lee's *WIWBC* and his graduation address suggest his gradual change of opinions about Americans. In a sense, the purpose of his 1887 graduation address parallels that of his autobiography. The difference is that the criticism of American ignorance and prejudice in the autobiography had evolved into direct condemnation of Euro-American racism in the address. Indeed, the book is a collection of Lee's early articles written during a transitional period; yet over time, as Lee was increasingly exposed to racial discrimination, he revised some of his former criticism of China and Chinese customs. His previous belief that he could do "a great deal of good in this country by simply correcting erroneous American ideas concerning Chinese affairs," he realized, had to be connected with an Americanized rhetoric about justice and equality (Richard V. Lee 15). His graduation speech illustrates that his across lands strategy had brought him to the point of confidently representing himself as all but Americanized in his understanding and enactment of justice, individualism, while not losing his Chinese heritage.

A month later, Lee redelivered his speech entitled "The Chinese Question from a Chinese Standpoint," with slight revision, at the thirty-sixth annual session of the American Association for the Advancement of Science ("Scientists Say Good-bye"). The *Scientific American* also reported Lee's address with the same title at the annual meeting of the AAAS, remarking that Lee's "eloquent appeal for justice to be done to his countrymen, although more oratorical than scientific, was received by a crowded audience with generous applause" ("Advancement of Science" 128). His new across lands strategy is different from his first across lands strategy while he negotiates identities in *WIWBC*. His strategic employment of Americanized rhetoric of

individualism, justice, and equality while maintaining his Chinese heritage seemed to have had a strong effect on his American audience.

The Construction of Difference: "Good Heathen" and "Bad Heathen" in Lee's "Why I Am Not a Heathen" (1887)

In August 1887, the *North American Review* published Lee's "Why Am I a Heathen?" which became a sensation because of Wong Chin Foo's sarcastic attack on the hypocrisy of Christianity. Briefly, at the beginning of "Why Am I a Heathen?" Wong admits that he was born a "heathen," but his "heathenism" stresses a moral code similar to the American one that regulates the relations and acts of individuals towards "God, neighbor, and self" (169). Wong is bewildered by the multitude of Christian sects and the contradictions of Christian preaching vis-à-vis "Christian deeds," especially regarding the cruel treatment of the Chinese in the United States and by missionaries in China. Wong paints a picture of the "good heathen" as one who helps his fellow-heathen, feeds the hungry, clothes the naked, succors the distressed, and dies of yellow fever contracted from nursing a deserted fellow on the street. But this "good heathen" is unmercifully consigned to hell's fire by orthodox Christians, simply because he has never heard of the Gospel of Christ (172). He refers to these Christians as "civilized" criminals, who are "cold blooded murderers, cut-throats, and other human scourges" (172). Wong ridicules Denis Kearney, whom he characterizes as howling "The Chinese must go!" while organizing a religious crusade to expel Wong and other "heathens" from the Christian heaven (171). Targeting American anti-Chinese sentiment, Wong contends that, "Though we may differ from the Christian in appearance, manners, and general ideas of

civilization, we do not organize into cowardly mobs under the guise of social or political reform, to plunder and murder with impunity" (175). "We heathen," Wong asserts, believe in the happiness of a common humanity, and "we are so far heathenish as to no longer persecute men simply on account of race, color, or previous condition of servitude, but treat them all according to their individual worth" (175).

Comparing the "good heathen" and "bad Christians," Wong reverses the values associated with the heathen and Christians, arguing that "we heathen" should be treated equally. His last passage in fact invokes the message in the Declaration of Independence by emphasizing that "the heathen" are endowed with life and sensibility that God gave equally and indiscriminately. As to the bad Christians, they would shudder in front of an angry God: "His voice will threaten and His mighty hand chastise those who deliberately disobey His sacred laws and their duty to their fellow man" (179). In this essay, Wong strategically reenacts an image of an angry God often seen in Puritan treatises like Jonathan Edwards' "Sinners in the Hands of an Angry God." Wong concludes his essay by inviting the Christian Americans to convert to his "heathenism": "[t]his is what keeps me the heathen I am! And I earnestly invite the Christians of America to come to Confucius" (179).

In rejoinder to Wong's article, the *North American Review* published Yan Phou Lee's "Why I Am Not a Heathen" the next month, in which Lee defended his belief in Christianity and asserted his distinction between the "good" heathen and the "bad" heathen. Although pitted against Wong Chin Foo, Yan Phou Lee's critique of racism is strikingly similar to Wong's approach to the "Chinese Question," which further indicates Lee's confident rhetorical identity in America, underwritten by his refusal to give up his

Chinese identity. Lee's association with missionaries at that time made him the best-qualified champion to defy Wong's "heathen" view of Christianity. Unlike Wong, who subverts the values associated with heathenism and Christianity, Lee adopts Christian values, but not without certain revisions. He acknowledges that Confucianism is heathenism, yet asserts that it is "the most intelligent form of heathenism" (306). Lee signs himself a "Christian," not only because of his conversion, but because of the "faculty of reason," "formal logic," and "*a desire to tell the truth*" (Lee's emphasis)" (308). In this article, Lee's across lands strategy is represented in his employment of Western style logic and reason to support Chinese "heathenism."

Lee's list of Christian characteristics does not necessarily stress Christian doctrines that value piety and affinity with God. Instead, it highlights the popular nineteenth-century ideological terms, which help engage his American audience who are familiar with the Enlightenment Movement. By applying the terms to himself, Lee actually establishes new criteria that challenge the stereotypical image of the "heathen Chinee" perpetuated by the American media. He implies that the debate around heathenism and Christianity should not focus on appearance, pigtails, costumes, accent, or where the person is from, but focus on evidence drawn on reason, logic, and facts. His Americanized sense of justice and equality is ironically more patriotically American than that of native born Americans.[19] The new criteria show Lee's criticism of un-American accusations against the Chinese, such as those he had refuted in his graduation speech two months earlier. Moreover, they contain Lee's criticism of the American public who believed in exclusionist propaganda; as he laments, "Sad it is that in a Christian

community only a feeble voice here and there has been raised against this public wrong [the exclusion of the Chinese]" ("Graduation Address" 269).

While proposing a new and more American set of principles for evaluating the Chinese, Lee suggests that it should also be used to appraise Americans, which becomes the basis of his elaboration on the American heathen in the article. In the process of explaining the misrepresentation of Christianity,[20] Lee tries to discriminate between Christianity and its professors as well as true Christians and hypocrites. Using the Confucian assertion that "it is impossible to carve on rotten timber," he defends Christianity as not responsible for "the acts of morally rotten men" (309). This is a wonderful example of his across lands strategy in which he merges Christianity and Confucianism to distinguish the "good" heathen" and the American heathen. He criticizes "American heathen" who are not true Christians by declaring that, "the California legislature that passed various measures against the Chinese was not Christian, the Sandlotters were not Christians, nor were the foreign miners" (309). Like Wong in using the example of Denis Kearney, who championed the anti-Chinese movement in California, Lee suggests that Kearney should begin a new religious campaign with a slogan like "The Chinese must stay! Heaven is incomplete without them" (308). Obviously, the above mentioned parties and persons are not endowed with the qualities Lee deems essential to be qualified as Christians; hence, they become "American heathens." Thus, in a wonderful example of across lands strategy Lee shows that the Chinese "heathen" is more Christian and American than the so-called Christian Americans.

At the end of this article, Lee urges his audience to believe that, "There are good men among the heathen. Such men you will find to be just, reasonable, honest, and truthful. Christianity would make such men perfect" (312). By citing himself as an example of a good former "heathen," Lee argues for the inclusion of Chinese immigrants, who might be "heathen" in the strict religious sense, but who are "good heathens" with the potential to become good Christians because their moral code is essentially the same. However, bad Christians who head the anti-Chinese movement are shown to be (anti)American heathens, who lack the faculty of reason and logic and are as hopeless as the bad heathen (311). By asking his reader to discriminate between the good heathen and the (anti)American heathen who are not true Christians, Lee's "Why Am I Not a Heathen" actually echoes Wong's appeal for the better treatment of the Chinese, even though Lee uses an opposite title and rhetorical tactic. Though Wong and Lee share different opinions on Christianity, their criticism of Christian hypocrisy and racial discrimination against Chinese immigrants are alike. They create illustrations of "good heathens" and "bad heathens" as well as civilized criminals and American heathens, thus reassigning the values associated with heathens and Christians.

Lee displays double consciousness and across lands strategies while defending Christianity in his essay. His defense of Christianity is undermined by his criticism of the exclusion of Chinese immigrants, many of whom he has discussed in his graduation address. The evidence Lee cites to argue for Christianity often ends up supporting his reprehension of racism and exclusionists. He uses his own personal experience of conversion experience to build his ethos as a legitimate Americanized/Chinese author. However, claiming to be a Christian, Lee establishes criteria that do not conform to

orthodox Christian views; his emphasis on reason, logic, and truth challenges the stereotypes that figure the Chinese as barbaric and irrational. Rather than refuting Wong's argument, Lee's article, in fact, affirms Wong's criticism of the unfair treatment of Chinese immigrants. Thus it is no wonder that most American reviewers were unsatisfied with Lee's rejoinder to Wong. Horace A. Randle, a missionary who lived in China for nearly ten years, complained, "I feel that Yan Phou Lee's rejoinder, though it gives a beautiful instance of enlightened Christianized Chinese character, has not sufficiently refuted many assertions of Mr. Wong's letter, which will be gladly seized upon by infidels in this and other countries, and turned with some show of force against Christianity" (6).

"The Chinese Must Stay" (1889): The Displacement of Chinese Laborers

Lee's project of "simply correcting erroneous American ideas" about China and Chinese customs proved somewhat naive in light of the growing violence against Chinese immigrants. In the April 1889 issue of the *North American Review,* Lee published his most famous defense of the Chinese, "The Chinese Must Stay." In this article, Lee gave up the strategy of simply correcting misconceptions about the Chinese. Instead, he fully developed the argument and the style of his graduation address, countering point by point eleven accusations against the Chinese. These accusations were categorized in three sections: "Precedents for Anti-Chinese Feeling," "No Displacement of White Workers," and "The Chinese Are Not Criminals." The urbane, humorous gentleman narrator of the autobiography is gone, replaced by a cynical writer sneering bitterly at the racism and oppression the Chinese had to endure.

"The Chinese Must Stay" could be read as Lee's reply to Henry Grimm's four-act drama, "The Chinese Must Go," that appeared in 1879 at the peak of anti-Chinese sentiment in California. Grimm's piece derives its title from the motto of the anti-Chinese demagogue Denis Kearney and displays "racist invective at its most blatant and vehement" (Williams xiii). The play illustrates the depiction of the Chinese in a negative light displayed in American popular culture from the 1870s onward and which culminated in the Exclusionary Acts in the 1880s. It was not performed in California except for perhaps in the meetings of the Anti-Coolie Clubs (Williams 97). Aiming to protect white labor and discourage all employment of the Chinese, the United Brothers of California, founded in 1876, was one such club open to all advocates of "anti-coolieism of good, moral character" (*United Brothers of California*). Although there is no record of a performance of the play in San Francisco, a later production of the play at The Bird Cage Theatre in Tucson, Arizona, received "thunderous applause" (Ou 64). The yellowface minstrelsy of the play called for impersonations of the queue, makeup, taped eyelids, and posture to portray the Chinese and to justify the ill treatment of Chinese immigrants and their customs (Ou 65).

The play depicts the Blaine family in San Francisco as victims of unfair competition with "cheap" Chinese laborers. Ah Coy and Sam Gin, the two Chinese laundrymen, and Slim Chunk Pin, an agent of the Six Chinese Companies, are depicted as plotting to "take over" California. Pin's words confirm the anxiety over the invasion of the Chinese: "Why should we allow them [white people] always to skim the cream from the milk; we have submitted to it long enough. In ten years more, California will be ours" (Grimm 102). The daughter, Lizzie Blaine, is an opium addict; her situation represents

concerns about moral degeneration of white women in association with sensational stories about Chinese prostitution. Ou argues that Grimm's play not only "disparages cultural traits ascribed to the Chinese," but also "assigns pidgin English to Chinese characters to "infantilize and emasculate them," rendering them as unassimilable aliens (67).

In his defense of Chinese immigrants in "Why I Am Not a Heathen," Lee creates a new image of a Christianized Chinese, whose "faculty of reason, logic, and a desire to tell the truth" distinguishes him from the lower class coolies, therefore using an across lands rhetorical strategy to enable his participation in American politics as an equal citizen. In "The Chinese Must Stay" Lee specifically addresses the Irish workingmen's agitation against the Chinese, disparaging them as inferior to Chinese workers:

> Why is it that the American laborer was soon raised to a higher social and industrial plane, and ceased to fear Irish competition, while the Irish still dread the competition of the Chinese? It is simply because the Irish are industrially inferior to their competitors. They have not the ability to get above competition, like the Americans, and so, perforce, they must dispute with the Chinese for the chance to be hewers of wood and drawers of water. (477)

K. Scott Wong points out that here Lee denigrates the Irish in order to find acceptance for the Chinese ("Cultural Defenders and Brokers" 17). The difference between "good heathen" and "bad heathen" developed in his *North American Review* article has been replaced by an alternative racial hierarchy which in turn discriminates against other ethnic groups. Though racist on its surface, this is also an across lands strategy,

triangulating American racism by downgrading one of America's Other (Irish) to upgrade the Chinese Other. That strategy has been used by many oppressed groups.

This strategy was also seen in Lee's autobiography *WIWBC*, in which he compares Chinese culture with Japanese culture in a narrative describing his boat trip from China to the United States. Lee observes that "The Japanese claim to be descendants of the sun, instead of being an off-shoot of the Chinese race" (105). Floyd Cheung interprets this as Lee's critique of the policies of the U.S. toward Japan and China, calling the reader's attention to the different treatment of Japanese immigrants and Chinese immigrants in the late-nineteenth century ("Early Chinese American Autobiography" 29). I argue that Lee's comparison of Chinese immigrants with Irish immigrants and Japanese immigrants reflects his double consciousness of racial hierarchy and his astute across lands strategy. While he was aware of discrimination against the Chinese, he was affected by the discourse of racial hierarchy. Lee's construction of a discourse of difference or across lands navigation is, in many places, achieved at the expense of the Chinese lower classes and other ethnic groups. Lee's double consciousness illuminates his limitation, but also suggests the complexity of race, class, and ethnicity.[21]

Lee's "The Chinese Must Stay" voices a Chinese immigrant's perspective on the "Chinese Question" by defying the popular stereotypical image of the Chinese. Supporting his assertions with many statistics and evidence not often seen in articles written by the Chinese of the time, he repudiates the racial oppression and unfair treatment imposed on the Chinese. Amy Ling notes that Lee employs "logic and scathing irony, marshals facts, and quotes authority to make his points" ("Yan Phou Lee on the

Asian American Frontier" 283). His familiarity with laws and American politics allows him to address the "Chinese Question" in relation to racial discrimination and segregation in American society, which, again, shows his across lands strategy through navigating different notions, concepts, systems, and cultures, to strategically construct a new image of the Chinese. For example, in arguing that American laws and ordinances prevent or delay Chinese naturalization, Lee quotes California regulations and acts in detail.[22] In response to the accusation that the Chinese do not desire to become citizens of this country, Lee asks sarcastically, "Why should they?" when the laws and ordinances were passed specifically to exclude them. Lee's documentations provide an example of the Chinese counter-testimonies against racial discrimination in the late-nineteenth century.

Furthermore, Lee's "The Chinese Must Stay" was one of the first Chinese writings that addressed the displacement of Chinese immigrants in the nineteenth century. Repudiating the accusation that "Chinese cheap labor" had displaced white workingmen,[23] Lee argues that by building railroads, reclaiming swamplands, and improving fruit culture, Chinese labor had created "an immense vista of employment … for Caucasians" (479). Lee points out, however, that "as soon as an industry gets on its feet by the help of Chinese 'cheap labor,' Chinese workmen are discharged to make room for others" (480). So contrary to the charge that cheap Chinese labor had displaced white labor, he shows that Chinese workers had been displaced by whites. This argument echoes a former metaphor Lee alludes to in his graduation speech, in which he claims that "the corals which constructed the reef must go or die," referring to the cheap Chinese labor exploited in industry and railroad construction (271).

Of the charge that the Chinese were pagans and are not assimilable, Lee cites an ironic speech by Henry Ward Beecher to justify Chinese immigrants' "heathenism:" "We have clubbed them, stoned them, burned their houses, and murdered some of them; yet they refuse to be converted. I do not know any way, except to blow them up with nitro-glycerine, if we are ever to get them to heaven (qtd. in Lee 481)." Being a Christian himself, Lee defends the Chinese "heathen" by praising their true Christian spirit: "In spite of these doubtful inducements to become Christians, more than 500 have been admitted to the church" (481). In this way, Lee distinguishes between true Chinese Christians and hypocritical American Christians, which further helps develop Lee's rhetoric of difference and the across lands strategy I have been outlining here. Lee intended "The Chinese Must Stay" to rouse "the public conscience" (483). Though valiant, Lee's publications, including his autobiography, "Why I Am Not a Heathen," and "The Chinese Must Stay," did not prevent the renewal of the Chinese Exclusion Act of 1882 in 1892 and again in 1902. Nevertheless, his essay must be seen as an historic milepost on the road to the later adoption of a more just attitude towards the Chinese.

Yan Phou Lee: A Man across Lands Negotiating Identities

Like his mentor Yung Wing who was caught between two worlds and across lands, Yan Phou Lee's life was tragically affected by his experience as a frontier Chinese American at the turn of the twentieth century. He was married twice, both times to white women, but they are never mentioned in his autobiography. Lee married Elizabeth Maude Jerome in 1887 and the ceremony was performed by Joseph H. Twitchell ("Married to a Chinaman" 1).[24] However, this marriage lasted barely three years, ending in what

appeared to be a rancorous divorce in 1890.[25] The failure of the marriage might have resulted from the conflicts between the mother-in-law and Lee, as Lee revealed in an interview that his wife's mother "hate[s] him like poison" ("Yan Phou Lee and His Mother-in-Law" 12). However, in light of contemporary opposition to interracial marriage, the marriage was also doomed to fail. The failure of Lee's marriage was hailed by the *Chicago Daily Tribune* in 1890 as Elizabeth Maude Jerome's realization of her foolishness in marrying a "Chinaman." The reporter asks, "Should it not occur to every American girl who goes out of her way to contract these unnatural, unwomanly, unpatriotic, and monstrous alliances that she is making a fool of herself?" ("Yan Phou Lee and His Mother-in-Law" 12)

In 1896, Lee made a visit to China after an absence of twenty-three years. The reason for his visit was not clear, but the reforms occurring in China and the anti-Manchu movement at the end of the nineteenth century might have impressed Lee and prepared his final return to China in the future. Lee married Sophie Florence Bolles in Nashville, Tennessee, on November 3, 1897.[26] The Lee family purchased a truck farm in Lincoln, Delaware, and settled down for a couple of years to engage in agriculture (Ling, "Yan Phou Lee on the Asian American Frontier" 277). In 1909, Lee sold his farm and moved his family to the Northeast as a merchant conducting "a live poultry business" from 1912-1917. Before the company was closed in 1917, Lee worked as associate editor of the *Hasbrouck Heights Newsletter* and later on local weeklies such as the *Enterprise* and the *Bergen Advertiser* of East Rutherford (Ling 277-8). He moved his family to New York in 1918 and worked as managing editor of the *American Banker* from 1918 till 1927. He left his wife and two grown sons behind in America and lived in wartime China during the

1930s. He was editor of the *Canton Gazette* (*Guangdong Bao*) for two weeks in 1931 (Ling, "Yan Phou Lee on the Asian American Frontier" 278-280).

Lee was one of the rare champions for the inclusion and equality of Chinese immigrants in late nineteenth-century America. His Yale education, editorial and journalist experiences, and his familiarity with laws and American politics gave him across lands strategies for and insights into the discrimination against the Chinese. His across lands construction of the difference between "good heathen" and "bad heathen" challenged the American racial order, proposing that the Chinese immigrants be recognized as equal citizens.

Despite being an advocate for Chinese immigrants, Lee's personal life illustrates the point of view of a disillusioned Chinese immigrant at the turn of the century. He exhibits what I call a person across lands in negotiating his identities. The trials he faced as businessman and editor demonstrate his struggle to find a place in America. Indicating a Chinese American's ordeal during the exclusionary era, he tried but failed at maintain many short-term and long-term occupations while in America. His first marriage failed in the face of inevitable racial discrimination. His second marriage ended when perhaps he was finally and ultimately convinced of the impossibility of finding justice in America for the Chinese and possibly experienced a longing for his native land. He abandoned his wife and sons to return to China in 1927. The abandonment should be read as Lee's disillusionment with American democracy in the context of anti-Chinese sentiment; the idealistic enthusiasm and faith exhibited in his graduation speech and "Why I Am Not a Heathen" faded as he experienced ongoing discrimination.

However, Lee found no security or steady income, no nurturing home in China either. After all, Lee's interview with the Office of the Chinese Inspector in the Ellis Island Immigration Services Office in 1927 illustrates his dilemma of finding no "home" in both worlds:

> Q: Of what country are you now a citizen or subject?
>
> A: It is hard to say. In 1887 or 1888 I took out my first papers to become a citizen of this country but I never got my last papers on account of the amendment to the Exclusion law preventing me.
>
> Q: Then you must be a citizen of China, is that right?
>
> A: I presume so, or a citizen of no country at all. (Richard V. Lee 20)

This interview illustrates his across lands effort to negotiate a sense of home. As a Chinese Christian who believed in Americanized individualism, justice, and equality, Lee applied for citizenship even after the passages of Chinese Exclusion Acts in the 1880s; however, his personal life was caught in the national campaign to expel the Chinese. The inspector then assumed him to be of Chinese citizenship, which he hesitated to admit. Being a pioneer/frontier in both China and America, he lived a life across lands; perhaps, "a citizen of no country" accurately describes his experience as a citizen of the world, who embraces both worlds.

Yan Phou Lee, the youth who escaped China in 1884 with enthusiasm to "do a great deal of good in this country," ended as "a citizen of no country." He was like his mentor, Yung Wing, caught between two worlds and across lands. He exhibits a complicated double consciousness, which reveals his ambivalent, and sometimes contradictory, views of both China and America. His writings demonstrate his contested

and multiple across lands negotiations of finding a position in the world. Sadly, the author who defended the Chinese so vehemently disappeared entirely from view after 1938. China was at war with Japan then. On March 29, 1938, Lee wrote the Yale Alumni Office in response to their request for details of his life: "We are having war here, inhuman, brutal, savage war. Japanese bombing planes raid the city every day—sometimes three or four times. One has to think of saving his life. Little time can he give to such a thing as Class histories" (qtd. in Ling 279). Class histories are, of course, no more Lee's concern. His life story is a case history of Chinese immigrants at the turn of the century in both China and America.

Historical Context

Ah Sin: Nineteenth-Century Image of the "Heathen Chinee"

Wong Chin Foo was a well known late-nineteenth-century Chinese lecturer and published widely in American newspapers and magazines, introducing Chinese customs, political honors, and women's costumes, etc., with a goal to educate his American readers in an understanding of the Chinese "heathen" culture. He established with other Chinese community leaders the Chinese Equal Rights League in 1892, the first Chinese political association to struggle for political rights for the Chinese. Yet, he was even better known as the "heathen missionary" during his time with the publication of his article "Why Am I a Heathen?" in the *North American Review* in 1887. Through his writing, journalistic experience, and political activities, Wong reconstructs "heathenism" to propose the "merging" of Chinese characteristics and American values, which is vital to his construction of Chinese American identity in the late nineteenth century. This section of historical context intends to introduce the nineteenth-century conceptualization of the Chinese through examining the perpetuation of the image of the "heathen Chinee" in the popular media and nineteenth-century American literature. Wong's writings and translation were undertaken under such a context of the exclusionary discourse.

To Wong depictions of the "heathen Chinee" reflected linguistic violence that subjected Chinese immigrants to a low tier in the naming system in nineteenth-century America. Bret Harte's "Plain Language of Truthful James," published in the September issue of the *Overland Monthly* in 1870, perhaps helped perpetuate this racist term. Generally known as the "Heathen Chinee," the poem made Harte a household name in the east overnight. Although few critics agree that Harte intended it to be a racist poem

against Chinese immigrants, "in any case, Harte's verse struck a nerve" (Scharnhorst 378).

Ah Sin, the Heathen Chinee, slips into the American language through Harte's verse, becoming a looming grotesque figure in nineteenth-century American literature: "Ah Sin is his name; / And I shall not deny, / In regard to the same, / What that name might imply" (Harte 215). What does Ah Sin's name imply? His "sin." But what is his "sin" in the American audience's eye? Ostensibly, he cheats the Irish worker Bill Nye in a game of poker. Ah Sin's "pensive" and "childlike" smile might pass him off as an innocent victim, yet he beats Nye in the game he claims that "he [does] not understand." Ah Sin is depicted as a hustler, which is a moral if not a legal crime. So, when Nye rises and cries out his long-accumulated resentment, "We are ruined by Chinese cheap labor," he voices not only the financial conflict between Chinese laborers and Irish laborers, but popular prejudice against Chinese immigrants, whom Ah Sin epitomizes: a liar, hustler, and a cheat. Therefore, the Chinese becomes an immoral and criminalized body perpetuated in the "plain language" of the "truthful" narrator James: "And my language is plain, / That for ways that are dark, / And for tricks that are vain, / The heathen Chinee is peculiar" (Harte 215).

This alienation of Ah Sin through a typical image of Chinese immigrants found in nineteenth-century American literature is further exemplified in Mark Twain and Bret Harte's co-written drama *Ah Sin: A Dramatic Work* in 1877, with the white Charles T. Parsloe in the title role. Parsloe had developed a Chinaman role in Bret Harte's *Two Men of Sandy Bar* (1876) the year before, in which Harte featured a Chinese laundryman named Hop Sing—the first "stage Chinaman" to appear in New York (Scharnhorst 389).

Hop Sing's Chineseness is constructed through his queue, costume, and ungrammatical English. Similarly, the poster for Harte and Twain's play shows a typical "heathen Chinee," with his long queue hanging behind him, cards in his hand, and a card standing on his nose, a comic posture to capture the audience's attention. The play was viewed, according to a critic from the *New York Sun*, at best as "an entertainment" (Anderson xiii). Though Ah Sin is the titular character of the play, his presence only facilitates the construction of masculinity as featured in tales of the American West and recuperation of the social order of the American West through the exclusion of the Chinese. The ending of the play relies heavily on a "heathen Chinee," whose testimony is denied verbally, yet who manages to find access to the judicial language through his "washee washee" evidence.[1]

Wearing a queue and a beguiling, childlike smile, and speaking "washee washee" pidgin English, Ah Sin, the "heathen Chinee," is marked permanently as the exotic as well as the grotesque in the American imagination of the Other. According to Ronald Takaki, Ah Sin was "heathen, morally inferior, savage, childlike, lustful, and sensual" (217). The differences among immigrants, in terms of outlooks, cultures, class background, and regional differences, were simplistically overemphasized so as to exclude the early Chinese immigrants from the American experience. The fear of a Chinese presence in American society (in Ah Sin's case in California) expressed repeatedly in judicial decisions and public opinions shows the American anxiety over the Other in a time of imperialist expansion. In discussing the 1901 *Downes v. Bidwell* case involving Puerto Rico's place in the American Empire, Justice Henry Billings Brown articulated the similar fear, "Even though 'annexation of distant possessions [may be]

desirable,' the problem was that these possessions were inhabited by alien races, differing from us in religion, customs, laws, methods of taxation, and modes of thought'" (qtd. in Kaplan 6). According to Brown, "the pursuit of imperial desire risked absorbing aliens into the domestic sphere, and the resulting racial and cultural intermixing threatened ultimately to make the United States internally foreign to itself" (qtd. in Kaplan 6). According to this logic, Chinese immigrants, then, threatened to turn America into a body politic foreign to itself, which was represented in exclusionary acts and regulations that targeted Chinese immigrants.

Two contemporary publications in San Francisco supported the building of a new order by perpetuating the threat of the "heathen Chinee." Using "plain language" similar to that in Bret Harte's poem and echoing the sentiment in the cartoon "A Statue for Our Harbor" P. W. Dooner's *Last Days of the Republic* (1880s)[2] paints a futurist picture in which the republic has been invaded and conquered by the Mongolians. The subservient and cunning Ah Sin represents cheap Chinese labor subverting the republic. Dooner's description of the heathen Mongolian reinforces the typecast Ah Sin: "He was eminently stupid in great things, and so quick and keen in small; so devoted to toil, and so averse to sentiment; so obedient, so cunning, so ignorant, so willing, so unassuming, and so servile" (131). Toward the end of the book, Dooner depicts a bleak scene of Chinese immigrants taking over the republic. American people see "a fleet of transports, loaded with troops and munitions of war" which were "immediately dispatched to San Francisco" while "the remaining war vessels" awaited "orders from the [Chinese] Viceroy" (211). The book laments the lost glory of the white race: "as she sank, engulfed, she carried with her the prestige of a race…. Thus passed away the glory of the Union of States, at the dawn of

the Twentieth Century" (257-8). Exaggerating the vileness of Chinese immigrants epitomized in Ah Sin, Dooner's propaganda resonates with the popular sentiment against the Chinese and is a footnote to the Exclusion Act of 1882.

Echoing Dooner's concerns, in "The Conflict of Races" (1886), Washington M. Ryer portrays Ah Sin not only as a competitor with white workers, but as a seducer of

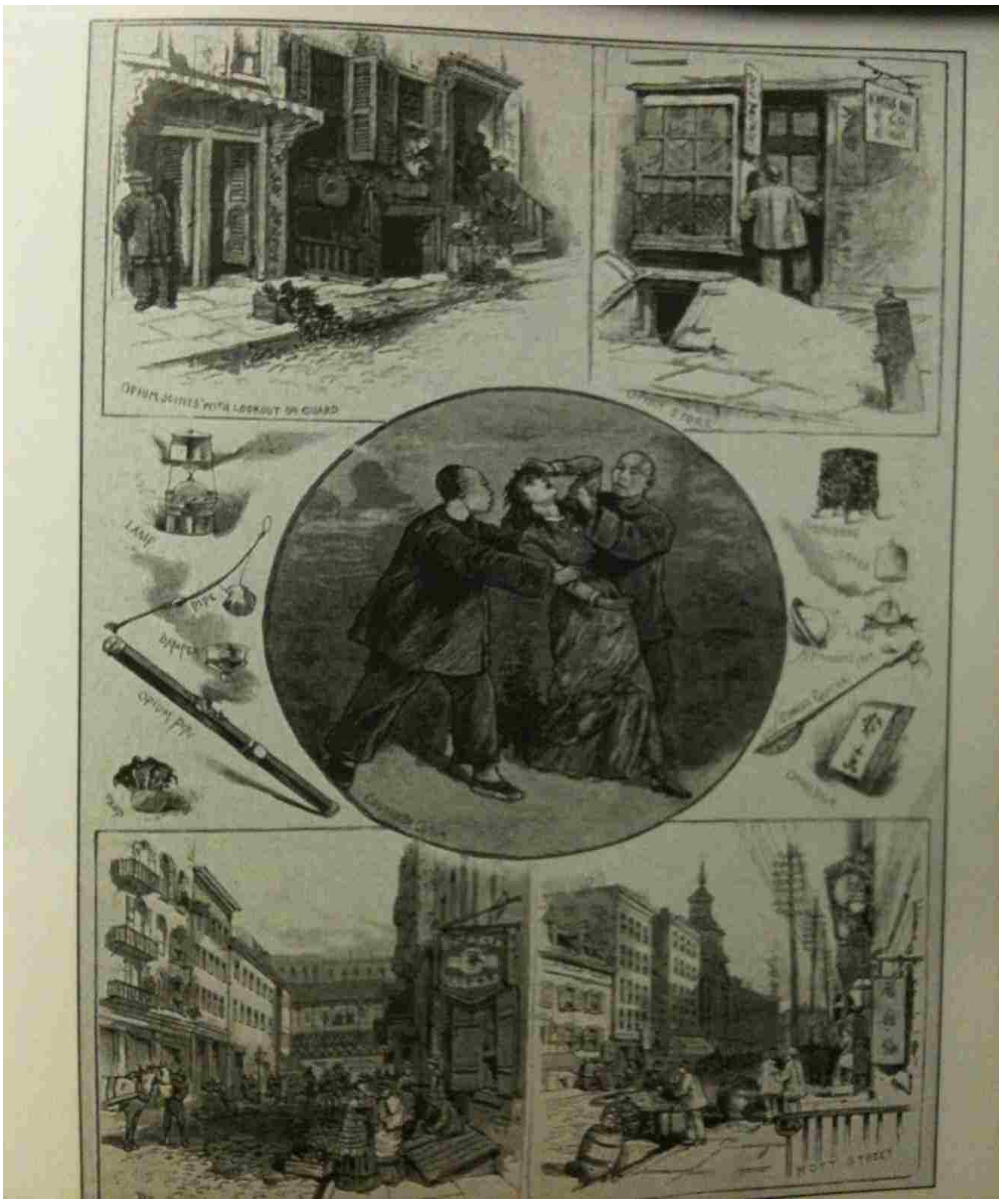

Fig. 1. "New York City--The Opium Dens in Pell and Mott Streets--How the Opium Habit Is Developed." *Frank Leslie's Illustrated Newspaper* 19 May 1883. 204. *The Coming Man: 19th-Century American Perceptions of the Chinese*. Eds. Philip P. Choy, Lorraine Dong, and Marlon K. Hom. Seattle: University of Washington Press, 1994. 107.

young American women and men. He reports a Nellie Galely found in a Chinese opium den in Cambridge, Massachusetts, on June 9, 1886: "She [Nellie Galely] said she went into the place to get her brother's collars, when she was seized by Chinamen, who thrust a lighted pipe into her mouth and compelled her smoke until she became unconscious. She was found in this condition when the police raided the den" (56). The cunning and expressionless Ah Sin in Dooner's book becomes "the guileless heathen" in Ryer's depiction (56). Ryer proposes that the expulsion of the Chinese from the United States is the only solution to save the youth of the country (56). His resolution echoes Denis Kearney's slogan "The Chinese Must Go!" and reflects the anxiety over the opium addiction of American ladies illustrated in Henry Grimm's play "The Chinese Must Go" (1879).

A cartoon, entitled "New York City—The Opium Dens in Pell and Mott Streets—How the Opium Habit Is Developed," published on May 19, 1883 in *Frank Leslie's Illustrated Newspaper*, impresses the reader with the vivid pain and helplessness in the face of a white woman who is abducted by two "Chinamen" and forced to an opium den in New York. In the illustration, an opium pipe, opium lamp, and other instruments envelop the abduction scene, with two pictures on top showing the opium store guarded by "guileless heathens" and the two at bottom displaying innocent American ladies walking on New York Streets unaware of the approaching "danger."

Although like their American counterparts, Chinese women were also victims of brothels, they were strangely portrayed as the victimizers threatening American manhood and womanhood. During an anti-Chinese era, Chinese women were indiscriminately stereotyped as prostitutes and condemned. Newspaper reports on the rescue of poor

Chinese women were pervasive, thus perpetuating an image of the indentured and sexually enslaved Chinese women.[3] Dr. H. H. Toland, founder of the Toland Medical College, testified before a committee investigating "the spread of opium smoking, leprosy and other imported evils":

> I have seen boys eight and ten years old with syphilistic diseases, which they told me they had contracted of China-women on Jackson Street. It's astonishing how soon they commence indulging in that passion….The presence of Chinese women here has made prostitution exceedingly cheap, and it has given these boys an opportunity to gratify themselves at very slight cost….The extent of the evil is very general, and I suppose my experience must be the experience of all physicians in San Francisco who are in full practice. (Ryer 34)

Toland's testimony confirms a prevailing opinion about the evil power of Chinese women, who ostensibly corrupted American youth and lured American boys to destruction. Toland's testimony is but one of the examples of how the issue of prostitution became the centerpiece in the heated debate over "the Chinese Question" during the 1870s and 1880s. As the historian Elmer Clarence Sandmeyer puts it, "[N]o phase of the Chinese question attracted more attention than that of prostitution" (qtd. in Yong Chen 81). The 1875 Page Law was passed to deter immigration of Asian women by excluding "women imported for the purposes of prostitution" (Odo 39). By 1882, the Chinese Exclusion Act stopped the immigration of both Chinese men and women.

III

"Why Am I a Heathen?"

Wong Chin Foo's Construction of the Chinese American in the Nineteenth Century

The November 11, 1881 issue of *The Wasp* published a cartoon entitled "A Statue for Our Harbor," in which the Statue of Liberty is replaced by a "heathen Chinee" holding a torch with beams emanating from its head that read "White Labor," "Ruin," "Diseases," "Immortality," and "Filth" (Keller 136). The "heathen" is wrapped in Chinese costume, with his left hand grasping an opium pipe and his queue dangling behind him. His left foot rests on a skull, which suggests that the glory of the invading Mongol is achieved only at the expense of the replaced white workers. Manhattan Island is a bleak scene in the picture, surrounded by ruins of buildings and wrecked ships. The cartoon captures the public's panic over an America replaced by Chinese labor, which would reduce American workers to white slave laborers and bring ruin to the country, as shown in the once prosperous harbor.

Wong Chin Foo, a nineteen-century Chinese journalist, activist, and translator, who was known to his American readers as the "heathen missionary," seemed to represent the invading "heathen Chinee" depicted by the cartoon. As early as 1874, an article in the *New York Times* announced that "we have long foreseen the possibility of a missionary to our country from the heathen, and one has at last arrived in the person of Wong Chin Foo" ("A Heathen Missionary" 4). The article warned that Wong's preaching of Confucius would bring "Chinese war-junks" to anchor in Boston Harbor, and the Hoodlums of San Francisco would be compelled to prostrate themselves before "grotesque idols in Joss-house!" ("A Heathen Missionary" 4). The cartoon in the *Wasp*

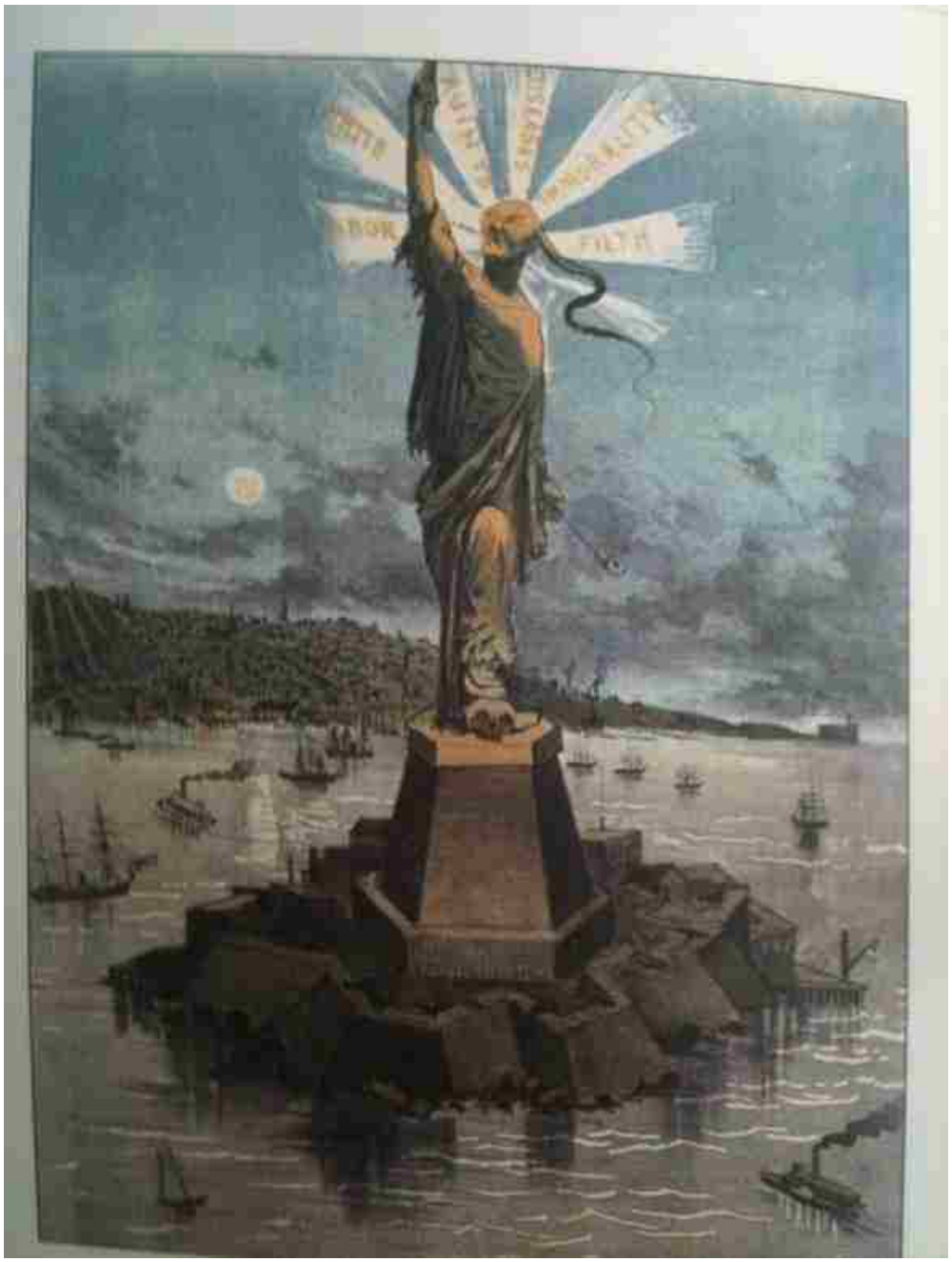

Fig. 2. Keller. "A Statue of Our Harbor." The *Wasp* 11 Nov.1881. 320. *The Coming Man: 19th-Century American Perceptions of the Chinese*. Eds. Philip P. Choy, Lorraine Dong, and Marlon K. Hom. Seattle: University of Washington Press, 1994. 136.

in 1881 vividly recaptures the anxiety over the "heathen missionary" reported in the *New York Times*. Both the article and the cartoon attest to the nineteenth-century exclusionist discourse on the Chinese, that is, the power of the heathen to convert and corrupt the Republic.

Wong Chin Foo himself confronted the depiction of the "heathen Chinee" by publishing "Why Am I a Heathen?" in the *North American Review* in 1887. His construction of Chinese Americans vis-à-vis "heathenism" as well as the rhetoric of American democracy reflects his flexible negotiation of identities for Chinese men and women in late-nineteenth-century America. This chapter examines across lands strategies shown in Wong's periodical writings, political activism, and his translation work, arguing that Wong constructs a new Chinese American identity that both conforms to and finds positive qualities in American citizenship while also retaining a fierce sense of pride in the Chinese heritage. Wong's proposal to infuse Chinese characteristics with American systems demonstrates his effort to redefine what is American, hence arguing for the inclusion of Chinese immigrants in American society. His "across lands" strategies involve not only his negotiation of identities in both China and America, but his ability to navigate between religious differences and racial concepts. In doing so he reverses the colonial conceptualization of heathenism and civilization. The "lands" discussed in this chapter therefore refer to both geographical territories and racial and religious terrains that manifest conflicting ideologies.

The "Heathen Missionary": Wong Chin Foo's "Across-Lands" Experiences

We know very little about Wong Chin Foo's life. What we know of his early years is chiefly gleaned from reports in a few newspapers. Wong was born in a suburb of Canton in 1851. According to an article in the *New York Times* published on October 4, 1873, he arrived in the United States in 1865 to receive an education sponsored by an American woman missionary in China ("Wong Chin Foo"). He went through a

preliminary course of instruction at a school at Washington D. C., and graduated with honors at a Pennsylvania college. He then worked for a while to "obtain a knowledge of the organization and management of social and political clubs, benevolent societies, trades unions, etc.," before he returned to China in 1869 ("Wong Chin Foo" 4).

When back in China, Wong traveled from place to place delivering addresses on "subjects so entirely new to his hearers" and "so much at variance with their notions of life" that he soon caught the attention of government officials ("Wong Chin Foo" 4). Like Yung Wing, Wong also tried to lobby the high officials to reform China. For example, he convinced an official to contemplate the abolition of opium smoking, encouraged the adoption of certain American social customs, and rallied for the elevation of the masses. He also organized societies to improve the mental, moral, and physical state of the people (Zhang 43). However, Wong's political activities put him in danger and the Qing government issued orders to dismantle the societies he established. With a reward equivalent to $1,500 on his head, Wong was hunted for several months before he went to the English missionaries in Hong Kong for shelter ("Wong Chin Foo" 4).[1]

Wong's experience in China after his graduation makes him an across lands figure like Yung Wing and Yan Phou Lee, both of whom received a missionary-sponsored Western education and returned to China with the intent to reform the country. Wong was probably as "metamorphosed" as Yung Wing and tried to reconcile his Western education with Chinese tradition and conventions. Because Christian missionaries sponsored his American education, it is possible that he was converted to Christianity in America and was then sent home to preach in China. Wong, thus, became a deviant according to the traditional practices of Confucianism and Buddhism. His involvement in

political reforms and bold lectures made him a heretic, and some of his coworkers and followers were executed. The construction of heathenism under the Qing government reflects both the conflicts between traditional Chinese religions and Christianity, and the Qing government's intolerance toward any political reforms that would undermine its rule. Thus Wong's earlier across lands experience made him a "heathen" in his home country and he had to flee China for his life.

Ironically, the Western-educated Chinese heretic was labeled a "heathen missionary" when he reentered the U.S. He probably escaped China in 1873 as the *New York Times* then reported his experience sympathetically and regretted that Wong was forced to become an exile ("Wong Chin Foo"). Barely a year later, however, a contemptuous warning in the *New York Evangelist* replaced the sympathetic tone of the *New York Times*. Calling Wong "a Chinese imposter," the editors warned the public of Wong's "scandalous" lectures on "the peculiarities of the Celestial Kingdom" ("Editorial Notes" 4). The editor hoped that the warning would end Wong's lecturing career. But Wong continued his lectures in different cities in the West ("Miscellaneous Notes" 253). By the time he reappeared in New York in 1874, almost a year after his reentry into the U.S., he had become "a heathen missionary." In a lecture delivered in the Music Hall in Boston in 1874, Wong was reported to declare that "Chinese society [was] vastly more sincere, genuine and cultured than that of the United States and Europe" ("A Heathen Missionary" 4). Reversing the concept of "degradation," Wong praised the role of Confucius in lifting China to the status of a great country and urged his audience to follow the religion of Confucius, which was the only way to lift the 'barbarous" and "uncultured" from their degradation ("A Heathen Missionary" 4).

To the American public, Wong represented a different kind of heathen. He does not resemble the coolie Ah Sin, who is cunning, vile, and guileless. Wong came from a privileged family background, and he was often referred to as "a Chinese aristocrat" ("A Heathen Missionary" *Shaker Manifesto* 260) and "a Mandarin of bluest Celestial blood" ("Wong Chin Foo and Denis" 26). A contemporary portrait presents Wong as a young man in traditional Chinese clothes. His hair is tucked in a Chinese cap and pushed behind his head. He probably cut his queue as a sign of his renouncing loyalty to the Emperor of China. In 1874, he applied for American citizenship in the Circuit Court of Kent County in Grand Rapids, Michigan and was granted citizenship on April 3, 1874 ("Wong Chin Foo Naturalization Papers"). In his naturalization papers, he formally renounced his Chinese citizenship and became an American citizen. The portrait was probably illustrated around this time, which indicates Wong's double "heathenism:" While he was presented as a "heathen Chinee" in America, he represented himself as a heathen to his home country through the act of cutting off the queue, as the Qing Court would behead its citizens who dared to cut off their queues (Odo 51).[2]

Moreover, Wong's reference to exterior markers such as the cap, gown, and hand-sewn Chinese shoes, illustrates his strategic construction of a complex identity to his American audience. Whereas Americans might equate his Chinese costumes to heathenism perpetuated in the image of Ah Sin, Wong uses Chinese costumes to represent a different Chinese identity from that of the Chinese working class. He is not dressed as a coolie who usually wears two-piece Chinese clothes: a top outfit and a pair of loose pants that are sometimes wrapped around ankles with leggings for the convenience of movement. Wong's dress consists of a gown that conceals his pants and a

two-layer top with decorative collars. The details such as the stylishly folded cuffs and embroidered shoes with thick soles all suggest his privileged background. Besides, his idle posture seated with crossed legs also distinguishes him from Chinese peddlers or laundrymen commonly depicted in nineteenth-century cartoons. His Chinese costumes show his pride in Chinese heritage and his subversion of the image of the "heathen Chinee." Through his performance of Chineseness and "heathenism," Wong invites his audience to reinterpret what they see, examine their conceptualization of heathenism, and hence correct the misperception of the Chinese.

Nor did Wong belong to the exempt class: Chinese officials, merchants, students, teachers, and travelers who were allowed to enter the U.S. according to the Exclusion

Fig. 3. "Wong Chin Foo." *Chinese American Voices: From the Gold Rush to the Present*. Eds. Judy Yung, Gordon H. Chang, and H. Mark Lai. Berkeley: University of California Press, 2006. 78.

Acts in the 1880s and 1890s. In fact, Wong reentered America as a refugee and soon he became a "heathen missionary." His preaching of heathen religions of Confucianism, Taoism, and Buddhism is his greatest "sin," undertaken in retaliation for Christian missionizing in China and attacks on the Republic. The fear of heathenism is no more viewed as economic competition, but has been spread to the religious, cultural, political, and ideological realms, which makes it more dangerous.

Wong is a new across lands figure different from Yung Wing and Yan Phou Lee whom I have discussed in the previous chapters. Like Yung, Wong tried to negotiate his Western education and Chinese tradition, but he did not obtain favorable support from the ruling class in the Qing court as Yung did. Wong's escape was different from Lee's adventure in that Lee was helped by his missionary friends, which is why Lee was later made a spokesman for the Christian Chinese. In contrast, Wong came to America as a wanted "outlaw" who was disillusioned with Christianity. Wong's early experience shows a form of double consciousness that was different from that of Yung and Lee in terms of their relations to China and America. Yung constructs his identity with a consideration of both the Qing court and his American audience; Lee exhibits a split self that wavers between China and America as well as between his defense of Christianity and his critique of racial discrimination. Unlike Yung, Wong did not return to China many times nor did he disappear in China as Lee had. Instead Wong renounced his loyalty to China and devoted his life to fighting for his rights as an American citizen of Chinese origin. He was the first to declare a Chinese American identity in the late-nineteenth century and to establish an independent bilingual Chinese newspaper. As important, he founded the Chinese Equal Rights League that essentially constructed a

new identity for Chinese Americans. Wong's double consciousness is represented in his reversal of the discourse of racial reading by redefining "heathenism."

"Why Am I a Heathen?" Wong Chin Foo's Reconstruction of "Heathenism"

Wong's preaching of Chinese religions earned him the title of "a heathen missionary" in the 1870s. In response to media attacks, Wong published "Why Am I a Heathen?" in the *North American Review* in August1887, openly identifying himself as the "heathen Chinee." Some critics viewed Wong's article as "amusing" and "revers[ing] things finely" (*The Open Court* 414), though very few admitted that such an opportunity to be seen from other people's perspective should be welcome ("A Heathen View of Christianity" 4). Many Christian readers were incensed by Wong's polemic. The *Catholic World* remarked: "We admire the *North American Review* as one of the organs of the greatest writers in America, but it should, we think, even when discussing religion, draw the line *somewhere*" (418). But the *North American Review* did "draw a line" by also publishing Yan Phou Lee's "Why I Am Not a Heathen" in September 1887, in which Lee contested Wong's "heathen" views on Christianity and represented the "Christian Chinese."

Like Yan Phou Lee, who was sponsored by missionaries, Wong had a close relationship with the missionaries, as he admitted at the beginning of "Why Am I a Heathen?" He was indebted to missionaries for his education. Thus his acute criticism of Christianity seemed ungrateful to those who had helped him. Although on the surface, his article appears to be a critique of sectarianism and the hypocrisy of Christianity, it actually attests to the spread of a virulent anti-Chinese movement across the country. His

declaration of "heathenism" is contextualized by several writings and events both in the eastern and the western coast. The passage of the Chinese Exclusion Act of 1882 set a precedent by which the U.S. government banned an entire ethnic group from entering the country. The opening phrases of the 1882 Act reads, "In the opinion of the Government of the United States the coming of Chinese laborers to this country endangers the *good order of certain localities*" (qtd. in Palumbo-Liu 221). The logic presents the Asian race as a threat to American "order." Hence, the Act proposes to set a new order to exclude first the Chinese, then other minority groups in the U.S.

Wong's explicit use of the American principle of free speech and equality to support his position and his boldness in going public display his adoption of across lands strategies: he uses American rhetoric to support the literal crossing of the Chinese from one land to another and their right to bring their religious traditions with them. Boldly admitting that he was a "heathen," Wong reconstructs the picture of "heathens" in "Why Am I a Heathen?" vis-à-vis the stereotypical image of Ah Sin. He constructs "intelligent heathenism" in relation to Christianity by stating that Buddhism, Brahminism, and Confucianism teach similar moral codes controlling and regulating the relations and acts of individuals towards "God, neighbor, and self" (169). The disparaged Ah Sin and his "heathen" behaviors are reevaluated in light of such intelligent "heathenism." Besides, Wong also tests the American foundation that did not rest on a state religion.

Wong acknowledges the difference between "us heathen" and the Christians in appearance, manners, and general ideas of civilization, yet he reverses the values assigned to heathens and Christians by painting pictures of the "good heathen" and "bad Christians." Establishing his credibility as a "good heathen," Wong presents himself as a

well-educated Confucian scholar[3] who speaks English and, most importantly, is capable of reasoning in accordance with western logic. Invoking the Fifteenth Amendment, Wong sarcastically notes that "we are so far heathenish as to no longer persecute men simply on account of race, color, or previous condition of servitude, but treat them all according to their individual worth" (175). His construction of "heathenism" challenges the nineteenth-century stereotype of the Chinese, demanding recognition of the rights of the Chinese in American society.

In comparison to the "good heathen," Wong depicts Christian criminals as "murderers, cut-throats, thieves, and mobs" (171, 175). His criticism of Christianity focuses on the brutal treatment of the Chinese in America. He points out that the cold-blooded crimes by "civilized" American Christians against the "heathen Chinee" go unpunished. Kearney and his followers, Wong writes, would probably continue their anti-Chinese campaign even in heaven (171). The murderers in the Rock Springs massacre (1885),[4] according to Wong, are "civilized American Christians" (174). The judge ruled that the Chinese were "unworthy witnesses" in the case because they were "heathens" (Storti 155). Based on the "civilized Christian" Revered Timothy Thirloway's testimony[5] that the Chinese burned all their own houses and were also guilty of killing their own countrymen, fifteen alleged rioters, "civilized American Christians," were acquitted (Yen 359). However, while "civilized Americans" went free after robbing and killing the "heathens," five Chinese accused of murdering a white merchant near Pierce City, Idaho just two weeks after the Rock Springs massacre were hastily hanged by white vigilantes (qtd. in Zhu 171).[6]

Observing the brutal treatment of the Chinese, Wong writes in irony that "civilized Americans" organized the anti-Chinese movement under the guise of social or political reform to "plunder and murder with impunity;" while we [the Chinese] are "so advanced in our heathenism as to no longer tolerate popular feeling or religious prejudice to defeat justice or cause injustice" (175). Thus, the values associated with civilization and heathenism are reversed. At the end of his essay, Wong earnestly invites his audience to convert to Confucianism: "This is what keeps me the heathen I am! And I earnestly invite the Christians of America to come to Confucius" (179). In a brilliant example of across lands, he shows that the immigrant Chinese are more American than Americans.

Wong's "Why Am I a Heathen?" is a "heathen's" confession of why he refuses Christianity, which defends not only Wong's personal religious experience, but also a larger group of people. He states that "we heathen" were made "outlaws" not only through religious beliefs but also as a result of many discriminatory provisions and regulations practiced by so-called Americans. Wong's adoption of "we heathen" transforms the first person narrator into "the first-person plural," a strategy that helps invoke a sense of community. By employing "the first-person plural" Wong defends Ah Sin on behalf of all Chinese immigrants in America, thereby creating a new across lands identity—that of Chinese Americans.

Even though he creates this new group identity, in his construction of "heathenism," Wong creates a hierarchical community that distinguishes the "intelligent class" from the "coolie class." As early as 1874, Wong criticized the Christian missions in China as "barren of fruits" because they "failed to reach higher classes" ("Correspondence: Heathenism on Platform" 2). Wong conscientiously draws a line

between himself, "a Chinese Mandarin of the first class" ("Wong Chin Foo" *NYE* 2), and the Chinese laboring class. In a lecture on domestic life in China in 1877, Wong elaborates the similarity between the civilized Chinese and the intelligent Christian American. He explains, "the Chinamen that come to this country are mostly of the laboring class; they are no[t] those with whom we most associate at home" ("Extracts from a Chinese Lecture" 253). Wong's double consciousness about class reflects America's conflicted approach to race.

Wong's defense of "heathenism" really attests to his attempt to redefine what is American. His promotion of "heathenism" does not suggest segregating Chinese immigrants from American society; it is, in fact, his advocacy for the inclusion of Chinese by introducing Chinese characteristics to American systems. In his early articles introducing the Chinese culture of "the intelligent classes," he already pronounces himself "an admirer of the American civilization," yet he believes that "an infusion of the ideas and practices of my own race" would greatly improve the American society ("The Family in China and America" 679). Infusion refers to his across lands perspective in contemplating the future of the Republic, which will fulfill its promises only through introducing good systems, practices, customs, ideas, and even religions from both the East and the West as well as eliminating the true heathen practices in both places. Thus, Wong's construction of "heathenism" is his proposal to build a new country that will be enriched and improved by instilling Chinese characteristics, namely, including the Chinese in American life. Ironically, then, Wong is suggesting here that Americans assimilate with the Chinese!

Behind Wong's project of reeducating Americans is his negotiating identity across "lands," that is, between the American vision of heathenism and the Chinese affirmation of "heathenism." He is recognized as a "heathen" by American media, representing the feared return of "the Oriental"; that is, he represents the invading "heathen" who would corrupt the American youth, drive American white laborers out of their employment, force American white women to turn to more indecent jobs, and endanger the project of the American Republic, etc. In a word, Wong is an "Oriental minister" who "preys" on Americans. By identifying himself as a "heathen," Wong subverts the Eurocentric view of Western cultures by substituting a new image of the "heathen." He restructures a frame of reference where Chinese philosophy, religion, and customs are equal, if not superior to Western cultures. However, Wong's "authentic" narrative also distinguishes "the intelligent classes of China" from the coolie class in the United States, whom Wong condemns as the "lowest class" in China. He blames missionaries' who are "slandering and vilifying the intelligent classes of China by representing them to be a degraded and idolatrous people" ("The Buddhist Religion" 8). In this way, Wong's defense of "heathenism" is achieved through identifying the civilized criminals of America as well as differentiating "the intelligent classes of China" from the coolie class.

Claiming Chinese America: Wong Chin Foo's Journalistic Experience and Activism

By 1883, Wong's appeal promoting the understanding of "the intelligent classes of China" had culminated in the establishment of a bilingual newspaper, the *Chinese*

American (*Hua Mei Xin Bao*) in New York, the first Chinese newspaper on the East Coast. This newspaper was perhaps the first attempt by the Chinese in the United States to identify themselves as "Americans of Chinese origin" rather than as "sojourners" or "subjects of the Yellow Emperor" (Zhang 49). Wong's construction of the Chinese American represents his double consciousness in creating a new identity for the Chinese in America.

Wong writes in the first issue that his newspaper advocates a totally new identity—Chinese American. Wong admits that though his newspaper is published in the interest of all the Chinese people in the United States, it would appeal more to a specific group of Chinese—"the members of the Americanized Chinese of this country who understand the English language and love the institutions and civilization of America, and are willing to cast their life lots with us here instead of China" (*The Chinese American*). According to Wong, the Americanization of the Chinese is measured in terms of speaking English, understanding American institutions, and adopting America as their home. Some critics interpret Wong's practices as his process of assimilation, but Hsuan L. Hsu argues that in the context of the anti-Chinese movement such acts should be understood as "an attempt to reach as many readers as possible with writing that consistently emphasized the rationality, legibility, and humanity of the supposedly inscrutable Chinese" (85). I agree with Hsu on Wong's rhetorical consideration of his audience. Furthermore, I contend that the characteristics Wong proposes should be read as his strategic construction of an across lands identity for the Chinese vis-à-vis the exclusionist propaganda rather than assimilation. "Across lands," in this case, does not refer to crossing countries, but is indicative of Wong's strategy of negotiating identity for

Chinese immigrants by navigating several different situations that contextualized Wong's arguments.

First, Wong's construction of Chinese Americans focuses on what he calls the intelligent class of China who would show their desire to stay and accept American civilization. They are, after all, Americans, only "of Chinese origin." His definition of "Americans of Chinese origin" suggests that those who come across lands can in fact be Americans as opposed to the stereotypes of the Chinese, one of which is that the Chinese do not desire to become citizens of the United States. For example, the *Chinese Immigration Report at the House of Representatives* in 1880, accuses the Chinese of not being suitable candidates for American citizenship: "The Chinese does not … bring with him his family …; he does not buy a homestead in view of permanent residence; he avoids taxation; his meat and raiment come from his own country; he sends back to China all the money he earns; … and his morals and practices of life and crime are abhorrent" (*Chinese Immigration: Mr. Wright* 6). Enumerating the vice and crime of Chinese immigrants, the report asks, "Does the Chinese immigrant seek the shores of the Pacific slope with a single idea in his head that comes up to the standard of what should constitute American citizenship?" (*Chinese Immigration: Mr. Wright* 6) Wong's reconstruction of the Chinese American stresses a new awareness of the duty the Chinese must take on if they are to be American citizens.

Second, Wong's construction of the Chinese American is contextualized by the exclusionary acts of the time. In the first issue of the *Chinese American* in 1883, Wong calls for a meeting in which those Chinese who wish to become American citizens "must demand an equal recognition of manhood, franchise, and ballots, otherwise we will

always remain the political and social outcasts of this republic" (*The Chinese American*). Wong appeals to a specific group of Chinese immigrants whose life and experience were shaped and influenced by the milieu of the 1880s. A series of exclusionary acts[7] in the late-nineteenth century successfully stopped the immigration of Chinese laborers, but left a question open: what would happen to the Chinese who came to the United States before 1882 and hadn't been naturalized? In this context, what Wong proposes to "become American" could not happen, as no Chinese would be granted naturalization. The word "become" is used metaphorically to refer to the recognition of the presence of the Chinese in the United States.

Wong's focus has accordingly changed from condemning the exclusion of Chinese immigrants to protecting the Chinese who were in the United States after the passage of the 1882 Exclusion Act. In a pamphlet published by the Chinese Equal Rights League denouncing the Geary Act in 1892,[8] Wong admits that "we do not want any more Chinese here any more [sic] than you do" (*Appeal of the Chinese Equal Rights League to the People of the United States* 3).[9] This does not necessarily mean Wong's support of exclusion, but may show his wily rhetorical stance in order to gain access to the discourse. In the following year, in a plea for the Chinese before the House Committee on Foreign Affairs, Wong reconfirmed such a stance: he did not advocate the further immigration of Chinese, but only "asked justice for those already here" ("A Plea for the Chinese" 2). By conceding what he cannot change, Wong highlights the imperative of the Chinese in America: American government should recognize the rights of the immigrating Chinese in the country. Whereas Wong was previously concerned with correcting erroneous representations of the Chinese, he is now aware of the vulnerability of the Chinese to the

attacks of the exclusionists after they have successfully passed laws prohibiting Chinese immigration. The process of "becoming" actually points to the issue of naturalization, indicating a much-needed recognition and inclusion of the Chinese in America after the passage of the exclusionary laws. In light of this, Wong's definition of Chinese American, at that time, is strategically applied to a small group of Chinese immigrants who had been naturalized before 1882.[10]

Becoming an American citizen, in Wong's opinion, means participating in American politics and exerting political rights. In an 1884 speech urging Chinese members to attend to "this duty as citizens of this country," Wong notes the difference between exercising one's political right and not doing so:

> When you don't vote and don't wish to vote he denounces you as a reptile; the moment you appear at the ballot box you are a man and a brother and are treated (if you consort with such people) to cigars, whiskies, and beers. Why can't we make our marks in politics as well as any of our brother races? Why can't we become good and substantial citizens like those from England, Ireland, Germany, and other European and Asiatic and even African countries? ("The Chinaman Organizing" 3)

This passage could be read as the Chinese immigrants' Declaration of Independence in the nineteenth century. It is also an across lands example as Wong takes on the American forms of rhetoric while championing the rights of the Chinese. Despite the fact that the party was exclusively naturalized Chinese, it displayed a new political awareness of the necessity for the Chinese to participate in American politics. Calling other races "our brother races," Wong presents the Chinese on the historical stage in

relation to fraternity, hence enjoying equal political rights with other races. Wong does not define what "good and substantial citizens" are, but he refers to European immigrants, African immigrants, and other Asian immigrants (probably Japanese immigrants) for equal inclusion in the political arena. Ideally, Wong's "good and substantial citizens" are those who are endowed with political rights and would not be prohibited by unconstitutional legislation and regulation. This illustrates Wong's ability to express and believe in the uniquely American ideal of establishing a country from people from many lands.[11]

In an 1884 meeting[12] in New York, Wong's definition of Chinese American strategically applies to only a small group of naturalized Chinese, although he eventually argued for the recognition of all the Chinese in America in the *Appeal of the CERL* that protested the 1892 Geary Act. In his anti-Geary Act campaign, Wong identifies "we" as "the Chinese residents of the United States," claiming a "common manhood with residents of other nationalities" (2). He reiterates that the Chinese in America have adopted this country as their home. They love and admire the government. They are industrious, law-abiding taxpayers and honest people. He contends, "Character and fitness should be the requirement of all who are desirous of becoming citizens of the American Republic" (*Appeal of the CERL* 3).

Defending the Chinese from accusations against them, Wong writes, "Not that we are cowards, but because we believe that mildness and simplicity should be the controlling element in the character of a great man as well as in a great race of people" (3). Wong suggests that the Chinese characteristics of mildness and simplicity, for which they are frequently attacked, should make them eligible for citizenship. This is, again, an

across lands strategy that exchanges different perspectives in the hope of creating better citizens through infusing Chinese characteristics and American qualities. Wong revises his notion of what constitutes Chinese Americans in terms of residence in America, adoption of America as their home, and character and fitness, all of which should determine their eligibility for naturalization. His definition of Chinese American is not restricted to the naturalized Chinese any more, but refers to those Chinese in America who possess such qualities as would make them eligible for citizenship. Nevertheless, Wong's appeal to manhood, though it is used in terms of the franchise granted typically to men in the nineteenth century, excludes women.

Although Wong's argument in the 1892 appeal was still implicit, in a meeting in 1897 at Chicago's Central Music Hall where two hundred Chinese gathered, he explicitly called upon the U.S. Congress to grant Chinese immigrants of the country the right to citizenship and naturalization. The meeting declared that:

> We therefore pledge to the said league [the Chinese Equal Rights], and to said Wong Chin Foo [the president] our free, full and hearty cooperation in bringing about the successful accomplishment of the purposes of said league, and the restoration of the rights of said resident Chinese citizens to naturalization under the constitution of the United States. ("Chinese Ask for Rights" 1)

By borrowing the American rhetoric of democracy, Wong and the CERL demand the grant of equal rights to Chinese immigrants. Their argument illustrates an across lands negotiation of their identity in America. They contend that they have come across lands to America not to colonize or occupy the country, but like other immigrants to become

good citizens who can both believe in the American system of government while also retaining their positive Chinese cultural heritage. There are no threats of binary hostility but a promise of the ability to be flexible.

Wong's "heathen" Chinese claimed a new identity in American history. They were "brand-new Americanized Chinamen," "wholly of America, and cosmopolitan in nature" ("Wong Chin Foo Protests against Class Legislation" 8). Wong's Americanization movement worked within American democracy and further differentiated Chinese Americans from the truly "heathen" Chinese who did not recognize American politics and democracy. Wong describes the new American Chinese as those of "our countrymen who by long years of residence and by birth became American" and who did not "advocate Chinese immigration," nor "appeal for those Chinese who refused to recognize their country as their home and adopt the ways and habits of the people of this country" ("Wong Chin Foo Protests against Class Legislation" 8). Thus, Wong and his fellow American Chinese appealed to fellow Americans for equal rights. They claimed a double difference: as members of "the intelligent class of China" they were different from the coolie class, but they were also different from Americans while managing to find a strong and positive citizenship in the United States.

Wong's redefinition of "heathenism" indicates his attempt to infuse Chinese ideas with the American systems while basing it on American constitutional religion of a state Church, thus revising the criteria determining "character and fitness" that make immigrants eligible for naturalization and citizenship. Wong's recognition of "heathenism" as a desirable American value calls for the ending of the "outlaw" status of the Chinese. Their "becoming American citizens" in fact, illuminates their request for

recognition as well as their respectful recognition of America as a country they would like to be part of, especially represented in their fight for naturalization and citizenship. The new definition shows the double consciousness of being Chinese and being American could exist side by side, as indicated in Wong's ideal of infusing two worlds, which exemplifies the role of across lands strategy in helping Chinese immigrants negotiate their identity despite adversities during the Exclusion Era.

Chinese Prostitutes or Chinese Belles: Wong Chin Foo's Reinvention of Chinese Women in Late-Nineteenth-Century America

Wong Chin Foo's across lands strategy can be seen in his writings that revise not only the image of Ah Sin, but that of Chinese women who were depicted as whores and prostitutes corrupting American youth.[13] Although Wong's construction of Chinese Americans does not directly address Chinese women, a considerable number of his newspaper and journal articles are devoted to describing Chinese women and Chinese fashion with the purpose of revising the stereotype of Chinese women. By examining Wong's translated tale "Poh Yuin Ko, the Serpent-Princess" (1888) in relation to his project of reinventing Chinese women in late-nineteenth-century America, this section argues that Wong's proposal of infusing Chinese womanhood with American femininity continues his defense of "heathenism," which justifies Wong's project of including Chinese women in American systems.

Wong depicts two types of Chinese women in his writings: the lady of China, who was the daughter and wife of respectable families, and the "Celestial belle," who, differs from most traditional Chinese women, enjoying more freedom with her entrance

into the public forum. As Wong stated, his purpose in lecturing and writing was to correct the misjudgment by Americans of the intelligent classes in China. His portrayals of Chinese women often reflect the fashions and values of the same intelligent classes who represent Chinese morality and customs. In an article published in *Harper's Bazaar* in 1883, Wong proudly paints a picture of fashionable Chinese women ("Fashions in China" 524-5). Wong explains that the fashions of Chinese women enjoyed a history of thousands of years old, while those of Chinese men were only less than three hundred years, imposed on them by the Tartar conquerors, who established the Qing dynasty. Thus, Wong implies that Chinese women represent a more authentic Chinese civilization. Wong recalls the beautiful dresses worn by the fashionable ladies of China some fifteen hundred years ago, which represented the "very perfection of grace and modesty" ("Fashions in China" 525). Wong's emphasis on the long history of Chinese fashions and how Chinese women helped preserve that history in the particular context of Tartar conquest suggests an alternative way of looking at Chinese cultures. Instead of viewing them as stagnant and incapable of changes, a popular belief the anti-Chinese forces advertised, Wong insists that Chinese cultures are progressive and Chinese women play the vital role of preserving that culture.

Wong's Chinese ladies not only represent a long tradition and history in China, they also help stabilize the family structure, fulfilling the role of a nurturing mother and a supporting wife and companion. Chinese women are educated to develop their "domestic and philoprogenitive qualities" as well as their "spiritual and intellectual nature" ("The Family in China and America" 679). They even possess good business ability, according to Wong. Wong's picture of Chinese women of the intelligent classes goes beyond the

depiction of upper class women; rather, it extends to include any honest woman of China, who would become a "good house-wife, mother, and companion" ("The Family in China and America" 679).

Along with his realistic depiction of Chinese women, Wong presents a glamorous picture of "a Celestial belle," who defies the nineteenth-century derogatory portrait of Chinese women. Wong writes, "A Chinese belle is a curiosity to Chinamen as well as to Christians…. Belles in China are rare birds of rare plumage. No ordinary community can afford the luxury of possessing more than one or two such dazzling charmers" ("A Celestial Belle" 475). Hence, Wong revises the myth of the Chinese woman, making her unattainable rather than "sexually available," a stereotype of the Asian women perpetuated in nineteenth-century American society. Although a Chinese belle would still conform to Chinese patriarchal tradition, she is the only kind of woman in China who enjoys "a shadow of freedom" ("A Celestial Belle" 475). Wong concludes his introduction to "the beauty of the dominant nation of Asia" by providing a picture of an unattainable beauty. She is romantically beautiful, "adept in the language of the eyes, and through those silent windows can signal more persuasive arguments than fame with her hundred tongues" ("A Celestial Belle" 475). Wong's rendition of a Chinese belle subverts the popular discourse of virgin or whore, and complicates the perception of Chinese women in American society. Wong's translation of the tales of Chinese women is a further indicator of his project of reinventing Chinese women.

Wong published an interesting tale, "Poh Yuin Ko, the Serpent Princess," in *Cosmopolitan* in 1888. It resembles in some details John Keat's *Lamia* (1819), also a tale about a serpent lady. Wong claimed that he translated the serpent story from the original

Chinese tale, yet I argue that he rewrote or revised the story for his Western readers under the pretence of translation.[14] That Wong might be the author of "Poh Yuin Ko" instead of a translator is shown by two factors in the tale of the serpent lady. First, "Poh Yuin Ko," which is claimed by the author as an ancient tale in China, opens with a discussion of Darwinian theory. Darwin's theory has been used by the narrator to justify the sources of his tale, where animals could evolve to take the form of human bodies. The reference to Darwinism indicates the author's familiarity with western philosophy and theory, which is rarely seen in Chinese tales and legends written for a Chinese audience. Thus, Wong creates a new literary genre that melds two forms in the same way that an across lands perspective brings together two cultures through careful reconstruction. Additionally, Darwin's *On the Origin of Species* was not published until 1859, which denies the possibility of the theory in ancient Chinese tales. Second, in order to appeal to his audience the narrator remarks that the Chinese tales of animals could find their correspondence in the legends of werewolves and mermaids in the European traditions (180). It is an across lands strategy to reach his Western audience by structuring a frame of reference where both European traditions and Chinese customs are equally assigned their places, a tactic the original tale probably would not adopt.

The reason Wong assumed the persona of a translator rather than that of an author probably occurs because the role of a translator grants him more freedom in navigating between two cultures and worlds; he also gains a narrative distance that enables him to ignore criticism normally confronted by an author. The tale also obtains a universal epic across lands quality that would not be achieved if he had admitted he wrote it. In this sense, Wong's translations do not "merely provide raw cultural material to insert into an

existing mode of literary production" (Lomas 76); instead, he rewrote the Chinese tales to reflect his ideas of Chinese women and cultures.

Wong's translations are actually "tranculturations," which, according to Laura Lomas, provide "multidirectional interactions across the imperial divide in the space of an asymmetrical contact zone" (74). "Transculturation" demands the creation of an alternative worldview, a language and a technique with which to "decolonize, study, and revalue long standing submerged knowledge" (Lomas 76). Translation, in the context of Wong's activism for the Chinese in America, is already an across lands strategy to create alternative worldviews and mediate differences, which involve navigating both zones of the dominant and the subordinate with an acute awareness of the hegemonic power. "Across lands" experience reflected in Wong's translations indicates that his navigation between worlds and cultures is not always smooth and easy. He would confront the asymmetrical contact zones dominated by western ideologies and racial conceptualization, and his translation as transculturation demonstrates his effort to create alternative worldviews in which the colonized China and racialized Chinese women are reevaluated.

Poh Yuin Ko, the serpent lady, meets Whey Goon, the Chinese Lycius in Wong's tale, while Whey visits the family ancestors in the graves. Poh Yuin Ko invites Whey to visit her in order to fetch the umbrella he lends her, which Whey does the following day. Whey Goon falls in love with the fair lady and in a few days they are married. From there on, Whey lives a secret double life; during the day, he lives in his parents' house and at night he moves by magic to Poh Yuin Ko's palace. Their happy life lasts until the fortieth anniversary of their marriage when a grand banquet is given by Whey and his wife. During her whole life, which is perhaps thousands of years, Poh Yuin Ko has never

touched meat and fermented drink, but she succumbs to the hospitality of her friends and relatives and the ritual of a public feast. The horrible consequence is that she is "transformed by one transgression back to her original self—the great serpent of the Poh Yuin mountains" (190). Whey Goon follows his wife to the bedroom and witnesses the transformation, "gasp[ing] in fright and fall[ing] dead upon her body, awaking her to hideous motion" (190). The real tragedy is that one of their sons comes in and cuts off Poh Yuin Ko's tail with an ax, accusing the monster of killing his father. Badly wounded, Poh Yuin Ko shoots like an arrow to Poh Yuin Mountain. Whenever her memory of the lost tail torments her, she thrashes about in the mountain, causing the waters of the Great Yellow River to flood. The tale ends by explaining the origin of the erection of temples for Poh Yuin Ko along the Yellow River, where she is known as "The Short Tailed Goddess" (190).

Through his translation, Wong creates a different picture of Chinese woman for his middle-class American women.[15] That "Poh Yuin Ko" was reviewed as "the Chinese version of the fable of Lamia" suggests the editor's didactic purpose of publishing the exotic tale ("Periodicals" 476). The morality of Keats' *Lamia*, for Western women interested in domesticity, is that of the danger of seduction, which ends in the death of the scholar who succumbs to desire and sexuality and the disappearance of the seducer, Lamia. Wong thus follows ostensibly the formula of the consequences of seduction. Poh Yuin Ko, read as an allegory, represents the Chinese Other, that is, the stereotypical "contaminating" Chinese woman, whose seduction of American men and disturbance of the American family structure are already illustrated in popular racist cartoons and exclusionist narratives.

However, Wong's tale tactically creates a mystical figure, a powerful woman who subverts the stereotype of the submissive Chinese woman. Unlike Lamia who relies on a male god to grant her a human body (I.146-170), Poh Yuin Ko obtains her human shape as a reward for her living "ten thousand years of innocent and good life" (180). The virtue that rewards the serpent lady with a human body figuratively argues for the eligibility of Chinese women for American citizenship. Besides, Poh Yuin Ko's capability of metamorphosis into the shape of a beautiful lady suggests the possibility of changes, that is, the transformation of Chinese immigrants to American citizens (188). Furthermore, Poh Yuin Ko is "queen of her mountain," a serpent princess, which demonstrates her class status that further distinguishes her from "bad" Chinese women (188).

By presenting Poh Yuin Ko as a pious, supportive, self-sacrificing wife, Wong represents the serpent princess as a Chinese lady who preserves China's a long history and age-old traditions. Thus, she helps stabilize the family structure, and fulfill the role of a nurturing mother and a supportive wife and companion, which Wong emphasizes in his earlier periodical articles ("Fashions in China" 525; "The Family in China and America" 679). The infusion of Chinese characteristics into American systems, as illuminated in the allegory of Poh Yuin Ko, continues Wong's reconstruction of "heathenism." The failure of Poh Yuin Ko's "metamorphosis" symbolizes the failure to accept Poh Yuin Ko as who she is. The tale ends with the consequence of exclusion, which results in death, collapse of the family, and flood caused by the anger and pain of Poh Yuin Ko. The erection of the temple to appease Poh Yuin Ko further highlights

Wong's idea that a better country will be realized only through an across lands strategy, that is, through including the formerly excluded and criminalized Chinese women.

The transformation of a snake to a human can be read as a symbolic process of assimilation. Wong displays ambivalent attitudes towards issues of assimilation and naturalization in this tale. Manhood that is fundamental to Wong's claim of citizenship is perhaps only achieved at the expense of "cutting off the tail" of a Chinese body, a body that is feminized in the discourse of colonization and dominance. Hsu argues that Poh Yuin Ko "presents an allegory of failed assimilation and exogamy on the part of the serpent princess, as well as ambivalent miscegenation on the part of the son" (97). Depicted as non-human, Poh Yuin Ko is defined by what she lacks. Her primitivism and amorphousness make her body the site of "the *chora*," a term Julia Kristeva uses to describe the pre-Oedipal stage of the semiotic in opposition to the post-Oedipal world of the symbolic (*Revolution in Poetic Language* 26). The mystic body is racialized, waiting for interpretation, which can only be achieved through its metamorphosis into a legitimate human body, subjected to the normative laws and practices. Poh Yuin Ko, thus, could be read as a racialized Chinese female body that represents darkness, contamination, and seduction to American readers according to exclusionist discourse.

In order for her to be accepted, Poh Yuin Ko must take the legitimate form of a human body, that is, a body ruled by the regulatory laws such as the 1875 Page Law and the 1882 Exclusion Act. In this case, it is literally Poh Yuin Ko's "alien" Chinese body which institutionalized racist nineteenth-century laws had regulated, rejected, and abused. The tale of "Poh Yuin Ko" is analogous to the mediating across lands qualities the

Chinese take on when they come to America while not losing their Chinese identity, but the reality of exclusion and racial discrimination prevents "metamorphosis" at that time.

Wong's periodical writings and his translation concerning Chinese women exhibit his project of revising the image of Chinese women. As the issue of Chinese prostitution had become a "moral-sexual threat" in the debates on the exclusion of Chinese immigrants and accompanied the fear of the American suffragette, Wong's construction of Chinese womanhood had to address both the moral and sexual aspects of the issue in order to appeal to contemporary American gender ideologies (Kang 124). Distancing his protagonists from the industry of prostitution by giving them upper-class status, a supernatural form, or a position guarded by virtue, Wong hopes to present his portrayal of Chinese women as humans with sensibility and feelings rather than as aliens. Poh Yuin Ko's failed assimilation might be read in terms of the exclusion of Chinese women from American systems. However, Poh Yuin Ko's powerful anger and the fact that many temples have to be built in her name to appease her suggest the consequences of wronging and excluding Chinese women in American society, whose return might be as ferocious as Poh Yuin Ko's anger.

Wong Chin Foo's performance of Chinese Americanness manifests his across lands strategies. Wong's struggles for equal rights for Chinese immigrants are represented in his lectures, newspaper and magazine articles introducing Chinese culture and civilization. Wong's defense of "heathenism" subverts racial configurations that subjugated the Chinese by reassigning the values associated with civilization and barbarity; nevertheless, he confirms a hierarchical class structure that he brought with him from China and which fit well into American exclusionary policies towards the

lower-class Chinese immigrants. This conflict illustrates his across lands negotiation, for Americans were also conflicted as he so brilliantly points up. He revises his construction of the Chinese American at different times, differentiating naturalized Chinese Americans and Chinese residents who recognize American laws from the true "heathen" Chinese who refuse to settle down in the United States. By referring to and mastering the American rhetoric of democracy and equality, he constructs a group identity for Chinese immigrants that would embrace both American promises and retain the Chinese heritage. His "across lands" experiences and writings suggest both his compromise with the exclusionary policies and his strategic construction of a flexible identity that seeks recognition and inclusion in American society while maintaining a strong Chinese heritage.

Historical Context

Materialization of the Chinese Female Body in the Nineteenth Century

Throughout the nineteenth century, Chinese women were depicted in American newspapers and popular media as dependent and sexualized objects. Examining the perception of Chinese women in the nineteenth-century cartoons, this section discusses the changes of those stereotypes in the second half of the nineteenth century from perceiving Chinese women as aggressive to invariably passive sex slaves, which had been perpetuated through a series of exclusionary acts targeting Chinese immigrant women. This historical context informs my subsequent discussion of Edith Eaton's and Winnifred Eaton's revision of the image of "contaminating" Chinese women in the last chapter.

The earliest records of Chinese women in America go back to the mid-nineteenth century, when gold was discovered in California. The first documented Chinese woman in the U.S. was a servant who came to this country with her master's household in 1848. Her story can be found at the Trinity Episcopal Church in San Francisco where she was baptized (Ling, *Between Worlds* 10). The second recorded Chinese woman was a prostitute named Ah Choi, who arrived in San Francisco in late 1848 or early 1849. She charged one ounce of gold (then $16) for her services (Ling, *Between Worlds* 10). Through charting the history of the first two Chinese women in America, Amy Ling states that the servant and the prostitute exemplify "the stereotypes of the Chinese, or Asian, woman" (*Between Worlds* 10).

The depiction of the coming of Chinese women could be found as early as the January 30 issue of the *Harper's Weekly* in 1858, in which the depiction of aggressive Chinese women preceded that of invading Chinese men in the cartoon, "A Statue of Our

Harbor," published on November 11, 1881 in the *Wasp* (Choy et al 110). The cartoon in the *Harper's Weekly*, titled "Celestial Ladies," portrays the profiles of three Chinese women, with an old dowager leaning on an umbrella in the middle, accompanied by two young women, one carrying a scale in her hand and the other following the old woman. The cartoonist provides ethnographical details regarding their appearance. The most striking facial features are those women's protruding lips and their fierce eyes, which

Fig. 4. "Celestial Ladies." *Harper's Weekly* 30 Jan. 1858. 68. *The Coming Man: 19th-Century American Perceptions of the Chinese*. Eds. Philip P. Choy, Lorraine Dong, and Marlon K. Hom. Seattle: University of Washington Press, 1994.110.

seem to suggest both their racial features as well as their determinedness. From the way the cartoonist presents the "Celestial Ladies" with a scale and an umbrella, the picture might refer to the working-class Chinese women. This actually matches mid-nineteenth-century knowledge of the Chinese immigrants, who were mainly from the working class. The representation of "the Celestial Ladies" in terms of a group of aggressive women in

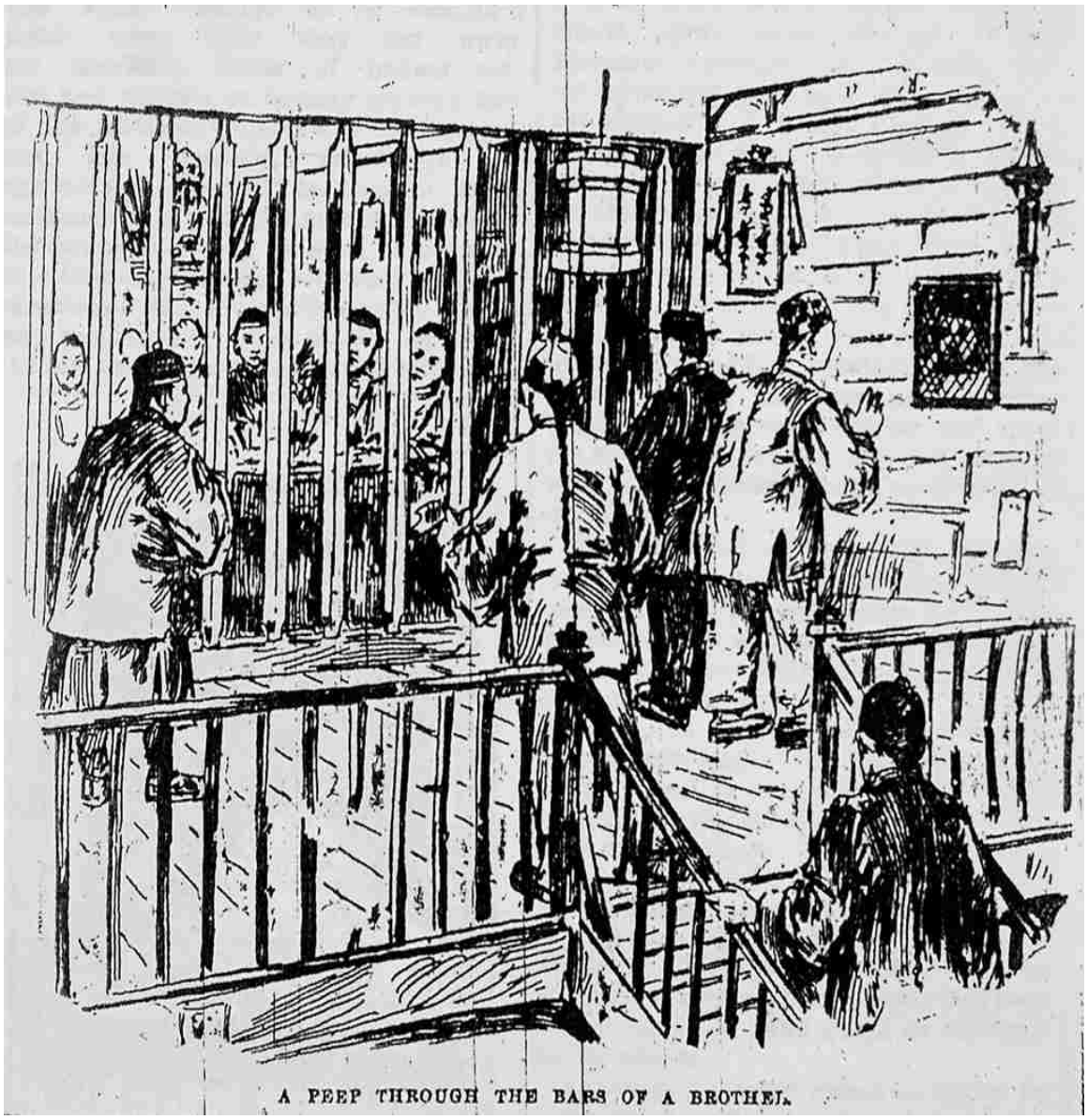

Fig. 5. "A Peep through the Bars of a Brothel." *Chinese Immigration Pamphlets 1855-93.* V3. 10. FILM F 870 C5P2 v.3. The Bancroft Library, University of California, Berkeley.

1858 would account for the later anxiety about the invasion of Chinese coolies in 1882, because these women were the mothers and wives of Chinese immigrants who flowed into this country in the second half of the nineteenth century.

By the late nineteenth century the image of Chinese slave girls and prostitutes replaced the picture of the aggressive Chinese women in the mid century. The San Francisco *The Morning Call* dated on February 22, 1880 published a column on "The City's Change," with a highlighted subtitle of "Chinatown Condemned by the Board of Health."[1] In a section discussing the life of the former Chinese slave girls, the editors provide two pictures illustrating the immorality of the Chinese brothels. One picture titled "A Peep through the Bars of a Brothel"[2] portrays a number of faceless Chinese prostitutes sitting behind the bars while Chinese men are examining them and negotiating the deal

Fig. 6. "At her Lattice." *Sunday Chronicle* 27 Oct. 1889. *Chinese Immigration Pamphlets, 1855-93*. FILM F 870 C5P2 v.3. The Bancroft Library, University of California, Berkeley.

with the pimp, who hides behind a dark window. The author of this piece even goes in detail in his discussion of three classes of slave pens where Chinese girls are held in bondage, which shows that the writer must have visited the pens in his anthropological project. Another picture within this article, entitled "A Converted Ex-Slave,"[3] shows a woman in Chinese traditional costume, seated to face the reader. There is a vague expression of meekness in her posture, which suggests the remnant of a previous immoral life.

By the end of the 1880s, the pervasive image of Chinese women had extended to include the Chinese merchants' wives, who, in the past, were meticulously differentiated from the "bad" Chinese women. *The San Francisco Chronicle* had a special issue on Chinese women, dated October 27, 1889, with a long but illuminating title "Chinese Women: They are All Merchants' Wives, but Treated as Mere Merchandise."[4] The cartoon, "At Her Lattice,"[5] is constructed in such a way as to suggest the association with a brothel. The picture shows a young Chinese girl against the barred window. Her face sits on her hands, and there is a look of eagerness in her eyes as if she longs for freedom out of the prison-like place. Another picture, entitled "A Chinese Lady," refers to merchant's wives, but she looks exactly like the ex-slave girl in "A Converted Ex-Slave" discussed above. The interview with Dr. Otis Gibsen included in this article confirms the practices of slavery business in Chinatown. Gibsen's assertion that "the women, as a general thing, are slaves" is supported by his familiarity with the topic. Within half a century, the image of Chinese women transformed from the aggressive alien forces to the submissive sexual slaves, even the once-privileged wives of merchants could not escape

the fate of sexual exploitation. The representative cartoons discussed above showcase the process of the stigmatization of the Chinese female bodies in the second half of the

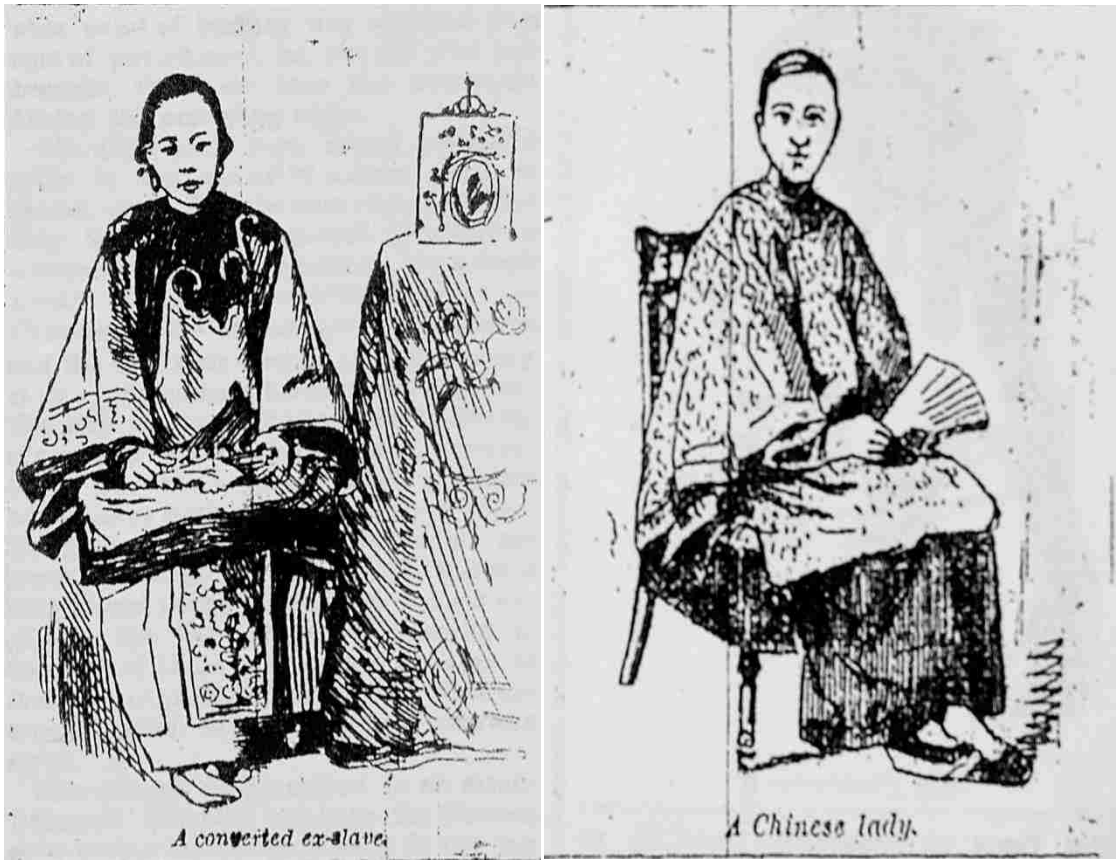

Fig. 7. Left: "A Converted Ex-Slave." *Chinese Immigration Pamphlets, 1855-93.* FILM F 870 C5P2 v.3. The Bancroft Library, University of California, Berkeley.
Fig. 8. Right: "A Chinese Lady." *Sunday Chronicle* 27 Oct. 1889. *Chinese Immigration Pamphlets, 1855-93*. FILM F 870 C5P2 v.3. The Bancroft Library, University of California, Berkeley.

nineteenth century.[6]

In response to the public sentimental perceptions of Chinese women, a series of laws and acts were enacted to regulate Chinese women and their bodies. For example, as early as 1854 San Francisco passed Ordinance No. 546, "To Suppress Houses of Ill-Fame within the City Limits," to close down brothels, but the police tried to close down mainly Mexican and Chinese brothels (Chan 97). Hostility and discrimination against Chinese women were made explicit with the passage of "An Act for the Suppression of Chinese

Houses of Ill Fame" in 1866 in California, where Chinese prostitutes were specifically targeted. The statute declared the presence of Chinese prostitutes "a public nuisance," made leases of real property to brothel operations invalid, and charged landlords "who allowed their properties to be so used with a misdemeanor that carried a maximum penalty of $500 or six months in jail" (Chan 97).

The 1866 act did not successfully end the traffic in Chinese women, though it limited the geographical areas of Chinese prostitutes. By 1870, the Anti-Prostitution Act in San Francisco literally subjected all women coming from China to the surveillance of the law. The 1870 act, "An Act to Prevent the Kidnapping and Importation of Mongolian, Chinese and Japanese Females, for Criminal or Demoralizing Purposes," actually anticipated the passage of the 1882 Exclusion Act. The Page Law of 1875, "An Act Supplementary to the Acts in Relation to Immigration," was the first federal immigration law and prohibited the entry of immigrants considered "undesirable." The law was named after Horace F. Page, who introduced it to "end the cheap Chinese labor and immoral Chinese women" (Peffer 28). In 1882 Congress passed the Chinese Exclusion Act, forbidding entry to all Chinese except five classes of people who were admitted in small regulated numbers: tourists, merchants, diplomats, students, and teachers. The law officially confirmed the inferiority and undesirability of the Chinese (Ling, *Between Worlds* 24).

IV

Mrs. Spring Fragrance and a Japanese Nightingale:

Passing and the Abject Body in Edith Eaton and Winnifred Eaton

In "The Inferior Woman" (1910), a short story by the half-Chinese writer Edith Eaton[1] (her Chinese penname Sui Sin Far), the protagonist Mrs. Spring Fragrance, a wife of a Chinese businessman, attempts to write a book about Americans for her Chinese friends. The story centers around Mrs. Spring Fragrance's book project, which comes out in the form of ethnographical reports about her arrogant neighbor Mrs. Carmen and how Mrs. Carmen accepts the self-educated white suffragist Alice Winthrop, the so-called "inferior woman" in the title, as her daughter-in-law. Rather than depicting Mrs. Spring Fragrance, a Chinese woman, as the "inferior woman" according to the racial reading of the time, Edith Eaton reverses the reader's expectation of an inferior woman by elevating Mrs. Spring Fragrance from an exotic object of the gaze into a subject of writing. Mrs. Spring Fragrance's ascension into the position of the subject suggests her passing, i.e., an act of transgression that allows her to cross identity boundaries that assign her in a liminal position. Such passing for a more favorable identity is even more obvious in the writings of Winnifred Eaton, Edith's younger sister, who adopted a Japanese pseudonym, Onoto Watanna, to assure a favorable acceptance of her Japanese tales. Winnifred's passing is not only reflected in her invented writing persona, but also shown in her novels, especially her autobiographical novel *Me: A Book of Remembrance* (1915), where her protagonist is often caught in a dilemma of being a mixed race woman and having to pass for a socially recognizable identity. In her strategic reconstruction of a desirable female

body, Winnifred Eaton exploits the differences between a contaminating Asian female body and a desirable mix-raced body to revise the tale of Madame Butterfly.

The Eaton sisters' different authorial strategies often led to their polarized receptions by later scholars seeking the pioneers of Asian American literature: while Edith Eaton's adoption of a Chinese identity has been valorized as a sign of her "integrity, courage, seriousness, and sincerity," Winnifred's disavowal of her mother's Chinese ethnicity and her adoption of a Japanese pen name have been read as "inauthentic, commodified pseudo-self-representation, and community sell-out" (Lim 82).[2] Such approaches tend to read the Eaton sisters as fixed and stable subjects. Thus critics equate the sisters' adoption of ethnic identities with the realization of political rights for Chinese immigrants at the turn of the twentieth century. Such a paradigm can hardly accommodate the Eaton sisters' hybrid subjectivity as both show characteristics of being "transnational and migratory" when they crossed the borders between the U.S. and Canada and moved from England to New York, Montreal, Jamaica, and to multiple U.S. cities. Although they adopted different attitudes toward China and Japan, they were both strangers to Anglo, Chinese, and Japanese communities. Their unfettered geographical mobility, together with their unfixed mixed-race identity, suggests, in Shirley Geok-lin Lim's words, "social, political, and territorial unfixity, with an uncentered, unstable, shifting, situational positionality" (83).

The Eaton sisters, then, exhibit what I call the across lands complexities. Across lands, in the case of the Eaton sisters, designates both their "situational positionality" that involves geographical movements and their navigation of social concepts, cultures, and conceptualization of race and ethnicity in negotiating identity. Thus, their adoption of

different authorial personas, an across lands strategy to negotiate identity by navigating different terrains and concepts, shows their strategic passing of the Asian female body through inventing new women figures that must be interpreted against the racialized picture of the "contaminating" Asian women. So, both Mrs. Spring Fragrance, whom Edith creates as an ideal Chinese lady, and the Japanese nightingale, whom Winnifred portrays against and alongside a myth of Madame Butterfly, can be read through an across lands strategy of passing the abject Asian female body for an acceptable or even desirable new body.

Their across lands strategy also involves their respective constructions of the mixed-race identity, another indicator of their crossing terrains in navigating concepts of race and ethnicity. Reading along the stereotype of the "tragic" Eurasian as either the unassimilable racial other or legitimate white colonial property,[3] both Edith and Winnifred could be understood as the abject, posing a threat to the purity of race. Their self-fashioning, either taking a Chinese persona or a Japanese one, should not be simply read in terms of authenticity or the reality of Asian immigrants, but be contextualized in a larger picture which mirrors the dilemma of negotiating positions for the mixed-race subjects at the turn of the century in North America. In this sense, their adoption or affirmation of ethnic identities, which concerns the writing self, is an act of passing in itself, which suggests the sisters' across lands strategy of performing race, ethnicity, and class in representing themselves as writing subjects. The double consciousness in their writings demonstrates their tactical navigations in the racial paradigms negotiating for acceptance in North America.

Applying Julia Kristeva's theory of abjection and Judith Butler's utilization of it, I examine how the Eaton sisters rewrite and revise the abject Asian female body by moving them out of the "unlivable" and into a status of "being a subject," that is, becoming less uninhabitable and unintelligible to their contemporary readers. The strategic passing in the Eaton sisters' texts exemplifies the sisters' effort to create a new image of Asian women through navigating terrains of race, gender, and ethnicity. Moreover, their construction of different authorial personas also demonstrates their determination to rewrite the mixed race body, redefining it in terms of a self-made person at the turn of the twentieth century in North America.

Passing and the Abject Body

In her *Powers of Horror: An Essay on Abjection* (1982), Julia Kristeva describes abjection as the ambivalent process of the subject formation in which elements that the self cannot assimilate are expelled, disavowed, and designated repugnant.[4] The abject, according to Kristeva, is the "in-between, the ambiguous, the composite" (4). The abject is the "cast out" that "disturbs identity, system, order" (4). Its status of being "cast out" contributes to its ambiguous relationship to the subject. In her *Bodies That Matter: On the Discursive Limits of "Sex"* (1993), Judith Butler references the apparatus of abjection to analyze and critique gendered social subjectification. Building upon Kristeva's theory, Butler moves further in explaining the relationship between the subject and the abject: "The abject designates here precisely those 'unlivable' zones of social life which are nevertheless densely populated by those who do not enjoy the status of the subject, but whose living under the sign of the 'unlivable' is required to circumscribe the domain of

the subject" (3). Like Kristeva, Butler reiterates that abjection suggests a degraded or cast out status, which appears not as the opposite of the accepted body, but as an "unlivable," "uninhabitable," and "unintelligible" body which rejects "the regulation of identificatory practices" (Butler, *Bodies That Matter* 3).

The history of expulsion of the Asian immigrant body attests to the immigrants' status of abjection. The immigrant body poses a particular kind of threat to the (literal and symbolic) "American" body. As Lisa Lowe points out, "In the last century and a half, the American citizen has been defined over against the Asian *immigrant*, legally, economically, and culturally" (4). The discourse of exclusion constructed a figurative "national body" that must be protected from contamination or infection by the contagion that the immigrant body represents (Shimakawa 8). The Asian immigrant body thus becomes the abject, which, in its process of seeking inclusion, only formulates Asian Americanness, but is constitutive of "Americanness" itself. It is part of the "American" body, yet has to be jettisoned to protect the figurative "national body." The accusation that Chinese immigrants were "unassimilable" perpetuates exclusionist discourse and circumscribes immigrants in the zones of the "unlivable," "unintelligible," and "uninhabitable."

The Asian female body, being perpetuated as the "contaminating" and "corrupting" by the popular media and regulated through ordinances, acts, and laws in the late nineteenth century, is the abject, whose exclusion precedes and underwrites the exclusionary discourse. The passage of the regulatory Ordinances and Acts in the 1850s,[5] 1860s,[6] and 1870s[7] confirmed the inferiority of the Chinese and anticipated the passage of 1882 Exclusion Act. In this chapter, I examine how the Eaton sisters revise the abject

Asian female body by transforming it from an amorphous object to an intelligible and inhabitable subject. Their across lands strategy is exemplified in their tactical passing of the Asian female body through appropriating and revising the "myth" of the submissive Asian women.

The examination of their family history reveals an across lands strategy. Edith Eaton and Winnifred Eaton were the daughters of an English father and a Chinese mother. Their father, Edward Eaton,[8] met his future wife Grace Trefusis in Shanghai, China, in the 1860s and married her. There is a mystery about Grace Trefusis' identity. Family legend had it that she was born in China and found in a circus after her parents, circus performers, died, and was later adopted by an English missionary couple who brought her to England and raised her with English manners. She returned as a missionary to Shanghai only to meet and marry Edward Eaton, who brought her back to England after marriage (White-Parks 12). White-Parks points out that her maiden name, Trefusis, provides "a core of identity across cultural shifts" (White-Parks 10). Thus, Grace Trefusis is a woman with an across lands identity in nineteenth-century Britain and China, which must have affected her family and children. Both Annette White-Parks and Shirley Geok-lin Lim suspect that Grace Trefusis' name suggests her mixed race parentage, but no family record supports this (White-Parks 10; Lim 82).

Being an immigrant woman in Europe and North America, Grace Trefusis Eaton exhibits her sense of across lands by constructing a double identity which addresses both her Victorian audience and her Chinese heritage. For example, Grace Trefusis Eaton was referred to familiarly at home as Lotus Blossom while she signed her public documents with her Western name (White-Parks 10). This means that she probably encouraged the

family to recognize her Chinese identity at home but performed a Victorian identity in public. Another example of her performance of a dual identity is shown in a photo included in White-Parks' biography of Edith Eaton, in which Grace Trefusis Eaton is dressed in a Victorian gown with a bustle, standing sideways with a book (probably the Bible) in her hand (11).[9] Grace Eaton was described by Edith as "English bred, with British ways and manners of dress," but she sang Chinese songs and told Chinese stories to her children at home ("Leaves from the Mental Portfolio of an Eurasian" 219). So the

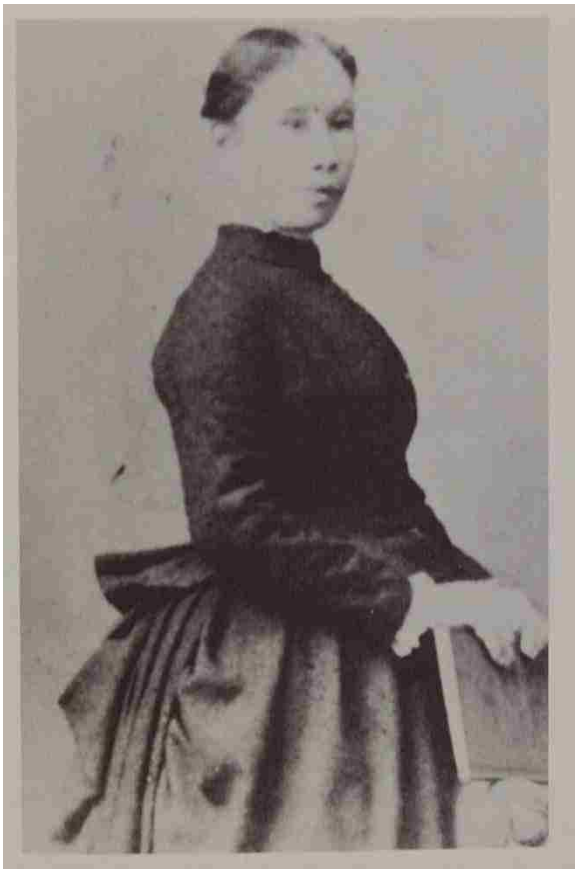

Fig. 9. "Lotus Blossom." *Sui Sin Far/ Edith Maude Eaton: A Literary Biography*. Annette White-Parks. 11.

British "costume" and the Chinese face in the photo form a paradoxical identity that indicates the crossing of boundaries, hence making Grace Eaton confusing to Victorian restrictive racial reading. The confusion of the names and identity with Grace Trefusis foregrounds across lands strategies inherited in the children of the Eaton family.[10]

Edith Eaton was born on 15 March 1865 in County of Chester, Macclesfield, England.[11] When she was six, the Eatons left Macclesfield and migrated to the United States, living briefly in Hudson, New York before settling down in Montreal, Canada in 1872 or 1873. Winnifred Eaton[12] was born on 21 August 1875 in Montreal. Both Edith and Winnifred Eaton worked as stenographers and typewriters in Montreal, and then moved to Jamaica, the West Indies, for a brief period of time, before they migrated to different cities in the U.S. Edith started publishing short stories and essays emphasizing the love adventures of European Canadian women in the *Dominion Illustrated* in 1888-89, but her pseudonyms "Sweet Sin," "Sui Seen Far," and "Sui Sin Far" did not appear until she published short stories in 1896 and 1897 about Chinese women and Chinese life in *Land of Sunshine*, a magazine edited by Charles Lummis in southern California (White-Parks 27, 85). The history of Edith Eaton's pennames indicates her across lands strategy of navigating the American literary market while seeking her place in the world.[13]

Following her sister's footsteps, Winnifred Eaton left home at the age of seventeen to work as a stenographer for a Canadian newspaper in Kingston, Jamaica, briefly before she moved to Chicago. Her first novel, *Miss Numè of Japan* (1899), was published under the pseudonym Onoto Watanna, and was well received by the critical establishment. Her second novel, *A Japanese Nightingale* (1901), established her as a literary phenomenon (Ihara 466).[14] Her Japanese tales seemed to reinforce a pervasive trope in tales of East-West encounter perpetuated through Pierre Loti's *Madame Chrysanthème* (1887) and John Luther Long's *Madame Butterfly* (1898). But her Japanese romances are different from the tradition of "Oriental writing" in that she slightly revises the theme of encounter by creating across lands figures, racially

ambiguous "Japanese" girls such as Yuki in *A Japanese Nightingale*, Hyacinth in *The Heart of Hyacinth* (1903), and Nora in her autobiographical novel, *Me: A Book of Remembrance* (1915), in which the "blued-eyed Asian" becomes a self-made woman at the turn of the century in North America.

Both Edith Eaton's invention of Mrs. Spring Fragrance and Winnifred's revision of Madame Butterfly reflect their attempts to create "a more acceptable identity" to defend "the rejection of devaluation of the biological self" (Ling, "Creating One's Self" 316). The biological self Amy Ling refers to is not only the Chinese body excluded by anti-Chinese acts and regulations, but the Japanese body that was later equally excluded by immigration laws. More importantly, the biological self in the case of the Eaton sisters points to a hybrid body, an Eurasian body that could both pass as white and ethnically Asian, thus problematizing a discourse that sanctions political restriction and racialization of the Other.

Passing in the Eaton sisters' writings illustrates their across lands strategies of crossing boundaries that assigned Asian women the essentialized identity in late-nineteenth-century and early-twentieth-century America.[15] There are two kinds of passing in the Eaton sisters' works: the passing of their characters for more acceptable identities that still operate within the constraints of identity politics but with much more freedom, and the passing of authors as ethnic figures who utilize the literary market of the time. Meanwhile, that passing is uneven and unstable, which ultimately helps establish an identity of a New Woman which was in alignment with the notion of the self-made person at the turn of the century. Neither writer fits the binary of racial passing; that is, passing for white or passing for "yellow." My use of passing does not invoke erasure or

denial of one identity to identify with the other; instead, passing discussed in this chapter involves revising the abject body which is formerly rejected to make it visible, recognizable, and even desirable. Passing, in this sense, illustrates an across lands strategy of creating and establishing "an alternative set of narratives" (Schlossberg 4), which wreaks havoc with "accepted systems of social recognition and cultural intelligibility" and blurs the "carefully marked lines of race, gender, and class, calling attention to the ways in which identity categories intersect, overlap, construct, and deconstruct one another" (Schlossberg 2).

Mrs. Spring Fragrance's Americanization and Passing

The exclusionist acts and laws in the nineteenth century served to subjugate Chinese women's bodies to "coherent" discourses on the construction of the abject. Chinese women, as well as Japanese women, became literally and figuratively "undesirable" and "contaminating". These laws,[16] together with the more private social codes, in part, frame the Eatons' articulations of Asian American feminine subjectivity. In addressing the construction of the female body in Edith Eaton and Winnifred Eaton's texts, I first examine how Mrs. Spring Fragrance successfully escapes the fate of a racialized Chinese woman. Mrs. Spring Fragrance's textual passing informs my subsequent discussion of how Winnifred Eaton deliberately constructs her characters as well as her persona in terms of a new Asian female body that is transformed from a stigmatized body to a "coherent" and acceptable Asian female body in her texts.

Edith Eaton's historical self is closely associated with anti-Chinese sentiments in late-nineteenth-century North America. Her family's emigration from Great Britain to

North America reflected the racial tensions in the Old World. Her childhood experiences with racism are seen in her autobiographical essay, "Leaves from the Mental Portfolio of An Eurasian" (1909),[17] in which she recalls how her nurse whispers to "another of her kind" that Eaton's mother is Chinese, and this word confuses her. She goes home and tells her mother of the episode, but the nurse responds that "Little Miss Sui is a story-teller" (218). Her mother slaps her (218). In the first encounter with her Chinese identity, Eaton is accused of being a liar and a storyteller and consequently is punished. In another scene, Eaton is beckoned by the hostess at a party to be examined by "a white haired old man," and Edith recalls his patriarchal racial gaze: "He adjusts his eyeglasses and surveys me critically. 'Ah, indeed!' he exclaims, 'Who would have thought it at first glance. Yet now I see the difference between her and other children. What a particular coloring! Her mother's eyes and hair and her father's features, I presume. Very interesting little creature!' ("Leaves" 219)"

The old man's objectifying curiosity clearly indicates what Omi and Winant call the nineteenth-century interest in "amateur biology" (62). Omi and Winant discuss "amateur biology" in relation to racial identity formation, asserting that "Differences in skin color and other obvious physical characteristics supposedly provide visible clues to differences lurking underneath. Temperament, sexuality, intelligence, athletic ability, aesthetic preferences and so on are presumed to be fixed and discernible from the palpable mark of race" (62-3). Edith Eaton, early in her formation under the examining gaze of amateur racial biology, had historically determined her writing self's identification with her Chinese part. After a fight with children on the street who called her and her brother "Chinky, Chinaman, yellow-face, pig-tail, rat-eater," Edith declares

her affinity with her mother's people: "the white blood in our veins fights valiantly for the Chinese half of us" ("Leaves" 219).

Edith Eaton's adoption of her authorial persona illustrates her across lands strategy of negotiating identity in late-nineteenth-century North America. The "sin," that is, being a mixed race child, is defended in her pseudonym "Sweet Sin," which she used around 1896 (White-Parks 27). The word "sweet" suggests Edith's defense of her parents' mixed race marriage and children being the fruits of that sweet "sin." Moreover, the "sin" is also associated with Ah Sin's "sin" of being the racial Other in American society. She probably read Bret Harte's "Plain Language from the Truthful James" and responded to it by deliberately putting that "sin" in her pen name.[18] The change of her pen name from "Sui Seen Far" to "Sui Sin Far" (which she adopted in 1897) illustrates her transformation from an author with insight to a spokesperson of the Chinese in North America. Her construction of her authorial persona vis-à-vis anti-Chinese sentiment attests to her across lands strategy that challenges the norms and racial construction by reversing the values associated with the underprivileged Chinese and the exclusionists. Lastly, Sui Sin Far means narcissus in Chinese, a favorite flower of Chinese families. The claim that her "white blood" will defend the Chinese half implies the privilege of the white self is achieved at the expense of the passive Chinese half. The adoption of a Chinese identity in her pen name, nevertheless, indicates an across lands strategy of merging her "white" blood and Chinese half through creating an alternative identity.

The invention of Mrs. Spring Fragrance in Sui Sin Far's short stories underscores her project of revising the image of Chinese women by rewriting the abject body. What Mrs. Spring Fragrance experiences, in the dilemma between assimilation and exclusion,

is representative of how ethnic minority have been constructed in this country during this period. Unlike her author, Mrs. Spring Fragrance is fully Chinese and moves to this country as a photo bride.[19] Mr. Spring Fragrance falls in love with her picture before he ever sees her; and reciprocally, she with him ("Mrs. Spring Fragrance" 25). Mrs. Spring Fragrance, both as a textual body and a physical body, seems to provide a happy solution to the problem of the "Chinese Bachelor Society."[20]

Sui Sin Far's construction of Mrs. Spring Fragrance strategically follows a traditional formula of the image of Chinese women. Mrs. Spring Fragrance comes to the U.S. as a merchant's wife, one of the exempt classes, which distinguishes her from other "suspicious" Chinese women barred from entering this country. However, as an imported bride, she still represents the abject. She might look exactly like the merchant's wife in the picture "A Chinese Lady" published in *The Sunday Chronicle* in California in 1889, who resembles the once-immoral-but-now-converted Chinese woman in "A Converted Ex-Slave." Both women in the pictures are dressed in traditional Chinese costume, with a fan in their hands and their bound feet shown in front of the reader,[21] which are characteristic of the exoticized Chinese women in the late nineteenth century. Similarly, Mrs. Spring Fragrance also wears the traditional Chinese costume, as she tells her neighbor Will Carmen: "When I first came to America, my husband desired me to wear the American dress. I protested and declared that never would I so appear" ("The Inferior Woman" 30). And a fan and a pink parasol are characteristic of Mrs. Spring Fragrance. She is described to "spread wide her fan and gaze thoughtfully over its silver edge" while she talks ("The Inferior Woman" 30). Her pink parasol is the indicator of her visit to Miss Evebrook, the "Superior Woman" that Will Carmen's mother likes in "The Inferior

Woman." In this way, Edith Eaton strategically presents Mrs. Spring Fragrance as a "true" Chinese lady by utilizing the racial imagination of the exotic.

However, the representation of Mrs. Spring Fragrance's Chineseness in accordance with the depiction of the abject shows Edith Eaton's appropriation of racial categorization, which enables her to rewrite a new image of Chinese women through Mrs. Spring Fragrance's passing as a true Chinese lady. There are two interpretations of a "true" Chinese lady. First, the "true" picture of Mrs. Spring Fragrance presented through a formula of Chinese costume, a fan, and a parasol conforms to the public's imagination of a "Celestial lady," which was spread through cartoons such as "A Chinese Lady" and "A Converted Ex-Slave." The second kind of "true" Chinese woman embodied in a reformed body of Mrs. Spring Fragrance is Edith Eaton's rewriting of the abject body, which has purged the formerly "contaminating" elements associated with brothels, venereal disease, and being unassimilable and has been "reformed" by American dress, fluent English, poetry reading, rejection of arranged marriages, and most importantly, writing a book on Americans. Put another way, the first kind of "true" picture of Mrs. Spring Fragrance is the abject, because she, along with many other Chinese female immigrants, is pre-configured in the discourse of exclusion and has to be expelled to protect the figurative "national body." The second kind of "true" Chinese woman is still the abject, because its full inclusion (inclusion through citizenship) is impossible in the Exclusionary Era. However, the second image appeals to Edith Eaton's contemporary middle-class white women readers because it shows Mrs. Spring Fragrance as an Americanized Chinese woman. The secret of Mrs. Spring Fragrance's passing lies in her

performance of a-still-abject-but-closer-to-subject body, a body that is no longer "unintelligible."

Edith Eaton rewrites the body of the "contaminating" Chinese prostitutes and presents Mrs. Spring Fragrance in terms of a "civilized" image of a Chinese woman. Mrs. Spring Fragrance, as a malleable subject doubly subjugated to Chinese patriarchy and American racism, seems to accept assimilation happily. She is Americanized, at least to appearances. Her Americanization is displayed in her adoption of American dress, her study of English, and her love for English poetry, even though she mistakenly believes that Tennyson was American. When she first arrives at Seattle, she does not speak any English. Five years later, her husband proudly announces, "There are no more American words for her learning" ("Mrs. Spring Fragrance" 17). One of his business acquaintances (probably Chinese), after having a conversation with her, even remarks, "She is just like an American woman" ("Mrs. Spring Fragrance" 24). The American dress Mrs. Spring Fragrance resists so much at first she now wears and adores dearly ("The Inferior Woman" 30). Mrs. Spring Fragrance's Americanization is also represented in her reciting two lines from Tennyson's "In Memoriam A. H. H.": "'Tis better to have loved and lost, than never to have loved at all."

The story appeals to the formula of romantic comedy readers are familiar with, in which a couple misunderstands each other, but in the end the misunderstanding will be explained and everything ends well. In "Mrs. Spring Fragrance," the misunderstanding between the couple is constituted by Mrs. Spring Fragrance's Americanization. On the one hand, Mr. Spring Fragrance is proud of his wife's Americanization; on the other hand, overhearing his wife's recital of Tennyson's poem makes him wonder if his wife is truly

becoming an American woman; he wonders, "Would it not be possible for her to love as an American woman?" ("Mrs. Spring Fragrance" 24) His worry is foregrounded because his wife comes to him as a picture bride and their marriage is not a result of love. What underlines Mr. Spring Fragrance's anxiety here is, roughly interpreted, the meaning of Chineseness vis-à-vis Americanness.

Edith Eaton constructs Mrs. Spring Fragrance as a new Chinese woman through juxtaposing her Americanization with her husband's. Mr. Spring Fragrance is also an across lands figure like his wife. He is both "conservatively Chinese" and "Americanized" as the story starts with his double identity: "Though conservatively Chinese in many respects, he was at the same time what is called by the Westerners, 'Americanized,'" and his wife is even more "Americanized" ("Mrs. Spring Fragrance" 17). He is like his Chinese businessmen friends who observe Chinese traditions and emphasize "the ideals of their Chinese forefathers" ("Mrs. Spring Fragrance" 17). That Mr. Spring Fragrance's Americanization is recognized by "the Westerners" suggests his conscious construction of Americanness in the public sphere. His Americanization designates probably the purging of the characteristics of Ah Sin, the stereotypical "heathen Chinee." He has a decent job, belonging to the exempt class.[22] He pays his taxes. He intends to stay in America. And most importantly, he is assimilable. However, his Chinese part, which belongs to the sphere of the private, for it is enacted in the home, seems to challenge the stability of his Americanization. And this challenge, coming from his more "Americanized" wife, implies the problematic and divergent interpretations of Americanization.

The hierarchy of levels of Americanization in the Spring Fragrances indicates that the wife's "fuller" Americanization is achieved through challenging the husband's position in the family as well as the patriarchal practices in the community. Mrs. Spring Fragrance's Americanization is first gauged in comparison to her husband's Americanization, which is illuminated in the episode of misunderstanding Tennyson's poem. Moreover, the plot to help a Chinese girl break a traditionally arranged marriage is a marker of Mrs. Spring Fragrance's more extensive "Americanization," which shows that her more "civilized" American side goes against her "traditional" Chinese side.

However, there is a double consciousness in Mrs. Spring Fragrance: although she is a Chinese woman who enjoys agency to travel and disrupt the Chinese patriarchal structure, she is well aware of her husband's position at home and hence is able to maintain a happy family life. The story ends with Mrs. Spring Fragrance returning to her husband. Mrs. Spring Fragrance's intervention in Laura's marriage, after all, won't affect her arranged marriage with Mr. Spring Fragrance. Mr. Spring Fragrance's anxiety is assuaged and the balance of home is regained through his symbolic "vouchsafing" a jadestone pendant on his wife at the end of the story. This can be viewed as Mrs. Spring Fragrance's strategic passing at home, another across lands strategy she employs to reconcile her consciousness of being Chinese, American, and a woman. It is tactically achieved under her persona as a "loving and obedient woman," which she often signs at the end of the letters to her husband. The act of signing helps pacify her husband to maintain his pride as the head of the family, but it also serves Mrs. Spring Fragrance's goal of subverting the patriarchal power of her husband. Under the disguise of an "obedient" wife, Mrs. Spring Fragrance is thus presented as a powerful figure who enjoys

travelling, breaking the patriarchal practices of the Chinese community, and writing a book about Americans. Her husband sits at home and has smoking parties, so his agency is reduced. He is further emasculated, even to the point of losing his name, when he becomes Mr. Spring Fragrance.

Mrs. Spring Fragrance's Americanization is further underscored through her project of writing, which symbolically reverses the racial gaze and produces "a counter-narrative" in which "the frontiers of a humanized community are imagined" (Peterson and Wendland 166). In "The Inferior Woman," Mrs. Spring Fragrance takes the role of an anthropologist, using techniques such as eavesdropping, interviews with subjects, analysis of documents, and translation to collect data for her book on Americans. It is quite arguable how "scientific" Mrs. Spring Fragrance's ethnographical and anthropological project is, especially since she is under the instructions of Mr. Spring Fragrance. But her question, "Many American women wrote books. Why should not a Chinese?" justifies her motive to write a book on "interesting and mysterious" Americans ("The Inferior Woman" 28). Peterson and Wendland argue that Mrs. Spring Fragrance's ethnographic task becomes her "writing back" by forcing the Americans to occupy the space of the "native" (168). By presenting a Chinese woman who is capable of ethnographical and anthropological writing, Edith Eaton manages to revise the abject Asian female body, elevating it to a writing subject who enjoys ethnography privileges that are usually awarded to whites and men.[23]

Edith Eaton's textual strategy of uplifting Mrs. Spring Fragrance to the status of a wife of a merchant sets the foundation for her project of rewriting the degraded Chinese female body. However, Mrs. Spring Fragrance cannot appear textually as a single woman

arriving in Seattle. She would be immediately subjected to detention upon landing in the United States, as were the Chinese women in "The Case of the Twenty-Two Chinese Women" who landed San Francisco in 1874.[24] Read in the context of the imaginary Chinese female body, Mrs. Spring Fragrance would have been rejected entry into the United States, as well as denied her textual existence, even though she has acquired (again through the authorial intervention) the respectable status of a merchant's wife. She barely escapes being read according to the stereotypes of Chinese servant-slaves and the indentured sexual slaves in the American pornography industries. Her ideal fictive existence contrasts with the racialized historical configuration of Chinese women during this period. She is caught in the limbo of contradictory narratives and social discourses in American society. So, a Chinese woman of Edith Eaton's time could not really write a book about Americans. Mrs. Spring Fragrance exists only through her textual passing from a stigmatized female body into an assimilated subject.

Although Mrs. Spring Fragrance's questionable Americanization shows the discrepancy between the historical configuration of the Chinese female body and Edith Eaton's construction of an ideal Chinese woman, it illustrates Edith Eaton's across lands strategy of rewriting the "contaminating" Chinese female body. She creates an across lands figure, which is both American and Chinese. The double consciousness of being American and Chinese does not result in the erasure of either identity, because each exists in relation to the other. Mrs. Spring Fragrance's Americanization is represented not only in the exterior changes but also in her challenging the patriarchal structure both at home and in the community, which hence establishes her as a "truer" Chinese woman different from the stereotype of Chinese women of the time.

Mrs. Spring Fragrance's book project is her negotiation of Chineseness and Americanness: by venturing to do what many American women do, that is, writing books, Mrs. Spring Fragrance asserts her right to be an equal citizen and a new woman who enjoys her undeniable rights to participate in American life. Her insight offered from the perspective of a Chinese "ethnographer" eventually helps her white neighbor see the prejudice against the "inferior woman." She compares the situation of her husband with that of the "inferior woman" and questions her neighbor Mrs. Mary Carmen: "You are so good as to admire my husband because he is what the Americans call 'a man who has made himself.' Why then do you not admire the Inferior Woman who is a woman who has made herself?" (39). Mrs. Spring Fragrance's defense of the "inferior woman" is based on the acceptable model of a Chinese self-made man, which reinstates the foundation of values and morality that read against the exclusionary discourse. Furthermore, that the understanding of true American value and identity (represented in the "inferior woman" ostensibly) is achieved through Chinese perspective and insight illustrates the necessity of infusing Chinese characteristics with American identity. Mrs. Spring Fragrance is, thus, an across lands figure who is able to bridge different worlds.

The construction of Mrs. Spring Fragrance as an across lands figure also shows Edith Eaton's effort to reconcile her split identity of a mixed race writer. She was keenly aware of "every shade of sorrow and suffering" that "it [was] almost a pain to live" ("Leaves" 221). As a child she asks, "Why are we what we are? I and my brothers and sisters. Why did God make us to be hooted and stared at? Papa is English, mamma is Chinese. Why couldn't we have been either one thing or the other?" ("Leaves" 221-2) However, she does not choose one identity over the other. Her strategy is to be both. She

puts her mother's "sin" in her writing identity; her "white" blood vehemently defends her Chinese half. As shown in Mrs. Spring Fragrance's case, both Chineseness and Americanness are needed to make it a better world. Edith Eaton lives in both lands, for she admits, "So I roam backward and forward across the continent. When I am East, my heart is West. When I am West, my heart is East" ("Leaves" 230). The "lands" here refers to not only geographical areas, but terrains of different concepts, practices, customs, cultures, and ideologies. She describes herself as a "connecting link," an across lands writer who offers new insights into our perception of the world: "I give my right hand to the Occidentals and my left to the Orientals, hoping that between them they will not utterly destroy the insignificant 'connecting link'" ("Leaves" 230).

Appropriating the Myth of Madame Butterfly

When Edith Eaton died in 1914, her obituary in the *New York Times* declared that the "author known in the East as Sui Sin Far, the 'Chinese Lily,'" was the daughter of "a Japanese noblewoman who had been adopted by Sir Hugh Matheson as a child and educated in England" ("Edith Eaton Dead"). The article also mentioned that "one of Miss Eaton's sisters, Mrs. Bertram W. Babcok of New York, is an author writing under the pen name of 'Onoto Watanna'" (White-Parks 50). Annette White-Parks, the biographer of Edith Eaton, suspects that the obituary was probably penned by Winnifred Eaton. This act of reinventing a family history through literally rewriting Edith Eaton's body is condemned by some critics as "deception" (Amy Ling) and "legitimizing family history" (S. E. Solberg). The appropriation of her late sister's body to construct her own "body" indicates Winnifred's awareness of the interpellation of the Chinese body through

regulatory modalities in the society in terms of race and women's writing. In her writings, she invents a more favorable Asian female body through exploiting the racial hierarchy.

Winnifred's invention of the desirable Japanese woman, especially in comparison with the "contaminating" Chinese female body, resonates with the myth of Madame Butterfly, who has acquired a materialized body through the colonizer's fantasy of the Orient. Winnifred's construction of a marketable Japanese female body should not be simply read as literary chameleonism or tricksterism (Ling, "Winnifred Eaton: Ethnic Chameleon and Popular Success" 6); rather, it should be read in terms of her performance of race, ethnicity, and gender at the turn of the twentieth century. In this section, two of Winnifred's books will be examined in light of the myth of Madame Butterfly: *A Japanese Nightingale* (1901) and *Me: A Book of Remembrance* (1915). The romance of the interracial marriage or love affair in these books show Winnifred's construction of a blue-eyed and dark-haired woman as her across lands strategic performance of race, gender, and class in the first two decades of twentieth-century North America.

Japanese identity seemed more favorable than the "unassimilable" Chinese in the late nineteenth and early-twentieth century. Many books on the history of Japanese immigrants in the late nineteenth century express regret that Japanese immigrants were "unfortunately" affected by anti-Chinese agitations.[25] While China became a metonym of opium through its defeat in the two Opium Wars, Japan was reforming itself under the reign of the Meiji Emperor. Then two wars, the Sino-Japan War in 1894 and the Russo-Japanese War in 1904-1905, established Japan first as a regional power and then an imperial power that participated with western countries in the colonial conquest of China. Most of Winnifred's novels reflect these sentiments, hailing Japan as a mysterious noble

land while China had degenerated into a land of opium. Japaneseness becomes even a desired quality in some of Winnifred's novels.[26] The adoption of a Japanese persona, for Winnifred Eaton, is her across lands strategy to maximize the market profit as well as minimize the possible negative reception brought by associating with "contaminating" Chinese women. It shows her ability to fashion herself through utilizing Orientalism.

Another major difference between perceptions of Chinese women and Japanese women in the late-nineteenth century was the stigmatization of Chinese women as prostitutes by popular magazines and newspaper reports of "notorious" rescues by missionaries.[27] Compared with suspicious single Chinese women, Japanese women were presented mostly as married wives joining their husbands in the U.S. The 1907 Japan-U.S. "Gentleman's Agreement" restricted Japanese immigration to the U.S. but allowed married Japanese women to join their husbands in America (Tyner 58). As Eithna Luibheid contends, married women were considered "much more desirable as immigrants," because their sexuality was not deemed "threatening" and they "fit into state- and nation-building strategies" (qtd. in Tyner 58). Both Chinese and Japanese immigration politics and favoritism of Japanese women as married wives over racist portrayals of Chinese "prostitutes" provide material foundations for Winnifred Eaton's construction of favorable Japanese women in her novels.

Winnifred's first novel *Miss Numé of Japan* (1899) initiated her theme of a romance between the white man and the Japanese woman. Although *Miss Numé of Japan* explores the myth of Japanese-American romance, it was not until the publication of her second novel *A Japanese Nightingale* (1901) that she achieved a great success through rewriting the myth of Madame Butterfly. *A Japanese Nightingale* tells a romance

between Yuki, a blue-eyed Japanese girl, and Jack Bigelow, an American who travels to Japan and "marries" a Japanese girl as his companion and "wife" according to the practices of the time.[28] *A Japanese Nightingale* has all the essential elements of Winnifred's Oriental stories: the exotic Japanese setting, the melodrama of love affairs, romances between the blonde and the dark-haired Oriental, the tragic ending of a romance, and the pidgin Japanese English. It's significant to note that these Oriental tales of the romance between an Anglo male and a Japanese woman is always blessed with marriage while the romance between a Japanese man and an Anglo female is cursed with death and the remorse on the part of the woman. The sanction of the romance between the white man and the Oriental woman catered to readers who were already familiar with nineteenth-century narratives about the exotic Japan.

The myth of the subjected Orient to the Western superiority set the paradigm for the encounter between the West and the East beginning in the nineteenth century. Such a myth is represented in the archetypal myth of Madame Butterfly, which could be traced back to a series of nineteenth century writers who populated and helped construct the myth, such as Pierre Loti, Lafacadio Hearn, and John Luther Long. Pierre Loti's *Madame Chrysanthemum* (1887) perpetuates Western imperial notions of Japan as an eroticized Other in the symbolic commercial pact between Loti and O-Kiku. After Loti, Lafcadio Hearn[29] was one of the most influential champions of the exotic Japan in the late-nineteenth century. A story titled "Kimiko" in Hearn's *Out of the East* (1895) strikes the readers with its similarity to the plot of Winnifred's *A Japanese Nightingale*. "Kimiko" tells a story of a samurai woman who becomes a geisha in order to support her mother and little sister.[30] John Luther Long's "Madam Butterfly" (1898) further popularizes "a

temporary contract of concubinage between an American sojourner in Japan and a Japanese woman" (Honey and Cole 4). The stage performance of a Japanese romance through Giacomo Puccini's opera *Madame Butterfly* in 1904 dramatized the encounter of the West and the East and incarnated Japan in the body of Madame Butterfly. Winnifred Eaton exploited the rich mine of the myth and rewrote it through adding the interracial element to represent the predicament of the mixed race experience.

Like the Chinese women who were subject to social, legal, and moral surveillance in the nineteenth century, Japanese women were put under the gaze of Western travelers. The appeal of Japan, particularly represented in travel books, suggests a colonial gaze at the exotic, which perpetuates Japan as a feminized and infantilized object. Long's rewriting of the myth of Madame Butterfly, according to one reviewer of his time, emphasizes "the manly dominance of the 'disturbing foreigner' Pinkerton" through "the self-annihilation of ever-faithful, ever-feminine Butterfly" (Honey and Cole 3). The Western fetishizing of the exotic Japanese female body suggests the desirability of a Japanese body over a "contaminating" Chinese female body, which creates the myth of Madame Butterfly. Winnifred's choice of a Japanese persona as well as her romance between Japanese woman and white man are the products of such fetishism.

However, the privileging of the Japanese female body does not elevate the subjugated Japanese body to a normalized white body. Instead, the racial as well as colonial gazes fix the body of Madame Butterfly in a position of abjection. The abject female body, through a series of regulatory practices, passes for a desired Asian body in the metaphor of a romance between the East and the West, with the East being objectified as a feminine body, to be possessed and claimed. For the Chinese-affiliated subject such

as Winnifred Eaton, passing is her strategic appropriation of Oriental tales. She is an across lands figure. Being an Eurasian female writer at the turn of the century, she models on male writers who achieve literary market success through rewriting the romance between the East and the West.[31] She feels, like Edith Eaton, the dilemma that she has to be either white or Chinese; therefore, her "becoming Japanese" is her resolution to be neither as opposed to Edith's approach to be both. She creates a new image of "Japanese" women, both through her characters and literary persona. Although her persona is not necessarily corresponding to the "Japanese" characters she creates, she does introduce a new kind of Asian women to literary forum. Through examining her novel *A Japanese Nightingale* and her autobiography *Me*, I will illustrate Winnifred's across lands strategies of staging a mixed race woman who has the agency to fashion her own self by utilizing and revising the myth of Madame Butterfly. Winnifred Eaton's construction of a Japanese authorial persona, according to Yuko Matsukawa, functions as a "radical poetics of passing," and her "tricksterlike self-fashioning is inextricably linked to her experiments in redefining conventional frontiers of ethnicity and authenticity" (123).

Passing in Winnifred Eaton's *A Japanese Nightingale* (1901) and *Me* (1915)

What distinguishes Winnifred Eaton's *A Japanese Nightingale* from both O-kiku and Madame Butterfly is the creation of Yuki, a blue-eyed and red-haired Japanese woman. Although the character of Yuki evokes the myth of Madame Butterfly, it is precisely within such a framework that Winnifred performs race and gender. Unlike the previous Madame Butterfly tales, where the story starts with a conversation between two

men about their plans to marry Japanese wives, *A Japanese Nightingale* starts with Yuki's "storm dance" in a tea garden. Yuki is depicted as a "storm—a dark, blowing, lightning storm" (6). Like a dark spirit hiding behind a storm, Yuki's face is not seen. She then "spread her garments wide; they fluttered about her in a large half-circle, and underneath the rainbow of the gown, a girl's face, of exquisite beauty, smiled and drooped. Then the extinction of light—and she was gone" (6). The comparison between the highlight of her "exquisite" face and her sudden disappearance after the show intensifies the suspense about who this girl is and where to find her. Previously both *Madame Butterfly* and *Madame Chrysanthemum* start with Japan being a place of desire and Japanese women being immediately subject to the sexual gaze; Winnifred's text puts Yuki in the center of the stage, her being a subject instead of an object. The storm dance foreshadows that what is coming is storm like, suggesting the change in Yuki's family. But it also indicates what kind of woman Yuki is: she is strong. She won't disappear or die like women in other Madam Butterfly tales.

Yuki has to "rent" herself to an American businessman, Jack Bigelow, as a "wife" in order to support her mother and her brother Taro's education at Harvard. But what distinguishes Winnifred's text from earlier works is her change of setting and the addition of an interracial marriage. Unlike Hearn's "Kimiko" which has an "authentic" Japanese setting, Winnifred's story covers two countries, involving Yuki's movements between Japan and the U.S. In this sense, Yuki has done what the previous Madame Butterflies have never done: leaving the confining setting of Japan and moving to the country of her lover. Symbolically, it is a gesture of reversing the site of the colonized. Yuki doesn't move only within the colonized Japan; she has transgressed the assigned boundary. Her

leaving forces Jack Bigelow to reflect upon his own acts and consequently changes their relationship from a mercantile one to a true romance.

Yuki and Jack's first "marriage" in Japan admits the institutional practice of commoditization of sex in the context of the encounter between East and West, which is a parody of marriage rather than a legally and morally recognized union. But when the novel ends with Jack's reunion with Yuki in the U.S. and he calls her, ""Yuki! Yuki! My wife! My wife!" (223) his exclamation suggests recognition of the marriage as well as Winnifred's highlighting of the legitimacy of the interracial romance. In this way, *A Japanese Nightingale* is different from other Madam Butterfly tales: Yuki does not fulfill a fate of self-annihilation destined for the exotic women in their encounter with the colonial. She moves out of her zone of "invisibility" and "unintelligibility" and is finally recognizable and recognized.

A Japanese Nightingale presents a mixed race "Japanese" woman, an across lands figure, who is a racial Other both to the gaze of Western eyes and her own people. Yuki's blue eyes as well as her brother Taro's suggest a history of blue-eyed children. In this sense, *A Japanese Nightingale* starts where Long's and Puccini's *Madame Butterfly* ends. Long's *Madame Butterfly* ends ambiguously, with Cho-Cho-San attempting suicide, which is only stopped by the baby's crying. But Puccini's *Madame Butterfly* ends with the sure death of Cho-Cho-San, leaving the blue-eyed boy to Pinkerton and Kate, his American wife. The self-annihilation of the subject in the previous Madame Butterfly tales suggests the disappearance of the racialized subject resulting from her failure, to be accepted in the white world.

Winnifred's *A Japanese Nightingale* thus rewrites the myth of Madame Butterfly, creating a mixed-race woman who navigates lands and terrains of race and ethnicity in search of her place like Mrs. Spring Fragrance. Yuki, the Japanese Nightingale, represents what might happen to the blue-eyed boy in Puccini's *Madame Butterfly*. Being blue-eyed suggests an unwritten family history about Yuki's mother, who is possibly a Madame Butterfly, too. The fate of the blue-eyed boy of Cho-Cho-San's remains obscure.[32] Yuki's story might continue what follows after Madame Butterfly and her child leave the Western man. To be exact, it's not the story of Yuki, but of Taro, Yuki's blue-eyed brother, that continues the story of the blue-eyed child in Puccini's *Madame Butterfly*. However, the fact that Taro dies in the middle of Winnifred's novel is puzzling. Taro goes to Harvard and becomes the best friend of Jack Bigelow. He is supported by his mother and sister throughout his study at Harvard. He comes back to visit his family, whom he assumes live very well without knowing how much financial burden his study has put on them. To his great shock, he finds his sister living in a shameful relationship with Jack. He dies of shame and guilt rather than of fever. But symbolically, Taro is a cultural reversion of Yuki, with Yuki at the sexual level and Taro at the cultural level.[33]

Maureen Honey and Jean Lee Cole wonder in their introduction to the co-publication of *Madame Butterfly* and *A Japanese Nightingale* why it is Taro who pays the price for the interracial relationship in Winnifred's text. Honey and Cole speculate that Winnifred's different treatment of the mixed race sister and brother satisfies her audience's expectation that such a union (one between Yuki and Jack) inevitably produces victims, but in this text Winnifred showcases "the vulnerability of an Asian man" rather than a woman (17). In Honey and Cole's analysis, Taro bridges gender as well as

culture (17). In this sense, Taro's death is symbolic of the East's victimization in the racial encounter between the East and the West. Removing the consequences of racial encounter from the female body and imposing it on the male Asian body indicates the displacement of abjection in the body of Madame Butterfly. In this light, Winnifred's rewriting of the myth of Madame Butterfly moves the abject Japanese female body from a male dominated domain closer to the domain of the subject, where the woman, Madame Butterfly (no matter what her name is now), is able to be really visible.

Yuki's mixed-race features show Winnifred's purposeful reconstruction of the body of Madame Butterfly.[34] Madame Chrysanthemum is always "unintelligible" in the eyes of Loti. She has a perpetual ennui. Loti wonders if she really "thinks" (63). The "unintelligible" picture of Madame Chrysanthemum is replaced by a more human depiction of Madame Butterfly in both Long's and Puccini's texts. Winnifred's rewriting of the myth Madame Butterfly in relation to a mixed-race body helps transform the body from a domain of abjection to a domain of a racially acceptable body. In particular, the metamorphosis happening to the body when it transforms from the "unintelligible" body of Madame Chrysanthemum to a body of a mixed-blood helps create a new image of Madame Butterfly. Winnifred's version of Madame Butterfly is an across lands woman, who, though still a victim of the romance between the East and the West, identifies herself with the West. Yuki's coming to America is a decisive act that shows her affiliation with her white blood. Of course, the reunification of the lovers takes place in America. Yuki, with a "new" body that displaces the old body of Madame Butterfly, is Winnifred's solution to the "contaminating" Asian female body. In this sense, Winnifred, like Edith who invents an ideal Chinese female body, utilizes the romantic rhetoric of the

"Madame Butterfly" tales to create her New Woman figure, but Winnifred's Japanese Nightingale also disrupts the Oriental tales as she crosses lands and boundaries to seek a new space. Both sisters are engaged in rewriting the criminalized Asian female body at the turn of the century.

By appropriating the myth of Madame Butterfly, Winnifred's Japanese Nightingale appeals to the contemporary racial imagination, and is hence differentiated from the "contaminating" Asian female body. Besides, it also differs from the previous Madame Butterfly in her mixed race background. The formerly abject and unintelligible Asian female body has been rewritten to render it sensible and identifiable to the Western audience. It is no coincidence that Winnifred's fictive memoir, *Me: A Book of Remembrance*, resonates with the same project of reconstructing an ethnic identity based on her early experience of rewriting the myth of Madame Butterfly. To some extent, Nora, the protagonist in the memoir, is the reformed product of Japanese-American romance. The difference is that *A Japanese Nightingale* is more engaged with race, but *Me* is more concerned about the construction of gender and class.

Me was anonymously published in 1915, but with an authorizing preface from Jean Webster to testify to its authenticity. In this way, the publication of *Me* follows a common practice of the nineteenth century for minority writers seeking the patronage and sanction of white protectors.[35] Although Webster emphasizes that the book is merely the report of the author's life, there are many crucial factual discrepancies that would undermine the authenticity of the autobiography. Diana Birchall, Winnifred's great-great granddaughter, admits in her biography of Winnifred, *Onoto Watanna: The Story of Winnifred Eaton* (2001), that many details in *Me* are not documentarily accurate. For

instance, the memoir covers a period of two years in Nora's life from seventeen to eighteen, but in reality Winnifred was at least twenty one or twenty two. Birchall writes good-humoredly that Winnifred remains "generically" eighteen for a long time (42). Calling *Me* a "shocking" confessional book, Birchall argues that the mistake of age in the text is indeed an authorial strategy for Winnifred to arouse her readers' sympathy for and identification with an eighteen-year-old girl working her own way out in the world (38-49). Nora's success in transforming herself from a working girl into a self-supporting writer should be viewed as Winnifred's strategic construction of an even more acceptable and recognized mixed-race body.

In *Me*, Winnifred constructs with great caution a presentable exotic body, which moves further away from the eroticized body of Madame Butterfly. Her project of inventing a new woman is now in alignment with the picture of a working girl, who is, though still the abject, more acceptable than an ethnically stigmatized body. Race has been reduced to only several lines in the memoir, referring to the protagonist's mother as a "native from a far-distant land" (*Me* 3). Nora sees herself as "not beautiful to look at…a little thing, and, like my mother, foreign-looking" (6). Admitting that "I myself was dark and foreign-looking," Nora confesses that it was "the blond type I adored" (*Me* 41). She laments "in all my most fanciful imaginings and dreams I had always been golden-haired and blue-eyed" (*Me* 41). However, in *Me*, it is gender and class rather than race that help Winnifred's construction of a self-made girl. There is an episode in Jamaica when Nora works as a journalist for a newspaper there. Nora is proposed to by "A great black man, the 'bogy man' of my childhood days" (55). In response, Nora feels "Hurt, so terribly wounded" (55). The proposal is an insult to her. When Burbank kisses her, Nora feels

that the black man's sexual claim on her "robbed me of all my physical and mental powers" (55). It is a moment of "race panic" (Lim 89). In her analysis of the episode of the proposal, Shirley Geok-lin Lim argues that Burbank's proposal has made "overt and visible her own [Nora's] non-white status" (Lim 89). But it is a negative example of Nora's across lands strategy as she picks up the racism of the country in which she is an immigrant.

Nora is depicted as a New Woman heroine in the early-twentieth century. *Me* ends up with the symbolic rebirth of Nora, who just publishes her first book and leaves Hamilton Roger, a rich businessman, escaping the fate of a kept woman. Nora's narrative focuses on her determination to work her way up to a respected level in the publishing world. Although she relies partially on the help of man (Winnifred Eaton was also subjected to such criticism), she defends herself: "Someone once said of me that I owed my success as a writer mainly to the fact that I used my sex as a means to help me climb. That is partly true not only in the case of my writing, but of my work as a stenographer. I have been pushed and helped by men who liked me, but in both cases I made good after I was started" (147). Lim interprets "made good" as both Nora's economic success and moral standing. Nora's story is that of a working girl in the early-twentieth century. Her experience at the YWCA reflects the experience of other working girls who have to negotiate their common difficult, complex economic and moral terrain (Lim 92).

Nora's clerical experience at the factories rejects the sentimental stories of the office romance which often ends with the female clerical marrying the boss. Instead, hers is a "hybridized version combining elements of Horatio Alger with the office romance, and with the naturalistic moral darkness of a Dreiser novel" (Lim 93). The motif of *Me* is

that of a working girl's rags-to-modest-riches story, representing the realities of economic hardship on single working-class women. Even Nora's ambiguous relationship with Hamilton Roger only serves to transform Nora (her fictive age is seventeen in the book) from the world of innocence to that of experience, therefore making her an independent New Woman in the early-twentieth century. Winnifred's construction of a consumptive image of a working girl in *Me* transforms the hybrid Yuki in *A Japanese Nightingale* into an almost white girl like Nora, whose struggle with poverty overrides the racial concern in her previous Japanese-American romance. Romance, as a tactic, is employed in the memoir, which is still set between the foreign-looking protagonist and the white blond man.

In the memoir, Winnifred addresses the predicament of female artists in the early-twentieth century. She makes visible the previously misread mixed race body of the Eurasians, first by rewriting the myth of Madame Butterfly, then by showcasing the issue of poverty and gender encountered by young women writers. Her project of revising the Asian female body is similar to Edith Eaton's plan of recreating a favorable picture of a Chinese female body, both of which indicate their understanding of the gap between the ideal and socially accepted female body and the abject Asian female body in a racialized American society. Double consciousness is represented in both Edith and Winnifred Eaton's awareness of racial constructions and their across lands strategy of passing the abject body as recognizable and intelligible. Their writings as well as their life stories demonstrate their strategic navigation of space, race, gender and class in North America.

Passing, in the Eaton sisters' texts, sheds a new light on our understanding of the racial as well as ethnic constructions of their time. Their employment of passing is

historically materialized and follows a long tradition of passing in American literature. Their across lands strategic performance of race, class, and ethnicity demonstrates their sophisticated, self-conscious understanding of racial hierarchy and their navigation of that system through interacting with and contesting the stereotypes of Asian women. The writings by both of them involve revising the abject Asian female body, uplifting it as intelligible, recognizable, and desirable. While Edith Eaton emphasizes a rewriting of the "contaminating" Chinese female body, Winnifred Eaton refers to the myth of Madame Butterfly--a myth that exploits traditional aesthetic depictions of racial hierarchy to address the racial difference--to transform the stigmatized Asian female body into a desirable or at least self-directed subject who is also the Other. The abject is also applied to the biological body of the Eaton sisters, their mixed-race bodies, which they revise through writing and underscoring the working ethic of being a self-made person, hence replacing class and gender with race.

Afterword

There are two ways to challenge the regulatory calls of institutionalization, according to Lisa Lowe, to make the construction of Asian American texts "reveal heterogeneity rather than reproducing regulating ideas of cultural identity or integration" (43). First, the heterogeneity should be expressed in the "unfixed, unclosed field of texts written by authors at different distances and generations" from different cultures (Lowe 43). They should capture different particular historical moments of Asian American cultural definition to "thematize the possibility of shifts, revisions, and different formations" to reflect the "heterogeneous and uneven development" of the various groups (Lowe 43-4). Second, the archive of Asian American literary expression should be heterogeneous to include a variety of manners which do not restrict the expression of Asian American sensibilities in terms of aesthetic values or social contexts; rather it should reflect the contradictions between "an institutional demand for assimilation to major criteria" and "the unassimilable alterity of racialized cultural difference" (Lowe 44). In my opinion, it is exactly double consciousness, the awareness of contradictions between a unifying symbolic body and its own unassimilability as a racialized immigrant subject that underscores particular moments of self definition and self fashioning for an Asian American subject and an immigrant subject. In this sense, my project of exploring double consciousness and across lands strategies in early Chinese and mixed race immigrant writers helps redefine the formation of early Chinese American literature for a larger study of Asian Americans.

The unfixibility, instabilitity, the status of between worlds, and self-definition represented by these early immigrant writers examined in my project demand our further

study and attention. In fact, their performance of Americanness, Chineseness or Japaneseness contradict with one another. What Yung Wing means by "American" is different than Yan Phou Lee's ambivalent identity as an American citizen or a Chinese subject, who was at home but at the same time homeless. Wong Chin Foo's definition of "Chinese American" reflects his advocacy of "heathenism," but it also shows reconciliation with the regulatory acts in order to secure the presence of Chinese immigrants in America legally, politically, and culturally. Edith Eaton and Winnifred Eaton's passing, either in their authorial personas and their characters, challenges any easy categorization of the sisters; in fact, the difficulty of or controversy over placing them attests to the heterogeneity of Asian American literature. The significance of including the Eaton sisters in my project is also justified by the complexity of the issue of passing they represent, especially when it involves intricate inter-ethnic relationships.

A case in point is "the most remarkable get-away in police history," which Mary Ting Yi Lui studies in her book *The Chinatown Trunk Mystery: Murder, Miscegenation, and Other Dangerous Encounters in Turn-of-the-Century New York City* (2005). The case refers to the discovery of the corpse of the nineteen-year-old Elsie Sigel, a white missionary, found in the trunk of "heathen Chinee" Leon Ling at 782 Eighth Avenue in New York on June 18, 1909. What fascinated New Yorkers were Elsie Sigel's identity, her relationship to New York's Chinese community, and the fact that the suspect Ling eluded "all attempts to bring about his capture, for both New York's police and all subsequent historians" (Lui 3). Lui reports, "The hunt for Leon Ling was not merely a national drama, as the search quickly expanded beyond the nation's borders" (186). In the New York Police Department's lengthy description of the suspect, Leon Ling was

portrayed as “Americanized” and “refined.” He “talks good English,” wearing patent leather shoes, “tight fitting” trousers, and a prized “gold hunting case watch with the initials W. L. L.” (qtd. in Lui 177). The description of the missing suspect was circulated throughout the country, and consequently there followed many reports of Leon Ling sightings and even the arrest of the suspect in various parts of the country. But all were proved mistaken arrests of innocent Chinese men, who became the object of the nation-wide “surveillance” in which ordinary citizens “played an instrumental role” (Lui 184-5). What’s interesting about these mistaken arrests is the fact that many Japanese immigrants were identified as Leon Ling and were victims of such arbitrary arrests of Asian men (Lui 187-90).

Lui includes a cartoon, “A Raid in Chinatown Puzzle Find the Guilty One,” published on April 30, 1905 in *New York Times* to indicate the racial and ethnic misreading of Asian immigrants, who were “not only inscrutable but completely indistinguishable by whites” (189). What signifies Leon Ling’s successful escape is his story indicating a “subversive narrative countering this period’s racial ideologies, particularly in its assumptions of space and mobility for non-whites” (Lui 196). I want to add that the case of reading Leon Ling as fixed in race and ethnicity in terms of the popular cultural representations of Asian immigrants underscores the strategic employment of passing in creating new identities. That the possibility of Leon Ling’s resuming his Chinese costume to elude the hunt in which he was depicted as “Americanized” along with other cultural markers enriches our understanding of reverse passing and the power dynamics it represents. Studied together with many cases of Japanese Americans who passed for Chinese Americans during WWII to avoid

internment camps, the performance of passing in terms of inter-ethnic relationships will provide us with new insights into identity constructions and self-representation. My study of the Eaton sisters has only unveiled the tip of the iceberg.

My study of double consciousness and across lands strategies can be extended to other categories such as Chinese miners and railroad workers who, as Yan Phou Lee claims, are the "corals that constructed the reef," yet they are displaced by the white workers contrary to the exclusionist propaganda that the Chinese will displace whiter laborers ("The Chinese Must Stay" 271). One of the biggest online "virtual museums," the Central Pacific Railroad Photographic History Museum,[1] established by the family of railroad pioneer Lewis Metzler Clement and launched in February 1999, will be a great "starting point" to explore the experiences of inclusion and exclusion of railroad workers. Ronald Takaki examines the use of Chinese workers as strike breakers in *Iron Cages: Race and Culture in 19th-Century American* (1990), which I referred to in my chapter on Wong Chin Foo in my discussion of the Rock Springs massacre, Wyoming Territory, in 1885. It is worth further investigating the relationship between former Chinese miners and Chinese railroad workers and their redistribution after the completion of the transcontinental railroad in 1869. In research on my dissertation, I learned that some of these skilled Chinese railroad workers were recruited by the Qing government to help construct railroads in different parts of China. How did their double consciousness in both countries affect their adjustment in both places? They probably exhibited similar responses as the CEM students did, as shown in my discussion of Yan Phou Lee.

Double consciousness and across lands strategies are also very helpful in examining testimonies of early Chinese immigrants, for such documents allow us a

glimpse of immigrants' response to and struggle against racism and social injustice, even though these materials were constructed under specific context of courtroom or in the form of appeals. One of such examples is a memorial that the Six Chinese Companies[2] submitted to the Senate and House of Representatives of the United States on December 8, 1877. In the peak of the anti-Chinese agitation in California in 1876, senator Creed Haymond proposed on April 3, 1876 to have a special committee investigate "the Chinese Question" to decide if "the presence of the Chinese element in our midst is detrimental to the interests of the country" (3). The purpose was approved by the Senate of the State of California. The Senate was in session in San Francisco and Sacramento between April 11, 1876 and June 3, 1876, having questioned more than sixty people, sixteen of whom were Chinese men. The result was *Chinese Immigration: The Social, Moral, and Political Effect of Chinese Immigration. Testimony Taken Before a Committee of the Senate of California*, which was reported by Frank Shay, secretary of the committee, to the state of California, and published by F. P. Thomson in 1876. Based on the 1876 testimony, the Committee of the Senate of California[3] presented a report entitled *Chinese Immigration: Policy and Means of Exclusion*, which includes "A Memorial of the Senate of California to the Congress of the United States" and "An Address to the People of the United States upon the Evil of Chinese Immigration," published in 1877. In response to the two reports (particularly the 1877 report), the Six Chinese Companies submitted a memorial and an address to the Senate and House of Representatives of the United States on 8 December 1877, arguing that the reports of the Special Committee on Chinese Immigration "suppressed the testimony of many of their

witnesses who held contrary views" (3), thus challenging "the correctness of that document and its conclusions" (1).

The full title of the Six Chinese Companies' address is "An Address to the People of the United States upon the Chinese in California: Sworn Testimony of California's Leading Citizens. Read and Judge," which is a parody of both Frank Shay's 1876 report and the Special Committee's memorial and address in 1877. By using testimony from the leading citizens of California, the Six Chinese Companies tried to defend Chinese immigrants in "their" words instead of their own words. These prominent citizens were lawyers, politicians, diplomats, missionaries, and government officials, who were quoted in Haymond's report to the Congress. By comparing the full testimony in Shay's 1876 report and the Special Committee's 1877 report, the Six Chinese Companies pointed out how the testimonies were manipulated by the Special Committee to serve its purpose of expelling Chinese immigrants. They also supplied government documents like personal property taxes and the statement of Custom House of San Francisco to refute the invalidity of evidence used in Shay's and the Special Committee's reports. Through researching the history of these three documents, presented by two sides of the debates over "the Chinese Questions" in the 1870s, I found it significant to note the change of the model of interaction between Chinese immigrants and the racially institutionalized society: after their individual testimony failed in the court, the Six Chinese Companies united to present a collective voice to American society asking for fair treatment and justice. The following quote from their memorial could be read as their collective testimony:

> We undertake to say, that no class of people resident in this Republican

> country would have quietly submitted for a long series of years, as our people have been compelled to submit, without strongly protesting in the name of justice and fair dealing. (5)

The Six Chinese Companies' across land strategies to employ American rhetoric of democracy and to utilize testimony of the "leading citizens" of California, demonstrate their negotiation of identity as well as their argument for inclusion in American society.

This list of further potential applications of my study of double consciousness and theory of across lands is endless. For example, Ng Poon Chew and Wu Tingfang are two historical figures who could be added to my examination of early immigrants. Although Wu Tingfang was not an immigrant in the strict sense and he only served as diplomat to the U.S. from 1896-1897, he was an across lands figure like Yung Wing. He was born in Singapore, educated in Hong Kong and Britain, and served in the late Qing court. His observations of the Chinese in America and Sino-U.S. relations will further attest to the heterogeneity of immigrant experiences. Ng Poon Chew was a successor to both Yan Phou Lee and Wong Chin Foo. He established the first Chinese daily Newspaper, *Chung Sai Yat Po* (*Chinese American Daily Newspaper*) in San Francisco in 1900, which ushered in a new era in Chinese American journalism. Examination of Ng in relation to the history of Chinese American newspapers and Chinese language newspapers in America will yield rich fruits in understanding the role of newspapers in shaping community consciousness and identities during the Exclusion Era.

Lastly, I hope my application of double consciousness and across lands strategies will help further studies of other marginalized writers in terms of their construction and negotiation of gender, class, race, ethnicity, nationality, and sexuality. For example, a

reexamination of Carlos Bulosan's *America is in the Heart* (1946) in terms of double consciousness and across lands strategy will yield a new understanding of the nuances of his writing in constructing a formerly colonized subject as a self-made man. Moreover, reading along works such as Priscilla Wald's *Constituting Americans: Cultural Anxiety and Narrative Form* (1995), Siobhan B. Somerville's *Queering the Color Line* (2000), and especially Linda Joyce Brown's *The Literature of Immigration and Racial Formation* (2004), my work provides new insight into analyzing identity formation and the legacy of early immigrant writing. Throughout my project, I have shown across lands strategies these immigrant writers exploit to negotiate what is American. Here I want to take a moment to point out the significance of applying across lands strategies for students, scholars, critics, and teachers in their study and teaching of ethnic literature and American literature. To understand early immigrants' across lands strategies requires not only readers' willingness to cross lands of boundaries, concepts, differences, and ideologies, but it especially demands students' and scholars' capacity of moving across "lands" of disciplines, languages, genres, and geographical distinctions etc. to seek knowledge, communication, and understanding of the world. This project is part of the 1882 Project[4] that focuses on educating the policymakers and the public about the Chinese Exclusions laws and the impact such legislation had on the history of the country.

To conclude, writing my dissertation is challenging but fulfilling. While I was writing about my subjects, I found that I had become the subject of my project. I am like Yung Wing, Yan Phou Lee, Wong Chin Foo, Edith Eaton, and Winnifred Eaton. I am reliving their anxieties, contradictions, sense of exile, confusions, inspirations, and alienation about home and homeland. I am a split subject in terms of languages, cultures,

institutional apparatus, nationality and citizenship. After all, my dissertation manifests my own double consciousness; however, as Amy Ling writes, the between-world people enjoy the rare freedom bridging differences. In this sense, I have fulfilled what Hector Torres once told me, to become a scholar beyond nationalities, that is, an across lands figure.

Endnotes

Introduction

[1] In my dissertation, Chinese Americans and Asian Americans are not used interchangeably, nor are the terms of Chinese American literature and Asian American literature. However, the construction of Asian American literature did partially start with the reconceptualization of Chinese American literature in the 1970s due to the overwhelming population of Chinese immigrants and the influences of Chinese cultures among Asian immigrants at the time. It is why I cannot discuss the construction of Chinese American literature without mentioning the history of Asian American literature. I am very much aware of the danger of invoking more double consciousness in Asian American studies, such as Chinese American literature vs. Asian American literature or any underrepresented Asian American literature vs. a dominant Asian American literature such as Chinese American literature or Japanese American literature, which all reiterates the subordinate relationship of a minor discipline to a major one. My project, therefore, ultimately has to deal with the binary construct of double consciousness.

I have to admit that I need to be very cautious about the terms like Asian American literature and Chinese American literature. My project focuses primarily on Chinese American writers, but a discussion of the formation of Asian American literature and identities is usually interwoven with that of the particularities of Chinese American literature, whose shaping is definitely contextualized by that of the bigger category, though not equivalently interchangeable.

[2] On interpellation, see Louis Althusser, "Ideology and Ideological State Apparatuses" (1969), in *Lenin and Philosophical and Other Essays*, trans. Ben Brewster (New York: Monthly Review Press, 1971), 121-73.

[3] For a fuller discussion of a genealogy of Hegelian "lordship and bondage" relationship, read Sandra Adell's *Double consciousness/Double Bind: Theoretical Issues in Twentieth-Century Black Literature* (1994).

[4] Most critics interpret Du Bois's "double consciousness" in a traditional mode of binary where the black subject is subjugated to the white gaze. But Manning Marable gives us a new interpretation of the double consciousness in his article "deconstructing the Du Boisian Legacy." Historicizing the publication

of *Souls* and the critical review on it, Marable calls our attention to another "double consciousness" represented in two African American leaders, i.e. Du Bois and Brooker T. Washington. The usual interpretation of "double consciousness" in terms of a black being's subject to the racialized society is substituted by a split consciousness represented by Du Bois and Washington respectively. Thus, an instance of doubleness of thoughts within black people is revealed through the split between Du Bois and Washington. This doubleness suggests the complexities of racial segregation in the lat- nineteenth- and early-twentieth-century and debunks a misunderstanding popular among Du Bois' contemporary critics, who misinterpreted Du Bois's double consciousness theory as meaning that "the negro and the American are ever separate, though in the same personality" (Marable 21).

[5] Influenced by feminist theory, Amy Ling draws a similar picture of Chinese women's triple subjugation in a patriarchal society, which is often seen in the scholarship on ethnic women. Ling writes that "the ethnic minority female is triply vulnerable; as Chinese in an Euro-American world, as a woman in a Chinese man's world, and as a Chinese woman in a white man's world" (*Between Worlds* 15).

[6] CARP (the Combined Asian Resources Project) was established in the 1970s, whose members -- Frank Chin, Jeffery Paul Chan, Lawson Fusao Inada, Nathan Lee, Benjamin R. Tong, and Shawn Hsu Wong -- actively sought publishing venues and performance spaces for the works of Asian American writers (Huntley 27).

[7] Such an effort to analyze the Diaspora is later continued by Yen Le Espiritu, who terms his study of "pan-Asian American ethnicity" "Asian American Panethnicity," as shown in the title of his book *Asian American Panethnicity: Bridging Institutions and Identities* (1992). For a fuller discussion on panethnicity, refer to Espiritu on pages 1-18 and 161-176.

[8] The editors of *Aiiieeeee!* explained that the "whined, shouted, or screamed 'aiiieeeee!'" of Asian Americans reflect their sorrow, anger, and wounded feelings, but it is "more than a whine, shout, or scream. It is fifty years of our whole voices" (Chin et al vii). The period of fifty years suggests a beginning of Asian American literature, which dated back to the 1920s, as *Aiiieeeee!* was published in 1974.

[9] Kim's work focuses on literature by "Asians from four different national groups"—Chinese, Japanese, Korean, and Filipino (xiii). She is aware of her omission of members of the Laotian, Cambodian, and Vietnamese communities who are often confused about such categories as Indochinese or Southeast

Asians (Kim xii). Her inclusion of only four major Asian groups is due to the fact that the work is a pioneering effort and the fact that there is relatively little literature in English expressing the sensibilities of very new population groups (xiii). Since then, there are more and more books and researches continuing the path Kim paved.

[10] I agree with her on the necessity of studying works published in Asian languages or in different home countries when these immigrants traveled back home, which should be added to my project when I further polish it for publication. Kim prefers the term "Asian American" to the then-popular term "Oriental," which denotes "east of somewhere, east of some other-defined center" (xii). However, even though the term "Asian American" would conveniently group a variety of writers from different backgrounds, it reduces their identity only to a commonly shared experience as "members of an American racial minority"; hence an external label was imposed on Asian immigrants which defines them on the basis of race rather than culture (Kim xii).

[11] Lee Yan Phou is Kim's way of recording the author's name in the Chinese tradition, i.e. the last name "Lee" first, and the first name "Yan Phou" last; however, the author signed himself always as "Yan Phou Lee," which is why in my project, Yan Phou Lee is referred to according to how he identified himself.

[12] The Chinese Exclusion Act passed by Congress in 1882 stopped the entry of all Chinese except "scholars, students, merchants, officials, and tourists," who were termed "the exempt class" (Yin 10).

[13] "Uptown Chinese," Xiao-huang Yin, refer to "well-educated professionals who live in the suburbs rather than in Chinatown" (6).

[14] Edith's younger sister also had an impact on the making of early Asian American literature, but was generally ignored by early critics due to her lack of resistance.

[15] Refer to Chen Yong's *Chinese San Francisco, 1850-1942: A Trans-Pacific Community* (Stanford UP, 2000) and Karin Meiβenburg's *The Writing on the Wall: Socio-Historical Aspects of Chinese American Literature, 1900-1980* (Verlag für Interkulturelle Kommunikation, 1986). Both books have elaborated the difficulties of finding material written in Chinese or Cantonese Chinese both in China and in the United States.

Historical Context: Yung Wing, the Missionary Discourse of "Making the New Orient," and the Chinese Educational Mission (CEM)

[1] Yung Wing is the literal translation of the Cantonese pronunciation of his name. He is known as Rong Hong (容闳) in Mandarin and Chinese texts. Chunfu is his literal name, as it was a customary practice in old China for educated people to have several names besides their official name.

[2] See Peter P. Wan's *Yung Wing, 1828-1912: A Critical Portrait* for more information on the differences between Catholic missionaries in China who focused more on men in high places and evangelical Protestant missionaries from England and America who focused on the common people. p. 17-22.

[3] Harriet Low was born on 24 May 1809 in Salem, Massachusetts, springing from the same family line as Nathaniel Hawthorne. In the chapter, "Colonial Violence via Opium Addiction: Harriet Low's Macao" of her book *U. S. Women Writers and the Discourses of Colonialism, 1825-1861*, Etsuko Taketani historicizes "Macao" through Low's journal to unpack the historical implication of the U.S. presence in pre-treaty-day China.

[4] See Samuel Robbins Browns' memoranda in Class of 1832 in Yale College, p.29.

[5] For more information on Samuel Robbins Brown, see *A Maker of the New Orient: Samuel Robbins Brown*, (New York: Fleming H. Revell Company, 1902). p. 79.

[6] Samuel Wells Williams was Secretary of the United States Legation to China (1855-1860?). He was also the editor and printer of the *Chinese Repository*, a leading Western journal in China, which published many articles on the natural history of China and people and events in Canton. Williams was a missionary Sinologist and the Morrison Education Society trustee at the time (Worthy 268). The *Chinese Repository* was regarded as "a medium of information in matters relating to the extreme East". See *The Life and Letters of Samuel Wells Williams, LL.D.: Missionary, Diplomatist, Sinologue*, edited by his son Frederick Wells Williams, p.62

[7] B. G. Northrop. "Japanese Views of the Opium War." *Christian Union* Jul 17, 1872. Birdsey Grant Northrop was a Yale graduate in 1845, five years before Yung Wing would enter Yale as an undergraduate. He was agent of the Massachusetts State Board of Education (1855-1867) and was

appointed Secretary of the Connecticut State Board of Education in 1867. Yung Wing visited Northrop for his advice in 1871 as to how to settle the coming CEM students. Northrop recommended that the students be distributed and located "by twos or fours" to New England families, which proved very helpful for the Chinese students adjust to their life in America (Yung 189).

Chapter One:"Caught Between Two Stools" Re-Signifying Double Consciousness in Yung Wing's *My Life in China and America* (1909)

[1] As discussed in my introduction, most earlier Chinese American anthologies excluded early immigrant writings because they are not literature in the Western sense of literariness in terms of prose, fiction, poetry, and drama. In my project, the term literature applies to a wider range of writings, including autobiography, periodical writing, graduation speech, and testimony, etc. In this sense, works such as Rigorberta Menchu's memoir of Guatemala, *I, Rigoberta Menchú: An Indian Woman in Guatemala* (1993), and Haing S. Ngor's autobiography, *Haing Ngor: A Cambodian Odyssey* (1988), should be studied both as literature and historical texts to understand social realities.

[2] Yin Xiao-huang's view of Yung Wing and other "cultivated Chinese" is very similar to Elaine H. Kim's comment on the "ambassadors of goodwill," who, according to Kim, were the members of the privileged classes, and presented "a very limited view of Asian society" (Kim 25). There is an interesting correlation between Kim's term "ambassadors of goodwill" and Yin's "cultivated Chinese," as both include Lee Yan Phou, who was a student of the Chinese Educational Mission, which Yung Wing launched.

[3] The Self-Strengthening Movement in the Qing Court is also known as the Westernization Movement in English. In Chinese it is called Yangwu Yundong or Ziqiang Yundong (Wan 2).

[4] The year 2006 alone witnessed the publication of *The History of the CEM Students*, *The Collection of Letters by the CEM Students*, *Yung Wing and China's Modernization*, *Yung Wing and Reforming China through Science and Technology* (a collection of conference papers in memory of the 150th anniversary of Yung's graduation from Yale), and *Our Yung Wing* (a collection of articles accounting for the event celebrating the 150th anniversary of Yung's graduation from Yale).

[5] It later became Jiangnan Arsenal, one of the first modern Chinese arsenals.

[6] Yung described Li's comments about him in a letter to Twichell. Yung to Twihell, Dec. 30, 1880. Yale Sterling Memorial Library

[7] The appointment of Chen as the head of the program shows the Qing government's distrust of Yung and its emphasis on Chinese education of the students in America. Yung, however, views it as a "shrewd move" of Zeng and Li to silence protests of the opposing party in the court (181).

[8] Joseph Hopkins Twichell was a Yale graduate of 1859. He enlisted in the 71st New York State Infantry during the Civil War and served from 1861 to 1864. He moved to Hartford, Connecticut in 1865 when he was offered the pastorship of the newly established Asylum Hill Congregational Church in the city. During the winter of 1867-1868, when Mark Twain came to Hartford to oversee the publication of *The Innocents Abroad*, he was introduced to Twichell by Elisha Bliss, Twain's publisher at Hartford. Twain sold his house in Buffalo, NY and moved his family to Hartford in 1871, and the Clemens and the Twichells became close friends. Different as these two men were, literary figure and minister, they maintained a sincere friendship. It's through Twichell's friendship with Twain that Yung Wing met General Grant and asked him to interfere with the disbanding of the CEM in 1881. For a fuller discussion of the relationship between Twichell and Twain and how they helped Yung, refer to Leah A. Strong's *Joseph Hopkins Twichell: Mark Twain's Friend and Pastor*, 64-150.

[9] The Hundred Days of Reform refers to the Emperor Kuang Hsu's attempt to break the power lock of his aunt, the old Empress Dowager, on the government.

[10] There is a debate over when Yung started writing his memoir. It's generally agreed that Yung wrote the book when he returned to America in June 1902 after the exposure of his anti-Qing activities in China. But Shen Qian, a translator of Yung's autobiography, discovered a passage of one of Yung's contemporaries, who reported a meeting with Yung in 1901. Yung showed him a book titled *Ten Years in China* and told him that "This book is about my ten years in China." For more information, see Shen Qian's introduction to *Xixue Dongjianji*, (Zhengzhou: Zhongzhou Guji Chubanshe), 1998. p. 12.

[11] Here I share with Peter P. Wan's conclusion that "Yung Wing was a product of early Anglo-American Protestant missionary endeavors in China." Wan, Yung Wing, 1828-1912: A Critical Portrait, 1997. p. 158.

[12] Quoted in Tompkin's *Sensational Designs*, (NY: Oxford UP, 1985), p. 156-7.

[13] I am indebted to Prof. Alemán's feedback to the significance of Yung's contribution to the genre of Western autobiography.

[14] George F. Seward was the U.S. consul at Shanghai in 1861, and was appointed the U.S. Consul General at Shanghai in 1861. He was the Envoy Extraordinary and Minister Plenipotentiary to China from 1876 to 1880 (http://politicalgraveyard.com/bio/seward.html and http://shanghai.usembassy-china.org.cn/consulate_history.html).

[15] Yung's financial problem at Yale was finally solved when he received financial support from "The Ladies Association of Savannah, Ga.," who heard of him through Samuel Robbins Brown (LaFargue 22).

[16] Refer to Liu Zhongguo's *Rong Hong: The Father of Contemporary Chinese Oversea Students*, *Our Rong Hong*, and *Rong Hong and Modernizing China Through Science and Technology*. Most of these books show uncritical acceptance of Yung Wing.

[17] Following a series of military defeats and concessions to foreign powers, a group of reformers in the court proposed to introduce western science, technology, and manufacturing, etc., to maintain and strengthen traditional institutions, which was known as the Self-Strengthening Movement (1861-1895) in China.

[18] A lot of new departments and colleges were established during this time. Zongli Yamen [Foreign Office] was set up in 1861 to handle foreign affairs. The first interpreter's school, Beijing Tongwen Guan, was established in 1862, which was expanded into a full-fledged college in 1867 to teach mathematics, chemistry, geology, mechanics, and international laws.

[19] Japan sent its first delegation of students to Holland in 1859 and engaged in the study of law, navigation and shipbuilding. Before 1873, about two hundred Japanese students had studied in Germany, Russia, Austria, England, France, Italy, Switzerland, Belgium and Holland. ("Japanese and Chinese Students in America." *Scribner's' Monthly* Jul. 1880.)

[20] Mark Twain also recorded the breaking up of the CEM in his autobiography. In a section titled "Grant and the Chinese," Mark Twain recalled how Yung came to him for help through their friend Twichell in 1881. Twain observes, "The order disbanding the schools was a great blow to Yung" (72). Yung had got a petition signed by the Presidents of various American colleges contending that the Chinese

students had made great progress and should remain to finish their studies, but he thought a signature from General Grant would weigh more. Twain helped Yung and Twichell meet Grant in New York the following week. The interview proved that Grant had known the situation and was interested in the matter. He even offered to write a personal letter to Li Hongzhang. His letter, according to Twain, was a "clear, compact, and admirably written statement of the case of the Chinese pupils, with some equally clear arguments to show that the breaking up of the schools would be a mistake" (73).

[21] Wu Zideng, who was sent to investigate the situation of the CEM students

[22] *The Independent*. Aug. 18, 1881. 17.

Historical Context: Yan Phou Lee and Yung Wing's CEM

[1] *When I Was a Boy in China* is hereafter shortened as *WIWBC*.

[2] It's equivalent to the department of education.

[3] According to LaFargue, "this was the somewhat embarrassing fact that in the Yangtze Valley and in the northern provinces practically no candidates responded to the invitation of the local magistrates to enter the school at Shanghai" (33). Peter P. Wan argues that the initial difficulty of recruiting students resulted from Chinese prejudice "against going overseas": the Confucian dictum dictated that young people should not travel afar while their parents are alive; consequently it was even worse to go overseas to the "land of barbarians" (90). Wan further points out that deep-rooted distrust of government and foreigners was also an obstacle for the school in Shanghai to recruit students (90).

[4] For more information on the origin of the students refer to "Robyn's Geographic Origins of Chinese Educational Mission Students by Province" in Chris Robyn's *Building the Bridge* (128), quoted in Anita Marchant's *Yung Wing and the Chinese Educational Mission at Hartford* (165).

[5] The candidates to be selected for the CEM were between twelve and fifteen years of age. They would stay in the preparatory school at Shanghai for a year to study both Chinese and English. Parents and guardians were required to sign a paper in which they would agree to send their sons or proteges to study abroad for a period of fifteen years. The government promised to pay for the students' education and would also be responsible for taking care of not only boys abroad but their families in China. There would be 120

boys all together, to be sent to the US in four installments (or detachments), with each annual installment 30 students from 1872 to 1876. (Yung Wing *My Life in China and America* 184-6).

[6] Lee mentioned briefly the help of his missionary friends in "Why I Am Not a Heathen," published in the September 1887 issue of the *North American Review*. Amy Ling also discusses Lee's "escape" in a note in her "Yan Chou Lee on the Asian American Frontier" (286). As I haven't requested Yan Phou Lee's entries in the *Yale Class Record* [YCR] and the *Yale Class Book* of 1887 [YCB], I haven't got accurate information as to Lee's explanation of his "escape" from China to the US. But Lee's grandson Richard V. Lee confirmed that Lee and six other former CEM students assigned to the navy got an opportunity to take leave and never returned. Lee worked in an English crown solicitor's office in Hong Kong for a while, and then through "the liberty of some friends," he obtained passage on a vessel bound for New York via the Suez canal, and returned to the United States (Introduction to *When I Was a Boy in China*, Xilibris Corp., 2003, 15).

[7] According to Richard V. Lee, his father and uncle had "carefully destroyed almost all of the material (letters, papers, official documents) about Yan Phou Lee" due to the fear of the generally anti-Asian sentiments of the United States; hence we have very little material on Lee except for a few photographs (Introduction to *WIWBC* 8).

[8] The CEM students were immediately shipped or transported to different locations when they landed in China without being allowed to meet their families first.

[9] Lee worked in many occupations before he became associate editor of the Hasbrouck Height's *Newsletter*, and he later worked on the *Enterprise* and the *Bergen Advertiser* of East Rutherford in the late 1910s. Lee was managing editor for the *American Banker* from 1918 to 1927 in New York. When he moved back to China in 1927, he worked as editor of the *Canton Gazette*, (Guangdong Bao), for a while. Therefore, Lee could be viewed as one of the earliest Chinese American newspaperman. (Amy Ling, "Yan Chou Lee on the Asian American Frontier." 278-9).

[10] Amy Ling did a wonderful job recovering Lee's life after 1887 in her "Yan Chou Lee on the Asian American Frontier" after she had consulted various channels: Lee's entries in *Yale Class Records* and *Yale Class Books*, Anne Nahn's correspondence, and Ling's telephone conversations with Lee's descendants, etc . There was little information on Lee after 1890 as various editions of *When I Was a Boy*

in China seldom provided information on the author. There was usually no preface or editor's note introducing Yan Chou Lee, even though his autobiography has been reprinted more than a dozen times in both the US and Britain from 1887 to the present. The only exceptions are a 2003 edition published by Xlibris Corporation and a 2006 edition published by Zhuhai Publishing House in China, both containing a forward and introduction by Richard V. Lee, Yan Phou Lee's grandson.

Chapter Two: "Good Heathen" or "Bad Heathen": The Construction of Difference in Yan Phou Lee's Writings

[1] See Elaine H. Kim's *Asian American Literature: An Introduction to the Writings and Their Social Context* (1982). pp. 24-5.

[2] Refer to Xiao-huang Yin's *Chinese American Literature Since the 1850s*. pp. 55-62.

[3] Cheung quotes Mary Louise Pratt's definition of autoethnography. According to Pratt: "I use these terms [autoethnography and autoethnographic expressions] to represent themselves in ways which engage with the colonizer's own terms. If ethnographic texts are a means in which Europeans represent to themselves their (usually subjugated) others, autoethnographic texts are those the others construct in response to or in dialogue with those metropolitan representations" (6-7). For more information on autoethnography refer to Floyd Cheung's "Early Chinese American Autobiography: Reconsidering the Works of Yan Phou Lee and Yung Wing" in *Recovered Legacies: Authority and Identity in Early Asian American Literature* (2005), pp 24-40.

[4] See Amy Ling's "Yan Phou Lee on the Asian American Frontier" in *Re/collecting Early Asian America: Essays in Cultural History* (2002), pp. 273-87.

[5] For a fuller discussion on Yan Phou Lee's position as one of the first Asian American writers published in English, see Elaine H. Kim, *Asian American Literature*, 2; Amy Ling, "Reading Her/stories Against His/stories in Early Chinese American Literature," 80; Amy Ling, "Yan Phou Lee on the Asian American Frontier," 274; Xiao-huang Yin, *Chinese American Literature Since the 1850s*, 55-61.

[6] One of the first regulations targeting Chinese immigrants was an 1849 California ruling that forbade any Chinese, African American, or American Indian from giving testimony in court against a white man. The California Foreign Miners Tax passed in 1850 required "non-natives" who worked in the mines

to register and pay monthly fees of $20. The 1855 California Statue 194 passed Capitation Tax that required a $50 tax on the master or owner of a vassal for the landing of each passenger who was not eligible for state or federal citizenship by law. The law uses neutral language, but since only Chinese immigrants landed by ship, they became the target of the statue. In 1858 California passed a statue 295, also known as the Chinese Exclusion Law, which prevented the further immigration of Chinese or Mongolians to California. The law was declared unconstitutional in 1862, but was not repealed until 1955. The 1862 California Statue 462 passed an act to protect free white labor against the competition from Chinese immigrants and to further discourage the immigration of Chinese into California. Chinese women became the target of some acts, for example, an 1870 California Statue 330 stating that "Mongolian" women emigrating to California must prove they were of good character. The Page Act of 1875 specifically noted Japanese women and Chinese women and prohibited the entry of immigrants considered "undesirable." (Odo *The Columbia Documentary History of the Asian American Experience*; "Anti-Chinese Laws," http://library.uchastings.edu/library).

[7] See Sean Metzger's "Charles Parsloe's Chinese Fetish: An Example of Yellowface Performance in Nineteenth-Century American Melodrama."

[8] Elaine H. Kim, Amy Ling, and W. Scott Wong all hold such opinion of Lee's intension of correcting writing (Kim, *Asian American Literature: An Introduction to the Writings and Their Social Context;* Ling, "Yan Phou Lee on the Asian American Frontier;" Wong, "Cultural Defenders and Brokers: Chinese Responses to the Anti-Chinese Movement").

[9] Marion Harland was the penname of Mary Virginia Terhune, who was one of the best-known American women writers in the nineteenth century and published 75 works of fiction and domestic advice as well as numerous magazine and newspaper articles. Her most famous work was *Common Sense in the Household* (1871). We do not know how Lee met Harland, but there are several possibilities: 1). Lee started attending the Christian meetings when he was at Hopkins School, New Haven, Connecticut, in 1876 and even had a personal interview with Dwight L. Moody (one of the evangelists preaching the Gospel among the CEM students) ("Why I Am Not a Heathen" 306). Daniel Lothrop, the founder of D. Lothrop Co., had started publishing books in 1868. By then, the company had published *Wide Awake*, *The Pansy*, *Little Men and Women*, and *Babyland* for the growing juvenile and Sunday school market ("The D.

Lothrop Company Assigns"). Lee's activities in the Sunday school might have given him opportunities to know a circle of friends that might have included both Harland and Lothrop. 2). Elizabeth Maude Jerome, Lee's fiancé, to whom Lee was engaged before he was forced to go back to China in 1881, was a portrait painter and a relative of the American novelist Winston Churchill (not to be confused with the British Prime Minister) (Ling, "Yan Phou Lee on the Asian American Frontier" 277). Amy Ling did not document her source, but, considering the context, it is very likely this was the American novelist Winston Churchill. According to Richard V. Lee, Lee's grandson, Elizabeth Maude Jerome was the "daughter of a well-to-do New England merchant family and a relative of Winston Churchill's mother" (16). That Churchill's mother was an American helps support such speculation. So it is very likely that it was through the influence of Jerome's family and relatives that Lee managed to return to the US and got a position at the D. Lothrop Co.

[10] http://paperbarn.www1.50megs.com. This information regarding D. Lothrop Co. was acquired through Hyde Park Bookstores's listing of major American publishers.

[11] http://www.childrensliteraturenetwork.org/birthbios/brthpage/01jan/1-26dodge.html.

[12] A major CEM building was erected on Sumner Street in Hartford, Massachusetts.

[13] For a fuller discussion on the CEM students' Chinese education in America, see Li Zhigang's *Ronghong and the Modern China*, chapter 4, section 3.

[14] See Floyd Cheung, "Early Chinese American Autobiography: Reconsidering the Works of Yan Phou Lee and Yung Wing," p. 29-30; Xiao-huang Yin, *Chinese American Literature Since the 1850s*, p. 58-9.

[15] The strategy of applying the doctrines of Christianity to criticizing racial oppression and discrimination was a common practice among many marginalized authors in the nineteenth century. For example, Sarah Winnemucca discusses her second burial in *Life Among the Piute (*1883*)*, a metaphorical reference to the spiritual as well as physical suppression of Native Americans in racialized nineteenth-century American society (10-12). Frederick Douglass has a famous passage referring to "a glorious resurrection, from the tomb of slavery, to the heaven of freedom" interpreting his fight against the slave owner, Mr. Covey, in his autobiography (81). Sojourner Truth, a nineteenth-century slave as well as a good public speaker though illiterate, exploited the Bible well in her famous speech "Ar'n't I a Woman" at the women's rights meeting in Akron, Ohio, 1851 and her speech at New York City Convention in 1881 (2252-

53). There are numerous examples in marginalized writers in the nineteenth century arguing against racial oppression by employing the rhetoric of Christianity.

[16] Of course, here Lee's notion of "the native American" refers to the Euro-Americans who enjoyed privileges denied to the Chinese.

[17] The Burlingame Treaty amended the Treaty of Tianjin in 1858, and established formal relations between China and the United States; the treaty dealt especially with the question of Chinese immigration in light of the American polity developing trade and economic relations between the two countries in a cooperative spirit (Jack Chen, *The Chinese of America*, 128-129).

[18] The Angell Treaty of 1880 was a revision to the Burlingame Treaty limiting but not absolutely prohibiting the immigration of the Chinese, which (the prohibition) did not come until the Chinese Exclusion Act of 1882.

[19] This is a common ethnic trope, from Thoreau's "Civil Disobedience" and John Rollin Ridge's *Life and Adventures of Joaqu ń Murieta* to contemporary ethnic American civil rights movements and anti-war positions. Zitkala Sa's "Why I Am a Pagan," published in *Atlantic Monthly* in 1902, is another example similar to Lee's critiquing Americans, in which she claims to prefer to be a "pagan" because she can find peace and salvation in nature and Native American spirituality rather than Christianity.

[20] Lee attributes it to American missionaries' poor preaching in China.

[21] For example, White feminists rhetorically supported their claims to vote by questioning why African American men and other minority male Others received the vote and they did not. This shows the issue of race is often interwoven with other elements such as class and gender, as seen in Lee's case where he is aware of racial discrimination, but meanwhile perpetuating racial hierarchy.

[22] The acts Lee cited include: The Foreign-Miners' License Law forced every Chinese miner to pay from $4 to $20 per month for the privilege of working claims which others had abandoned; an act of the California Legislature in 1855 levied a tax of $55 on each Chinese immigrant; another act in 1863 provided that every Chinese over the age of eighteen should pay a capitation-tax of $ 2.50; a San Francisco ordinance, passed March 15, 1876, provided that all laundries should pay licenses, but targeted only Chinese laundries (Lee, "The Chinese Must Stay" 480).

[23] William Wellock, Vice president of the Workingmen's Party of California, viewed the "Chinese Question" as "the curse," which he viewed as affecting almost every aspect of American life. He declared in one of the Sand Lots Meeting of the party: "The Republican Party has mismanaged this country for the past twenty years, and it's time they [the Chinese] are removed. I joined the Workingmen's Party of California to help to rid the State of the Chinese, and I have faith that it will yet be done….I want to see this coast get relief from the Chinese curse. WE ARE MAKING A COMMON FIGHT against a common enemy. The Republican Party if it is not checked will fill every state full of Chinese, and they will make the Caucasian laborers eternal slaves if you don't protect them by your ballots." ("The Sand Lots: Kearney Hooted, Mobbed and Abused." Frank Roney Papers).

[24] Twitchell was the pastor of the Asylum Hill Congregation Church, Hartford, Connecticut, and also Yung Wing's friend.

[25] The family ties were harshly severed. The children (Jennie Gilbert Jerome and Amos Gilbert Nelson Jerome) reverted to their mother's last name and, reared by their grandmother and mother, never got to know their father (Ling, "Yan Phou Lee on the Asian American Frontier" 277).

[26] To them were born two sons, Clarence Vallie Lee and Louis Emerson Lee.

Historical Context: Ah Sin: Nineteenth-Century Image of the "Heathen Chinee"

[1] Here "washee washee" evidence refers to a jacket that is sent to Ah Sin for washing becomes the evidence to identify the murderer.

[2] Most sources consider 1880 the year of publication of Dooner's book, but a chapter in the book mentions the 1882 act, which proves that the book must have been published after 1882. Also, the cover of the book shows an ambiguous date of 1880s as the time of publication.

[3] Peggy Pasco examines the "rescue genre" in relation to sensational images of victimized Chinese women in her "Gender Systems in Conflict: The Marriage of Mission-Educated Chinese American Women, 1874-1939."

Chapter Three: "Why Am I a Heathen?" Wong Chin Foo's Construction of the Chinese American in the Nineteenth Century

[1] An article with the title, "A Heathen Missionary," in the *Shaker Manifesto*, reported an interesting episode of Wong's narrow escape. The English missionaries, on finding out who he was, decided to turn him over to the Emperor. They locked him in a room and told him to put his trust in Jesus ("A Heathen Missionary" 260). The incident reported by an American newspaper might explain the start of Wong's distrust of Christianity, but it also could beAmerican missionaries' satire of their British counterparts in China, as they often competed with each other for the disciples of God in China. Wong managed to escape and with the help of "an irreligious seaman" sailed to Japan, where he obtained help from C. O. Saeppard of Buffalo (the the U.S. consul at Yokohama) and boarded a ship bound for San Francisco ("A Heathen Missionary" 260; "The Buddhist Religion" 8).

[2] A note from Franklin Odo's *The Columbia Documentary History of the Asian American Experience* (2002) explains the importance of queues to Chinese immigrants. Odo writes, "In Qing Dynasty China 91644-1911), the Manchu rulers had decreed that male Han natives must demonstrate acceptance of 'foreign' domination by shaving the forehead and braiding the rest of hair in a long 'queue.' Any Chinese man who contemplated return to China for any reason had to comply with this on pain of death" (51). However, the San Francisco's Board of Supervisors passed a Queue Ordinance in 1875 that mandated that every male imprisoned in the county jail must immediately have his hair "cut or clipped to a uniform length of one inch from the scalp," which was designed to harass Chinese workers and drive them from the country (Odo 51). Interesting enough, in both China and America at that time, the queue had become an exterior marker of subjection and control, and in some cases, performance of identity. Although the Circuit Court in 1879 ruled the 1875 Queue Ordinance invalid by declaring it in violation with the equal protection clause of the Fourteenth Amendment, Judge Stephen J. Field concluded that the nation had legal resources to anti-Chinese sentiment by having the federal government limit or exclude immigrants. Three years later, Congress passed the Chinese Exclusion Act (Odo 51-6).

[3] It was probably around 1873 or 1874 that Wong renounced Christianity if he was ever converted in his earlier years.

[4] During the 1870s and 1880s, violence against Chinese immigrants was rampant, among which the Rock Springs massacre in Wyoming in 1885 was the "violent climax" (Wilson 2). A mob of 150 white miners attacked the Chinese, killing twenty-eight and wounding fifteen on 2 September 1885. The degree of atrocity was unprecedented. Many Chinese workers were burned alive or shot from behind (Yen 358). Contrary to the popular belief that Chinese laborers were used as "strike breakers" to put down unions striking for higher wages and better working conditions (Takaki 229-49), Chinese miners in Rock Springs, Wyoming Territory, were looted and killed because they refused to join in whiter miners' strike. But it was only the excuse for the riot; the fact was that the anti-Chinese agitation in Wyoming was as violent as that in California. Kearney's slogan "The Chinese Must Go!" was used in the Rock Springs riot and anti-Chinese movement in other parts of Wyoming Territory (Wilson 12). A few weeks after the Rock Springs massacre, the Knights of Labor endorsed the killing of Chinese immigrants ("The Rock Springs Massacre" 3). Although fifteen rioters were arrested, the trial appeared a farce. Nobody testified against the rioters, and they were found not guilty and acquitted (Yen 360). President Cleveland, in his reply to Chinese Minister Cheng Tsao-ju's request to punish murderers, claimed that no United States citizens were involved in the massacre and only agreed to pay an indemnity on humanitarian grounds (Yen 361).

[5] A minister of Green River, Wyoming.

[6] Kenneth Owens, "Piece City Incident, 1885-1886," *Idaho Yesterdays* 3 (Fall 1959): 8-13.

[7] The 1882 Exclusion Act prohibited the naturalization of the Chinese; the Scott Act of 1888 introduced legislation to prevent the reentry of Chinese laborers who had temporarily returned to China; the Geary Act of 1892 extended the 1882 Exclusion Act for another ten years, and required all Chinese to acquire certificates of eligibility within one year. In 1902, the prohibition of Chinese immigrants was made permanent, and this prohibition was not repealed until 1943 (Odo 87).

[8] Ibid.

[9] hereafter shortened as *Appeal of the CERL*.

[10] For example, the national conference proposed in the *Chinese American* was organized by Wong Chin Foo and Li Quong, president of the Chinese Cigarmaker's Union, in New York in 1884. The fifty Chinese Americans in the meeting were all naturalized citizens before 1882 (Zhang 47).

[11] Wong was not alone in proposing to make a new America by incorporating other cultures into American ideals, especially in urban locales like New York City. Cuban poet, essayist, journalist, and political leader, José Martí (1853-1895), moved to New York City in 1881 after he was exiled from Cuba. He worked for several magazines, including *The New York Sun*, *El Partido Liberal*, *La Opinión Nacional*, and *La Patria* (Baym 1868). He was opposed to the then-prevailing Anglo-Saxon norms of American cultural identity and demanded the "Americas' recognition of identities as mixed cultures" (Baym 1868). His American republics refer to those in North America as well as in Latin America. Like Wong who stresses the importance of recognizing the "heathens," Martí believes that the new Americas will thrive only through learning from New World nations' indigenous cultures rather than following slavishly the European tradition. In his *Our America* (1891), Marti asserts, "These sons of Our America, which will be saved by its Indians and is growing better; these deserters who take up arms in the armies of a North America that drowns its Indians in blood and is growing worse!" (1870).

[12] The national conference proposed on the first issue of the Chinese American in 1883.

[13] California's earliest Chinese settlers included two men and a woman who arrived in San Francisco in February 1848. The first Chinese woman was a servant, but the second Chinese woman arriving in San Francisco in 1849 was Ah Toy, a twenty-year-old prostitute (Gentry 51). Ah Toy was an atypical Chinese prostitute. Unlike the stereotype of Chinese prostitutes, she was tall, had "aristocratic lily-bound feet," and was not an indentured slave; instead, she worked and walked independently (Gentry 52-4). She accumulated enough money to buy a brothel within two years and became a famous San Francisco madam, retiring a widow of a wealthy Chinese man.[13] In her "Free, Indentured, Enslaved: Chinese Prostitutes in Nineteenth-Century America," Lucie Cheng discusses the role of the pioneering Chinese women and argues that Ah Toy was a free agent, "in possession of her sexuality," offering it in the market in exchange for economic benefits (152).

[14] Hsuan L. Hsu also doubts Wong's claim of translating the tales. 97.

[15] Paul Schlicht, one of the founders of *Cosmopolitan*, claimed in the first edition in 1886 that their intention was to produce a "first-class family magazine" with departments devoted exclusively to the interests of women, including household decoration, cooking, fashion, and raising children ("*Cosmopolitan Magazine*").

Historical Context: Materialization of the Chinese Female Body in Nineteenth-Century America

[1] Chinese Immigration Pamphlets, 1855-93. FILM F870C5P2 v. 3. Bancroft Library.

[2] Ibid.

[3] Chinese Immigration Pamphlets, 1855-93. FILM F870C5P2 v.3. Bancroft Library.

[4] Ibid.

[5] Ibid. This picture first appeared on 22 Feb. 1880 in *The Morning Call* (San Francisco), entitled "A Sad Face at the Window" describing a Chinese slave girl in San Francisco. It later reappeared in an issue on Chinese women in *The Sunday Chronicle* on 27 Oct. 1889, entitled "at Her Lattice." This picture is widely known and quoted in the debate on the "Chinese Question," with a new title, "A Chinese Slave Girl." It is also included in many websites on the experience of Chinese immigrants in nineteenth-century America. For example, the project "The Chinese in California, 1850-1925" includes this picture on its website (http://www.loc.gov/teachers/classroommaterials/connections/chinese-cal/file.html).

[6] As the historian Elmer Clarence Sandmeyer puts it, "[n]o phase of the Chinese question attracted more attention than that of prostitution" (qtd. in Yong Chen 81). During an anti-Chinese era, Chinese women were indiscriminately stereotyped as prostitutes and condemned. Newspaper reports on the rescue of poor Chinese women were pervasive, which further perpetuates an image of the indentured and sexually enslaved Chinese women. Peggy Pasco examines the "rescue genre" in relation to sensational images of victimized Chinese women in her "Gender Systems in Conflict: The Marriage of Mission-Educated Chinese American Women, 1874-1939."

Chapter Four: Mrs. Spring Fragrance and A Japanese Nightingale: Passing and the Abject Body in Edith Eaton and Winnifred Eaton

[1] In this chapter I refer to the sisters as Edith Eaton and Winnifred Eaton as well as Sui Sin Far and Onoto Watanna. Scholars and critics refer to the Eaton sisters in different ways: some prefer a slashed identity by referring to the older sister as Sui Sin Far/Edith Eaton and the younger one as Onoto Watanna/Winnifred Eaton (White-Parks) to emphasize a double identity inherent in the naming system; some identify them with their chosen pen names as a way to reconfirm their self-representations (Xiao-huang Yin, Marjorie Pryse, Huining Ouyang); some recognize a compositional identity in adopting a slash in referring to the sisters, yet they reverse the position of the pen names and birth names which White-Parks

first established. For example, Shirley Geok-lin Lim refers to the sisters as Edith Eaton/Sui Sin Far and Winnifred Eaton/Onoto Watanna, which probably suggests Lim's intent to decode the epistemology in the names. Besides, the slash system is not value neutral as it appears. The name that comes first in such a slashed system suggests the default of the center, hence pushing the other name to a peripheral position. I agree with Amy Ling who points out that "The choice of a pseudonym is an act of self-creation, a choice of identity" ("Creating One's Self" 307). I sometimes use the sister's birth names for the sake of convenience rather than underscoring political trajectories. A point of example is that even though I use the pseudonyms to refer to the sisters, that does not meant that I agree on their fixity on either Japanese American literature or Chinese American literature and nor does it neglect the complexity of their hybridity. The legacy of the Eaton sisters lies exactly in their resistance to categorization. They represent the in-between, and their writing demonstrates the negotiations of identities for both their characters and themselves in North America.

[2] For a fuller discussion of the critical reception of the Eaton sisters, refer to Amy Ling's *Between Worlds* (32), Xiao-huang Yin's "Between the East and West: Sui Sin Far—The First Chinese-American Woman Writer" (54), S. E. Solberg's "Sui Sin Far/Edith Eaton: First Chinese-American Fictionist," Stephen H. Sumida's "Centers Without Margins: Responses to Centrism in Asian American Literature," and Amy Ling's "Winnifred Eaton: Ethnic Chameleon and Popular Feminist."

[3] Huining Ouyang, in her "Ambivalent Passages: Racial and Cultural Crossings in Onoto Watanna's *The Heart of Hyacinth*," argues that Onoto Watanna's vision of a hybrid, fluid Eurasian subjectivity counters the dominant stereotype of the tragic Eurasian (212). For portrayals of the tragic Eurasian, see W. Carlton Dawe's "Yellow and White" (1895), Jeanette Dailey's "Sweet Burning Incense" (1921), and Steve Fisher's "Shanghai Butterfly" (1933).

[4] For a fuller discussion of Kristeva's theory of abjection, refer to Elizabeth Gross's "The Body of Signification," in *Abjection, Melancholia, and Love: The Work of Julia Kristeva* (London: Routledge, 1990). ohn (ed.); Benjamin, Andrew (ed.) Abjection, Melancholia, and Love: The Work of Julia Kristeva. London: Routledge; 1990. ix, 213

[5] 1854 Ordinance to "Suppress House of Ill-Fame" in San Francisco.

[6] 1866 Act for the "Suppression of Chinese Houses of Ill Fame" in California.

[7] 1870 Act to "Prevent the Kidnapping and Importation of Mongolian, Chinese, and Japanese Females" and 1875 Page Law that prohibited the entry of the "Immoral" Chinese women.

[8] Winnifred's narrator Nora Ascough traces the genealogy of the family to Isaac Newton in the novel-memoir *Me: A Book of Remembrance* (1915): "My father's an Oxford man and a descendant of the family of Sir Isaac Newton" (26). But such claim is as doubtful as her fiction of her mother's origin from a noble Japanese family (White-Parks 50).

[9] The date of the photograph is unknown and was taken perhaps after she was brought back to England after her marriage to Edward Eaton.

[10] Shirley Geok-lin Lim notes that the Eaton siblings assumed alternative identities, passing for Spanish, Mexican, white, Chinese or Japanese, which suggests both unstable location in the racial paradigms as well as agency of self-determination (88).

[11] She was the first daughter of the couple, and second of sixteen children.

[12] As the eldest daughter in the family, Edith was in the role of second mother and responsible for her sibling's upbringing and care. Such a complex relationship with her siblings is later reflected in Winnifred Eaton's ambivalent attitude toward her sister in *Marion: The Story of an Artist's Model* (1916), a biographical novel Winnifred coauthored with her sister Sara (41).

[13] While living on the West Coast from 1897 to 1909 (San Francisco, Los Angeles, and Seattle), Edith Eaton continued publishing her Pacific Coast Chinatown stories in *Overland Monthly*, *Out West*, *Los Angeles Express*, *Youth's Companion*, *Century*, and the *Chautauquan* (White-Parks 117). Edith then moved to Boston around 1910 and in the last period of her literary career she published most of her well-known stories and writing: "Leaves from the Mental Portfolio of an Eurasian" (1909), "In the Land of the Free" (1909), "Mrs. Spring Fragrance" (1910), "The Inferior Woman" (1910), "Her Chinese Husband" (1910), and "A White Woman Who Married a Chinaman" (1911).

[14] William Dean Howells praised the heroine of *A Japanese Nightingale* for her "surpassing lovableness" and called the novel a "pretty novelette" with "indescribable freshness" (Howells, "A Psychological Counter-Current in Recent Fiction," *North American Review* 173 (December 1901): 881) (qtd. in Ihara 471).

[15] The term "passing," as Elaine K. Ginsberg notes, originally denoted in American history "the assumption of a fraudulent 'white' identity by an individual culturally and legally defined as 'Negro' or black by virtue of a percentage of African ancestry" (2-3). The connotation of passing refers to crossing through a racial line or boundary, which, understood in a larger scale, has been extended to include also "disguises of other elements of an individual's presumed 'natural' or 'essential' identity" such as ethnicity, class, gender, and sexuality (Ginsberg 3).

Passing, in the Eaton sisters' texts, sheds a new light on our understanding of the racial as well as ethnic constructions of their time. Their employment of passing is historically materialized and follows a long tradition of passing in American literature. There are three cases of racial passing exemplified in texts by Harriet Jacobs, Mark Twain, and Nella Larsen. Unlike the popular minstrel show, in which the white actors would wear "blackface" to perform blackness on stage, the absurdity of passing is revealed in Harriet Jacobs's *Incidents in the Life of a Slave Girl* (1861) in a moment when Linda Brent, a light-skinned slave girl, is forced to "blacken" her "face with charcoal" in order to get out of her house (95). The incident suggests that nothing is inherent with Linda's black identity, and passing, employed as a strategy, serves her purpose of performing the recognized racial features to the racialized world. In Edith Eaton's texts, Mrs. Spring Fragrance, a full blood Chinese, is portrayed as a true Chinese lady, a model that is presented to the American society by the author against the popular picture of Chinese prostitutes and servant girls. The irony in Mrs. Spring Fragrance's passing as an acceptable Chinese woman is as much as Linda's passing as a black.

While Jacobs reveals the irony of racial construction in a slave girl's blackface performance, Mark Twain uses passing as a metaphor to examine the impact of the institution of slavery on human nature in *The Tragedy of Pudd'nhead Wilson* (1894). The racial passers are exemplified by Tom Driscoll, the son of a white master, and Valet de Chambre, a 1/32 black, who are switched at their cradles by Chambre's mother Roxy. Tom then lives Chambre's racial life and the real Chambre lives Tom's white life. Passing, in Twain's texts, captures the anxieties over racial identity and ridicules the arbitrariness of the one-drop theory. In two ways, Winnifred Eaton's novels resemble Mark Twain's text. One of the central themes in Winnifred's writing is the romance between Japanese woman and white man, and the success of such stories lies in differentiating Japanese women from the contaminating Chinese women, who were

associated with prostitution and diseases by the discriminating race discourses of the nineteenth century. While conscientiously differentiating Japanese women from Chinese women, Winnifred's heroines employ a racial hierarchy, which legitimizes the passing of Japanese female bodies into whitewashed ones and condemns the abject Asian female bodies. Thus, the arbitrariness of racial identities is evoked in the sanction of Japanese female body over Chinese one. Moreover, Winnifred's persona as a Japanese writing subject hides her Chinese ancestry, which reads as another interesting passing: the half Chinese subject lives the life of the Japanese author and the Japanese subject in her stories lives a life no different from subjugated Chinese women.

The third case of passing is shown in Nella Larsen's *Passing* (1929), which tells about two women, Clare Kendry and Irene Redfield, both of whom pass for white in the 1920s in the racialized North. Passing in this novella, resulting in the disappearance of the subject, is used to "reiterate and execute" the "interpellation of the white norms" (Butler, *Bodies That Matter* 185). The significance of Larsen's text is not only in the literal disappearance of Clare, who commits suicide at the end of the text, but in the metaphoric disappearance of Irene, whose homosexual interest in Clare as well as her own racial passing exclude her from the normality of white heterosexual society. Judith Butler's comments on Larsen's *Passing* in relation to the interpellation of the white norms suggest the subject's submission to the signaling, i.e., the regulations, of the social norms just as a passenger would respond to any hailing on the street, even though it is not necessarily directed at him/her. In both Edith and Winnifred Eaton's texts, the consequences of passing results in the disappearance of the subject. In Edith's texts, it is the disappearance of Mrs. Spring Fragrance, whom is replaced by a presentable Chinese female body; while in Winnifred's texts, from her Japan romances to her autobiographies, the subject is unexceptionally transformed into either a whitened body or an aesthetically and ethnically acceptable American self-made woman.

[16] Refer to endnotes 5, 6, and 7.

[17] Hereafter shortened as "Leaves."

[18] In one of her short stories, "The Banishment of Ming and Mai," Sui Sin Far tells the story of the descendents of a rich and benevolent man named Chan Ah Sin in "the beautiful lands of China". Chan Ah Sin the first is "so kind of heart" that "he could not pass through a market street without buying up all the live fish, turtles, birds, and animals that he saw, for the purpose of giving them liberty and life" (137). This

picture of "Ah Sin" "the heathen" echoes Wong Chin Foo's depiction of "the heathen" in his "Why Am I a Heathen?" and challenges the construction of heathenism in American society. Chan Ah Sin sets free the animals to the Forest of the Freed and the Pool of Happy Life, where his descendents are banished, but due to the good deeds of Ah Sin the first his descendents, Ah Sin the ninth, Chan Ming and Chan Mai, are welcomed and enjoy a happy life there. It is an allegory of how the ancestor's good deeds will benefit his descendents. But the symbolic names such as "Ah Sin," the "Forest of the Freed", and the "Pool of Happy Life" are indicative of Edith Eaton's attempt to rewrite the history between the East and the West. That Ah Sin the first becomes the benefactor of the "Land of Freedom" reverses the colonial discourse of the West being the "maker of the new Orient." Contrary to the Gold Rush narrative, the journey of Ah Sin the ninth to the New World, is explained as a banishment due to having offended the laws of the land of China, similar to the origin of Puritan immigrants. The adoption of "Ah Sin" in this short story is not accidental, but displays Edith Eaton's awareness of the distorted image of the Chinese and her effort to rewrite a history of China and the Chinese. The story ends with the acceptance of Ah Sin the ninth by the inhabitants of the New Land, which reads against the grain of late-nineteenth-century American exclusionist discourse.

[19] "A photo bride" refers to a mail-order bride who came to the U.S. to marry her husband, whom she had never met before except through the exchange of the pictures. It was a grotesque pattern of marriage popular among Asian immigrants in the late nineteenth century, which continued to the twentieth century.

[20] As there were increasing restrictions on Asian immigrants, in particular, Chinese immigrants, they risked being barred from re-entering the US if they visited China. The restrictions became harsher and were specifically imposed on the Chinese women, which literally stopped the immigration of Chinese women for a time. Moreover, the miscegenation laws penalized white women who would marry Mongolian men; therefore, the Chinese community was reduced first to the practices of finding a "photo bride," and later a "bachelor community," a generic as well as a legal term to prevent the reproduction of Chinese laborers in the U. S. at a time.

[21] The exposure of the bound feet of Chinese women in both pictures is an index of the fetish of the colonial and imperial gaze in the nineteenth century. Chinese women's feet were never shown to men other than their husbands. The bound feet were romanticized as being like the "Three-Inch Golden Lotus"

in feudal China, the pathology of which was hidden in the euphemism of the patriarchal imagination of beauty and femininity. The exhibition of the private/the horrible in public, though both women are portrayed as "good" and "respectable," reiterates the narrative of the Chinese slave girls, continuing the discourse of exclusion.

[22] The 1882 Exclusion Act and its subsequent Acts prohibited immigration of the Chinese, but five kinds of Chinese people were exempt for exclusion, who were officials, students, merchants, teachers, and travelers.

[23] It's interesting to note that Edith Eaton reported an interview with a Chinese man, Go Ek Ju, who wanted to write a book on Americans in her series "The Chinese in America" published in 1909, a year before the publication of "The Inferior Woman." "The Chinese in America" has a long subtitle, "Intimate Study of Chinese Life in America. Told in a Series of Short Sketches—An Interpretation of Chinese Life and Character," which explains the author's intent and the content of the sketches (233). One sketch, "A Chinese Book on Americans," portrays Go Ek Ju who wants to write a book on Americans. According to Ju, Americans depict the Chinese in an amusing way because they have no knowledge of Chinese life; but "we Chinese in America have fine facilities for learning all about the Americans. *We go into the American houses as servants; we enter the American schools and colleges as students*; we ask questions and we think about what we hear and see" (236, emphasis in original). This is a classic example of the idea of the outsider within, which can be viewed as an across lands strategy employed by the subject who tries to come to an understanding of both himself and American society. Go Ek Ju's proposed project was a blueprint of Mrs. Spring Fragrance's writing plan in "The Inferior Woman," but by changing the writing subject from a man to a woman, Edith Eaton stresses the capability of the new woman she creates.

[24] In this famous incident, a steamer arrived in San Francisco from Hong Kong in August, 1874 with eighty-nine Chinese female passengers (Kang 121). Twenty-two of these women were suspected prostitutes and detained based on the observations of the commissioner of immigration, who would decide if these women were to be allowed to land based on their "demeanor and manner of dress" (qtd. in Kang 121). Even the way the women answered the questions about their marital status caused great suspicion in the officer; disregard how the barrier of language could cause the transfer of misinformation the commissioner thought the women's' answers were evasive and unsatisfactory. External markers, in this

case of mis/reading Chinese women, became the criterion to determine a woman's "morality". The eyes of the custom officer were reinstated as the colonial eye, which gazed at the exotic Other.

[25] In a chapter titled "Causes of Anti-Japanese Agitation," T. Iyenaga and Kenoske Sato pointed out that "Chinese agitation inherited" led to the ill-feelings toward Japanese in their book *Japan and the California Problem*:

> It is perhaps beyond doubt, as most authorities insist, that the Japanese inherited the ill-feeling that early prevailed against the Chinese, and this for no other reason than that the Japanese are similar to the Chinese in many respects and were placed under the same conditions which caused hostility to the Chinese…. Under the general term 'Asiatics' the Japanese shared at first, and later inherited, the painful experience of the Chinese. (79)

The politics of intra-Asian difference plays an important role in the analysis of the relations between Japanese and Chinese immigrants. However, this emphasis on Asian difference was often neglected by the customs officials and the police because for them, all "yellow" faces looked the same. A cartoon from *New York Times* published on 30 April 1905 captured the helplessness of the police in distinguishing the Japanese from Chinese (Mayer). The cartoon, titled "A Raid in Chinatown Puzzle Find the Guilty One" shows the back of a big police officer at the center of the picture, whose hands were put on a table in front of him, seemingly to support himself when he faced a sea of "yellow" faces. Those faces are drawn in oversimplified lines to form the stereotypical flat faces of the Mongolian according to the popular anthropological reading of race. Strangely enough, they all wear a masquerade of a weird smile, which seems to imply the cunning of the Mongolian, be they Chinese or Japanese. Mary Ting Yi Lui in her book *The Chinatown Trunk Mystery* (2005) reports many embarrassing mistaken arrests across the country, where Japanese men, who looked just like Chinese according to the whites, were arrested while the Deputy Sheriff in New York was looking for a Chinese suspect (188-191).

[26] For example, Winnifred's novel *A Japanese Blossom* (1906) tells a romance that reverses the usual paradigm of a Japanese woman and a white man. The American wife supports her husband's decision to join the army, hence becoming a "Japanese blossom," an assimilated American woman who shares Japanese sentiments and customs. Winnifred Eaton depicts American respect for Japanese militarism by constructing her as an assimilated Japanese wife (Murphy 29).

[27] Peggy Pascoe claims that anti-Chinese politicians "relied on images of so-called 'Chinese slave girls' to bolster their successful 1882 campaign to restrict the immigration of Chinese laborers" (631).

[28] Vera Micznik, in her research, has provided substantial proof that the tradition of renting women in Japan began at least as early as the mid-eighteenth century, and was legally institutionalized under the government's regulations (40). There were even personal testimonies from various people describing the "matter-of-fact, mercantile way" in which the contract relationship was treated (Micznik 41).

[29] He was an Italian born writer, who later immigrated to the U.S.

[30] In plot line, *A Japanese Nightingale* resembles Hearn's "Kimiko," both of which tell stories of sacrifice. Both Kimiko and Yuki are forced to become geisha girls in order to support their family.

[31] Winnifred Eaton's first novel *Miss Numé of Japan* (1899) was influenced by John Luther Long's 1895 Japanese story *Miss Cheery-Blossom of Tokyo* even before Long's publication of Madame Butterfly in 1898. For a fuller discussion of Long's influence on Winnifred, refer to Diana Birchall's chapter "Becoming Japanese" in her *Onoto Watanna: The Story of Winnifred Eaton*. 54-67.

[32] In Long's text, the boy is gone with the mother and the servant, so the next day when Pinkerton comes to fetch the child, the house is empty.

[33] Professor Jesse Alemán pointed it out to me that the fact that Bigelow is Taro's roommate at Harvard links the siblings. Taro is a cultural reversion of Yuki. Perhaps Taro really dies because his sister has taken what he wants—queer vs. heterosexual—this is another interesting form of doublness in Taro's identity.

[34] The body of Madame Butterfly transforms from Madame Chrysanthemum in Loti's 1887 tale, Cho-Cho-San in Long's and Puccini's texts, and to a Japanese Nightingale in Winnifred's text. In Puccini's opera, Blanche Bates, a white actress, plays the role of Madame Butterfly. This interesting "minstrel" performance of yellowness on stage suggests double passing: a white body tries to pass for a Japanese body, and more importantly, the Japanese body successfully passes for an acceptable body, though it is still racialized.

[35] For example, both Jacobs's *Incidents in the Life of a Slave Girl* and Douglass's autobiography were prefaced by the influential white figures.

Afterword

[1] http://cprr.org/Museum/index.html.

[2] The Six Chinese Companies, also known as *huiguan*, were the Chinese organization formed as early as 1850s among Chinese immigrants in California. In the early days, there were many small Chinese associations based on the regions of Chinese immigrants. It gradually settled to be six companies (that is, Ning Yung, Hop Wo, Kong Chow, Yeong WO, Sam Yup, and Yan wo). It was also interchangeably called the Chinese Six Companies in American newspapers. Later the Six Chinese Company changed its name to the Chinese Consolidated Benevolent Association (CCBA/huiguan) in 1882. During the days when the Qing government did not set a consulate in the United States, CCBA functioned as a force protecting its members. It was recognized as the representative of the entire Chinese community in America (Lai 39-50). For a fuller discussion of the Six Chinese Companies, see Yong Chen, Chinese San Francisco, 1850-1943: A Trans-Pacific Community; William Hoy, The Chinese Six Companies; Stephen Gould, California Chinese; Him Mark Lai, Becoming Chinese American, 39-76.

[3] The Committee of the Senate of California was composed of Creed Haymond as its Chair and other six senators including Frank McCoppin, W. M. Pierson, M. J. Donovan, George H. Rogers, E. L. Lewis, and George S. Evans.

[4] The 1882 Project is a non-partisan, grassroot effort focused on educating lawmakers and the public the Chinese Exclusion Laws and the impact such legislation had on our history. The 1882 Project successfully worked with the 112th Congress to secure the passage of two resolutions (H Res. 683 and S. Res. 201) expressing regret for the passage of the Chinese Exclusion Laws. Several national civil rights organizations spearhead the 1882 Project: the Chinese American Citizens Alliance, the Committee of 100, the Japanese American Citizens League, the National Council of Chinese Americans, and OCA. For more information, refer to www.1882project.org.

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