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ORIENTALISM AND MISSIONARY SINOLOGY, A STUDY OF W.A.P. MARTIN

by

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Master of Arts, PLA Foreign Languages Institute, China, 1985

A Thesis submitted in Partial Fulfilment of
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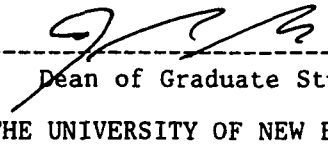

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ABSTRACT

While Edward Said's theory of Orientalism insightfully probes the production of knowledge in colonial settings, it has been criticized by other theories emphasizing more the voice of indigenous resistance, the independence of the agency from a dominating discourse of a historical period and the transformation of Orientalists in the Orient. Applying the concepts from both Said and his critics, this thesis examines the texts of American Presbyterian missionary W.A.P. Martin.

Three types of discourses are isolated from Martin's texts: colonial discourse, missionary discourse and academic discourse. It is demonstrated that Martin's Sinology was informed by the colonial culture and his texts did speak with a colonial voice. Martin was however concerned with promoting Western Christian civilization in China and most of his texts belonged to the missionary discourse. As a scholar, Martin could also suppress his colonial mentality and missionary prejudice to identify positive aspects of native intellectual tradition in his academic discourse. It is shown that these three discourses are in a complex relationship of reinforcement, contestation and subversion. The thesis also shows missionaries' sympathetic identification with native religiosity and values as a result of their contact with native intellectual tradition. Finally it is suggested that the study of missionary Sinology should consider the complexity of colonial enterprise and address the polyphonous nature of such discourse.

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CHAPTER ONE

INTRODUCTION

This thesis analyzes the writings by W.A.P. Martin (1827-1916), an American Presbyterian missionary who worked in China from 1850 to 1916. In this research, I use "Missionary Sinology" to denote that corpus of missionary texts aimed at presenting China to the West. This kind of writing has hitherto been used mainly as archival information for writing about missions in China. Seldom have they been analyzed as meaning-constructing texts with the purpose of disclosing the discursive strategies used by missionaries to create an image of China that suited the needs of evangelization and Western expansion.

I use the writings of W.A.P. Martin as a representative of missionary Sinology because of his multiple role during his sixty years in China. Martin first worked in Ningpo, Zhejiang Province, as a missionary. After working for the American diplomatic mission in the negotiation of a treaty in the 1860s, he quit mission work in Ningpo and went to Beijing. There he increasingly got involved in secular work in promoting modern education in China. He was the president of the imperial college that was set up by the reformers in the government of the late Qing dynasty to train interpreters and government officials in a knowledge of foreign affairs. In his last years, he resumed mission work. A prolific writer, he wrote many articles and several books about China. He also wrote articles and books in Chinese to promulgate Christian doctrines and Western scientific knowledge and culture. He was especially known for introducing Western international law to China. Martin's case therefore presents a microscopic world of the roles played by Protestant missionaries who worked in China in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries.

In my research I regard Martin's texts as both the product of an individual Sinologue and as part of the collective missionary Sinology

in the nineteenth century. Applying various strands of theories of colonial discourse analysis such as Said's Orientalism, Homi Bhabha's theory of hybridity, Bakhtin's theory of polyphony as well as the insights from responses to Said's *Orientalism* (Said 1979), I examine the multi-layered discourses in Martin's texts. What I attempt to show is that although Orientalism was a historical discourse of domination and colonization, in the texts of an individual Sinologue, the Orientalist discourse could not be the sole voice; nor was this discourse all powerful and without instabilities and inconsistences. I argue that while the theory of Orientalism provides us with useful insights into the nature of Orientalist discourse, to better understand colonial culture and the discourses produced in colonial settings, the theory of Orientalism needs to be supplemented by concepts addressing the complexity of colonialism and colonial culture as well as the complexity of discourse located within the texts of individuals.

In this chapter, I first introduce the research rationale of my thesis. I then introduce the historical background of the expansion of Christianity into China before 1850. Finally I outline the organization of my thesis by chapters.

1.1 Research Rationale

My research on W.A.P. Martin's Sinological studies is designed to serve a double purpose: first, I focus on W.A.P. Martin as an individual and examine his mission ideology and his Sinological studies. I will analyze his scholarly writings on China in the areas of philosophy, religion and history. Despite Martin's important role in promoting both Protestant evangelic work and political and educational reform in China,[1] as a subject of research, he has been largely neglected.

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1 Mary Boggs, 1948, *William Alexander Parsons Martin, Missionary to China, 1850-1916*. M.A. thesis, McCornick Theological Seminary. Norma Farquhar, 1954, *W.A.P. Martin and the Westernization of China*. M.A. thesis. These two theses, which I did not see, are recorded in Covell(1978)'s bibliography. Peter Duus, 1956 (reprinted in Kwang-Ching Liu, ed. American Missionaries in China: Papers from Harvard Seminars, 11-41), "Science and Salvation in China: the Life and Work of W.A.P. Martin,

Apart from three early graduate studies, the only and most comprehensive research on Martin in recent years is Covell (1978); yet Covell did not investigate Martin's Sinology. In Western books on Chinese history, information on Martin is mostly anecdotal. Although Martin was a prolific writer, he was not included in a collection of articles on early Protestant missionary writings in China.[2] Compared with Martin, some of his friends, such as Arthur H. Smith (1845-1932), Justus Doolittle and William Samuel Williams, have been more fortunate (See Liu 1995 and Barnett and Fairbank 1985). When Martin does show up as a subject of research, attention has been directed to his Chinese writings, especially his translation of Wheaton's *Elements of International Law*[3] and his *Tiandao Suyuan* (Evidences of Christianity), which was also translated into Japanese.[4] His English writings, both popular and scholarly, are rarely examined. It is my wish to bring Martin's English-language texts to scholarly attention. Second, this research uses Martin's texts as an example of Western Orientalism in nineteenth-century China and examines how Martin represented China in this Orientalist tradition. The research is intended to add to the debate over the validity of Said's concept of Orientalism as a conceptual tool for colonial discourse analysis.

The study of the mission movement in China has tended to be polarized: it either treats missionaries as agents of imperialism or as agents of positive social change. In either approach, the research has been oriented to the impact of missionaries on China. Except in some

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1827-1916," *Papers on China* 10:97-127. The information about this article is from Twitchett and Fairbank ed. 1978, Vol.10, p559, fn 10. John Stanley, a Pd.D. student in the School of Oriental and African Studies is now doing research on Martin as part of his Pd.D. research (personal communication Jan. 6, 1998).

2 Barnett and Fairbank (1985).

3 Henry Wheaton (1855).

4 Yoshida (1993). This Japanese translation includes the reprint of the first part of the Chinese original.

outstanding cases, the missionaries' function as cultural broker in introducing China to the Western world is less examined. Well researched exceptions include the Jesuits' study of Chinese culture in the Ming Dynasty and the translation of Chinese classics by noted missionaries such as James Legge.[5] The work of lesser missionaries in this area has been largely neglected.

A text represents or constructs both the reality it claims to denote and the inner world, the self, of the author. In writing, an author constructs both a "reality" and an image of himself to the audience. The latter lies in the way the former is developed in the text. It follows that in constructing different texts in different ways, an author presents a different self to the world (See Ginsburg 1991). Following this line of thinking, I examine how Martin's texts represented China and its intellectual tradition and how in this representation he presented an image of himself as an agent for Western colonialism, as a Sinophile, and as a spokesman for "his people."

I thus address the question of how missionaries may be transformed by the very society and culture that they came to transform. A typical example may be Endicott, a Canadian missionary in the twentieth century China (See Endicott 1980). Martin was not as radical as Endicott, but his long stay in China and his contact with Chinese culture--its intellectual tradition, its belief systems, its social customs, its language, its people and its interaction with the world--transformed him from a mere missionary into a collaborator of the Chinese government in the reform of the late Qing Dynasty and a spokesman for China, its culture and people.

Demonstrating the validity of this assumption raises some theoretical issues regarding colonial culture. In the specific

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5 See Mungello (1989) and Gernet (1985) for studies of Jesuit missions. Professor Lauren Frederick Pfister of the Hong Kong Baptist University has written profusely on James Legge's translation of Confucian classics (personal correspondence).

historical context of nineteenth Century China, the colonizers were at the same time being colonized in terms of their consciousness. China had never passively received the colonial discourse produced by Western diplomats, merchants and missionaries despite the political, economic and military weakness of the empire. There was both resistance (anti-missionary mentality) and appropriation (learning the foreign barbarian's knowledge as a strategy to subjugate them). And there was the colonization of consciousness (a term I borrowed from Comaroff and Comaroff 1991) of the colonizers in their interaction with the Chinese. The agent of change was changed and the encounter became mutual accommodation (not necessarily on an equal basis, however).

I also take the stance that it is desirable to regard missionary Sinology as part and parcel of the growth of the native scholarly tradition of *guoxue* (Chinese Studies) rather than as Western colonial discourse that was pitched against China as an object of gaze and colonization. This approach comes from viewing the mission movement not as a confrontation between China and the West, but as one episode in the development of Chinese history. Before European expansion, China had cultural contact with non-Chinese peoples on its peripheries and had come under foreign subjugation. Such cultural contact enriched the native scholarly disciplines. Europeans had come to China before the nineteenth century and had contributed to the growth of knowledge with their Western learning. The nineteenth century Sinology developed on the one hand as colonial culture and on the other hand as a continuation of the Sino-foreign cultural communication. The introduction of Western research methodologies and the opening of new areas of academic studies enriched the discipline of Chinese Studies and prepared for the growth of a new generation of native scholars.

My thesis demonstrates both the coherence of Martin's Sinological studies with regard to the nineteenth-century colonial discourse and the internal variety of his texts as a sample of this colonial discourse.

His studies of Chinese religion, philosophy, education, and history served the purpose of Christianizing China. This effort made it necessary for him to present a hopeful picture of a China that was receptive to the Christian spiritual renaissance. While the overall framework for his Sinological studies was of a colonizing nature, he had to negotiate his way into many local settings. In this process, he saw many positive elements in the native cultures of China, came to identify himself with them and even reflected on his own society back at home in the light of Chinese practice. In his texts, there is a mixture of different discourses reflecting the different concerns Martin involved himself with in his career. Not only colonial discourse found its expression in his texts, but also missionary discourse and academic discourse.[6] To do justice to the texts of a particular missionary, I believe this multi-layered nature of his writings should be given due attention.

1.2 A Brief History of Christian Expansion in China before 1850

1.2.1 Early Nestorians and Roman Catholic missions

China's early contact with Christianity can be traced back to the Tang Dynasty (618-907 A.D.). Reliable evidence for the introduction of Christianity was found between 1623 and 1625 when stone monuments recording the introduction of Christianity were excavated in Hsianfu (Latourette 1929:52). The Christianity introduced at that time was

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6 In this thesis, I use the notion of "discourse" or "discursive formation" in the sense developed by Foucault as "organized bodies of knowledge and practice" (Major-Poetzl 1983:5). Said explained that Orientalist texts not only produced knowledge about the Orient but also had the power to create "the very reality they appear to describe" in that they produced expertise and the academics, institutions and governments that served as circulation channels of Orientalist knowledge. This reality, together with the knowledge, formed the tradition called discourse (Said 1979:94). What Foucault and Said discussed as discourse thus refers to a formation of intellectual tradition over time which is thus collective. In my thesis when I discuss the colonial discourse, the missionary discourse and the academic discourse in Martin's texts, I am also using the term in collective sense, by which I mean Martin's texts form a space where different discourses meet and converge due to the multi-affiliation an individual Sinologue such as Martin had.

Nestorianism (ibid.:47).

The Hsianfu monument[7] recorded that in A.D.635, a certain A-lo-pên arrived in the capital and was cordially received by Emperor Taizong. "Sacred books" were translated and the religion was given the Chinese name *Jingjiao*, meaning the Luminous Religion (ibid.53). A monastery was built in the capital. Reinforcements were sent in subsequent years and the church underwent both imperial favors and persecutions, depending on the religious inclination of the reigning emperor or empress. Nestorianism enjoyed a three hundred year presence in China before it finally died out, probably in the ninth century (ibid.:54). However, it left no significant impressions on Chinese society (ibid.:55). Latourette attributed this to Nestorianism's confinement to predominantly a foreign community, the lack of religious needs in China during that time and the isolation of the mission from its home base (ibid.:58-59).

Nestorian churches had considerable development in the Yuan Dynasty (1271-1368) when China was ruled by the Mongols, due to the generally tolerant attitude of Mongol rulers towards different religions (ibid.:62). Nestorian communities and centers were founded in many places (ibid.:64-65). Yet Nestorianism still remained largely a foreign religion for foreign communities (ibid.:65). During the same dynasty, Roman Catholics began to enter China. The first Roman Catholic missionary to China was John of Montecorvino (ibid.:68), who arrived in Beijing in 1294, completed a church by 1300 and baptized about six thousand converts by 1305. He also learned the language of the ruling race and translated the New Testament and Psalter (ibid.:69). John's report of his successful work in China "created a sensation" back in Italy, which led to more missionaries arriving in China (ibid.:70). After John's death, he was succeeded by John of Marignolli after the

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7 The Chinese original and its translations in English, French, and Latin can be found in *CRep* (1845a:201-229). See also an account of the discovery in Drake (1936).

emperor of Cathay sent an embassy to the papal court. Both Nestorian missions and Roman Catholic missions disappeared from China with the ending of the dynasty, neither having had significant influence on Chinese society.

1.2.2 Catholic missions in the Ming and Early Qing Dynasties

Catholic missions resumed in China in the Ming Dynasty (1368-1644) when Portuguese traders arrived. In the 1550s, the Portuguese obtained permission to occupy a peninsula near Canton to conduct trade, where they built the city of Macao (ibid.:83). The first serious effort to enter China by a Catholic missionary in this period was made by Francis Xavier (1506-1552), one of the members of a group that founded the Society of Jesus (ibid.:86). When Xavier arrived at an island off the coast of China, however, he did not succeed in finding a ship to take him to the shore because Portuguese traders were afraid that his entry might endanger their presence (ibid.:88). At that time, not only missionaries but also foreign traders were generally kept out of China proper.

In July 1579, Michael Ruggerius (also spelt as Michele Ruggieri, 1543-1607), an Italian Catholic missionary, arrived in Macao. He was joined in 1582 by Matteo Ricci (1552-1610), one of the most influential men of the Roman Catholic mission to China. Born at Marcerata on October 6, 1552, Ricci was a member of the Society of Jesus. The son of a wealthy family, he left home for Rome to study at the age of sixteen and later entered the Society of Jesus on August 15, 1571 (Dunne 1962:23). Six years later, he volunteered for mission work in the Far East and went to study at the University of Coimbra in Portugal while waiting departure for Goa. He was ordained in Goa in 1580, stayed there for some time teaching humanities and studying theology (ibid.:24). He was sent to Macau in 1582. In 1583, Ruggerius and Ricci obtained residence in Zhaoqing, the capital of the Guangdong Province (Latourette 1929:92). They quickly won the rapport of local scholars

and officials with their secular knowledge which they purposefully demonstrated while concealing their true missionary intentions. In 1858, Ruggerius and another missionary were invited by a local official to Hangzhou, but no serious effort was made to penetrate China further (ibid.:94). In 1588, Rugerius was sent to Europe to ask for an embassy to be sent to China's emperor to seek imperial toleration of mission work, but he died and did not return (ibid). At the same time, the missionaries were driven out of Zhaoqing to Chaozhou, where they won over the locals with the same methods (ibid.). By 1594, they decided to change their garb. Up until then, they had been dressing as Buddhist monks, but they found such monks were not generally respected. They thereafter dressed themselves as Confucian scholars (ibid.). In 1599, Ricci established his residence in Nanjing and won some converts, one of whom was Xu Guangqi (Paul Xu 1562-1633), an eminent scholar official who later played an important role in aiding the Jesuits' secular and missionary work. Ricci finally reached Beijing in 1601 and was permitted to stay. He succeeded in identifying China as the Cathay mentioned in the travels of Marco Polo (1254-1324) (ibid.:97), which was a contribution to Europe's geographical knowledge of the Far East. In Beijing, Ricci wrote voluminously in Chinese on Christian theology and made efforts to adapt Christianity to the cultural environment of China (ibid.).

Ricci died in 1610, signifying the end of the first period of the Jesuit mission to China (ibid.:97). While the Jesuits were doing their work in Beijing as well as other cities of China, other Catholic orders were also making efforts to enter China, including the Franciscans, Augustinians and Dominicans, who had their posts in the Philippines (ibid.:99). But it was the Jesuits who made the most important impact on China. The society's work was not hindered by Ricci's death and was thereafter headed by Nicolo Longobardi (1565-1655), a Sicilian who had been in China since 1597 (ibid.). The Jesuits were able to win imperial

favor because of their ability to produce an accurate calendar. An error in predicting an eclipse by the mathematicians in the imperial Bureau of Astronomy had led the Emperor to order the missionaries to reform the calendar and to translate European astronomical works. Paul Xu and other Christian scholars aided the work (ibid.:103). This success, however, also aroused the hostility of a Chinese official who accused the Jesuits of plotting against the court. The activities of secret societies during that time added to the suspicion towards foreign sects. In 1616 and 1622, the Jesuits suffered serious persecutions (ibid.:104). By 1629, favor was recovered and the work of revising the calendar was committed to them again (ibid.:104). After the death of Ursis, the mathematician and astronomer of the mission, he was succeeded by Terrentius, who unfortunately also soon died, and was succeeded by Johann Adam Schall von Bell (1591-1666), a leading figure in the mission in Beijing (ibid.:104-105). After the Manchus conquered Beijing, Emperor Shunzhi (1638-1661) employed Schall for the calendar work and awarded him official rank, despite Schall having designed the cannons used by the Ming court to fight the Manchus (ibid.:106). The emperor also sponsored the building of the famous Catholic cathedral in Beijing.[8]

The history of the early Catholic missions to China was made significant by the controversies involving Christian and Chinese rituals which finally led to the imperial interdiction of Christian churches in China. These controversies were about what Chinese words should be used to translate "God," and whether native Christians should worship Confucius and their ancestral tablets. They were controversies of both

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8 This church is called *Nantang* (the south church) in both Chinese and English, following the pronunciation of the Chinese. It is called so in relation to three other Catholic churches, the Beitang (north church), Xitang (west church) and Dongtang (east church). It was located near one of the south gates of the Tartar city, within a five minute walking distance from my childhood home. It suffered a fire in 1775 and Emperor Qianlong contributed to its restoration (Latourette 1929:167). It is now the best preserved Christian church in the city.

religious and political nature. Religiously, they addressed the issue of how to interpret native customs and native religiosity and how Christianity should treat them in evangelic work. Politically, they involved the power struggle between the Pope and the local religious and secular authorities, both in Europe and in China, and between the different orders of Roman Catholicism. It is beyond the scope of this thesis to present even a summary of the main events of these controversies. Suffice it to say that because of Rome's inflexibility, the benign relationship between Catholic missionaries and the Chinese court built by many years' work of the Jesuits was gradually eroded, leading to subsequent persecutions, which lasted from the early 1700s to the 1830s, after Kang Xi's reign.[9]

1.2.3 Protestant missions in the nineteenth century before Martin's arrival in 1850

Although there were early Protestant mission efforts among the Chinese by the Dutch who occupied Taiwan (Latourette 1929:209-210), the first Protestant missionary who actually lived in China was Robert Morrison (1728--1834) of the London Missionary Society (LMS) (ibid.:211). A Presbyterian born in Northumberland, Morrison arrived in Canton in 1807. Because of the strict control of missionaries and foreigners by the Chinese government, Morrison had to make his trips in China as a translator for the East India Company, which had at first refused him a journey on board its merchant ship when he sought a passage to China (ibid.:212). Morrison's main work in China was preparing a Chinese Bible and a Chinese-English dictionary. He baptized his first Chinese convert in 1814, but during the twenty-five years after his arrival, his mission baptized only ten Chinese (ibid.:212-213). Morrison was joined by William Milne in 1813 and by Walter Henry Medhurst in 1817 (ibid.). Some Chinese assistants also joined the

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9 For a brief yet detailed account of the controversies and the persecutions of the Catholic missions, see chapters 7-9 of Latourette (1929).

mission, one of whom was Liang A-fah (1789-1855), the first ordained Chinese Protestant evangelist (ibid.:214). In 1818, the mission set up the Anglo-Chinese College in Malacca. The college was supported financially by Morrison and the East India Company. A press was attached to the college, from which early Protestant literature was printed (ibid.:215). In the years before the Opium War which eventually resulted in open ports, only two British organizations apart from the London Missionary Society sent representatives to China (ibid.:216). From Europe came two missionaries, Karl Friedrich August Gützlaff (1803-51) of the Netherlands Missionary Society and Herman Röttger, also sent by the Dutch society (ibid.:216-217).

The first American organization which sent missionaries to China was the American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions (ABCFM). In 1829, it sent David Abeel (1804-46) and Elijah C. Bridgman (1801-61), who arrived in Canton in 1830 (ibid.:217). Bridgman settled in Canton and started a publication *The Chinese Repository*, one of the most influential missionary journals in nineteenth-century China. In 1833, he was joined by some other missionaries and a printer, Samuel Wells Williams (1812-84) (ibid.:218), who was to become a luminous name among the missionary community in China due to his Sinological publications and his secular work for the American government. In 1834, the first medical missionary to the Chinese, Peter Parker (1804-88) of the ABCFM, arrived (ibid.) and opened an ophthalmic hospital in Canton in the following year.[10] Apart from the ABCFM, other American Protestant agencies which sent missionaries to China included the General Missionary Convention of the Baptists (ibid.:219), and The Domestic and Foreign Missionary Society of the Protestant Episcopal Church in the United States. The American Presbyterian Church also sent its representatives to Singapore in 1838 (ibid.:220). In the pre-treaty

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10 For Peter Parker, see Edward Vose Gulick (1973).

years, Singapore was often used as a station for learning the Chinese language before missionaries entered China proper.

The Opium War ended with China signing treaties with Britain in 1842 and 1843, the United States in 1844 and France in 1844 (ibid.:229). The treaties opened Guangzhou (Canton), Xiamen (Amoy), Fuzhou, Ningpo and Shanghai to foreign residence and trade. The open ports naturally stimulated foreign missions in China. In negotiating its treaty with China, France demanded but did not get a toleration clause. Yet the French envoy succeeded in obtaining two edicts from the court favoring Roman Catholic mission activities in China (ibid.:230). Roman Catholic missions rapidly recovered, but Protestant missions were also growing (ibid.:244). Mission stations appeared in and around open ports like mushrooms after the rain. The LMS decided to set up operations in six cities in 1843 (ibid.:246). Its printing press and the Anglo-Chinese College were moved to Hong Kong, the land ceded to Britain according to the 1842 treaty. In 1843, James Legge (1815-97) arrived in Hong Kong with the college, beginning his career as a missionary Sinologue (ibid.). He had been the Principle of the college in Malacca before then. Many other noted missionaries arrived in the years after the treaties, including Joseph Edkins (LMS, 1823-1905), a much published Sinologue, in 1848 and Griffith John (1831-1912) in 1855, well known for his work in north China. From America came Justus Doolittle of the ABCFM, Matthew T. Yates of the American Baptists, and John L. Nevius (1829-93) and W.A.P. Martin of the American Presbyterian church, among many other lesser known missionaries.

1.3 A Chapter Summary of the Thesis

Starting from Chapter Two, I first present the theoretical framework that I use in my research. I present Said's main arguments in his *Orientalism*, some Sinologists' response to his theory and their opinion as to the applicability of Orientalism to Sinology. Finally I discuss some alternative theories of colonial discourse analysis and

several studies of missionary Sinology that provide some insights for my research.

Chapter Three is a biographical sketch of Martin, in which I outline his early life in the United States, his mission work in South China, his secular work in Beijing, and his position among his contemporary missionaries. It is also an introduction to Martin's Sinological research, which is linked to the general historical conditions in which Western Sinology developed in the nineteenth century China. I show that the ideological basis of Martin's Sinology was much influenced by the colonial sentiment of his time.

Chapter Four discusses the colonial discourse in Martin's academic and non-academic writings. I pick out those parts of his writings that legitimized Western expansion in China. I show how by using the tropes typical of colonial discourse and by addressing directly some colonial issues, Martin carried the message that China needed to be enlightened and developed by the superior Western civilization.

Chapter Five and Six are concerned with missionary discourse in Martin's texts. This discourse refers to those texts that interpret and criticize native intellectual tradition and native culture from the Christian point of view. In Chapter Five, I discuss Martin's presentation of Chinese religion (represented by Buddhism) and his construction of what I call "Confucian Fundamentalism." I show how negatively he depicted Buddhism as an institutionalized religion and how he suggested the possibility of accommodating Buddhism into Christianity. I also show how Christian missionaries, from the Jesuits of the Roman Catholic Church to the missionaries of the nineteenth century Protestant Church, reinterpreted Confucian classics to make the Chinese philosophy and dominating ideology in pre-modern China an easy target of accommodation for Christianity.

In Chapter Six, I discuss Martin's interpretation of Neo-Confucianism and ancestor worship. I show how Martin interpreted the

Neo-Confucian cosmogony as embodying thoughts of divine creation and how he argued for the acceptability of ancestor worship as non-idolatrous ritual. I argue that Martin's treatment of ancestor worship is an indication of how missionaries could learn to identify positively with native tradition. I also show the internal conflict in missionary discourse concerning the issue of ancestor worship.

Chapter Seven discusses the academic discourse in Martin's texts. This discourse, more distanced from colonial interests and mission strategies, indicates that a missionary Sinologue such as Martin was able to shift away from the colonial discourse and missionary discourse in the more specialized pursuit of knowledge. In this process, Martin could speak favorably on subjects that he made negative remarks about when he was speaking the missionary discourse. Even when the academic discourse had its origin in other discourses, such as missionary discourse, it could contribute to native scholarship by asking new questions and opening new fields of research. I also show in this chapter that the truth value of academic discourse was susceptible to the contexts of its production and the tasks that it intended to perform.

The last chapter concludes the thesis with a synopsis of the research and a discussion of colonial discourse analysis. In this concluding chapter, I argue that colonial discourse analysis in the Saidian model tends to suppress some discourses while giving prominence to other discourses in order to highlight the dominating, powerful, and colonizing image of Western Orientalism. I hold that the raw data for colonial discourse analysis should be treated objectively and comprehensively to give due attention to the multi-layered formation of this discourse. When an individual Orientalist is the subject of research, his or her multi-identity and the dynamics of the formation of individual consciousness must be taken care of when his or her textual products are analyzed. I point out that further studies of missionary

nSinology should not assume that this branch of learning is necessarily of a colonial nature.

CHAPTER TWO

THEORETICAL ISSUES

My research is informed by several strands of theories centering around the concept of Orientalism in Said (1979). In this chapter, I will discuss Said's *Orientalism* and the reactions among some Sinologists to his theory. I first outline Said's main arguments in his *Orientalism*, then discuss Sinologists' comments on the applicability of the notion of Orientalism to Sinology. Finally I present some alternative suggestions as to how colonial discourse should be studied and some related studies that enlightened my approach in my research.

2.1 Said and His Orientalism

Said's *Orientalism* has been regarded as the beginning of the critique of colonial discourse. Prochaska (1996:671), for example, points out that postcolonial studies have been pioneered mainly by literary critics such as Said and Homi Bhabha. In fact, Said was not the first scholar in the West to notice the relationship between Orientalism and colonial interests. Talal Asad had written before Said on the same issue (Asad 1973:103). Nor was Said the first to apply the concept of knowledge/power in discourse analysis. John Clammer (1973) examines how colonial administration interposed a "conscious model" of its own creation between the social reality and the "home-made" or "conscious" model of that reality of a subject people in Fiji in the late nineteenth century. He shows how this Western-made model of Fijian social structure affected the way the people were administered and how this colonialist model was appropriated by the local elites and perpetuated itself in the post-colonial period.

When Said criticized Orientalism's displacement of Egyptian history, his remarks (Said 1979:86) read the same as Qian Mu's(1954:20) comments on the modern Chinese historian's approach to the study of the Confucian text, *Chunqiu* (Spring and Autumn):

> (Said): The *Description [de l'Égypte,* a twenty-three volume collection of the studies of Egypt in the Napoleon expedition] displaces Egyptian or Oriental history as a history possessing its own coherence, identity, and sense. Instead, history as recorded in the *Description* supplants Egyptian or Oriental history by identifying itself directly and immediately with world history, a euphemism for European history.
>
> (Qian Mu): Modern China's knowledge of Confucius has been achieved with the understanding and evaluation not from the perspective of the whole system of the Chinese intellectual history, but from that of the world history and the history of the philosophy of the world, which actually means the history of the West and Western philosophy.

It was Said's research, however, that initiated a hegemonic process of the critique of Orientalism in academia, with the result that it is now almost an obligation to refer to his book when discussing the subject and to view the subject through the book's theoretical lens. The strong point of Said's paradigm is that it takes Orientalism not as the mentality of individual Orientalists, but as a discourse in Foucault's sense (Said 1979:3). Prakash (1995:203) points out that Said's impact is his transgression of boundaries between disciplines, areas of research, academics and politics to show that these fragments of textual production shared "a unity as enunciations of a discourse distributed across different disciplines, periods, institutions, and texts." Young (1995:1590) points out that:

> it was Said who shifted the study of colonialism among cultural critics towards its discursive operations, showing the intimate connection between the language and the forms of knowledge developed for the study of culture and the history of colonialism and imperialism.

In this pioneering book, Said constructs a theoretical framework for analyzing the relationship between Western discourse about Oriental societies and Western colonial expansion. Said uses the term "Orientalism" to refer first to the studies of the Orient in Western academic institutions, second to "a style of thought based upon an ontological and epistemological distinction made between 'the Orient' and (most of the time) 'the Occident' (Said 1979:2), and thirdly to "the corporate institution for dealing with the Orient" that he finds Foucault's term 'discourse' most appropriate to describe (ibid.:3).

Said's concern is with this third meaning of Orientalism (ibid.):

> My contention is that without examining Orientalism as a discourse one cannot possibly understand the enormously systematic discipline by which European culture was able to manage--and even produce--the Orient politically, sociologically, militarily, ideologically, scientifically, and imaginatively during the post-Enlightenment period.

In short, he intends to study how the West dealt with the Orient "by making statements about it, authorizing views of it, describing it, by teaching it, settling it, ruling over it" (ibid.).

Said's basic assumption is that the Orient was not an ontological reality by itself. It was the invention of the West (ibid.:1). This invention he terms Orientalization (ibid.:5). This process of orientalizing the Orient indicated a relationship of power and domination between the Occident and the Orient (ibid.). Said particularly warns that this orientalization was not a system of lies about the Orient that could be blown away by finding out the truth. Orientalism was and is more "a sign of European-Atlantic power over the Orient" than a "veridic discourse about the Orient" (ibid.:6):

> Orientalism, therefore, is not an airy European fantasy about the Orient, but a created body of theory and practice in which, for many generations, there has been a considerable material investment. Continued investment made Orientalism, as a system of knowledge about the Orient, as accepted grid for filtering through the Orient into Western consciousness, just as that same investment multiplied--indeed, made truly productive--the statements proliferating out from Orientalism into the general culture.

Citing Gramsci's notion of hegemony, i.e. cultural domination by consent,[11] Said points out that it was hegemony that perpetuated Orientalism. Orientalism was a collective notion in the European mind to distinguish the Europeans and non-Europeans and reiterate European superiority over Oriental backwardness (ibid.:7).

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11 Gramsci's concept of hegemony covers both the political society and the civil society, while giving more emphasis on the civil society, i.e., how various social institutions "contribute to the production of meaning and values which in turn produce, direct and maintain the 'spontaneous' consent of the various strata of society to the same status quo" that state apparatuses coerce the society into maintaining (Holub 1992:6). To a great extent, this hegemony is produced by the "value-laden" activities of intellectuals (ibid.:24).

Said tries to dismantle the myth that academic scholarship was non-political. For him the production of knowledge was invariably intertwined with political factors. This is because a scholar could not be detached from his or her life circumstances---"his involvement with a class, a set of beliefs, a social position" or "the mere activity of being a member of a society" (ibid.:10). Said criticizes the idea that true knowledge and politics are incompatible or unrelated. He holds that such a view actually obscures the political circumstances of knowledge production (ibid.). Western Orientalism was characterized as politically dominating and prejudicing, such that the Orient "signifies primitiveness, stagnation and unreason" (Sakamoto 1996:115).

2.2 Reflections on Said from Sinologists and Other Scholars

2.2.1 Said accepted

Although Said focused on the Middle East and Near East in *Orientalism*, the wider implication was soon picked up by scholars studying colonial culture in general.[12] As far as Chinese Studies are concerned, however, reactions from Sinologists were rather late and informal. For example it is difficult to locate articles in academic journals specifically devoted to the relationship between Orientalism and Sinology. It seems that generally speaking, colonial discourse analysis has not taken Sinology as a subject of study.

An early study of China's image in the West is not a direct reaction to Said. Zhang (1988) traces the changes in the way the West imaged China in its humanistic scholarship and finally calls for a demythologizing of the Other. In this article he remarks that Said's Orient might be extended to include China (Zhang 1988:114). What he

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12 For an account of the early reaction to Said's book and recent development of the theory of Orientalism, see Prakash (1995). Said's paradigm has been influential in colonial discourse analysis. Taussig's (1987) treatment of the violence against Indians in the Amazon rain forests highlighted the relationship between discourse and reality. Although he did not quote Said, his work was much in the same line of thought.

sets his eye upon in Orientalism is Said's view that the Orient was the invention of the West. Although he concludes that generally speaking the image of China in the West had been a distorted one, he does not try to link this distortion with the unequal power relation between the West and China.

In 1995, Zhang Kuan published an article entitled "Said's *Orientalism* and Sinology in the West" in *Liaowang*, an official publication in China on current affairs. This article was soon re-published in the most influential Chinese electronic magazine *Huaxia Wenzhai* in 1996. In this article, Zhang Kuan suggests that Said's *Orientalism* should be applied to the Far East (Zhang Kuan 1996):

> *Orientalism* has a relatively large defect, namely, although Said's "Orient" in a wider sense refers to all the non-Christian areas outside Europe, it was used in a narrower sense to refer to the Middle East and Near East in the conception of Europeans and Americans. He hardly discussed the Western perception and imaging of the "Far East" areas. This leaves a space for further discussion. What I am going to do is to continue his work. (my translation)

Zhang Kuan holds that Western Sinology was meant for "knowing and understanding China and has obvious utilitarian purposes" (ibid.). According to Zhang, Sinology developed in the mid-nineteenth century and coincided with Western expansion. This Sinology adapted itself to the needs of European expansion in the Far East and characterized China as a sleeping monster and a closed culture without the ability for self-renovation. The Chinese were depicted as having no individuality, and as being largely interest-driven, dishonest and cunning. On the significance of Said's work, he remarked (ibid.):

> Said's works at least give me a warning, making me realize that this opinion [i.e. that Western scholarship is independent, neutral, pure and non-political] is problematic. We'd rather be more careful and watchful about scholarship in the West, especially the scholarship about China....I have traced the changing image of China in the West and found that no matter whether it is positive or negative, the image of China shaped by Western academics has not so far been truthful. A specified and crooked image of China was exactly what the West needed at that time. What I can conclude is that there is a relationship of interaction between Western countries' China policies, Western scholarship of China and the popular image of China in the Western public. In most cases this relationship is not so

easily observable. (my translation)

In his discourse analysis of two German works on China, Goebel (1993) states that Said's concept of Orientalism applies well to China (Goebel 1993:59-61, also see p69, N.4). He applies the concept of "topos" to the analysis, which he defines in this way (ibid.:60):

> ...orientalist topoi are a complex set of historiographic assumptions, political preconceptions, idealizations, aesthetic norms, moral values, and rhetorical conventions that originated in European philosophical and literary tradition.

He lists some topoi typical of works written with an Orientalist ideology: idealization of China in the European Enlightenment, despotism, static history (ibid.:60), China's large geographical expanses, huge population, cultural and political self-isolation, strict legal system, oppressive moral code, well-organized social hierarchy, and the immateriality of common people (ibid.:61). He shows how the works in question fitted into this general framework of Orientalist discourse. He finally suggests that this early conception of China was biased despite the Westerners' sincerity in trying to understand China and that it still persists in today's construction of China by the West (ibid.:68).

2.2.2 Said criticized

Many Sinologists did not agree with the implications of Said's *Orientalism* for Sinology studies. In 1996, an on-line discussion on the applicability of Said's theory to Sinology was initiated by Nick Clifford and was joined by twenty-five other scholars (H-Asia 1996). On October 26, 1996, two panels on the history of Sinology were held at the meeting of the Western Branch of the American Oriental Society. Panel One was on the topic of "Methods and Aims in Sinology, and the Orientalist Charge." A summary of the main points of the presentations in this panel was then recorded on-line (American Oriental Society 1996). Here I will summarize the main points of the discussions held in both places.

Richard Lynn comments on a tendency to use Said's Orientalism to evaluate Sinology in recent years (ibid.). Sinology has been described as China-Orientalism, "a vicious fraud designed to propagate its distorted views of China in order to pursue the nefarious goal of preserving Western cultural superiority" (ibid.). He rejects this tendency by questioning the viability of using "Sinologist" to refer to anything written about China. He prefers the term to be limited to "informed, linguistically/textually competent and trained scholars, whose studies are Chinese-text based" (ibid.). He points out that *Orientalism* overlooked the changing history of Sinology: earlier attempts might have been tainted with Western superiority but recent Sinology has been more accurate, fair and objective. Finally he points out that there were Chinese scholars doing Sinology and they had been the teachers of many non-Chinese and Western-born Sinologists. In his view, the question of the alien Other does not significantly arise.

As with Lynn, most scholars in the discussion in H-Asia (1996) are generally doubtful about the applicability of Said's Orientalism to Sinology (N. Clifford; J. Lynn; M. Szongyi). Clifford holds that Sinology might be an exception to Orientalism due to some historical reasons, such as the fact that China was not an easy prey for colonialism, the legacy of Marco Polo and the Jesuits that promoted a positive image of China to the West and the Occidental respect for Chinese culture. Mike Szonyi quotes Simon Leys's *Burning Forest* (Paladin, 1988) to call Said's book "three hundred pages of twisted, obscure, incoherent, ill-informed and badly written diatribe" (H-Asia).

Historians argue that Said was weak in history (S.A. Leibo, Xu Xiaoqun, N. Clifford). Leibo complains that there was too much generalization from literature at the cost of history. Xu quotes John M. MacKenzie as saying the book was ahistorical and violated a principle in historical studies by reading back contemporary attitudes and prejudices into historical periods. In history there was no rigid

essentializing of West and East. Western art constantly sought inspiration from other traditions. The Self and the Other were in a process of mutual modification. Clifford, like Lynn, also maintains that Said had disregarded historical changes in Western Orientalism.

There may not be a clear boundary between the West and China in terms of Sinology. Clifford asks how to deal with the situation when Western Orientalists and native scholars had the same idea about China. He cited missionaries' criticism of foot binding to show that there might be common grounds in the perception of China among both Western and Chinese intellectuals. Lynn (American Oriental Society 1996) also mentions that there were Oriental Orientalists and there might be no "other" if Western researchers could identify with their Chinese subjects.

Orientalism in the Said sense may not be solely a product of the West. J.T. Davidann cites Stefan Tanaka's *Japan's Orient* to point out the development of Japan's condescending attitude towards Asian countries as an example of Asian Orientalism.[13] Said was criticized for not reflecting such indigenous voices in his Orientalism and for being too monolithic about Western agreement in stereotyping the Orient (J.T. Davidann, in H-Asia 1996). Davidann suggested that the East-West relationship should be viewed as an open-ended interaction. In this interaction, Westerners can be changed through contact with non-Westerners.

In the relationship between the West and the Orient, the Orient is not totally passive (Clifford, in H-Asia 1996). Western Orientalism may be appropriated by Oriental people. Clifford, for example, suggests that Mao might be a theorist who used Western concepts of modernization, impact and imperialism in thinking about Chinese history.

In a paper on the study of Chinese history, Dirlik (1996) argues

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13 Also see Louisa Schein (1997) for a discussion of "internal Orientalism" in China's perception of ethnic minorities.

for a reconsideration of Orientalism. He questions the way Said located Orientalism within the West and ignored the contribution and/or reaction to Orientalism by Asian intellectuals (Dirlik 1996:101). He points out that Orientalists, by sympathetic identification with the Oriental societies, could also come to speak FOR the Other (ibid.). Western Orientalists also have introduced Oriental culture into their own societies with the goal of self-criticism (ibid.:102). The distinction between the East and West can also be used by Oriental intellectuals against Eurocentrism (ibid.). Western Orientalists may also be accepted as part of the society they came to study rather than the vanguard of Euro-American power (ibid.:103). Finally, the Orient may engage in "self-orientalization" (ibid.). The oriental participation in the development of the Orientalist discourse is necessary for its legitimation (ibid.:112). Borrowing the concept of "contact zone" from M.L. Pratt, Dirlik emphasizes that in this contact zone, the relationship between the Occident and the Orient was not merely one of domination but also of exchange (ibid.). The very nature of this exchange, as I understand Dirlik, leads to a blurring of the boundary between the Orient and the Occident. Orientalism is moved into this contact zone and can be found in the Oriental discourse of modernity. Like some of the scholars in the discussion, he notes that cultural essentialization, an epistemological necessity for the production of Orientalism (ibid.:98), can be employed in Oriental societies themselves to further internal homogenization for the purpose of internal hegemony, as is the case in China (ibid.:114-115).

Feminists see a dominating male voice in the Orientalism depicted by Said. Lewis (1996:17-18) criticizes Said for overlooking the participation of women in the creation of Orientalist discourse. Bringing women producers of this discourse into the spotlight "disallows a conceptualization of discourse as intentionalist and unified" and "destablizes the fiction of authorial intent and control" (ibid.:20).

She holds that "attention to the gendered axis of colonial discourse may deconstruct Said's monolithic analysis by allowing for counter-hegemonic voices" (ibid.:22). Sara Mills (1991:174) also shows that Western female texts in the colonial setting can't be assigned a stable position because of their being caught up in the clashes of many discourses: the discourse of colonialism and the discourse of feminism. Her research shows that there was internal inconsistences in colonial discourse in general when gender is brought in. Her research challenges the notion of homogeneity of colonial discourse as shown in Said's theory (ibid.:51-57).

Said was also criticized for not offering any alternative form for writing about the Other (Marcus and Fischer 1986:2). Marcus and Fischer's words are very to the point when they point out (ibid.):

> He [Said] in fact practices the same sort of rhetorical totalitarianism against his chosen enemies as he condemns. He acknowledges no motives of the West other than domination, no internal debates among Westerners about alternative modes of representation, no historical change from the days of open imperialism...to the present.

2.3 Hybridity, Dialogics and Polyphonous Discourse

Despite these negative reactions to Said's *Orientalism*, the concept of Orientalism as Foucaultian power/knowledge (Foucault 1980; Lemert and Gillan 1982:136) provides an insightful framework for the study of colonial culture and colonial discourse. What the reactions suggest is abandoning the absolute distinction between the Orient and the Occident and the sole emphasis on the relationship of domination. They also call for attention to subaltern resistance, the internal alternative voices within Orientalism, and the possibility of the transformation of Orientalists in their everyday experience of contact with the Orient. In this direction, some scholars, including Said himself (Said 1993), have attempted further elaboration of the critique of colonial discourse. For example, Homi Bhabha's theory of hybridity (Bhabha 1994) emphasizes the struggle of power between the colonizing culture and the colonized culture at their intersection. This struggle takes the form

of cultural translation that creates a new statement from an old statement that travels from one cultural context to another. In this process, the deformation and displacement of the original meaning are inevitable. The original relationship of power is reversed and a hybrid identity is created. The transgression of boundaries between the dominating discourse and the dominated discourse leads to the possibility of plurality of voices being heard (Sakamoto 1996:115), as Bhabha (1994:114) states:

> ...colonial hybridity is not a *problem* of genealogy or identity between two *different* cultures which can then be resolved as an issue of cultural relativism. Hybridity is a problem of colonial representation and individuation that reverses the effects of the colonialist disavowal, so that other 'denied' knowledges enter upon the dominant discourse and estrange the basis of its authority--its rules of recognition.

According to this theory of hybridity, then, the absolute distinction and separation between the Occident and the Orient and the domination of the latter by the former as suggested by Said becomes problematic. Here enters the voice of resistance and transformation and creation. The colonial encounter becomes a dialogue.

The issue of voice reminds one of the concept of polyphony in Bakhtin's works. His polyphony theory has been applied to a wider area than literary studies.[14] The essential point of polyphony is that the utterance of the individual is necessarily in a dialogic relationship with other utterances. The word we utter is a two-sided act and the utterance is only a moment in the continuous process of verbal communication (Morris 1994:58-59). From his study of Dostoyevsky's novels, Bakhtin saw a multi-layered dialogic relationship between the languages of characters and between their languages and that of the author (ibid.:103-04). The external differences of utterances are important only when they are regarded as being positioned at a dialogic angle to other utterances (ibid.:104). The significance of this view of

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14 See for example, Brian Walker's (1995) application of Bakhtin's notions of dialogic and polyphony in political ethics.

language is that "the formation of the self out of an internalization of various languages and projects means that there is no fixed border between self and society" (Walker 1995:107).

For colonial discourse, then, the boundary between the colonizer and the colonized may not be absolute. The utterance of the colonizer must incorporate in itself the utterances of other colonizers and the colonized in order to function communicatively. Sinological scholarship, even when conducted with clearly stated colonial ideologies, must enter the dialogic relationship with Chinese texts, written, spoken or acted. The report, analysis, critique and representation of these texts enter the texts of Sinology as reported speech in the Orientalist discourse in order to be objectified. But reported speech "has the capacity of entering on its own,....in so doing, it retains its own constructional and semantic autonomy while leaving the speech texture of the context incorporating it perfectly intact" (Voloŝhinov 1973:115). In receiving the reported speech in the Orientalist utterance, readers will inevitably retrieve the semantic autonomy of the reported speech, which makes it possible to de-stabilize the authority of the framing utterance. The framing utterance may be quoting other utterances for its own purposes, but it cannot control the interpretation of those quoted utterances by readers.

2.4 The Rhetoric of Colonial Discourse

Colonial discourse analysis is closely related to the criticism of the rhetoric of texts, because in most cases, colonial discourse was "text-mediated" (Smith 1996:173). It has been generally agreed among cultural critics that texts do not just describe reality; they construct reality (Atkinson 1990, Potter 1996, White 1978) and they do this through textual means, including the traditional rhetoric devices. It is therefore important not to overlook the functions such textual devices serve in constructing the text of colonial discourse.

There is now a "linguistic turn" in the human sciences (Clifford 1986, Atkinson 1990:6, Weir 1993) that indicates the increasingly important position of rhetoric analysis in the critique of these disciplines (See also Nelson et al. 1987 and Simons 1989). According to Weir (1993:228), discourse/textual analysis within history and historical sociology must "move away from the common...tendency...of treating sources as transparent information conduits reflecting without distortion a pre-existing phenomenon." The analysis of colonial discourse is not an exception. Said (1979:7), for example, states that "Underlying all the different units of Orientalist discourse...is a set of representation figures, or tropes. These figures are to the actual Orient...as stylized costumes are to characters in a play...." Spurr (1993) analyzes ten kinds of tropes in colonial discourse: appropriation, aestheticization, clarification, debasement, negation, affirmation, idealization, insubstantialization, naturalization and eroticization. These do not exhaust all the possible rhetoric devices in colonial discourse, nor are they exclusively found in it, nor are they clearly manifested independently of one another, but they do have a conspicuous presence, often in combination with one another. Atkinson (1990:11) points out that the writer may not be conscious of the conventions and rhetorical features, but rhetorical patterns and devices have much to do with the authors' meanings or readers' interpretations.

The concept of tropes has been used in missionary discourse analysis by such writers as Comaroff and Comaroff (1991). Talking about missionary writings, they write (ibid.:172):

> Accounts of missionary "labors and scenes" had by the late nineteenth century become an established European literary genre, taking its place beside popular travel and exploration writings, with which it shared features of intent and style (see Pratt 1985). This was a literature of the imperial frontier, a colonizing discourse that titillated the Western imagination with glimpses of radical otherness--over which it simultaneously extended intellectual control. What distinguished the reports of the evangelists from most travel narratives was their assertively personalized, epic form.

Travel writings of the nineteenth century have been the major genre for such rhetorical analysis which discloses the colonial nature of the discourse manifested in those texts (Dissanayake and Wickramagamage 1993, Pratt 1985, 1992, Porter 1991). Such texts provide a concentrated form of colonial tropes in their textualization of colonial travellers' experience in the colonized lands. The analysis of these texts show how discursively space is colonized, tamed, and domesticated by the authors's colonial mentality.

If literary devices are ideologically saturated, it is because of the strong semantic nature of such devices, but Fowler (1991), by analyzing journalistic texts, showed how seemingly immune grammatical devices can also carry strong ideological connotations (See also Fowler 1996). Barthes (1988) demonstrated how close analysis of textual structures can reveal the unsaid meaning in them.

Travel writings are semi-literary in that they are not fictions in the traditional sense but can become highly poetical. The application of rhetorical and linguistic analysis of travel writings represents a trend of crossing the boundary between fiction and non-fiction as suggested by Pratt(1988:22). Atkinson(1990), Spurr(1993) and White(1978) all illustrate how this crossing of the line can be achieved in non-literary texts such as academic writings, journalistic reports, and historiographical texts. Since any text involves a textualization process, it is inevitable that the deployment of textual devices reflect hidden ideological factors.

The theories discussed here are very relevant to my research, because W.A.P. Martin was more literary than academic in his Sinological articles. Rhetorical figures such as allusion, metaphor as well as others play an equal if not more important role as evidences for achieving persuasive purposes. Consequently in my discussion of his texts, I pay attention to his rhetoric as well as his argumentation and viewpoints.

2.5 Colonial Discourse and Missionary Texts

The theories and concepts discussed so far are all useful tools for analyzing missionary Sinology, but what should be the overall guideline in such a study? It seems to me that we have three choices: 1) treating missionary Sinology as Saidian Orientalism and colonial discourse; 2) treating missionary Sinology as a location of discursive and ideological confrontation; 3) treating missionary Sinology as a polyphonous utterance and as a location for intellectual exchanges.

2.5.1 Problems with studying missionary Sinology as Saidian Orientalism

Said's concept of Orientalism as a Foucaultian discourse is good for analyzing the discursive formation over a historical period and across disciplinary borders. With regard to individual texts, this theory tends to lead us to regard them as specimens of this larger discursive formation. The author of the texts is not significant since he or she is subjected to the constraints of the discursive formation although he or she may not be conscious of it. This notion of omnipotent discourse/power diminishes the subjectivity of the individual and denies him/her the active role in producing individual discourse. What this notion of power in discourse gives us is a feeling of alienation and the non-existence of the author's subjectivity. Authors become the spokes persons of a discursive formation and are evaluated without reference to their personal specificity.

Comaroff and Comaroff address the issue of agency in studying colonial encounters in this way (1991:10):

> Agency,...is not merely structure in the active voice. Although the latter may generate the former, it does not always contain it. Social practice has effects that sometimes remake the world; it cannot therefore be dissolved into society or culture. But it is also not an abstract 'thing'. Human agency is practice invested with subjectivity, meaning, and to a greater or lesser extent power. It is, in short, motivated.
>
> Once the motives, intentions, and imaginings of persons living or dead are allowed to speak from the historical record, it becomes impossible to see them as mere reflections of monolithic cultural structures or social forces. This is

> especially true of the colonial encounter, and of the civilizing mission in particular. And yet historians and anthropologists may be accused of not having paid sufficient heed to those voices--of not having done justice to the complexities and contradictions on either side of that encounter.

Porter (1991:4) criticized Foucault's agent-erasing discourse from his reading of European travel writing:

> If articulate language is a collective enterprise of the kind Said describes, then the individual is not free to write against the discursive grain, but is bound by an already constituted system of utterances. In short, all our representations of things foreign, a knowledge--as opposed to an ideology--of the Other is impossible.
>
> Yet, in spite of the frequent brilliance and explanatory power of Foucault's thought, prolonged contact with the literature of travel has convinced me of the relative coarseness of discourse theory when applied to the literary field and of its own structural limitations. This is not because I am concerned to reaffirm a faith in some kind of existentialist freedom of choice or of representation, but because the human subject's relation to language is such that he or she is never merely a passive reflector of collective speech. We leave our individual mark in our written and spoken utterances in ways of which we are frequently aware, if at all, only after the fact. Not only are the uses of an inherited language invariably over-determined at the level of the individual, but natural languages themselves provide the resources to loosen the constraints they also impose. In short, the limitations inherent in discourse theory are of a kind that frequently limit an understanding of the complex and problematic character of the works of my corpus.

Sangren (1996:5) follows this up with a criticism of the diminishing of the agent:

> ...I argue that power can be employed coherently as an analytical category only when it is linkable to some socially constituted agent--that is, to a person or to a socially constituted collectivity....As Foucault frequently emphasizes, people, selves, the subjects *care* in part products of historically and locationally specific circumstances, cultures, discourses. However, denying agency--that is, power--to actors, viewing people even at the level of their desires primarily as products and only trivially, if at all, as producers, is not only fatalistic, it significantly misrecognizes the realities of social life.

Diminishing the agent/producer/author leads to the simplification of colonial encounters. Nicholas Thomas writes (1994:3):

> While I consider the concept of 'discourse' as a necessary element of any adequate way of interpreting colonial representations, I find that a great deal of writing on 'colonial discourse' fails to grasp this field's dispersed and conflicted character.

> ...the modes of analysis that are typically employed often paradoxically characterize 'colonial discourse' in unitary and essentialist terms, and frequently seem to do more to recapture than subvert the privileged status and presumed dominance of the discourses that are investigated. Colonial discourse has, too frequently, been evoked as a global and transhistorical logic of denigration by the 'Other'; it has figured above all as a coherent imposition, rather than a practically mediated relation.

Similarly Lisa Lowe argues against the use of a dominant discourse and suggests the notion of "heterotopicality" of the discursive terrain (Lisa Lowe 1991:236, quoted from Lewis 1996:19):

> Discourses are heterogeneously and irregularly composed of statements and restatements, contestations and accommodation, generated by a plurality of writing positions at any given moment...In other words, the use of the notion of a dominant discourse is incomplete if not accompanied by a critique which explains why some positions are easily co-opted and integrated into apparently-dominant discourse, and why others are less likely to be appropriated.

As early as 1964, Homans, then president of the American Sociological Association, called for the repositioning of man [sic] in social research (Homans 1964). He criticizes the functionalist use of norms, roles and institutions in the analysis of human behavior and its interest in correlations, consequences and functions rather than causes and explanations (ibid.:809-811). Homans points out that serious attempts at explanation often resorted to non-functional explanations (ibid.:815). He argues that the personal and the social should not be kept apart. "The actions of a man that we take to be evidence of his personality are not different from his actions that, together with the actions of others, make up a social system" (ibid.:818).

I believe this effort to "bring man back in" is relevant to my examination of Said's Orientalism and Foucault's discourse/power. It allows for more consideration of the specific experience of an individual in analyzing the relationship between his or her texts and the larger discourse they belong to. While not ignoring the historical contexts of the production of individual discourses, adequate attention should be given to the producers' immediate life context to gain a

fuller understanding of why any one utterance is produced. Chaudhuri (1997) suggests three levels for examining missionary discourse: the perceptual world of the primary observers, the connections between the observers' own point of view and various institutions, social norms, and the physical world, and the level of discourse, i.e. the whole world of intellectual acceptability about Christian missionary activities and a non-Christian perception of such activities. Here the "perceptual world" reminds me of Boulding's (1956) concept of image.

Boulding (1956) develops the concept of "image" to account for human behavior. According to Boulding, image is a set of subjective knowledge that governs human behavior (1956:6). This image is the result of the holder's past experience and his position in relation to space, time, personal relations, the world of nature, the world of subtle intimations and emotions (ibid.:3-5). The image consists of both images of facts and images of values (ibid.:11). As a system of knowledge, image works as "a filter for present and future actions of experience" (Dubnick 1976:15). As a result, human beings do not perceive their sensory data raw and there is no such a thing as 'facts.' "They are only messages filtered through a changeable value system" (Boulding 1956:14). As holders of images, human beings receive external messages and evaluate them by way of the images, either to reject the messages, or to accept them, or to modify the images to accommodate them, although the basic property of image is resistance to change (Boulding 1956:8). Change only comes as the result of receiving messages. But as a system the image has the properties of flexibility, internal consistency, strategic logic and adaptability (Dubnick 1976:15). This resistance to change and the ability to adapt account for the stability and growth of our knowledge systems.

Image theory as applied to missionary discourse analysis points to both the generality and the specificity of individual discourses. This concept of dual dimensions of individual discourse actually does not

conflict with the Said/Foucault model. Said borrowed from Foucault the concept of discourse and power in developing his theory of Orientalism (Said 1979:3, 22-23, 94), but he seemed to have bypassed some subtleties in Foucault's notion of power by over-emphasizing the unidirectional flow of power from the dominating side. Foucault, however, did not forget to mention resistance. For him (Foucault 1978:92-96, Lemert and Gillan 1982:6, 9, de Certeau 1984:45-49, Lewis 1996:18-19) power is omnipresent and multidimensional and embodies resistance in itself. Power is like a network in which there are no binary opposites and no boundaries. Power for Foucault is not to be equated with institutions, or a mode of subjugation, or the domination of one group over the other, or the state apparatus. "These are only terminal forms power takes" (Foucault 1978:92). Power is the "multiplicity of force relations immanent in the sphere in which they operate and which constitute their organization" (ibid.). This notion of power enables us to examine the multi-locality of power in discourse, including colonial discourse.

If power resides in discourse, then an utterance that is produced in a dialogic relationship with other utterances necessarily embodies in it a multi-layered power complex, the components of which reinforce one another and/or undermine one another. Consequently, the reception of such an utterance will not just proceed along the one direction intended by the owner of the utterance, but will produce meaning as a result of the compromise of a multitude of discourses. These discourses include not only those that are actually intertextually linked to the main discourse, but also those of the receptor and the discourses that are intertextually linked with it.

Missionary discourse should be regarded as the product of the interaction of multiple factors and sources. We can locate missionaries in the overlapping space of many "sets"[15] that are epistemological

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15 I am indebted to my supervisor, Professor M.G. Wiber for this notion of set in discussing missionaries' multi-identities.

models, historical settings, organizational affiliations, and personal spaces of life. Each of these sets contributes to the production of a specific discourse that meets other specific discourses at the location where our missionary is found. Such "waves" of discourses, when they converge and clash with one another, will strengthen or weaken one another, all depending on their "phases."

In the case of Protestant missionaries in nineteenth-century China, the following sets were likely contexts:

1. Christian theology and denominational doctrines;
2. Western enlightenment and imperial expansion;
3. Native knowledge missionaries came to study;
4. Native society and culture missionaries came to live in;
5. Missionaries' life experience in both their home country and their mission field, including their social circle, their affiliations with religious and secular institutions, their experiencing of the social events in the places where they lived, their immediate living environment, and others.
6. Missionaries' educational background that shaped their worldview.

Given that there were so many factors, some decisive, some incidental, but none irrelevant, there could not be homogeneity in missionary discourse as a whole. In examining missionary discourse, we must bear in mind that both generality and particularity are to be found in it.

When we study missionaries as colonizers and agents of social change, we should remember that Christian missions were only incidentally linked with nineteenth-century imperialist expansion. The history of missions is as old as the beginning of Christianity. The acts of the Apostles are the acts of early missionaries. Glover (1960:11) stated that Christian missions began with the return of the disciples to Jerusalem from the Mount of Ascension.

Missionaries of both ancient and modern times were motivated mainly by religious factors. Although these factors spoke a strong language of

Eurocentrism, racialism and cultural superiority vis-à-vis the non-European Others, we should remember that in the time of early Christian expansion, the heathen world in Europe was not regarded as superior, either. If missionaries cooperated with Western merchants and imperialists, most of them did so out of concern for the "civility" of colonial operations (See Harris 1991:319) and some of them were merely dragged into colonial projects by their language competence. In nineteenth-century China, missionaries such as Martin and S.W. Williams worked as interpreters for the diplomatic missions of their home countries because they had the language ability, or from personal financial needs, or because, as in Martin's case, they wanted to extend their own mission field. That missionaries spoke strongly against the opium trade was evidence of their sometimes non-cooperative attitudes towards the foreign merchant communities. In China, missionaries spearheaded the abolition of foot-binding. An economic and class-struggle interpretation may interpret this as preparing the female labor force for an expansion of the capitalist market in China but such an interpretation, in Chinese idiom, is tantamount to "picking bones in the egg."

2.5.2 Problems with studying missionary Sinology as the space of confrontation

This approach aims at subverting the dominant colonial discourse by bringing in resistance voices. It does not, however, differ much from the first one in the ideological load of the approach, except that it gives resistance voices their due space in the confrontation between colonial discourse and the discourse of the colonized. Overemphasis on confrontation, however, tends to neglect the communicative aspect of cultural encounters. It also underscores the power of colonial discourse vis-à-vis the colonized people, turning it into something to resist seriously. Harrell (1995:7) for example, recommended that civilizing projects, namely, projects that assume an inferiority of the

receivers of the projects, such as evangelization or Communist reformation of society, be considered as an asymmetrical dialogue. Asymmetrical because of the power relationship between the civilizing agents and the subjects to be civilized, but still, in the nature of dialogue, it:

> allows us to analyze the projects into two components: the ideological discourse of the center..., and the ethnic discourse of the periphery. The peripheral discourse is ideological in the narrow sense of justifying or legitimizing a particular power-holding institution.... The peripheral discourse is ethnic in the sense outlined below--the development of the consciousness that a people exists as an entity that differs from surrounding peoples.

2.5.3. Studying missionary Sinology as polyphonous utterance

By the expression "polyphonous utterance," this approach is broad enough to include the first two approaches, for utterance embodies ideology, and therefore ideological conflict between the colonizing and the colonized will be included in a treatment of the encounter between different utterances. Apart from ideological encounters however, the term also includes the non-ideological aspect of the engagement between the colonizing and the colonized and therefore will not make this engagement purely an ideological struggle.

2.6 Insights from Former Studies of Missionary Sinology

In this section I discuss three studies of missionary Sinology and comment on the insights that I draw from their approaches for my own study.

Rubinstein (1997:2) coins "Missionary Orientalism" and "Missionary Lens" as two analytical concepts for examining missionary discourse in his study of missionary discourse about Taiwan. His research is the product of his close reading of Said and Foucault and the application of Robert Young's (1995) concept of hybridity. The Said-Foucaultian lens enables him to review the works on Taiwan by missionaries from the mid-nineteenth century to the mid-twentieth century in negative terms, emphasizing the link between the presentation of Taiwan in these works and the Western Orientalist tradition and Christian mission ideology.

Although he makes fleeting remarks as to the value of some works in preserving ethnographical data and historical facts, he does not examine if such preservation can tell us anything about the missionaries' individuality as a deviation from the Saidian norm of colonial discourse that shaped the prejudices in their texts. The notion of dialogue and hybridity comes up when he reaches the 1945-1960 period (ibid.:30), but what is meant by "hybridity" is not so much a form of missionary Sinology as the product of the merging of Western and indigenous discourses, but is instead the development of an indigenous Christianity "markedly hybrid in institutional pattern and cultural/societal style" (ibid.:31). The missionary works that commented on these hybrid forms of Christianity are still strongly biased against indigenous religious elements. What we see in this research is that while cultural hybridity might develop as the result of cultural contact between Christianity and indigenous religious practice, its critics, the missionary Orientalists, remained imprisoned in the Orientalist discourse and refused to take off their missionary lens. The tight grip of Orientalism on missionaries' perception is so strong that the author declares that it is a hopeless effort to try to cast away the yoke (ibid.:38-39):

> I have made use of the work of Edward Said and of Young in developing my own notion of Missionary Orientalism and the Missionary Lens. I realize that the Foucaultian subtext of the relationship between power and knowledge, the Saidian critique of Orientalism and the Young concept of hybridity are ones that take the missionary community and the larger Western community to task for the way they dealt with the people and cultures beyond the West. However I believe that such critiques, sharp and painful though they might be, are very valuable, for they force us to rethink the way we see the role of the missionary. Furthermore reading and accepting, within limits, the message of such critiques and [sic.] might force those among us involved in the attempt to win souls to our concept of faith and behavior, to reconsider a bit and be willing [sic.] consider adopting a broader and more "catholic" approach to those Asian (or African) peoples whose religious systems and cultural values differ from the one based upon the Judeo Christian vision of deity and of god-centered morality, a system that most Westerns [sic.] embrace and that some Westerners strongly--and even stridently--advocate with such conviction and vigor.
>
> Perhaps this is a furtive hope, for religion in the end may be about conflict and may be about processes of spiritual and

> cultural domination. Missionaries are soldiers of a church militant [sic.] fighting for their faith and their god and their vision of a promised end of days. This millenarian strain in Christianity, in the end, makes compromise impossible. Missionary Orientalism thus remains the one form of Orientalism that can change the least....Thus the mission-centered forms of Orientalism remain with us for they are still valuable tools--valuable critiques and valuable rationales--for recreating the world and making it ready for the long promised and long awaited Protestant "end of Days" that missionaries and their brethren [sic.] in the West still prepare the world's peoples for.

Rubinstein's study then, while valuable in exposing the colonial properties of missionary Sinological works, denies the possible discursive hybridity and polyphony in these texts. Even the indiginization of Christianity, a proclaimed goal of the Christian mission movement, runs the risk of being judged unfavorably by the 'authentic' Christianity of the West.

Lazich's (1997) study of the missionary Sinology informed by the Christian notion of the millennium concentrates on the work of E.C. Bridgman. He shows how Bridgman's work as missionary and Sinologue was deeply indebted to his religious ideology. What interests me is the conclusion he draws (Lazich 1997:24):

> In conclusion, Bridgman's lifetime contribution as a scholar and publisher helped to establish the foundations of American Sinology, and his publications in Chinese opened a door to the West for many of China's most progressive intellectuals. However, the great expansion of human knowledge that lay at the core of Bridgman's millenarian vision failed to bring about that 'unity of mind and judgment," that "common religious understanding," for which he had hoped and prayed. If anything, an expanded knowledge of East Asian culture had weakened the Christian claim of religious exclusivity by bringing a range of alternative beliefs and perspectives before the eyes of the world. Many Westerners had, in fact, developed a greater respect and appreciation for the religious and philosophical traditions of East Asia through the studies and translations of the Protestant missionaries--simply ignoring the accompanying framework of religious rhetoric. While Bridgman's vision of the Millennium may have failed to materialize in the way he had anticipated, as far as America's early knowledge of Chinese civilization is concerned, he indeed helped to bring about a great increase of light and knowledge to a degree vastly beyond what has been before.

In this study, Lazich does not apply any concept from the Saidian paradigm of colonial discourse analysis. The lack of such a framework enables him to treat history as history was, or in the scholarly slogan

of Confucian intellectuals of the Qing Dynasty, to "seek truth from facts" (J.E. 1857:183). The concluding paragraph quoted here brings up the question of how power can not be just located in texts, but must be in the reception of texts, and the reception of texts depends on factors external to the author's intention and freedom in either representing colonial discourse or not representing it. This makes the case of colonial discourse even more complicated. I have quoted scholars who argued that the agent should not be submerged in the collective speech of colonialism. Now here is the issue of the reader's response to texts. Thus in examining colonial discourse, the agent *must* both be remembered and forgotten, only that this forgetting of the agent is not to give more weight to the Foucaultian demonic power that hovers above us, but to bring other agents into the construction of meaning from colonial texts--other colonizers and the colonized. The hermeneutics of colonial discourse, then, becomes a polyphonic performance that is structured by dialogic compromise.

Honey did a sizable study of Western Classical Sinology, much of which was developed by missionaries. The study is not done in the framework of colonial discourse criticism, but in that of traditional intellectual history. Said is brought up in the last chapter on tradition and truth in Sinology only as quotation in Clifford's review of *Orientalism* (Clifford 1980). Honey makes some insightful remarks regarding the relationship between Western Sinology and native scholarship (Honey 1997:390-91):

> ...Sinological Orientalism was adopted, naively and whole-heartedly, from the oriental world of the Chinese, not manufactured out of self-empowering stereotypes of China as part of the attempt at textual colonialism, as Edward Said posits for the mentality of Orientalism in general. Yet, since Europeans stood outside of this insular community of literati, they did not participate in the discourse as discussants. Nevertheless, they were influenced by it in terms defined by Antonio Gramsci as "cultural hegemony." This hegemony exerted its pervasive if hardly apprehended influence as it selected both the means of understanding China as well as the modes of communicating this understanding in writing.
>
> Not until the 1890s did Western Sinology rid itself of this

hegemony of native philological scholarship tradition and develop its own methodology (ibid.:391-92). The search for truth gradually shifted from the fidelity to texts in the initial textual studies that fit well with the old positivist methodology to the synthetic narratives and analysis of texts from outside of them (ibid.:398). The way to seek truth from models of understanding in modern social science contributed to comparative studies with other cultures and peoples (ibid.).

Here we see that Western Sinology not only did not originate from a mentality of "textual colonialism," it had to, in its infant stage, subject itself to the hegemony of native scholarship. In other words, it had to undergo the stage of apprenticeship. Although nineteenth-century Western scholarship had the ability to examine other cultures with its own methods, on an individual basis, such an apprenticeship was the stepping stone to scholarly freedom. On an individual basis, each would-be Sinologue in the nineteenth century had to start with an apprenticeship to native scholars before freely treating his or her subject matters in his or her own way. An individual Sinologue represented the process of the development of Western Sinology from dependence on native scholarship to independence.

Two analyses of early missionary Sinology, Gernet (1985) and Mungello (1989) are complementary in that they highlight the antagonism and compromise in the development of Christian Sinology respectively. Both studies regard the encounter between Christianity and China as one between two equally powerful civilizations that generated problems in the differences in language, logic and visions of the world, or in Boulding's term, in the differences in image. While Gernet documents native responses to Jesuits, showing thereby the limited power of the impact of Christian missions on the ideology of the Chinese, Mungello shows how the Jesuits adapted themselves to the reality of China in their mission strategy of Christian-Confucian syncretism. What else is syncretism but the allowance given to the other utterance?

Except for Rubinstein (1997), the other studies I discuss above point to the complicated nature of missionary Sinology, which is closer to historical reality. In his preface to a collection of articles on missionary writings, Barnett discusses this historical complexity. He points out that missionaries had to play the role of cultural brokers in their mission field and this took them beyond theology and also gave them an historical ambivalence as benefactors of the Chinese people and as cultural imperialists (Barnett and Fairbank 1985:vi). Consequently, any oversimplification in defining missionaries and fixing the nature of missionary discourse will tend to simplify history, which, according to Barnett, "is far from an exact descriptive science," because the question of cultural contact was "slippery" (ibid.).

Even as cultural imperialists, missionaries should be treated separately from other agents of Western expansion. Harris (1991:310) pointed out that the very concept of "cultural imperialism" lacked precise and rigorous definition and implied an overall sweeping condemnation. He asserted that "missions operated according to their own agenda in a complex and variable relation with the imperialist enterprise as a whole" (ibid.:311).

2.7 A Methodological Problem: the Demarcation of Discourses in Missionary Sinology

The relationship between missionaries and imperialism therefore is closely related to the question of whether or not missionary discourse should be identified with colonial discourse. According to classical imperialist theory, imperialism referred mainly to the economic and political expansion of Western capitalism. This theory does not give much consideration to missions (Schlesinger 1974:342). According to Schlesinger, in order to reduce the invisibility of the missions in historical studies, missionaries must be given their autonomy from the economic and political interests of imperialists (ibid.). He discusses how the relationship between missionaries and imperialist agencies was

not necessarily a logical one. Nevertheless, both Schlesinger and Harris (1991) discuss the concept of "cultural imperialism" as a useful analytical tool for analyzing Christian missions. Schlesinger (1974:363) defines cultural imperialism as: "purposeful aggression by one culture against the ideas and values of another. The mere communication of ideas and values across national borders is not in itself imperialist,...." Harris, as mentioned above, thinks that the concept embodies a sweeping tendency of condemnation and suggests that the relationship between missionaries' cultural imperialism and economic and political imperialism is one of structural parallelism (1991:312). Even when missions were not institutionally linked to imperialist enterprises, they could still exert a dominating influence on the natives and create dependency. By analyzing American Protestant mission policy, Harris demonstrates how American missions, despite their professed purpose of helping the development of indigenous churches, actually created longer term dependence of native clergies on the missions. Although Harris is not discussing missionary discourse, his research shows that the missionary enterprise had its own characteristics that could not be accounted for just by linking them to imperial enterprises.

Following the thoughts of Schlesinger and Harris, I believe that it is helpful to separate missionary discourse from other types of colonial discourse. While both may be characterized by aggressiveness and dominance, they differ in their priorities. Colonial discourse should be regarded as that serving directly the economic, political and military interests of imperialist powers, i.e., it spoke for such interests by legitimizing colonial projects and arguing for the necessity of colonization in the "progress" of the colonized societies. Missionary discourse should be regarded as that serving predominantly the aim of evangelism.

Since missionary Sinology is also a form of academic research, it must observe the textual rules of academic discourse in assuming a "disinterested" appearance. The stylistic difference of academic discourse is not merely a linguistic phenomenon of registers but a difference in the discursive rules required by different ideologies of communication. I therefore separate academic discourse from colonial discourse and missionary discourse.

In the texts of an individual Orientalist such as Martin, these three discourses are located either in different spaces or are mixed up to share common spaces. Their presence varies with the actual context of text production: the intended audience, the genre, the relationship with a broader historical environment. Sometimes one particular subject may be treated in more than one discourse and assumes different appearances and gives different readings of the author's message. The different discourses on the same or different subjects may conflict with one another or reinforce one another. For example, naked colonial discourse may be weakened by missionary discourse that prefers a gloved fist to gunboats. The aggressiveness of colonial discourse and missionary discourse may be neutralized by an academic discourse that highlights more the positive aspects of the native tradition. Similarly, the apparently disinterested academic discourse may carry the tones of colonial discourse in its deep structure and colonial discourse may reveal the presence of the resistance discourse of the native voice.

In this chapter I have discussed the theories and case studies that provide me with the basic line of thinking in my research. I have also discussed the question of the demarcation of discourses in the texts of a particular individual and suggested a tripartite classification of discourse in missionary Sinological texts. In what follows I shall apply the insights and concepts from these theories and the studies to my examination of Martin's texts. I will first introduce Martin's life

and work and the historical background of his mission work and academic career. Then I will analyze his Sinological studies and his presentation of China in his non-academic texts. To make my presentation clear, I will discuss his texts under three categories: colonial discourse, missionary discourse and academic discourse, so that I can show how colonial mentality alone cannot capture all the discourses of an individual Orientalist and how Martin's discourse varies with subject matters, perspectives of examining these subject matters, and the historical settings of their production. I will also discuss the mutual relationship between these three modes of discourse.

CHAPTER THREE

W.A.P. MARTIN'S LIFE, WORK AND SCHOLARSHIP

In the last chapter I outlined the theories and case studies that provide me with the concepts for my study of Martin's Sinological texts. In this chapter, I will introduce the subject of my research: W.A.P. Martin and his Sinological studies.

3.1 Martin's Early Life and Education

On April 10th, 1827, William Alexander Parson Martin was born in Livonia, Indiana in a home of learning and religion. His father, Rev. William W. Martin, was an educator as well as an "excellent classical scholar, especially in Latin" (Smith 1917:16), who founded one of the first private schools, William Martin's Academy, in the frontier drive for education in Indiana in the early 1800s (Covell 1978:9). His curriculum reflected his belief that "Christianity and education should go hand in hand in the development of society" (ibid.).

Martin's home "was filled with an atmosphere of evangelism, missions, education" (ibid.:13). His parents' example of pious religious life set the children in the same direction (ibid.). Smith wrote: "Mrs. Martin must have received from some source a strong missionary bias, for she named each of her three sons for missionaries,..." (Smith 1917:117). Martin got his names from William Alexander, his maternal uncle, who went to the Hawaiian Islands, and from Levi Parson, a missionary in Palestine (ibid.:Covell 1978:7). Martin's brother Samuel was also a missionary to China and his sister Martha Venable was missionary to South Africa with her husband (Covell 1978:7). In 1843, Martin and his brother Samuel matriculated at Indiana University in Bloomington, where, according to Covell, the president of the university, Andrew Wylie, could have influenced Martin with his idea of "Manifest Destiny" and with Scottish philosophical realism (ibid.:15-16). Andrew Wylie's views of history held that great events in

civilization moved around the earth from Central Asia to Europe, America and the Pacific along a "historical belt" (ibid.). The influence of this idea on Martin is seen in that after the Boxer Uprising in 1900,[16] Martin suggested that the United States' territorial demands on China as a "natural growth" of the United States (Martin 1972:155). The other influence by Wylie was the philosophy of common sense, a reaction to the skepticism of Hume, Locke and Berkeley. It led Martin to believe in an objective reality external to human mind and in cause and effect relationships (ibid.:16). Martin's argument against Neo-Confucianism's ignorance of divine intelligence as the cause of the world obviously had their origin in this philosophy.

After Martin graduated, he studied theology for three years in a Presbyterian seminary at New Albany (Smith 1917:117). At New Albany, Martin studied Scriptures and the Calvinist theology (Covell 1978:18). He "probably" had some knowledge of William Paley's *Natural Theology*,[17] which he applied in his Chinese book *Evidences of Christianity* (ibid.). When Martin graduated from the seminary in May, 1849, his mission ideology had taken tangible form: his graduation oration was about the utility of the physical sciences for a missionary (Covell 1978:22). Before he left for China, he had leaned towards a career in science or medicine (ibid.).

Covell (1978:23) attributes Martin's view of life and mission to

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16 The Boxer Uprising broke up in the late 1890s and culminated in the siege of the foreign legations in Beijing in 1900. Originally members of secrete societies, the Boxers' sentiment was initially anti-Manchu and anti-foreign. In the late 1890s, the conservative elements in the court utilized this anti-foreign mood in the civil society and patronized the Boxers' killing of foreigners and missionaries, destroying of railways and their attacking of foreign troops. In June 1900, the Boxers sieged the foreign legations in Beijing and the dowager declared war on foreign powers, believing that Boxers could help her to rid China of foreign domination. The uprising was suppressed by allied foreign forces and Chinese government troops commanded by provincial governors who opposed the court's policy. See Twitchett and Fairbank (1980:115-30) for a brief account. See Keown-boyd (1991) for more detailed study of the Boxer Uprising.

17 Paley 1970.

"his own perception of the relationship between the Christian faith and culture in his own land and its projection upon the whole world." The expansion of the United States and the accompanying incidents were "justified in the name of civilization and both political and religious liberty" (ibid.). He suggests that the signs of progress in America in the early 1800s and the expansion of Christian faith and mission zeal also contributed to Martin's view of mission work (ibid.:23-24). From some other examples he cites, we can also see that this mission consciousness was based on the sense of the superiority of Western civilization and on the development of a self-image as savior of the "perishing millions of China" (ibid.:24-25).[18] In missionary rhetoric, the need of the heathens has always been a trope for the mobilization of a mission campaign.

Martin's education in classics and in theology prepared him well for his work. He went to China "with an excellent knowledge of Greek, rhetoric, electricity, optics and Calvinist theology" (Spence 1969:129). From the many historical allusions and quotations in his numerous writings, we can see that he was competent in Greek, Latin, French and German apart from the Chinese that he learned in the field and that he was well versed with the ancient and modern history of Europe. His papers on scientific subjects also showed his solid foundation in the developments of modern science of his time. He seemed particularly good at physics and mathematics; the latter won him the admiration of one Chinese mathematician at the college (Smith 1917:121). [19]

3.2 Entering the Field

Martin was ordained on October 2, 1849 and was assigned to Ningpo together with his brother Samuel Martin (Covell 1978:27) on November 12.

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18 For a missionary document that reflects this patronizing perception of the Chinese, see *China's Millions* (n.a. 1900?).

19 Smith might be referring to Li Shanlan, for whom Martin held high respect. See Martin (1966:368-370).

He married Jane Vansant on November 13 and they sailed ten days later from Philadelphia to China with Samuel Martin and his wife, as well as Mr. and Mrs. Justus Doolittle of the ABCFM (ibid.). After a voyage of 134 days, they arrived at Hong Kong on April 10, 1850, Martin's twenty-third birthday (Martin 1966:17). His brother went on to the north but the Martins stayed in Hong Kong, waiting for a vessel to go on to Ningpo (ibid.:19, 23).

Ningpo was one of the five treaty ports opened after the Opium War. The Presbyterian mission was founded by Dr. Divie Bethune McCartee in June 1844 (Covell 1978:47). In 1851, the mission consisted of McCartee, Rev. Messrs. Way, Rankin, S. Martin and wife, W.A.P. Martin and wife, Rev. J.W. Quarterman, Mr. Coulter and wife. It had a boarding school for boys, a girls school, and five day schools. A church building had been erected and the mission had nine places for service. A Presbyterian church was organized in 1845, consisting of six members (*CRep* 1851:531) and a Chinese convert from Singapore (Covell 1978:48). Culberston was the pastor and Way, Lowrie and McCartee were the elders. With three churches created in nearby areas, a Presbytery was formed in 1846 (ibid. For more information about the mission see *CR* 1877a).

When the Martins arrived in Ningpo, they first lived in the Presbyterian mission on the river bank opposite the city proper. Martin, however, preferred to live, "near the people" (Martin 1966:65). Since his mission colleagues refused to build the Martins a house inside the city, the Martins accepted a small building attached to their new church, where they spent six "most fruitful" years (ibid.).

Martin's first work was to learn the local dialect. In six months, he was able to make an attempt at preaching (ibid.:58). In the next six months, he developed "a free command of a pretty large vocabulary" (ibid.). In learning the local dialect, Martin designed a romanized script. With some modifications, his system of notation enabled him to take down his teacher's words (ibid.:54). Then he started to instruct

his teacher to write in the script with much success, which encouraged him to think of using it for the dialect. In 1851, he and some missionaries from the English Church Mission formed a society promoting his Ningpo colloquial script (ibid.:55). He wrote his first hymn in this script within eighteen months after his arrival(ibid.:58).

At the same time he began learning the written language, starting with religious tracts and native story books and proceeding to the Chinese classics (ibid.). In five years' time, he studied the nine chief works[20] in the Confucian canon among "distractions, incident to active duty," which prolonged the learning process (ibid.).

3.3 Mission Work Among the Chinese

Residing inside the city enabled Martin to approach the local residents easily. The Martins felt no discomfort in walking in the streets and in opening their doors to visitors (ibid.:67). He was once invited to preach in the home of a Confucianist, who wanted his wife to stop worshiping Buddha (ibid.). When Martin started to learn Mandarin, his teacher in the language was converted, as well as his teacher of the Ningpo dialect, followed by the man's family (ibid.:67-68). He also converted his Chinese printer and his friend (ibid.:68).

Martin held evening meetings in his city chapel which was attended partly by educated men. For this audience, Martin felt the need of a Christian apologetic work. His book *Tiandao Suyuan* (*Evidences of Christianity*) was the result of the discussions between him and his audience (ibid.:70). *Tiandao Suyuan* proved to be a very successful work and went into a second edition and nine subsequent printings in Chinese in 1860, 1867, 1869, 1872, 1887, 1899, 1904, 1917 and 1967 (Yoshida 1993:117), and eleven Japanese editions and ten derivative works in

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20 *Daxue* (The Great Learning), *Zhongyong* (The Golden Means), *Lunyu* (Analects) and *Mengzi (Mencius)*, *Shujing* (The Book of Historical Documents), *Shijing* (The Book of Odes), *Yijing* (The Book of Changes), *Chunqiu* (The Spring and Autumn, Annals of State Lu) and *Liji (The Book of Rites)*.

Japanese (ibid.:118-19).[21] Apart from Tiandao Suyuan, Martin was also the author of sixteen other books related to mission work (Yoshida 1993:95). But Martin's evangelic work in Ningpo produced only a small number of converts, who were sometimes motivated by financial considerations (Spence 1969:131). His experiment in the romanization of the Ningpo vernacular "foundered in the face of the Chinese respect for their own ideographic scripts" (ibid.).

The Taiping Rebellion was a major event during the years when Martin was a missionary.[22] Most missionaries welcomed the event because it seemed to promise an acceptance of Christianity since the leader, Hong Xiuquan, was a self-claimed Christian. They were soon disappointed to find that Hong's version of Christianity was close to heresy and his soldiers were engaged in the brutal killing of Catholic missionaries and converts.[23]

Martin, however, was sympathetic about the Taiping Rebellion throughout its process. He first attempted to reach the insurgents but the trip failed.[24] He somehow collected information on the insurgents and, basing his analysis on his intelligence, wrote two letters in 1856 to Caleb Cushing, then Attorney-General of the United States, arguing for a non-intervention policy (Martin 1856a). At the same time, Martin wrote long articles for *The North China Herald* on the early history of the Manchus (Martin 1856b; 1857a) and the Christian beliefs of the Taiping leaders (Martin 1857b). In these articles, Martin conveyed the message that the Qing empire was about to expire. He even hinted that

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21 Covell (1978:109) says there were thirty or forty editions in Chinese as well as many in Japanese and Korean. For a detailed introduction of the contents of this book, see Covell (1978) chapter 5.

22 For an account of the Taiping Rebellion and foreigners' attitudes, see Teng (1971).

23 For missionaries' accounts of the Taiping Rebellion, see a good collection of original documents in Clark and Gregory (1982).

24 Martin has a detailed description of his trip in the ninth chapter of *The Cycle of Cathay*.

China might pass under foreign rule as the Manchu's "last sands are ebbing in the glass of their destiny" (Martin 1857a:130). In 1857, in another two letters to Caleb Cushing, he argued that the Nanjing government should be recognized by Western countries (Martin 1857c, 1857d). In these two letters, Martin spelt out his imperialist position by stating that to "divide and conquer is the stratagem to be employed in storming the citadels of oriental exclusiveness. The rival dynasties may readily be played against each other" (ibid.:187).

Martin's attempt to reach the Taiping insurgents was made against the United States' policy of forbidding its citizens in China to become involved in anti-government activities (Covell 1978:82). His mission colleagues also opposed his action (ibid.:81). In fact his relationship with his mission station in Ningpo seemed unsatisfactory. His mission superiors were often irritated "by his willingness to make what they felt were excessive concessions to Chinese culture and by his approach to conversion, which they felt was intellectual rather than spiritual" (Spence 1969:132).

3.4 Opening New Fields for Christianity

Martin entered secular work as an interpreter for the American delegation in the negotiation of a treaty with the Chinese government in 1858. He had been interpreting for the American consular in Ningpo; he applied for interpreting for the treaty negotiations when his mission refused to let him set up his own station in the suburb of Ningpo (Spence 1969:ibid.). He also wished to "see stirring events and perhaps find a new field for missionary enterprise" (Martin 1966:147). The most significant outcome of the Sino-American treaty signed in Tianjin for the mission movement was the insertion of an article on religious toleration by Martin and Samuel Wells Williams (Williams 1972:270-73). The article stipulated that missionaries and foreign and Chinese Christians were not to be molested in their religious activities (*NCH* 1858). In the treaty negotiation, Martin befriended some government

officials who proved useful to his later career (Williams 1972:258).

From 1860 to 1862 Martin was on furlough in the United States. He returned in 1862, "with a view to opening a mission in Peking" (Martin 1966:221). He stayed in Shanghai temporarily and started translating Wheaton's *Elements of International Law* (ibid.). His draft was later presented to the Zongli Yamen, the Board of Foreign Affairs of the government. Prince Gong, the head of the Yamen, convinced the Emperor to help Martin with the revision of the translation and with its publication (Martin 1966:233-234). This was the first time that China was introduced to international law.[25]

In Beijing Martin set up a school and chapel. Achievements were not significant. In three years he had thirteen converts, who formed the basis of a church. Some of these later quit (Covell 1978:139). Chapel attendance consisted mostly of lower class people (ibid.). It was the same case with a school he opened later (ibid.:140) with funding from the Imperial Customs under the directorship of Robert Hart.[26]

The translation and compilation of books on the subjects of Western science, codes of war, international law, political economics and others, occupied much of Martin's time in Beijing (Martin 1966:235-236).[27] He supported the work of the Committee of the School and Textbook Series with his translations done at the Imperial College Tongwenguan (Covell 1978:194, notes 85, 88). Martin aimed at not only

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25 For Prince Gong's memorial on this issue, see Teng and Fairbank (1965), pp97-99. Martin's translation was published in 1864.

26 The Imperial Customs was set up in the years of the Taiping Rebellion, when the Qing government was literally paralyzed by the turmoil and the initial maritime customs service was dysfunctional. In September 1853, the British Consul, Rutherford Alcock organized the Provisional System for tariff collection. In June 1854, a tariff conference was held, which led to the appointment of a board of foreign inspectors by the Chinese district officer of Shanghai. This model later developed into the Chinese Imperial Maritime Customs (Ch'en 1979:340-41). Robert Hart was the most influential Inspector-General. See Hart (1975).

27 For a list of these works see Li Qifang (1992); Covell (1978; bibliography) and Yoshida (1993:96).

the literati and the broad masses, but the Emperor himself. In 1893, John Fryer and J.C. Ferguson reported in *The Chinese Recorder* that Martin "recently had the distinction of having his work on natural philosophy put in the hands of the Emperor" (Fryer and Ferguson 1893:481).

From July 1872 to 1875 Martin was also editor of the *Peking Magazine*, a monthly digest in Chinese of foreign news and articles on various subjects (Martin 1987?[1877]; Covell 1978:200-216), which was published by the Society for the Diffusion of Useful Knowledge that Martin and some other missionaries in Beijing formed in 1872 (Covell ibid.:200). Selections of its contents were later compiled into a book (Martin 1987?[1877]) prefaced by Guo Songtao (1818-1891), a well known reform-minded intellectual and resident envoy to England. *Peking Magazine* aimed primarily at promoting reform in the country (Covell 1978:202).

3.5 Ascending the Social Ladder

Martin's ambition to penetrate the Chinese educated class and the court materialized in 1869 when he became president of Tongwenguan (the Imperial College), a government school. The college developed from an interpreters' school approved in 1861 together with the establishment of the Board of Foreign Affairs. It was soon expanded by the inclusion of Western sciences taught by Western faculty members (Teng and Fairbank 1965:73).

Martin took over the college at a time when it was in crisis under the attack of conservatives and with a poor supply of students (Biggerstaff 1961:122; Martin 1867a, 1867b). Martin was literally summoned back to Beijing by Hart who wrote to him that the government was about to disband the college (Biggerstaff 1961:124). After his assumption of the presidency, enrollment expanded and the basic pattern of the institution was fixed by 1879.

Martin did not intend the college as an institution serving the needs of Western countries only. The Chinese language was a compulsory course that used Confucian classics as texts. Western mathematics was taught together with Chinese mathematics based on a book written in the Han dynasty (Biggerstaff 1961:127-28). Religious indoctrination was not the practice in the college, yet he was "at liberty to speak to students on the subject [of religion] and requested professors not to allow their classes to skip the religious lessons in their reading-books" (Martin 1966:325). According to Martin, most of his students showed much confidence in the prospect of Christianity in China (*ibid.*:326).

Martin retired from Tongwenguan in 1895 due to health problems and he went back to the United States for two years. When he returned in 1897, China was undergoing a structural change in its educational system. In the One-Hundred-Day Reform, an organizational restructure of the Imperial College into the Imperial Peking University left no position for a foreign dean of faculty (Covell 1978:184-85), but in August 1898, a change was made to allow such a position and Martin was hired to take charge of the scientific curriculum (ibid.).

Martin's educational career was put to an end by the outbreak of the Boxer Uprising in 1900, after which he returned to the United States. In 1902, when he came back to China, all the foreign faculty of the Peking University was dismissed by Chancellor Sun Jianai on financial excuses (Covell 1978:187). Two months later, Martin left China with complicated feelings. He however returned in September 1902 at the invitation of Viceroy Zhang Zhidong and stayed in Wuchang for three years to help with his educational project (Martin 1910:229).

3.6 Prophesying a Bright Future for China

In the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, Martin became increasingly concerned with interpreting China to the West as a country on the promising road to reform, opening up and Christianizing. He wrote his reminiscences *A Cycle of Cathay* (Martin 1966), which is a

valuable record of history covering the almost sixty years since the Opium War. Intermingled with colorful personal reminiscences and vivid descriptions of Chinese life were his accounts of important events such as the Taiping Rebellion, the Second Sino-British War, educational reform, China's early diplomatic adventures, and sketches of noted mandarins and foreign advisors who worked in late Qing China to promote the modernization of the country. After the 1900 Boxer Uprising, Martin wrote *The Siege in Peking* (Martin 1972) to report what he experienced during the turmoil. Mixed with the anger and the depressed sentiment about China's future that were expressed in the book was his conviction that China was far from being hopeless (1972:169). The failure of the Boxer Rebellion resulted in the Dowager's yielding to reformers after 1900. The subsequent changes in China gave Martin more hope, and in 1906 he wrote *The Awakening of China* (Martin 1910). In his preface he stated that China was the theater of the greatest movement compared with which "the agitation in Russia shrinks into insignificance," for this movement "promises nothing short of the complete renovation of the oldest, most populous, and most conservative of empires" (1910:v).

3.7 Carve his Name with Pride

Martin's last ten years were spent in Beijing as an honorary missionary of the Presbyterian church (Covell 1978:260). His work in China brought Martin abundant honors (Brown 1917:201). On his 87th birthday, the President of the Republic of China Yuan Shikai praised him as "A Sea of Learning, An Old Age of Commanding Talent" (Smith 1917). When he died in 1916, China's President Li Yuanhong's elegy praised him as "the Tai Mountain and the North Pole Star" (ibid.). To place him in some contexts, Martin was only one of the famous Protestant missionaries who engaged themselves in the reform of China in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. He was not among the earliest Protestant missionaries sent to China, as he was predated by a number of men, including: Robert Morrison (1728--1834) who arrived in China in 1807,

William Milne in 1813 and Walter Henry Medhurst in 1817, all sent by the London Missionary Society; Karl Friedrich August Gützlaff (1803-51) of the Netherlands Missionary Society, as well as David Abeel and Elijah C. Bridgman (1801-61) of the American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions (ABCFM), who arrived in 1830; Samuel Wells Williams (1812-84), initially a printer of the ABCFM who arrived in 1833; Peter Parker (1804-88), the first medical missionary to the Chinese, who arrived in 1834; James Legge (1815-97), noted translator of the Confucian classics, who arrived in Hong Kong in 1843; Alexander Wylie (1815-87), missionary Sinologue noted for his studies in Chinese literature and his works in translation, who arrived in 1847 and worked in China for thirty years; and Joseph Edkins, missionary Sinologue specializing in Chinese religion, who arrived in 1848. But Martin was outstanding in his length of stay (1850-1916) and in having obtained the highest government position a missionary could hold in China (he was not the only missionary employed by the government). Some of Martin's contemporaries included other missionary Sinologues, such as Arthur Smith, author of *The Chinese Characteristics* and Justus Doolittle, author of *Social Life of the Chinese*, another encyclopedic work on China. In areas other than Sinology, some noted missionaries are also worth mentioning. Hudson Taylor, the founder of the China Inland Mission arrived in China in 1853 and became a household word in the history of missions. Timothy Richard (1845-1919) entered China twenty years later than Martin and made a name for himself in the organization of famine relief in 1877-1879 and for his liberal theology regarding mission strategy. Young J. Allen was noted for his Chinese magazine, his mission school and many other secular services. John Fryer was noted for his translation of scientific works in Shanghai. The contributions made by these missionaries to the modernization of China have been largely acknowledged by various historical studies both inside and outside of China (see Spence 1969, Covell 1978, Broomhall 1981-85, Li Qifang 1992,

Xiong Yuezhi 1996, Liang Yuansheng 1978, Bohr 1972, Gulick 1973).

3.8 Martin's Chinese Scholarship

About ten years after his entering the field, Martin started publishing papers on Chinese philosophy, religion, education, civil service examinations, literature, and history. In the rest of this chapter I introduce Martin's Sinological studies. I first describe the historical context in which missionary Sinology developed. I then show how Martin's Sinological research was guided by his sometimes colonial mentality which reflected nineteenth-century imperialist culture (See Harris 1991). I also give a brief overview of the areas covered by his scholarly writings.

3.8.1 Colonialism, Christianization and missionary Sinology

3.8.1.1 The need for knowledge about China

In 1832, Elijah C. Bridgman founded *The Chinese Repository*, a magazine that "had as its purpose the dissemination ...of information concerning the laws, customs, history, literature, and current events of the Empire" (Latourette 1929: 218). In the January issue of the magazine in 1849, a short article authored by "B" (probably Bridgman himself) on the translation of Chinese Classics into English was illustrative of the ideology behind the missionary study of the Chinese mind. The author thought that the Jesuits' reports on China were "dubious" and their translations of Chinese books were "obscure" (B 1849:43). Quoting a certain Enfield, B pointed out that the remarks Enfield made around 1800 regarding the lack of Western knowledge about the nature of the Chinese notion of Deity still applied fifty years later. Knowledge about China's "philosophy, literature, and the general state of learning" (ibid.:43) was described as a "riddle" and was disregarded by the general Westerner as "nonsense" (ibid.:44).

The author, however, warned that the philosophers of the Chinese literati are not "altogether contemptible" (ibid.:45). This evaluation of Chinese philosophy did not develop from a love of it, however, but

from the need to conquer it for the sake of Christian expansion. B remarked that the missionary especially needed a good *History of Chinese Philosophy* "to make him acquainted with the operations of the Chinese mind and the systems of error which here oppose the progress of truth" (ibid.:44). Both Enfield and B held that many evils had been generated by the Chinese antiquarian philosophy, which, "not the missionaries only, but the diplomatist and the merchant, will have to meet and contend against" (ibid.:44). Here we see an alliance of the missionary, the political and commercial interests in the study of Chinese philosophy, which was at that time a more general term covering not only philosophy, but religion, literature and ethics.

The author described the acquisition of a thorough knowledge about the Chinese mind as a necessary tool of power for conquest (ibid.:45):

> ....*Knowledge is power* [italics original] in China, as well as in other parts of the world. If instead of making war on the Chinese, western nations would direct more attention to *the acquisition and diffusion of knowledge here, they would gain power and make conquests among this people worthy of all praise--power and conquests which the people of Christendom would not blush to own.* [my italics]

This was the general inadequacy of Protestant missionary knowledge of China before 1850 and the missionary motivation for more and accurate knowledge is contextualized within the cause of Christian work in particular and Western expansion in general in China. The study of China by the West and the Western knowledge of China accumulated by that time were by no means scarce. Most of the studies, however, had been done in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries and the publications were mostly in Italian and French (See *CRep* 1849). Williams (1849a:xiv) suggested that those who wished to know more about China should "pursue their investigations in the works of the French missionaries and savants and those few English writers who have entered into this branch of knowledge." Besides, such studies were done in the Western tradition of the Sinophile following Jesuit reports on China (Mackerras 1989:28-34) and therefore did not fit into the historical environment of the

nineteenth century Sino-West relationship, which was characterized by the decline of China's power and Western expansion in the rest of the world. The call for a more thorough knowledge of the Chinese philosophy, as exemplified by the article discussed above, was not the whimsical idea of an isolated Western colonizer. It was a call for the Western textual colonization of China.

3.8.1.2 Material Conditions of Knowledge Production

Accompanying the call for Chinese studies was the gradual development of institutional conditions for such studies in the form of societies, journals, printing facilities, libraries and publications in Sinology that both facilitated the development of missionary Sinology and generated the need for such knowledge production.

SOCIETIES

Said (1979:164) wrote that academic societies represented the specialization and institutionalization of knowledge about the Orient. In the nineteenth-century, Protestant missionaries in China organized two kinds of societies: missionary/secular and secular. The former included societies for direct mission work (not including mission societies proper, such as the London Missionary Society) and/or auxiliary work for preparing an intellectual foundation for evangelization. The first missionary organization was "The Christian Union at Canton" formed in the late 1830s, which included Robert Morrison, David Abeel and Elijah C. Bridgman. More important was The Morrison Education Society that played an active role in education in Macao and Hongkong. Established in 1835, the society raised funds for the existing mission schools and organized its own school. One school was conducted at Macao by Mrs. Gützlaff, wife of Karl Friedrich August Gützlaff (Latourette 1929:216). Another school from 1839 to 1849 was organized by the society and put under the administration of Rev. Samuel R. Brown from America (ibid.:221). These two schools were important in graduating some outstanding students, one of whom was Yung Wing

(Latourette 1929:222; Luo Xianglin 1969:10-11), a well-known name in the latter half of nineteenth-century Sino-American cultural relations.[28]

Tract societies aimed at the preparation and distribution of Christian literature other than the Bible. In 1876, the Hankow Tract Society was founded, succeeded by others (Latourette 1929:439,). These societies promoted Sinological Studies because some research had to be done on the Chinese tract literature, which was not lacking in the Ming and Qing dynasties (Sakai 1970). Gaplin (1881:217) stated that Chinese tracts, "if carefully sifted and selected," "will be found useful to the missionary." One of Martin's papers (Martin 1887) on the native tract literature was delivered to the Beijing Tract Society.

Missionary education promoted societies that aimed at the diffusion of scientific and Western knowledge. In 1872, Martin and some missionaries in Beijing organized the Society for the Diffusion of Useful Knowledge, with the aim to "overthrow those ancient superstitions which constitute the most formidable barriers in the way of material and social improvement" and to prepare the public for changes "with desire instead of aversion" (SDUKC 1874; Covell 1978:200). The society started an illustrated magazine in 1872 which "met unexpected favor in influential quarters" (ibid. Also see Bushell 1875).

The 1887 Protestant Missionary Conference in Shanghai appointed a committee to prepare appropriate textbooks for mission schools (*CR* 1877b:247; *CR* 1881b; Latourette 1929:413). This committee, under the leadership of John Fryer, was to supervise the writing and translating of textbooks covering subjects in Western learning (*CR*:ibid.). Some of Martin's translations were recommended by this society as text books.

Among secular societies, the North China Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society and the Peking Oriental Society should be mentioned. The predecessor of the former was the China Branch of the Royal Asiatic

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28 Yung Wing (1828-1912), graduated from Yale in 1854, and sponsored the Chinese Education Mission that brought the first batch of Chinese children to the United States to study in the early 1870s.

Society stationed in Hong Kong. The North China branch was organized as the "Shanghai Literary and Scientific Society" by Bridgman in 1858 (Lazich 1997:20-22). It published the *Journal of the Shanghai Literary and Scientific Society*. The society changed to "The North Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society" in 1860 and so did the journal, which was to last until 1948. Under Bridgman's presidency, the editorial policy of the journal had obvious colonial connotations. In his inaugural address, Bridgman declared that literature and science in China was inferior to that of the Christian countries because of the lack of the revealed truth of Christianity (Bridgman 1858:1). The editorial committee wrote that the object of the journal was to make use of information obtained on site in China by foreign residents to compensate for the inadequacies of the research of scholars in the West (*JSLSS* 1858: preface). According to the committee, this study of China was only to provide support for Western hypotheses (ibid.). These "hypotheses" were no doubt related to what the missionaries understood as the Biblical "truth", for immediately after this in the inaugural address, Bridgman speculated that the wise ancient kings of the Chinese, whose science was superior to that of their later generations, probably belonged to one of the clans that moved eastward after the confusion of tongues by God (Bridgman 1858:2).

The Peking Oriental Society was organized by Martin in the 1880s, who served as its first president. It might have been modeled on that of the American Oriental Society founded in 1842 by Bostonian businessman John Pickering (Kiger 1982). Martin was on good terms with W.D. Whitney, Sanskrit scholar of the society and its president from 1884 to 1892, to whom he dedicated his book *The Chinese*. Martin himself was also elected member of l'Institut de Droit International, and La Société de la Legislation Comparé [sic] (Brown 1917:201), obviously for his contributions in the translation of international law (Martin 1864) and the study of "international law" in ancient China.

JOURNALS

The first independent missionary publication related to Sinological research was the *Chinese Repository*, started in May 1832 by Bridgman. He was joined by Ira Tracy and S.W. Williams in 1833 (Latourette 1929:221). The magazine provided information about China's laws, customs, history, literature and current events to the foreign community, especially the merchants who were ignorant on these subjects (ibid.). Bridgman and Williams summed up the objective of the magazine (Bridgman and Williams 1851:2):

> to collect and present to the public the most authentic and valuable information respecting China and the adjacent countries, therewith to induce its readers to take a well-informed and increasing interest in all that pertains to their welfare.

Bridgman's editorial policy was to reveal China to the West by using Chinese materials, a policy that Qing officials much dreaded because they regarded it, not without reason, as spying (Drake 1986:38). On the other hand, Bridgman's Boston Board was also annoyed because it did not believe that the heathen world held any truth.[29] Bridgman showed however that China could teach the West with its ideas of social harmony and filial piety (ibid.). The magazine was very popular among the Western community and was recognized in both Europe and America as one of the most reliable sources of information on China (ibid.:39). The magazine was a forum for Western Scholars from a wide range of professions--merchants, diplomats, consular officials, and military officers, to name a few (Lazich 1997:9). By the time the magazine was discontinued in 1851, it had published 12,000 pages in twenty volumes.

In a sense *The Chinese Recorder and Missionary Journal* was a continuation of the *Chinese Repository* (Latourette 1929:437). It was first edited by S.L. Baldwin of Fuzhou and then in 1870, was taken over

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29 Here "truth" as I understand is a pet term in Christianity. It obviously means biblical truth, but is not limited to stories in the Bible. It includes what Christians believe to be the meaningful things about life in general.

by Justus Doolittle (*CR* 1874:1), author of the *Social Life of the Chinese*.[30] After a lapse in 1872 due to Doolittle having left Fuzhou, it was resumed in Shanghai in 1874. *The Chinese Recorder*, altogether seventy-one volumes by 1940, was a major organ for mission news and a space for missionary Sinological research. Martin contributed to the magazine from 1872 to 1912 (Covell 1978: bibliography, 282-84).

PEER PUBLICATIONS

Textual expansion was an important ingredient of Western colonizing efforts in China. Such textual expansion was necessitated by the "textual attitude" (Said 1979:92-93) held by those agencies which planned their intrusion into China. It provided the knowledge needed for economic and political expansion, military operations and cultural projects such as the spreading of Christianity.

In the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, missionary Sinology developed as part of this larger textual expansion. The publications therein constituted the textual context of Martin's publications, for some of them had an intertextual relationship with Martin's works. For example, Martin mentioned the following missionary Sinologues in his *Cycle of Cathay*: J. Doolittle and his *Social Life of the Chinese* (Martin 1966:17, note), S.W. Williams and his *The Middle Kingdom* (ibid.:28), James Legge and his translation of Chinese classics (ibid.:34) and J. Edkins as a Sinologue (ibid.:240). The authors of such publications constitute what Swales (1991) calls a "discourse community." The writings of such a discourse community form a genre by their shared concern with a single enterprise, namely the conversion of the heathen world into Christian civilization. This concern determined the thematic and rhetoric features they shared, despite the variety of generic forms they took.

A well known work of this genre is *The Middle Kingdom* by S.W. Williams (1849a). For many years, this book was a standard general book

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30 Doolittle 1865. See Barnett (1985) for a discussion of Doolittle.

on China (Latourette 1929:265). Comparable to William's work is the *Social Life of the Chinese* by Justus Doolittle (1865), which covered a wide range of subjects including religion, government, education and business customs. The information was mostly based on Doolittle's mission work in Fuzhou, but served as a more general guide to life in China. A later writer, Arthur Smith, wrote the famous *Chinese Characteristics* (1894), which was later translated into Japanese and from Japanese, into Chinese (Liu 1995). This book was to influence such famous Chinese intellectuals as Lu Xun, who played a significant role in criticizing traditional China (ibid.). Smith's sociological work *Village Life in China* (1899) was based on his many years of mission work in rural areas and contained much detailed information of village life in late nineteenth century China. The author admired many qualities of the Chinese, but felt that "for a wonderful future", "many disabilities must be removed" (Smith 1899:5). For him, the sole agency necessary for this task was Christianity. *The Chinese Characteristics* and *Village Life in China* well documented Smith's thoughts on reforming China and his prejudices against the natives and their ways of life. In the area of literature and translation, James Legge's translation of Confucian classics (Legge 1890, 1969; Müller 1966, 1970) is still an authoritative work even in today's Chinese Studies (Mackerras 1989:52). Alexander Wylie's (1815-1887) *Notes on Chinese Literature* (1964) reflects the scope of Chinese literature made known to the West in the nineteenth century.

Such institutional establishments and publications, together with the "hardware" of knowledge production such as printing houses and reference libraries,[31] established the material conditions for the development of Western Sinology, missionary and secular, in nineteenth-century China. They show the extent of the investment made by the West

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31 See Anonymous (1986 [1967]), *CR* (1868), *CRep* (1845b), Hirth (1885), Holt (1879), Latourette (1929:437), and Scott (1955).

for the purpose of obtaining the knowledge needed for Western expansion. They also constituted the context for Martin's Sinological research, for Martin was linked to some of the societies, publications and printing houses mentioned above.

3.8.2 W.A.P. Martin's Scholarly Research

3.8.2.1 Martin's Ideology of Oriental Studies

Martin's ideology of Oriental Studies, which testifies to Edward Said's characterization of Orientalism, can be examined under the headings of purpose, viewpoint, method and subject matters.

PURPOSE

For Martin, the professed purpose of Oriental Studies was to facilitate "mutual comprehension" between the East and the West. This mutual comprehension, however, was necessary if the East was "to be part of the family of the civilized States" (Martin 1901:2). One of the obstacles to the acceptance of China into the civilized States of the West was prejudice, which in Martin's eye and in the eye of most missionaries and Western countries led to such outrageous anti-foreign outbreaks as the Boxer Rebellion. What we see here behind the "mutual comprehension" is a reality of the Western view of an uncivilized China needing preparation to enter the ranks of Western civilized nations. In his preface to *The Lore of Cathay*, Martin wrote (ibid.):

> ...to prevent the recurrence of outrage it is necessary to foster a fellow-feeling with the rest of the world. As Captain Mahan says: "Toward Asia in its present condition Europe has learned that it has a community of interest that may be defined as the need of bringing the Asian peoples within the compass of the family of Christian States. They will have to insist that currency be permitted to our ideas--liberty to exchange thought in China's territory with the individual Chinaman. The open door, both for commerce and for intellectual interaction, should be our aim everywhere in China.

Mahan's words indicate the unbalanced flow of information between China and the West and a strong political color to the "mutual understanding" enterprise that Martin envisaged. Martin did not overlook this political significance to Oriental Studies. In referring to comparative philology which had established the family link between Sanskrit and

European languages, he said that "it had the political effect of softening in some degree the prejudice of race by showing Indians that they and their conquerors are connected by the bonds of a common origin" (Martin 1894b:x). Although he did not say whose "prejudice" it was, his wording clearly shows that the Indians were informed of their affiliation with their conquerors. Martin hoped that the same thing could be done with the Chinese through: "the establishment of an earlier and more fundamental relation between the language of China and those of the Indo-European group" (ibid.).

POINT OF VIEW

Martin's point of view for examining the Orient was from the position of the West situated at a vantage location that gave the West the authority to survey the Orient. Here in rhetoric, Martin was not different from that "monarch-of-all-I-survey" trope frequently identified in nineteenth century colonial travel literature (Pratt 1985:124, 127; Pratt 1992:201; Spurr 1993:15). Spurr (1993:15) comments that the commanding view of colonizers "offers aesthetic pleasure on one hand, information and authority on the other."[32] Spurr calls the view "the journalistic eye" in his discussion of journalists surveying the third world countries (Spurr 1993:16). In his opinion, this journalistic eye reflects a thinking mode (ibid.:25):

> When we speak of the role of the eye in establishing knowledge of the world and authority over space, we are referring to a fundamental characteristic of Western thinking. What I have called the gaze and the commanding view makes possible an understanding of the non-Western world as an object of study, an area for development, a field of action.

In Martin's texts, we find the frequent image of the sweeping eye of the colonizer in both physical and semantic spaces. Martin was

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32 The authoritativeness of the eye and the offending nature of gazing can be explained in physical terms. It used to be a common excuse for teenager street fighting as my life experience can testify. The invasion of some teenagers' territory by other teenager's gazing, albeit fleeting, first invoked protest in street slang: "Zhao shenme zhao!" Literally it means: "What are you shedding light on us for? It sounds as if the gaze removes an invisible protective shade and leaves the people vulnerable under the gaze.

especially proud of being located in Beijing: "Situated in the capital of the greatest of Eastern empires, we sweep within our broad horizon the whole of Asia" (ibid.:ix). This viewpoint is better understood if we compare and contrast it with the China-centered geopolitical view employed within Asia at that time. This China-centered view was one of the obstacles to China's opening up to the West which the Western powers intended to change through gunboats, science, education, and Christianity. However it could also be adopted by the colonizers, many of whom actually came to reside in the capital, rubbed shoulders with Chinese mandarins and began to take on their view of both China and the rest of Asia.[33] One section in Martin's *A Cycle of Cathay* is a review of China's history done by Martin when he discursively stood on top of the Great Wall, from whence his mind's eye swept across both China proper and the lands of the nomads and traces the history from the first emperor who built the wall down to the Manchu rulers who broke the gate in the wall to invade China (Martin 1966:251-64). His words (ibid.:251):

> To study the history of China there is no point of observation so favorable as the summit of the Great Wall. Erected midway between the hazy obscurity of early tradition and the restless age in which we live, it commands the whole of the moving panorama. So colossal as to form a geographical feature on the surface of the globe, its importance to us consists in its epoch rather than in its magnitude. It is to this epoch that our attention will for a little be chiefly directed; but from this vantage-ground we shall allow ourselves a few glances before and after, with the hope of conveying some faint impression of the unity of Chinese history.

Spacial symbolism occurred not only in the texts of Martin, but also in his life experience. His most favored location in Beijing was his summer resort in the Western Hills, from where he could command a panoptic (Foucault 1977:200-228) view of the surroundings, including the Buddhist temples and the summer resort of the Empress Dowager Cixi (Martin 1966:224-25). Martin was so fond of this vantage position that he mentioned it in more than one of his books and included it as one of

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33 For the traditional view of the Qing government with regard to the relationship between China and other countries, see Zabrovskaia (1993) and Broomhall (1981:38-39).

the index items in *A Cycle of Cathay*. In *The Awakening of China* (Martin 1910:35), he told his readers: "I am there now,...These temples are at my feet; the great city is in full view." Here the authoritative gaze was buttressed with the common "I-have-been-there" trope of the ethnographic writings of the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries (See Geertz 1988).

Martin's metaphorical language in describing the rich resources of Orientalist Studies also reveals his mentality as a colonial adventurer and explorer. He frequently applied the metaphor of untapped mineral resources to the raw data of Oriental Studies (Martin 1894b:viii):

> ...one of our members said to me some time ago:--"do you not think we are holding too many meetings? Is there not danger [sic.] that our repertory of subjects will be exhausted?" Exhausted! As well talk of exhausting the oil well of Baku, or the coal treasures of the British Isles. When of late the cry was raised--"Economise your coal; the supply is giving out,"--what was the answer? "There is plenty of coal to be found by digging deeper!" For us, the same remedy may be resorted to against an apprehended dearth of topics. When the superficial deposits are consumed, then dig deeper; and sooner will the last ton of coal in British mines be raised to the surface, than the last available subject be reached in the domain of oriental inquiry.

Martin compared the historical records of China to "mountains of undigested ores that have not been subjected to the fires of the smelting furnace" (Martin 1901:393). This ore, though not from "virgin mines" because native historians had done their work, nevertheless contain much "precious metal that escaped the cruder methods of the ancients," the exploration of which was "attractive and profitable" (ibid.:405).

METHOD

The nineteenth century was viewed as the golden time for comparative studies. The comparative method developed from European expansion in other parts of the world, which made it possible to find the raw material for such research. It was also necessitated by colonial needs to clarify the identity of the colonial Self and the Other with a variety of purposes: to set up the boundary, to make

explicit the difference, or to find congruence so that the colonized could be included into the reformable category of the colonial classification. Harrell (1995:7) states that in civilizing projects, the civilizing center needs formal knowledge of the Other. One way to obtain this knowledge is comparative study, through which "the civilizing center develops a conscious image of itself as contrast to its images of the periphery" (ibid.). Such comparison was described by Harrell as an asymmetrical dialogue (ibid.).

It is not surprising that we find Martin advocating the same method in Oriental Studies. For him, the chief object of the Beijing Oriental Society was to draw parallels between China and the West. Martin's parallels were certainly not symmetrical; they were biased in favor of the West, for he relied on European standards for comparison (Martin 1894b:viii). With history, for example, he argued that the value of the accumulated historical records of China should be measured against the standard of Europe before they could be legitimized as history or the philosophy of history (Martin 1901:395). He did not rule out the study of such historical records by native scholars, but they "must possess the training of a Western university," because they are otherwise "utterly incapable of broad synthetic combinations" (ibid.:397).

SUBJECT MATTERS

In his presidential address, Martin listed several areas of Sinological Studies. I have mentioned his idea about the political importance of comparative philology, as well as his call for the study of Chinese history. He also recommended philosophy. According to him, such a "friendly converse with the highest thinkers of the Chinese race" could provide Westerners with "efficacious mental tonic" (Martin 1894b:x), just like that experienced between Cicero and his chosen friends after he "retired from the fatigues of office to the shades of Tusculum" (ibid.). The study of Chinese philosophy, then, became more or less a mental game for the colonizers who were tired of their non-

academic business. The same attitude was held towards poetry, which could be turned into "delightful entertainments" by some Sinologues who could do translations of Chinese poems (ibid.xi).

3.8.2.2 Martin's research areas, a summary

Martin's Sinological research is mainly reflected in *The Chinese (1881)*, *Hanlin Papers*, First and Second Series (1880 and 1894b), and *The Lore of Cathay* (1901). These books are based on Martin's first series of *Hanlin Papers* printed in China in 1880. His Sinology covered a wide range of fields. His main focus was on the following fields: Chinese religion, Confucian philosophy, education, history, literature, and ancestor worship. The chapters of these books and, where ascertainable, their original dates of publication are given below:

The Chinese (1881):

1. The Hanlin Yuan, or Imperial Academy (1874)
2. Competitive Examination in China (1870)
3. Education in China (1877)
4. An Old University in China (1871)
5. The San Kiao, or Three Religions of China (1869)
6. Remarks on the Ethical Philosophy of the Chinese (1861-62)
7. Isis and Osiris, or Oriental Dualism (1867)
8. Alchemy in China (1869-69)
9. Remarks on the Style of Chinese Prose (1872)
10. On the Style of Chinese Epistolary Composition (1876)
11. Chinese Fables (1871)
12. The Renaissance in China (1868-69)
13. The Worship of Ancestors in China (1880)
14. Secular Literature, Viewed as a Missionary Agency (1877)
15. Account of a Visit to the Jews in Honan (1866)
16. The Duke of Kung, Successor of Confucius (1876)
17. Two Chinese Poems (1881?)

Hanlin Papers (1894):

Preface (1886)
1. The Study of Chinese History (1886)
2. History of Chinese viewed from the Great Wall (?)
3. Tartar Tribes in Ancient China (1885)
4. A Hero of the Three Kingdoms (? deleted in *LC*)
5. International Law in Ancient China (1882/83)
6. Diplomacy in Ancient China (1882)
7. Notes on the Confucian Apocrypha (1892)
8. Plato and Confucius;--A Coincidence (?)
9. The Cartesian Philosophy before Descartes (?)
10. Chinese Ideas on the Inspiration of Their Sacred Books (1890)
11. Stages of Religious Thought in China (1891)
12. Buddhism a Preparation for Christianity (1889)
13. Native Tract Literature in China (1887)
14. The Worship of Ancestors (1890)
15. The Emperor at the Altar of Heaven (?)

16. A Pilgrimage to the Tomb of Confucius (1866)
17. The Lusiad, or The Opening of the East (?)

The Lore of Cathay or the Intellect of China (1901). Additions from *Hanlin Papers*:

1. The Awakening of China (1868-69, 1881)
2. Chinese Speculation in Philosophy and Science (1872?)
3. Chinese Discoveries (1869?)
4. Poets and Poetry in China (?)

Martin compiled a Chinese textbook (Martin 1879), which indicates his knowledge of the Chinese (Mandarin) and his methodology of language instruction. His translation of Chinese poems (Martin 1894a) is a specimen of his study of Chinese poetry. In this thesis, I will limit myself to Martin's studies of religion, philosophy, history and ancestor worship.

In this chapter I have introduced Martin's life and work and discussed the historical context and material conditions of missionary Sinology in nineteenth century China. I also presented a general introduction to Martin's main areas of Sinological research. I have demonstrated that his Sinological research was guided by an ideology typical of Said's Orientalism. My reason for this general introduction is first to give readers a general idea of Martin's scholarship and second to situate his scholarship in the nineteenth century colonial culture and demonstrate the connection of his academic ideology with this general imperialist culture, thus establishing him as a typical Orientalist defined by Said. This serves as a backdrop for the subsequent exhibition of the multiple discourses in his texts. In the rest of this thesis, I will further demonstrate the colonial discourse in Martin's texts and then follow this analysis with one showing the presence of other discourses to demonstrate the polyphonous nature of W.A.P. Martin's texts.

CHAPTER FOUR

COLONIAL DISCOURSES IN W.A.P. MARTIN'S TEXTS

In last chapter, I have described Martin's life and work, the historical context of missionary Sinology and the ideology and the main areas of W.A.P. Martin's Sinological research. I have shown how in the nineteenth century there developed in China a need and a material basis for the production of missionary Sinology and how the general imperial culture of that time was reflected in the guiding principles of Martin's academic research. I also have demonstrated the range of Martin's research interests, which is a reasonable caution against any simplification in characterizing the nature of the texts of an individual Sinologue. In this chapter, I will demonstrate the colonial discourse in Martin's works. I take colonial discourse as texts that directly serve to legitimate the economic and political expansion of the Western powers. I will show both the presence of colonial discourse in Martin's works and the internal insecurity of this discourse.

4.1 Colonial Discourse in Martin's Non-academic Texts

The colonial discourse in Martin's non-academic texts is most clearly reflected in Martin's accounts of his experience in China in his reminiscences *A Cycle of Cathay*. The book is divided into two parts: life in south China and life in north China. It contains detailed descriptions of Martin's life experience and the historical events which he involved himself in. F.W. Williams (1896:330) valued the chapters on such historical events as the American embassies of 1858 and 1859 for treaty revision, for which Martin worked as interpreter, the Taiping Rebellion and the progress in Beijing. For my purpose, his accounts of his travels and other life experiences in China are of equal importance as those of historical events because these texts testify to his mentality as a colonizer.

4.1.1 Civilization and progress brought by colonization

The travel accounts in the book cover his first arrival, some early short excursions around Ningpo and a long journey from Beijing to Shanghai. In these accounts, we can find some typical tropes of colonial travel writing that sometimes directly speak the language of colonization and exploitation. For example, when Martin described Hong Kong, he remarked on its strategic significance and the achievement of colonizers with much appreciation (Martin 1966:18):

> Hong Kong possesses a magnificent harbor, easy to fortify, and commands not merely the approaches to Canton, but the whole commerce of the China coast, and to some extent, that of Japan. From a mere fishing-village it had already grown to be a thriving town; and now it is a great city of two or three hundred thousand inhabitants. The Peak of Victoria, which we then saw rising before us in rugged majesty, is to-day crowned with magnificent buildings, to which the occupants are lifted by steam; and the sides of the mountain, then clad with tropical jungle, are now adorned by gay streets gleaming like golden bands on the shoulders of a naval Atlas.

Following this description, in a flashback narration, Martin wrote: "My interest in China was first awakened in 1839 by the boom of British cannon battering down her outer walls" (ibid.:19). He defended this war as a "just war" caused by China's "cowardly policy" of closeness and her arrogant attitude towards the British good will of opening trade with the country (ibid.). Martin wrote: "...if England had promptly appealed to arms to prevent violence and vindicate honor, her record would have stood fairer than unhappily it does now [i.e. associated with opium]" (ibid.). This colonial stand of Martin did not change much as time went by. In 1900, after the Boxer Uprising, Martin suggested that the United States should raise territorial demands on China and take the Hainan Island (1972:155). He described the island as an ideal place, "half as large as Sicily, as capable of being made equally rich in its productions" (ibid.:155). Such a foothold would enable the United States to "have a *tangible ground* for demanding to be heard on all great questions relating to the future of China" (ibid., italics original).

This praise for the achievements of colonizers continued as Martin came to the island of Kulangsu (Gulangyu) off the coast of Amoy. This foreign colony was "adorned with abodes of wealth and luxury, it shines a gem on the bosom of the waters" (ibid.:37).

4.1.2 The gazing eye of colonial traveller

In the last chapter, I discussed Martin's colonial mentality in the guiding principles of his Sinological research and how that mentality is the same as that in his perception of space and landscape. Here I cite some more examples to illustrate the point.

One of the favorite pass-times of foreigners residing in an open port city was to walk on top of the city walls. Martin was no exception (ibid.:52). Walking on the walls enabled foreigners to be distanced from the narrow streets of daily life and offered them a vantage point for surveying the city and its people down below. The apparent innocent description of the city scenes on such occasions is actually saturated with the trope of the gazing eye of the colonialist so much discussed in the critique of travel writings (Pratt 1992). On his way to Ningpo, Martin went on top of the walls at Fuzhou. He described the panorama view (Martin 1966:41-44):

> Within the inclosure rises a hill, covered with trees and rocks, with here and there a small house hidden in the foliage. This is the palladium of the city, an elevation which draws propitious influences from the four winds and pours them down on the people below....
>
> Looking over the city, the eye rested on nothing worthy of note in the way of architecture; yet there was one object which it fixed on as illustrating the best side of Chinese civilization. This was the Civil-Service Examination Hall...
>
> The Manchu quarter, set apart for a garrison of the ruling race, is a feature to be met within China in only a few important centers.....It offers to the view nothing of particular interest, and the general panorama of city and suburbs consists of what may be seen in any large town of the empire--square miles of grey tiles, the roofs of low houses, unnumbered and innumerable, the long rows of which are parted by paved paths, by courtesy called streets. To find anything picturesque, the eye has to wonder away to the blue mountains rising in the distance, or to the silvery stream winding through a richly cultivated valley.

Here the eye not only sees, but also imagines that it sees the hidden streams in the blue mountains and valleys, in order to get away from the uncultured Chinese urban landscape that can be called streets only by courtesy. The normal preference for things cultural to things natural in the discourse of civilization and progress, which we find in the first quotation, here is reversed, because what is cultural in the Chinese city is obviously not up to the Western standard of aesthetics and progress and therefore less recommendable than natural beauties.

The colonial eye not only surveys a particular view, but also an imaginative larger space. Such an imaginative survey is obviously based on cartographical knowledge about the land, which according to Foucault (1980:60), is the embodiment of power. This power lies not only in gazing and making judgement on sceneries, but also in evaluating the potential utility of natural resources. In his narrative of his trip to Ningpo, Martin diverted his narrative to include a survey of the "goodly land they [the Chinese] dwell in" (1966:46). The survey brought him to Hainan in the extreme south, the interior of which was "inhabited by savage tribes perpetually at war with the Chinese on the coast" (ibid.). Formosa "is rich in coal, possesses oil-springs of unknown value and produced vast quantities of camphor and sugar" (ibid.). Zhoushan "is an island of great strategic value" (ibid.:47) and the British having given it up after taking possession of it appeared "strange" to Martin. "The Pearl River of Canton is navigable...affording one of the best routes of travel to the provinces in the Southwest" (ibid.), but the Yellow River "is of little use for navigation" (ibid.:48). Talking of the mountains, Martin wrote: "Vast and varied are the mineral treasures buried in these mountain masses awaiting the dawn of an enlightened policy to make China one of the richest nations on earth" (ibid.:49).

Martin's travel writing features occasional distancing of the narrator from the incidents and scenes narrated, thus assuming an appearance of objectivity. The frequent use of the trope of the third

person eye instead of the "I" shifts readers' attention from the narrator to the narrated, putting the narrated under the magnifying glass of colonial gaze. In his journey to Kaifeng, he described the highroad: "Its course is traced by other landmarks which, if less graceful, are more striking to the eye of a foreign observer" (ibid.:266). The eye brought his attention to the police watch towers and the beacon towers along the road. Seeing the decay of the beach towers, Martin speculated that "the day is not far distant when the telegraph of wolf's dung [wolf's dung was used for signal fires in ancient times] will be superseded by the electric wire" (ibid.:267). Then "the eye of the traveler rests on but one natural object that can truly be denominated picturesque," the Western Hills outside of Beijing proper (ibid.). Bored by the incessant range, "the traveler...seeks relief in speculating on the varied wealth that lies concealed beneath their monotonous surface" (ibid.:268).

Sara Mills (1991) studied the difference between female and male colonial discourse. As far as the colonial gaze is concerned, we do find differences. The female description of the colonial gaze serves as a contrast with Martin's authoritative, dominating eye. In her travel book, Guinness (1901:14), missionary of the China Inland Mission, described how she felt when she first encountered the Chinese in 1888 in Penang, Malay on board her ship:

> After watching them for some time with mingled feelings, I went over and leaned upon the railings at the ship's side to pray that "the love of God" might be "shed abroad" in my heart, *now*. When I turned again, one of these poor fellows near me was watching me intently and with such a bright face!
>
> I felt then, as I looked at him, that indeed it is a privilege to be allowed to become unto the Chinese a Chinese, cost what it may, if by any means we may win some! Pray for us that we may fully enter into the Spirit of the Master, Whose heart was touched,--*moved* with compassion for all the ignorant and the sinful, the weary and heavily laden, no matter how unattractive.

Here the gazer was counter-gazed. Although the narrator described her encounter with the Chinese with the mentality of a savior of their

souls, she could not assume as authoritative a stance as Martin did in his narratives. Compare this with Martin's description of his first encounter with the Chinese in 1850 (ibid.:24):

> As we stepped on shore we were greeted by a hooting crowd, who shouted *Fangui, fangui! shato, shato!* ("Foreign devils! cut off their heads!"). "Is this," I mused, "the boasted civilization of China? Are these the people for whom I left my home?" But, I reflected, if they were not heathen, why should I have come?

And his description of his encounter with the descendants of Jews in Kaifeng (ibid.:275-76):

> Standing on the pedestal and resting my right hand on the head of that stone [a stone tablet recording the site of a once existing Jewish synagogue], which was to be the silent witness of the truths I was about to utter, I explained to the expectant multitude my reasons for 'taking pleasure in the stones of Israel and favoring the dust thereof.'
>
> 'Are there among you any of the family of Israel?' I inquired. 'I am one,' responded a young man whose face corroborated his assertion; and then another and another stepped forth, until I saw before me representatives of six out of the seven families in which the colony is divided. There, on that melancholy spot where the very foundations of the synagogue had been torn from the ground and there no longer remained one stone upon another, they confessed with shame and grief that their holy and beautiful house had been demolished by their own hands."

Here in Martin's description, what we see is an implied gaze of authority on the bodies of the savage Chinese and some pitiful Jews who had been assimilated by the Chinese culture and society and had lost their religion. In both descriptions the gaze is that of a savior of fallen souls, a master of dominated people.

4.1.3 Native primitiveness

To the young missionary Martin when he arrived in China in 1850, China and her people appeared savage. "They looked as savage and as fierce as cannibals, the junkmen being always half-naked" (ibid.:24). They were also greedy in that they would not rescue a missionary who fell into the river unless money was offered. The inhabitants of Fenghua, a town fifty miles from Ningpo, were "fierce and crude" (ibid.:109). The Chinese were hypocritical in paying homage to their dead dowager empress, mingling gaily talking and laughing with ceremonial wailing (ibid.:100). They were insensitive to discomfort in

travelling in carts without springs (ibid.:266). Chinese mandarins were resistant to Western technology such as telegraph, behaving like children when Martin showed them how it worked (ibid.:300).

4.1.4 Legitimizing colonial aggressions

It has been mentioned that Martin defended the British stand in the Opium War (ibid.:20-23; see also Martin 1913). He also suggested that as long as a place had strategic value, foreign powers had a reason to take it. Thus we find him wondering why the British did not keep the Zhoushan Island in 1841 after they had occupied it (ibid.:47). Similarly, he remarked that during the second Sino-British War in 1860, Lord Elgin made a mistake not to open Tianjin, the city guarding the gate to Beijing, after he succeeded in taking it (ibid.:221). In his description of the Western allied forces' destruction of the Chinese emperor's summer palace, Martin defended the atrocity as a just retribution for the Chinese "treachery" and a merciful act to spare the residents of Beijing (ibid.:219):

> The city held out, its defenders trusting to the strength of its walls...a formidable structure if properly manned. The summer palace, from which the emperor had fled, was more exposed. The inclosure, six miles in circumference, and forming a city in itself, was unfortified, and thus was easily taken, though a small army of eunuchs fought bravely in its defense. The discovery of the corpses of those British soldiers--the hapless victims of treachery and cruelty--filled the army with indignation and led Lord Elgin to order the destruction of the palace--a proceeding not permitted by international usage, but one which he felt at liberty to employ with a people who showed no regard for the laws of civilized warfare. Sir Thomas Wade, who was Chinese secretary to Lord Elgin, has since told me that the motive was not so much vengeance as a humane desire to strike at the court without destroying the people--the Yuen Ming Yuen being situated seven miles beyond the city gates. For three days the smoke of its burning rose toward heaven, and, borne by a northwest breeze, hung like a pall over the haughty capital, striking terror into its authorities and inducing them to open the gates only half an hour before the time set for the bombardment.

4.2 Colonial discourse in Martin's academic texts

In this section I discuss the colonial discourse in Martin's academic writings. These writings are mainly concerned with history, which is understandable, since history is more closely related to

politics than perhaps subjects such as philology and philosophy are.

4.2.1 Partition of China as a historical pattern

In Martin's academic texts, the colonial voice is found in the papers on Chinese history, which he wrote from 1882 to 1886 (see contents of *Hanlin Papers*). The purpose of his research was to develop a master narrative about historical laws and to demonstrate China's potential for progress. In "The Study of Chinese History" (in Martin 1901), he summed up three historical movements central to the understanding of the present China: the conflict between the northern nomads and the agriculturalists in central China, the conquest of the land of what constituted the present China by the migrating Chinese and the struggle between "the centripetal and centrifugal forces of the empire" (ibid.:397). In the last point, Martin held that Chinese history had been one of conflict between two forces: centripetal and centrifugal (ibid.). This struggle between local autonomy and the centralization of state power had been going on since the Zhou dynasty (ibid.:400). He praised the first emperor of China for his contribution to the abolition of feudalism in China, the significance of which he said was never realized by traditional Chinese historians (ibid.). But there is evidence to show that he believed in the legitimacy of partitioning China on the basis of this historical pattern of centralization-vs-regionalism tension, because such a partition could facilitate the acceptance of Western civilization in China and yet would probably not lead to a permanent splitting of the country (Martin 1901:1-2):

> In the *San Kuo Chi* it is laid down as a law of the national life, confirmed by history, that the Chinese Empire, when it has been long united, is sure to be divided; when it has been long divided, is sure to be reunited. Just now the centrifugal forces are potentially active. Should they eventuate in partition, that state of things could not be permanent, though it might accelerate the acquisition of our Western civilization by the people of China. Quickened into new life, they would be sure to reconstruct the Empire and to take their place among the leading powers of the civilized world.

In 1900, when Martin and the foreign faculty were dismissed from Beijing University, he stated at a reception that China could very well disintegrate, which he felt would be providential and good for the people (Covell 1978:188, *NCH* 1902:469). What is notable about Martin's stand on this issue is that he did not make his argument in imperialist terms but stated it as a pattern of Chinese history.

Martin's narrative is revealing in itself (Martin 1901:401):

> This conflict, between the centripetal and centrifugal forces, forms the third great subject, which the old historians have not comprehended, and which waits the advent of a writer of deeper insight and more comprehensive grasp. May not some future Hallam show the world that Feudalism, which formed such a conspicuous stage in the development of modern Europe, has played an equally prominent part in the History of China?

I believe it an obvious possibility that given China's size and the many dialects, if not for the unified written language, China would have already become another Europe. This possibility is hinted in Martin's question quoted above. By emphasizing the "conspicuous stage" of feudalism in Europe, and by juxtaposing Chinese feudalism with modern Europe, Martin's narrative is suggestive of a consciousness favoring a partitioned development of China.

One of Martin's concerns in his mission work might be related to this subtle belief of his. In Ningpo he designed a roman script for the local vernacular and tried hard to promote it. He believed that the written language of China should be reformed to liberate the mind of the people. In one of his articles he stated (Martin 1881:149):

> ...and perhaps its grandest achievement in the work of mental emancipation may be the superseding of the ancient ideographic language by providing a medium better adapted to the purposes of a Christian civilization. It would only be a repetition of historic triumphs if some of the vernacular dialects, raised from the depths where they now lie in neglect, and shaped by the forces which heave them to the surface, should be made under the influence of Christianity, to teem with the rich productions of a new literature, philosophy, and science.

This emphasis on the shaping of a new national mind of the Chinese by means of language reform is more out of a missionary consideration than out of a colonial consideration, but as far as the end result is

concerned, these two may converge.

4.2.2 To "Discover" what is already there

Colonial discourse in academic texts may bear a resemblance to that in other genres, such as travel writings. It is a regular and ironical trope in travel writings that colonial travellers claimed their "discovery" of a native place while they were carried to the destination by native people. Talking about his Chinese historiography, Martin claimed to be original in his "discovery" of international law and diplomacy in ancient China (Martin 1901:2). His study, however, was based on works of native historians such as Sima Qian (Martin 1901:450; Sima Qian) as well as on the historical documents edited by Confucius, the first historian of China. The implied logic of such colonial rhetoric is that since native historians did not label their recorded historical events in terms of "international law," Martin, by labelling them this way, was legitimized in claiming ownership of the intellectual discovery.

4.2.3 The inferiority of Chinese ancient diplomacy

No matter how civilized China had been, it had to be proved defective. Martin contrasted the contemporary Western concept of diplomacy with the ancient Chinese practice (Martin 1901:469-742). Before some diplomatic representatives at his presentation, he praised the "honesty" of European diplomacy, which according to him was based on "a maxim that the advantage of each is found in the prosperity of all" (ibid.). European diplomacy was "but another name for philanthropy" (ibid.). In contrast, the ancient Chinese practice was not lacking in "deviations from rectitude" (ibid.). The ancient diplomats often availed themselves of opportunities to spy on the lands of other states, or profess peace while preparing for war. He noted the lack of the concepts of extra-territoriality, plenipotentiary, and resident minister (ibid.:470), all very important concepts that were imposed on the Chinese by the Western powers to achieve an "equal" basis for their

dealings with China.[34] Martin stated that although China had the concept of international diplomacy, the long isolation of China as a vast country under one sovereignty had caused the empire to lose her ancient diplomatic talents and a want of diplomatic tact led to the Opium War, the "Arrow" War, the alienation of potential allies by demanding kotow from Great Britain and the United States and the 1900 Boxer Uprising (ibid.:472). Martin concluded: "China needs to learn in the school of adversity" (ibid.).

4.2.4 No foreign impact, no native progress

In Martin's view on the history of China, intervention from foreign nations and foreign advisors were crucial to the progress of China. The paper on the Tartars was obviously guided by this mentality. His presentation of the Chinese history of the Spring and Autumn period also underscored this theme. In *A Cycle of Cathay*, he devoted quite some space to reform in the State of Qin and how the prosperity of the state benefited much from chancellor Li Si's reform scheme. Li Si (280BC?-208BC) was compared by Martin to Bismarck in "the consolidation of the power of a new imperial house and the unification of a dissevered empire" (Martin 1966:256). Li Si's reform changed land tenure and the method of revenue collection, remodeled the army and employed foreign methods and foreign agents. When the natives felt jealous and petitioned for the exclusion of all foreigners from the state, Li Si wrote his famous memorial that stemmed the opposition (ibid.). Martin wrote (ibid.:256-57):

> In that day "foreigners" were those who lived on the opposite side of a river or of a mountain range; to-day the word means those who dwell beyond the ocean. The eloquent plea of Li-sze, even at this distance of time, has had some influence in preparing the reigning house to welcome foreigners, who by new arts and new sciences contribute to the well-being of the empire.

For Martin, the contemporary history of China was nothing but a

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34 See Hevia (1990) for how Western powers tried to make China "perfectly equal."

five act drama (Martin 1910) leading to her opening to the West and her "intercourse on equal terms" (Martin 1966:4).[35] These five acts were: the Opium War that opened five ports,[36] the Second Opium War that led to treaty revision and more open ports, the Sino-French War that caused China to lose Vietnam, the Sino-Japanese War that "was an eye-opener" (ibid.) and the Boxer War, which forced Dowager Cixi to adopt reform measures. In this drama, Martin saw "a Divine hand controlling the shifting scenes" (ibid.). In his other texts on China's modern history, Martin described China's unpreparedness for communicating with foreign powers, her egocentric view of the world (Martin 1881:237) and how she was convinced of Western superiority only through Western aggression and armed power (Martin 1901:16). He described the reforms induced by the humiliation of China at the hands of the foreign powers, such as the establishment of the government foreign language school (ibid.17-19). He commented on the effect of the Sino-Japanese war on the increasing speed of reform in China, the 1897 memorial by Kang Youwei, and the One-Hundred-Day Reform by Emperor Guangxu (ibid.19-20).

This impact-response theory of the history of modern China, which emphasizes foreign impact in bringing China out of the dynastic cycles, was later a major theory in Chinese historiography, accepted by both Western and Chinese historians and challenged only recently.[37] It is not strange that Martin should be an earlier representative of this Eurocentric historiography, since he was living in the times of Western

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35 Martin's gendered use of "she" in referring to China might be a usage popular in his time when referring to a nation. He also used "she" in referring to Britain (Martin 1966:391).

36 Martin, like other missionaries, was against the importation of opium to China, but he held that the Opium War had not been about forcing China to accept opium, but about seeking an equal basis of communication between China and Great Britain. See Martin (1966:21-23; 1913).

37 Meskill (1965) is a good introduction to major schools of thought in the historiography of China. For challenges to the foreign impact theory see Cohen (1984), who advocates a China-centered historiography of China.

expansion and colonialism.

4.2.5 China, a civilizable child, the fusion of discourses

A recurrent theme in Martin's discussion of Chinese history was that China was by no means a static nation. Martin compared China to a planet on the periphery of the solar system: it was moving, albeit slowly due to its adherence to tradition (Martin 1881:230; 1901:9). In a presentation to the American Oriental Society in 1868, which was then published in the *New Englander* in 1869, and included in *The Chinese* in 1881 and *The Lore of Cathay* in 1901, Martin expressed his confidence in China's progress and future. But still in this seemingly favorable presentation of China, we see the shadow of colonial discourse.

Adopting the colonial discourse of classification and definition (Harrell 1995:8) and the nineteenth century evolutionist standard for scaling cultures, Martin differentiated China from British India, Africa and aboriginal America by the existence of a national mind and national unity in the country (Martin 1901:9). He noted that the Chinese culture had the great assimilating power to take in heterogeneous elements (ibid.) Such unity, however, also had its negative aspect, namely, conservatism, the slow pace of change and the reverence for antiquity (ibid.:10). It seems that Martin was developing a stagnation theory of Chinese history, but then we see him discussing varieties and changes in civil government, religion and intellectual life over thousands of years. This discussion of the pre-Western-impact period gave much emphasis to development and change, rather than to dynastic cycles and conservatism. The Chinese, Martin argued, had undergone elective monarchy, hereditary feudalism and consolidated monarchy (ibid.:10-11). The nation had produced a democratic institution for social upward mobility: the civil service examinations (ibid.:12). The Chinese had absorbed a foreign religion, Buddhism, which was "a visible proof of the possibility of converting the Chinese to a foreign creed" (ibid.). The intellectual life had been progressing with innovation and modification

(ibid.:13-15). Martin's views on this point are noteworthy, for it shows that a Westerner, a colonizer by his times if not by his personality, could see China's history from its own point of view. As he was not a trained historian, Martin's thoughts, I believe, were influenced by his missionary ideology of promoting social change in China. This ideology determined that he must see China as an inferior and yet hopeful land that was capable of redemption through accepting Christianity. His personal experience of actually living in an ancient civilization as a missionary and educator, his educational background in Western classics and his acquaintance with Chinese classical scholarship, were adequate for producing a discourse of sincere faith in China's future. This missionary and scholarly observation about China's ability for self-development, however, is not without its colonial connotations. Martin's views on this point are based on the classification of the colonized worlds into civilized and uncivilized. China was a civilization albeit inferior to the West and therefore more hopeful than India, Africa and the aboriginal Americans. Even today's "China-centered approach" in the Western historiography of China cannot totally rid itself of this opposition between civilization and non-civilization. Reviewing *Bamboo Stone* by Steven Rendall, Frank Dikötter (1995:1221) criticized the author's ignorance of the developments in the past fifteen years in Western Chinese historiography and the lack of China-centered approach, but in his remarks, we can see the reason for adopting a China-centered approach:

> [The author] replicates the "Western impact-Chinese response" paradigm from which historians of China wish to move away. The author seems blissfully unaware of new historiographical trends which have transformed the field over the last 15 years, and does not shrink from comparing the civilizing mission of missionaries to the introduction of a "superior culture" to the Polynesian Islands.

Here Dikötter implies that China should not be classified into the same category as the Polynesian Islands because for China, Western civilization was not necessarily a superior culture while he holds that

it is superior to the Polynesian Islands. The China-West encounter is therefore an encounter between two civilizations, each of which has its own way of development. This China-centered perspective of examining China's history was less colonial than the Western-impact-Chinese-response paradigm, but it was still loaded with what I would call the civilization-centric view that rejects some cultures as non-civilizations. The new historiography can liberate China from being colonized by Western discourse, but it is inadequate for thoroughly subverting that discourse when we come to other cultures.

4.2.6 Moral cultivation at the cost of material progress

Another example of his "non-Christian" but still "colonial" mentality concerns Martin's comment on the Confucian mode of moral cultivation exemplified by the book *Great Learning*. Confucian education and doctrine of cultivating good human nature, in Martin's view, over-emphasized the importance of moral cultivation at the cost of other sciences (Martin 1881:134). He held that this negligence of the material aspect of civilization made China what she was at his time, the most ancient and the most populous (ibid.), referring to Confucian conservatism and the popular cult of family continuity and expansion. Implied in his description was the message that China was backward materially because of the emphasis given to moral cultivation at the cost of science. If Martin spoke only from the missionary point of view, moral cultivation should be a primary concern, since Christian missions' main target was to convert the heathen people so that their souls could be saved, regardless of their material comfort and wealth. Arthur Smith, for example, stated in the last chapter of his *Chinese Characteristics* that what China needed was not Western material civilization but Christianity as a moral doctrine. Smith was speaking the pure missionary discourse, while Martin also spoke the colonial language which emphasized the superiority of the Western material culture and advocated its duplication in other, less developed areas of

the world. This "secular" view was then at odds with his missionary goals and disclosed some inconsistency between colonial discourse and missionary discourse on the same subject matter (see the next chapter for Martin's comment on Confucian ethics from the missionary point of view).

4.3 Colonial Discourses: Conflict and Instability

Despite the many examples of colonial mentality shown in Martin's texts, they are intermingled with texts that betray the internal contradictions and the instability of colonial discourse. For example, on the one hand, his colonial discourse praised the superior Western material culture; on the other hand, we find thoughts betraying a suspicion of this material progress. A contrast can be found in his attitude towards steam, the arch-symbol of progress in the nineteenth century that has a conspicuous position in Martin's texts. In his account of travel through central China, his colonial mentality led him to imagine the development of the Yellow River resources (Martin 1966:280):

> The sepulcher of wisdom will detain us with the hoary past, the fierce and turbid stream [of the Yellow River] carried our thoughts irresistibly to the future. Spurning the feeble efforts of the natives, it waits to be subdued by the science of Western engineers; and too rapid for the creeping junk, it has rushed into the sea at a more accessible point than its ancient mouth, as if for the express purpose of inviting steam navigation.

But a few pages later, he came to the Weishan Lake in Shandong Province. His mood then changed (ibid.:291):

> Taking passage at the foot of the lake, I glided gently down with the current and reached Chinkiangfu, a distance of three hundred miles, in less than a week. For comfort commend me to a Chinese canal-boat, with no passengers and no noise. If you are not pressed for time you have no reason to sigh for smoky steamer or rattling railway.

His attitude towards Western commerce is also ambivalent. Commenting on China's traditional mode of production, he wrote: "Forming a world in herself, and producing all that her people require, she would stand in little need of foreign commerce, were it not for the superior skill of

Europeans in the industrial arts" (ibid.:50).

The trope of the distancing, third person and probing eye in his travel accounts is occasionally subverted by a shift to the sentimental mode of travel writing. Pratt (1985:131-134) holds that sentimental travel writing could be opposed to the scientific information travel writing and be a powerful critique of the scientific hegemonic writing. While the monarch-of-all-I-survey trope may be found in both sentimental travel writing and objective travel writing, the sentimental mode discloses more a voice at odds with the authoritative colonial mentality. The will of the colonizer had to be subjected to the native conditions and bow to the constraints and unexpected facilities. Thus after a slow and painful journey along the Beijing-Hangzhou Canal route, Martin and his cart-driver arrived at the Weishan Lake (ibid.:290):

> At length ascending a hill, I beheld the Weishan Lake spreading its silvery expanse at my feet. Embosoming an archipelago of green islands and stretching far away among the hills, to my eye the scene was too pleasing to be real. I distrusted my senses and thought it a mirage, such as often before had mocked my hopes with the apparition of lake and stream. When my guides assured me that it was no deceptive show I gave way to transports not unlike those of the Greeks when, escaping from the heart of Persia, they caught a distant view of the waters of the Euxine, and shouted, *"Thalassa! Thalassa!"*

Here we do not find the colonial voice of value judgement or discovery-claiming, or the debasement of native scenery, but the joy at being provided an easier method of transportation by nature. This gratitude discloses the limited power of the colonial agent in the native space.

In his accounts of political affairs, Martin defended some colonial policies and acts taken by Western powers in China, but also criticized others. These included both historical events and contemporary colonial operations. In describing Macao, Martin went into some detailed accounts of the Portuguese engagement in trading Chinese coolies. He described it as "slave trade" and "infamous traffic" (Martin 1966:31) and praised Britain and the United States for their "humanity" in keeping themselves away from such deeds (ibid.). Citing other sources, he pointed to the cruel treatment of those coolies and their brave

resistance on board some ships that took them from China to South America (ibid.:32-33). In another place, he described a feud between the Portuguese and the Cantonese. Although the feud was between two "wolves," strong men competing for the chance of making a profit in offering "protection" to the Ningpo fishermen, Martin's account, largely impartial, criticized the Portuguese for carrying on trade "without the sanction of a treaty" and for resorting to "reckless violence" (ibid.:93). He also blamed the Portuguese for their "unscrupulous proceedings" which "did much to delay the opening of China to legitimate commerce" (ibid.:95). This criticism of the Portuguese colonizers, of course, was made from the point of view of the British and American style of colonization, i.e. treaty-sanctioned colonization. Without touching the historicity of the treaties between China and Britain and the United States, Martin was still speaking the colonial voice in criticizing the Portuguese style of colonialism.

Some criticism was made from the missionary point of view. While in Ningpo, Martin studied the effects of opium smoking and concluded that to the Chinese it was "an unmitigated curse" (ibid.:85). Though he justified the Opium War on the basis of fair trade, he attacked the British for engaging in the opium trade. He quoted a Chinese anti-opium tract, which was printed as illustration in his book (ibid.:87) and a letter of Prince Gong of the Board of Foreign Affairs to show how resolute the Chinese government was in trying to stop the trade at great cost to revenue collection (ibid.:89-90).

Throughout his discussion of the Western impact period, Martin was speaking an obvious colonial language, depicting China as a hopeless child that would not change its behavior until after being spanked by the Western powers, yet in his texts we also find a complete quotation taken from a memorial to the emperor by the Board of Foreign Affairs. The memorial addressed the inclusion of a science department in the government foreign language school. This native text, inserted right in

the middle of his colonial texts lauding Western superiority and dominance, spoke a voice of resistance. This resistance discourse was a double sword aimed at both domestic conservatism against Western science and Western teachers,[38] and the discourse of Western superiority. The memorial argued that Western science had its origin in native astronomy (1881:242) and that to learn from foreign barbarians their science was to bring it back to the native intellectual foundation and "Having the root in our possession, we shall not need to look to others for assistance" (ibid.). It also argued that the study of practical knowledge such as machinery, was sanctioned by the Confucian tradition recorded in the ancient Confucian classics (ibid.:244). We should not regard this argument as mere expediency, for it embodied the thought that modernity was not an imported innovation from the West or imposed by the West. The West was only a catalyst in the process of native progress.

The debasing of the Chinese in Martin's colonial discourse was offset by many remarks showing his admiration for the people. While in one place he depicted the Chinese as greedy and lacking altruism, in another place he described an incident to show how a Cantonese declined "the thank-offering of considerable value" from a man rescued by him after falling into a river. Martin wrote: "Ought not that act, so prompt and generous, to be taken as an offset to the heartless selfishness with which the Chinese are so often charged?" (ibid.:95) Here Martin seemed to be addressing the opinions represented by Arthur Smith's *Chinese Characteristics*, a book essentializing the Chinese national character in very negative terms.

In another place, Martin showed his own insecurity in the face of the Chinese civilization. He described how when he was preaching in a

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38 This memorial was a rebuttal to an earlier memorial sent by Woren, a Mongol scholar-official and head of the Hanlin Academy, who opposed the establishment of Western studies on racial and cultural grounds (Teng and Fairbank eds. 1965:76-77).

village, he was invited by "a respectable old man" to his house to have breakfast. "The house was well-built, commodious, and clean; the occupant being one of the better class of farmers who cultivate their own ground" (ibid.:111). There was no fork and Martin was having trouble taking up "the shrimps, eels, and chicken." He went on (ibid.):

> My host, seeing me embarrassed in trying to convey to my mouth small morsels with two round sticks (the chopsticks in universal use), made a sign to his daughter, who brought me the spindle of her spinning-wheel. With that I was able to spear my eels and shrimps with sufficient ease, but in a way that must have appeared uncivilized to Chinese eyes. Happily, there were no other guests and no spectators.

This self-conscious realization of his own "uncivilized" eating method highlighted Martin's respect for the native culture, which was not clearly professed in his texts about his travel experiences in China. In most cases these accounts were saturated with the colonial discourse.

In this chapter I have shown the colonial discourse in Martin's non-academic and academic writings. I have also shown that such a colonial discourse was not without its internal inconsistencies and insecurities. Such inconsistencies and insecurities were produced as a result of the conflicting nature of the relationship between different types of colonizing agents, or as the insertion of another discourse, namely missionary discourse, or as the removing of prejudice in Martin's witnessing the grass-root life of the Chinese. Besides, only a small part of Martin's academic writings, as will be shown by the following chapters, was tinged with colonial discourse that directly legitimized the material interests of imperialism. In next two chapters, I will demonstrate the missionary discourse in Martin's academic texts to show how the Christian perspective shaped his academic research.

CHAPTER FIVE

MISSIONARY DISCOURSE IN MARTIN'S SINOLOGY

PART I

In the last chapter I discussed the colonial discourse in Martin's writings. In this chapter and in the next I will discuss the missionary discourse in both Martin's academic and non-academic texts about Chinese religion and Confucianism. Missionary discourse here refers to the discourse that speaks the language of Christian theology and related values. I will show here how this Christian world view affected Martin's arguments in his academic texts and how this missionary discourse connected his individual utterance with that of other missionaries. By conducting Sinological studies in the missionary language, the missionary Sinologues were not seeking truth in the scientific sense, but rather were legitimizing their Christian world view. The "truth" they sought was the biblical truth. In such studies, there were therefore inevitably biased interpretations and prejudiced judgements.

5.1 Chinese Religion Viewed from the Christian Point of View

In this part I discuss Martin's presentation of Buddhism. His Christian view of Daoist concepts will be discussed later together with his study of Neo-Confucianism to avoid unnecessary repetition, for these concepts were absorbed into Neo-Confucianism.

Martin's very negative attitude towards Buddhism as an institutional religion is found in *A Cycle of Cathay*. He held that in contrast to Christianity, which was a religion aimed at reforming Chinese society, Buddhism shunned any responsibility for society's well-being. He described the Buddhist chanting of "Omitofo" as "a discipline well fitted to withdraw the mind from worldly thoughts" (ibid.). "With such a discipline, a highly intellectual clergy could hardly be expected" (ibid.). In another place, he commented on the Buddhist's

concept of a perfect world as a (ibid.:229):

> sun too remote to exert any controlling force, and with too little warmth to raise a breeze or to melt the ice on its surface--a world, in short, in which nothing noxious can flourish, nor, it may be added, anything beautiful or good.

He used vivid metaphors to associate Buddhism with decadence (Martin 1966:38):

> In general, the priests have stolid faces and eyes fixed on vacancy. Most of them are unable to read, the recitation of prayers being their sole duty. No longer doing anything to strengthen or renovate Chinese society, Buddhism clings to it as ivy clings to a crumbing tower, deriving its nourishment from the rottenness of the structure.

Commenting on the Buddhist practice of releasing captive animals Martin termed it "compassion for brute animals." Sarcastically he wrote: "A Buddhist is not sure that the ass may not be his father!" (ibid). This compassion for brute animals, according to Martin, tended to "lower the sense of human dignity" (ibid).

Martin saw some Buddhist practices as contrary to the Christian value of cleanliness. He described in detail a hermitage he saw when visiting a monastery (ibid.:39-40):

> On the hillside was a "hermitage"...a small chamber built of rough stones, without door or window. It was occupied by a devotee, who was doing penance for imaginary sins committed in a former state of existence, and storing up imaginary merit with a view to improving his condition in the next life. He has been immured for twenty-four years, the stones having been built up around him....He never washed, and was therefore deemed very holy....His finger-nails, which he was fond of exhibiting, looked like filaments of ram's horn or the legs of an octopus; each had a separate sheath of bamboo.

In this passage, attention should be focused on Martin's diction. The devotee's sin was "imaginary" and so was the merit he tried to cultivate. Holiness was associated with having "never washed." If we remind ourselves that the word "holy" has a complex meaning in Christianity, we may say that here Martin was contrasting two different notions of holiness, the dirty Buddhist holiness and the clean Christian holiness. Martin's use of the metaphor of ram's horn and octopus legs for the long nails of the devotee certainly aimed at conjuring up unpleasant connotations.

Martin commented negatively on the social background of Buddhist monks as "recruited chiefly from the poor and the destitute, but instances are not rare of criminals taking refuge among them" (1901:228). The personality of Buddhist monks was characterized by Martin as being hypocritical (ibid.:228-229):

> So gentle and inoffensive was an old priest at Pearl Grotto that I had come to regard him as a model of virtue, when, one day, a cow broke into his melon-patch and trampled all his virtues in the dust. With every stone he threw he launched a volley of filthy epithets such as made my ears tingle.... Another priest I heard cursing a street-lamp. He was drunk, which for him is a sorry excuse; but I was tempted to suspect that he "hated the light because his deeds were evil."

In Martin's eyes, Buddhist monks "are lazy, ignorant, and immoral." Things were not better in Lamarism, a "Buddhism of a corrupt type" (ibid.:247). Martin described the Grand Lamasery in Beijing:

> Here twelve hundred lazy monks, filthy and vicious, are housed in the palace of a prince, who...gave them his dwelling and ordered them to be fed at his expense. So greedy are these recluses, whose first law is self-abnegation, and so indelicate is their mode of picking pockets, that a visitor always departed with the conviction that instead of visiting a house of prayer he had fallen into a den of thieves.

Buddhism entered China on a large scale around A.D. 67 in the Han Dynasty. A legend tells that the Emperor Ming had a dream that prompted him to send people to India to study Buddhism and to bring back Buddhist scriptures. Martin regretted that Emperor Ming's ambassadors had not travelled "farther west and met with disciples of the young and vigorous Christianity of that day" (Martin 1966:261). Martin's speculation was very similar to that of Ricci's, who interpreted it as about Christianity rather than Buddhism (Mungello 1989:69).

As we can see from the above quotations, Martin, in presenting Chinese Buddhism to his home audience, meant more than just a criticism of the religion. What he intended to convey was that the Chinese in general were miserably in the grip of a religion not beneficial to them. It was Christianity's duty to liberate this country from the idol worshiping religion.

But Martin also cited the spreading of Buddhism in China as proof of China's willingness to accept a foreign religion (Martin 1881:117). He was of course referring to the potential for Christianity to flourish in China as Buddhism had done. His study of Buddhism was from the perspective of Christian mission work, a perspective that tried to smooth the differences between Buddhism and Christianity and to address the issue of making use of the language of Buddhism to aid evangelic work. Martin held that there were similarities between Buddhism and Christianity that "lie far deeper than ...the superficial analogies of religious orders and religious ritual" (ibid.:251). Buddhism did not deny the two fundamental requisites of religious teaching: a belief in God and a belief in the immortality of the soul (ibid.:253). Martin thought that it had satisfied the spiritual needs of the Chinese for a supreme God, and kept this belief in a supreme being alive (ibid.), thus preparing the ground for Christianity. He interpreted the popularity of *Guanyin*, the Goddess of Mercy, in China, as evidence that the Chinese had taken "a hint from the Mother of our Lord" and "clothed it with the beauty and tenderness of woman" (Martin 1894b:288). This interpretation was almost a verbatim repetition of what the Jesuit missionary Arthanasius Kircher said about the same Buddhist Goddess (Mungello, 1989:161).

Martin traced the development of the concept of Buddha within the Northern School to show that it had been properly used by missionaries as an introductory tool to Jesus, given the parallels between Buddha and Christ (Martin 1894b:289; 1901:255). The Northern School, called Mahayana or Greater Vehicle, differs from the school popular in Southeast Asia, Hīnayana or Lesser Vehicle, in that it gives prominent position to Bodhisattva, or "the being who seeks Buddhahood but seeks it altruistically; he wants enlightenment, but wants it to enlighten others; he willingly sacrifices himself for these others..." (Fung Yu-lan 1953:238, translator's note). This image of Buddha is similar to

that of Jesus Christ and therefore was used by some missionaries as an analogy to introduce Jesus to the Chinese.

Citing popular Buddhist tracts, Martin argued that the mind of the Chinese was permeated with the twin concepts of the immortal soul and the present life as a probation for the afterlife, and therefore was ready for accepting the Christian message of a more important life to come (Martin 1901:257-258). He argued that all the three important elements of the Christian ethics--Faith, Hope, and Charity--could find their parallels in Buddhism (ibid.:259-260). He finally showed that Buddhism had actually prepared the Chinese language for spreading the Gospels, for the Buddhist vocabulary was employed in Bible translation.

In the 1901 version of this article, he added a note about reformed Buddhism in Japan. Called *Shinshiu*, True Doctrine, this school of Buddhism put faith in Amita Buddha, i.e., the Boundless Buddha, to the exclusion of other Buddhas. *Shinshiu* made no difference between laymen and priests with regard to salvation. Priests were allowed to marry and eat flesh and fish (Martin 1901:263). This note indicated Martin's confidence in the accommodation of Buddhism into Christianity, but the reality of Chinese society and politics made it necessary for him to identify more with Confucianism, as had Matteo Ricci during the Ming dynasty.

Did Martin's suggestion of accommodating Buddhism have a practical consideration? In the tide of nationalism at the turn of the century, Kang Yu-wei (1858-1927) controversially promoted Confucianism as a national religion as opposed to Christianity (Hsiao 1975:118). It is no surprise that other voices advocated Buddhism as a national religion. Kang's student Liang Qichao, for example, wrote that Buddhism should be the national religion of China, arguing that it was superior to "*Jingjiao*" (Nestorianism, Liang's word for Christianity) (Liang Qichao 1986:590-93). Liang held that the opportunity for a new Buddhism as a national religion was greater than that of Christianity (Liang Ch'i-chao

1959:117). This, of course, would have made missionaries nervous about Buddhism's competition with Christianity. To accommodate some Buddhist elements into Christianity, then, may have been a strategy to soften the impact of Buddhism on Christian mission work.

5.2 Confucian Philosophy from the Christian Point of View

In this section I will first present the views of Jesuit missionaries about Confucianism. I intend to link Martin's Confucian scholarship with the Jesuits' Confucian scholarship to show the unity of missionary discourse on this subject across historical periods.

5.2.1. The Jesuits' study of Chinese religion and philosophy

The Jesuits were the earliest known Europeans to have "discovered" Confucianism; previous Christian missionaries did not pay much attention to the philosophy (Ching 1977:13). After studying Confucian classics, Matteo Ricci was convinced of the basic compatibility between Christianity and Confucianism (Ching 1977:14).

The Jesuits' mission strategy aimed at a synthesis between Christianity and Confucianism (Mungello 1989:5). Matteo Ricci was the leading figure in the attempt (ibid.:44). Ricci arrived in China when there was an intellectual atmosphere open to syncretism (ibid.:57). Within this intellectual context, Ricci could select what he deemed appropriate from the Confucian doctrines and combine it with Christian beliefs to create a synthesis acceptable to the Chinese literati. The nature of Confucianism in China made this adaptation possible precisely because its canons were susceptible to various interpretations.

Syncretism is a result of negotiation between different religious models. What Ricci had was one particular set of Christian theology and what he encountered was the Cheng-Zhu School of Neo-Confucianism (ibid.:59)[39], which was also called *Li Xue*, or the study of the

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39 The Cheng-Zhu School refers to the thoughts represented by two Cheng brothers, Cheng Yi (1033-1108) and Cheng Hao (1032-85), and Zhu Xi (1130-1200). This school studies the Principle outside human mind and is therefore regarded as objective idealism. Another school, the Lu-Wang School, represented by Lu Jiuyuan (1139-93) and Wang Shouren (1472-

Principle, and was criticized by Ricci for having deviated from the original Confucianism (ibid.:61). In applying his own cultural model of Christian theology, Ricci sought to identify elements in the Confucian canons that were harmonious with Christian doctrine. He found in the pre-Confucian documents compiled and edited by the sage numerous references to a certain *Shangdi*, translated as "Supreme Ruler" or "Lord-on-High." "Ricci genuinely believed that this deity, *Shangh-ti* (Lord-on-High), worshipped by the Chou emperors, was actually the Christian God" (Young 1983:29). This belief was an example of how missionaries interpreted Chinese religion by their cultural schema.

The Christian schema generated a recurrent theme in subsequent missionary discourse about Confucianism, which I call Confucian fundamentalism. In the nineteenth century, when Christian missions started anew after the failure of the Roman Catholic mission in China, the same issue arose when missionaries tried to find a proper Chinese term for "God."

The Christian theology of intelligent design in the universe also enticed Ricci to seek an omnipotent creator of the universe in the Chinese classics. If there was nothing like a Christian God, he argued that the true Confucian tradition must have been lost (ibid.:30). This "lost tradition hypothesis" was another recurrent theme in missionary discourse about Chinese classics.[40]

Still another theme was the "defect theory." Confucianism was deemed good in preparing the moral ground among the Chinese for God, but it was inadequate in meeting the needs of the soul. "Only Christianity could meet these needs and complete the ideas Confucius had started"

1529), is called the Learning of Mind and is usually regarded as subjective idealism.

40 To further illustrate my point that missionary discourse about native religion had a unity across time and space, I refer to Chidester (1996:239), who described how missionaries developed a "three-stage theory" of African religion: an original revelation, a lost tradition due to degeneration and regeneration by Christianity.

(Young 1983:36). In Ricci's synthesis, "Confucianism was to contribute primarily social and moral ingredients and Christianity mainly spiritual ingredients" (Mungello 1989:64).

The imposition of the Christian cultural model on the interpretation of Chinese classics brought subsequent inventions of concepts that were alien to the Chinese tradition. For example, Ricci believed that seeking salvation was an important concern of the ancient Chinese (Mungello 1989:64). Since salvation is related to sin in Christian theology, Ricci then was implying that ancient Confucianism endorsed this concept too. He also argued that such concepts as soul, God's heaven and God's planning also existed in the Chinese classics (Young 1983:31-32). These Christian notions, however, cannot be found in the Chinese classics.[41]

Thus we see that the Jesuits' Christian theology and their strategy for reaching the Chinese educated class led Ricci to invent a Christianized Confucianism. This Christian Confucianism with its emphasis on a creator God was against the indigenous Neo-Confucianism of Ricci's time, which regarded *Li* (principle), "the immaterial and metaphysical principle or principles that underlie, yet transcend, the physical universe" (Fung Yu-lan 1953:444), as the source of the universe. Zhu Xi held that this *Li* existed before any physical object (ibid.:535). The function of *Li* is to regulate the creation of the universe (ibid.:482). It is self-contained and exists all by itself (ibid.:501). The Jesuit missionary Longobardo warned that it should not be equated with the Christian God, because it was "primary matter" (Gernet 1985:206). His interpretation down-played the creative aspect

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41 See Ching (1977, chapters 3-5) for a comparative study of the similarities and differences between Christianity and Confucianism regarding the notions of sin, human nature, and God. Ching's discussion covers Confucianism in its later development. If we are to limit ourselves to the religiosity of the ancient Chinese as recorded in pre-Confucian documents, we can see that there are more differences than similarities between what the missionaries believed to be a pure monotheistic worship and Christian theology.

of the Chinese concept, probably for strategic reasons, for if *Li* possessed creative power, it would displace God and become a strong reason for rejecting Christianity. Leibniz, who had little concern about evangelism, believed that *Li* corresponded well to the Christian concept of God (ibid.).

Neo-Confucians often interpreted another concept, *Tian* (heaven) as synonymous with *Li* (Young 1983:33). Ricci, however, saw a danger in this, since he interpreted *Tian* as synonymous with *Shangdi*, so that he could both promote the notion of a creator God and keep Confucianism as an ideological rapport between his mission and the Chinese scholar-officials.[42] He therefore attacked Neo-Confucianism for ascribing *Li* the creative power of *Shangdi* (ibid.). He explained in terms of physical science that principle (*Li*) was only a property of things just like color and smell and would disappear when things disappeared (ibid.:34).

Another important concept of Neo-Confucianism, *Taiji* (Supreme Ultimate) was criticized by Ricci who argued that it was not found in the classics but was imported by later Confucian scholars from unreliable sources (ibid.). It is understandable that *Taiji* as a creating force in Neo-Confucianism should have received such an attack. Mungello (1989:61) wrote:

> The interpretations of the Classics by Chu Hsi and his school had developed a cosmology which competed with Christian conceptions of the God and Creation. Consequently, we find Ricci in his *T'ien-chu shih-i* directly criticizing the Neo-Confucian concept, T'ai-chi.

The following table illustrates the notions of *Shangdi*, *Tian*, *Li* and *Taiji* and their treatment in the pre-Confucian classics, Confucian texts, Neo-Confucianism and the Jesuit exegesis. "+" means high frequency presence and/or sanctioning of the concepts; "-" means absence

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42 *Tian* (heaven) was used by Confucius who seemed reluctant to sanction the notion of *Shangdi*. Missionaries were dissatisfied with Confucius, but in order to win Confucian scholars, they had to reinterpret the Confucian concept of Heaven.

or negligible presence and\or not sanctioning of the concepts.

	Shangdi Ruler above	*Tian* Heaven	*Li* Principle	*Taiji* Supreme Ultimate
Pre-Confucian documents	+	+	-	-
Confucian texts	-	+ as synonymous with Shangdi	-	-
Neo-Confucianism	-	+ as meaning Li	+	+
Jesuit missionary: Ricci	+ as Christian God	+ as *Shanghdi*, God	-	-

Table 5-1 The distribution of *Shangdi, Tian, Li and Taiji.*

5.2.2 Martin's Confucian exegesis as the continuation of missionary Confucian Scholarship

In seeking a compromise between Confucianism and Christianity, Martin was very similar to Matteo Ricci.[43] In fact missionaries of the liberal school in the late nineteenth century adopted a mission strategy similar to that used by the Jesuits (Liang Yuansheng 1978:24). Between the banning of Christianity by the Qing emperors in the 1720s and the arrival of the first Protestant missionary Robert Morrison in 1807 there was an absence of active Christian missions of about eighty years; but when the Christian missions resumed in China, the same discourse about Confucian classics and native religiosity surfaced again despite the differences in historical environments and religious doctrines.[44] This is not to minimize the differences between the Jesuits and the Protestant missionaries in mission strategies and in the presentations of Chinese philosophy and religion. We must examine both their

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43 Covell in an e-mail correspondence (Aug. 15, 1997) also pointed this out to me.

44 There were numerous articles, in missionary magazines as well as English newspapers published in China on the subject of *Shangdi* in the Confucian classics. See for example, *North China Herald* June 14, 1851 and Cornaby (1904).

continuity and their differences to understand how missionary discourse was both a dominating discourse overriding historical periods and individual peculiarities and a discourse not totally devoid of the autonomy of the authors.

5.2.2.1 Monotheism in China's antiquity as sanctioned by Confucius

5.2.2.1.1 Ancient notion of God

Martin's early and general presentation of Confucianism was made nineteen years after his arrival in China in his 1869 article (Martin 1881:97-124). The article introduced the "three religions" of China - Confucianism, Buddhism and Daoism - as "equally idolatrous" (Martin 1881:98). Yet Martin led his readers to the alleged pure belief in one deity in the antiquity (ibid.):

> Yet, on acquiring the language and studying the popular superstitions in their myriad fantastic shapes, he [reader] began to discover traces of a religious sentiment, deep and real, which is not connected with any of the objects of popular worship--a veneration for Tien, or Heaven, and a belief that in the visible heavens there resides some vague power who provides for the wants of men, and rewards them according to their deeds.

The evidence of Heaven veneration was found in the ancient books: the *Book of History*, the *Book of Change* and the *Book of Odes* which mention a *Shangdi* that is not "clothed in human form or debased by human passion like the Zeus of the Greek" (ibid.:100). Martin quoted Xu Guangqi as saying *Shangdi* was equivalent with *Tianfu* (Heavenly Father). He concluded that "the Chinese were by no means destitute of the knowledge of God. They did not indeed know him as the Creator, but they recognized him as supreme in providence, and without beginning or end" (ibid.:101). Thus we have a defective notion of God, but it is certainly God, creator or not.

5.2.2.1.2 Corruption of the original belief in one God

Missionaries' interpretation of the ancient Chinese concept of "Supreme-on-High" had to confront statements in the classics that indicated traces of polytheism. For example when the Emperor Shun sacrificed to the Heaven, he also sacrificed to the hills and rivers and

other deities (See Legge 1969, Vol.3:33-34). Cornaby (1904:9) wrote that this gave missionaries mixed feelings. Martin (1881:101), however, interpreted it as a sign of the decay of the original monotheistic concept. This interpretation assumed that there had been a pure monotheistic worship among the Chinese before references to lesser deities appeared in classical documents. Such an interpretation of the development of polytheism read just like another version of the Old Testament's story of the degeneration of the Jews who betrayed God and turned to idols and gods.

5.2.2.1.3 Interpretation and appropriation

Martin stated that the ancient Chinese did not get their notion of the "Supreme-on-High" by speculation, for the Chinese of that time were not of a speculative type (Martin 1881:101). The notion, therefore, "was brought down from remote antiquity on the stream of patriarchal tradition" (ibid.). The same idea was expressed by Cornaby (1904:6):

> We seem to have a here a brief note of the worship of a patriarchal priest-king,...in the days before that branch of the Turanian race, now called Chinese, had continued their eastward migrations to the bend of the Yellow river to occupy the territory which formed the nucleus of present-day China.

Missionary interpretation of this ancient Chinese notion of God was necessarily partial and selective. According to Chiu (1984), the ancient Chinese in the Shang dynasty had a theological belief system centered around *Di* (ruler) or *Shangdi* (ruler above). This *Shangdi* had its agents in Wind, Cloud, Thunder and Rain. It could reward kind deeds and punish evil deeds, bless harvests and cities, and protect or punish kings. In China this notion of *Shangdi* existed only in the books and was later replaced with the concept of *Tian* (Heaven) when Confucius's *Analects* became more popular than the ancient documents among the general public. Furthermore, the worship of Heaven was the privilege of the emperors. For ordinary people, the notion was more abstract than *Shangdi*. This remoteness, as well as the formlessness, of the Heaven made it possible for the missionaries to appropriate the ancient concept

of *Shangdi* successfully and use it as the Chinese term for "*Theos*" or "*Elohim*" (Greek and Hebrew terms for "God").

In 1890 Martin presented a study of the Chinese sources of divine inspiration in their three religions before the American Oriental Society at Princeton. Again he emphasized that it was important to seek Chinese ideas of divine inspiration in the Confucian canon (Martin 1901:241). Martin cited the classics that mentioned two legendary incidents as evidence of divine revelation: the origin of the Eight Diagrams in the *Book of Changes*, and the *Hong Fan* (Great Plan) that was allegedly brought from the Luo River. It was alleged that a tortoise-like monster from the Yellow River bore the texture in its shell from which the legendary sage Fu Xi developed the first eight diagrams in the *Book of Changes*. The second message was brought by a similar monster from the Luo River. Martin described it as " an outline of natural and political philosophy" (ibid.:243).[45] These two legends, Martin emphasized, were both endorsed by Confucius (ibid.:243).

Martin's interpretation here contradicts James Legge's (1969, Vol.5) interpretation of the River Chart and the Luo Writing. Legge's interpretation, which I classify as academic discourse, is more convincing. The "Great Plan" is an ancient document describing the "great principle of government" (Legge 1969, Vol.5:320). The document records that King Wu consulted a viscount who was loyal to the former dynasty. The viscount revealed to the King this Great Plan, allegedly given to the ancient Sage-King Yu by *Di* (the Chinese God). Later scholars speculated about the origin of this Great Plan, whose content shows that it is the product of a much earlier date. It was later linked to the River Chart and the Luo Writing as mentioned in the appendix (written by Confucius) to the *Book of Changes*. Legge, however, argued that "there is no evidence that he [Confucius] meant to connect

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45 Martin was referring to the famous *He Tu* (River Chart) and *Luo Shu* (The Luo Writing). See translator's notes to Fung Yu-lan (1953, Vol.II:8, 89).

the 'Book of Lo' with the 'Great Plan' at all" (ibid.). Legge rejected the legend of river monsters as absurd speculations (ibid.:321). Martin must have read Legge's translations of Confucian classics before he wrote his article. If so, his way of interpreting the River Chart, the Lo Writing and the Great Plan shows how his missionary discourse affected his truthful presentation of Confucianism. This difference between Martin and Legge serves as an interesting example of the conflict between missionary discourse and academic discourse produced by two famous missionaries respectively.

Martin then discussed the reference to Heaven and the concept of heavenly sages in the *Book of Odes* and other classics. Citing the national reverence for Confucius as an example, he defined sage as "a law-giver to the human race," and cited Confucius as the last Sage of the Chinese (ibid.:245). He stated that native Christians "continue to believe in the mission of Confucius, much as converted Jews do in that of Moses (ibid.:248)). Confucian texts had instilled in the minds of the Chinese an expectation of the coming of a sage in the future. "Nor is the advent of such Heaven-sent teachers limited to China" (ibid.:247). Martin was obviously implying that Jesus was a sage who was not a Chinese native. But the question is: had the Chinese ever had any idea of a sage that could perform wonders, appear in the flesh after being executed, and rise from the tomb to ascend directly to heaven? Confucius probably would have rejected Bible stories as the strange forces and disturbing spirits that he chose to avoid discussing. In the early Qing dynasty when the Jesuits were still favored by the Emperor, a Confucian scholar-official Yang Guangxian vigorously attacked the Jesuits by denouncing the miracles of Jesus as tricks used only by *xiaoren* (petty persons) to win the favor of the masses. Jesus, therefore, did not possess the character of the real *junzi*, the Confucian ideal of a princely person (Young 1983:87).

Besides, Martin's interpretation of the Chinese sage as law-giver also blurred the fundamental difference between the Confucian ideal society regulated by morality and the Christian ideal of a society ruled by legality. The notion of a law-governed society as described in the *Old Testament* is actually closer to the Legalist School that rivaled with Confucianism (See Fung Yu-lan 1952, Vol. I, Chapt.13). The mission handbook published by the American Presbyterian Society (1973:2) listed moral law as a shared feature of both Confucianism and Christianity, but criticized Confucianism for never thinking of "establishing a constitutional barrier against tyranny and providing a Magna Carta for the security of life and property of the ministers and people of China," (ibid.:7). This shows that the missionary community generally regarded Confucius only as a moral provider instead of a law provider, but since Confucianism was the dominating ideology of Chinese society, Martin as well as other missionaries who favored the accommodation of Confucianism into Christianity had to modify the image of Confucianism to suit the scheme of a Confucian-Christian synthesis, a strategy Martin stated in this way (Martin 1901:247):

> There is, therefore, nothing to prevent a sound Confucian accepting Christ as the Light of the World, without abandoning his faith in Confucius as a special teacher for the Chinese people. "Confucius *plus* Christ" is a formula to which he has no insuperable objection; but the man, who approaches him with such an alternative as "Christ *or* Confucius," is not likely to meet with a patient hearing.

This expectation of Confucians' acceptance of Christianity on the basis of the parallelism between Confucianism and Christianity as expounded by Martin turned out to be a one-sided wish. Even today, Confucians tend to avoid Chinese Christian scholars who hope to dialogue with them (Jochim 1995:47-48). The twentieth-century Confucians especially are aloof because they believe that the religiosity in their version of Confucianism is strong enough for satisfying spiritual needs (ibid.).

5.2.2.2 Defects in Confucian philosophy

5.2.2.2.1 Religious defects

In his paper on the three religions of China, Martin argued that the original Confucianism was not properly observed by the later Confucians who did not encourage people to renovate the pure religious sentiment of the ancient times. He blamed this on Confucius' ambiguous attitude towards *Shangdi*. Confucius' agnosticism and his use of *Tian* (Heaven) in place of *Shangdi*, according to Martin, led to atheism and idol worship (Martin 1881:107). In Confucius' works, spirits and ghosts were the things that he advised his disciples to keep a respectful distance from (*Lunyu* 6:22). Of souls after death, he was reluctant to talk (ibid. 11:11). Thus Martin criticized Confucius for a lack of truth (Martin 1881:107). Martin stated that although a Christian would not find in Confucian texts "the monstrous mythology" like that of the Greek and Roman authors, he or she would also fail to detect any divine authority (ibid.:106-07). In other words, Confucianism was only a little better than the works of Greek and Roman authors in not endorsing folk gods, but still defective as compared with Christianity in not endorsing a single God.

5.2.2.2.2 Intellectual defects

Martin also criticized Confucius' dogmatic teaching method which he believed should be held accountable for the "unreasoning habit of the Chinese mind" (1881.:108). Like Ricci, Martin ranked Confucius among the great pagan philosophers such as Socrates and Plato (ibid.:106), but he thought the Chinese sage was inferior to Jesus Christ, who "appealed to evidence and challenged inquiry" (ibid.:108). Moreover, "this characteristic of our religion has shown itself in the mental development of Christian nations" (ibid.).

In another paper Martin remarked that the Chinese "national mind" was highly civilized and was the product of an advanced state of society (ibid.:145), but it was not without defects. While it was strong in the

study of morals, it was weak in inquisitive investigation. It never examined the nature and grounds of virtues and obligations. This defect of the "national mind" was shown in various factors. The Chinese had no scientific knowledge about the body, for example, they mistakenly located intelligence in the heart instead of in the mind (ibid.:147). Furthermore, their idea of the five cardinal elements of the world, Gold, Wood, Water, Fire and Earth, was regarded absurd by Martin. Their penchant for the number five, as in the five elements, five social relations, five senses, five races and five colors, indicated "a want of analytical power" (ibid.).[46] This want of analytical power was further evidenced in that the Chinese did not have a grammar for their own language (ibid.:148).

However, if the Chinese mind was so defective as to be beyond remedy, there would be no work for missionaries to do in China. Thus we see Martin emphasizing that the Chinese mind was not inherently defective, but was made so by the defective Chinese language and the style of Chinese education. For Martin, the reverence for antiquity in the Chinese education system and the limited scope of knowledge tested by the civil service examinations only aggravated the poor development of the mind (ibid.:148).[47]

The remedy, according to Martin, lay in the reform of the Chinese consciousness by Christianity, the reform of the Chinese writing system, and the promotion of local vernaculars (ibid.:148-49):

> These fetters can only be stricken off by the hand of Christianity; and we are not extravagant in predicting that a stupendous intellectual revolution will attend its progress. Revealing an omnipresent God as Lord of the Conscience, it will add a new hemisphere to the world of morals; stimulating inquiry in the spirit of the precept "Prove all things, hold

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46 Should he have lived long enough to read Allen Dundes' article "The Number Three in American Culture" (Dundes 1980), Martin might have concluded that the Americans also lacked some analytical faculty.

47 Martin's view on the Chinese language was determined by the nineteenth-century theory of language evolution as proposed by Whitney (1872-94) in his *The Life and Growth of Language* (1898).

> fast that which is good," it will subvert the blind principle of deference; and perhaps its grandest achievement in the work of mental emancipation may be the superseding of the ancient ideographic language by providing a medium better adapted to the purposes of a Christian civilization. It would only be a repetition of historic triumphs if some of the vernacular dialects, raised from the depths where they now lie in neglect, and shaped by the forces which heave them to the surface, should be made under the influence of Christianity, to teem with the rich productions of a new literature, philosophy, and science.

5.2.2.2.3 Moral defects

In 1861, Martin presented before the American Oriental Society a paper on Confucian ethics. The presentation was based on a popular tract obtained in Ningpo. Martin's presentation of the content of the tract was mostly accurate. What is more interesting is Martin's comment on the concepts and values of the Confucian moral philosophy from the Christian point of view. He continued to criticize the lack of Christian divinity in the Confucian way of cultivating virtue. In the *Great Learning*, the virtues of the state, the family, and the individual are in a chain of dependency: the subjugation of the world depends on the good government of the state, which depends on the cultivation of self, which depends on acquiring knowledge by studying things. Martin argued, however, that this chain did not contain the "beginning of wisdom" and Confucius "failed to connect the last link with heaven--to point out the highest class of our relations" (1881.:132-33). Therefore, the Confucian moral system "is destitute of that higher light and those stronger motives which are necessary to stimulate to [sic.] the performance of the most familiar offices" (ibid.). Here Martin totally ignored the Confucian notion of the perfect unity between Heaven and human beings as virtue development. His point is understandable however since the Confucian Heaven is not the Christian God.

Martin stated that the Chinese fragmentary theory of human nature was inferior to the *Bible* (Martin 1881:139). Thus Chinese notions about human nature would not pose a serious obstacle to accepting the *Bible* as a better location for moral teaching (ibid.). He denounced the Mencius

idea of the innate goodness of human nature as "expedient," a tactic for encouraging people to practice virtue (without divine help). This belief in human beings's ability to cultivate virtue all by themselves, for Martin, was a weaker motivation for virtue cultivation than a belief in God (ibid.).

Martin held that "the whole tone of the Chinese morals,...is quite consonant with the spirit of Christianity" (ibid.). This was especially so in the method of achieving virtue, the introspective examination. Commenting on this practice of the Confucians, Martin wrote: "To some it may be a matter of surprise to find this exercise at all in vogue in a country where a divine religion has not imparted the highest degree of earnestness in the pursuit of virtue" (ibid.:144). His remarks implied that self-examination for cultivating virtue could only be found in a religious culture. Thus he concluded that the practice, a beautiful one, "indicates a want...to lean on the arm of religion" (ibid.). This want for religion Confucianism could not satisfy. Stated Martin (ibid.:145):

> Next to knowledge of right and wrong Confucius placed "sincerity of purpose" in pursuing the right as an essential in the practice of virtue; but as he expressed only the vaguest notion of a Supreme Being, and enjoined for popular observance no higher form of religion than the worship of the ancestral manes, a sense of responsibility, and, by consequence, "sincerity of purpose," are sadly deficient among his disciples. Some of the more earnest, on meeting with a religion which reveals to them a heart-searching God, a sin-atoning Savior, a soul-sanctifying Spirit, and an immortality of bliss, have joyfully embraced it, confessing that they find therein motives and supports of which their own system is wholly destitute.

Here his missionary discourse of religio-centrism deprived the Confucian ethics of the practice of virtue cultivation on a non-religious basis. Martin ignored the Confucian teaching about "self-examination three times a day" and "guarding against [evil] when living in solitude."

5.3 Internal Contradictions in Missionary Discourse

Like colonial discourse, missionary discourse falls into Said's Orientalism in its self-proclaimed superiority over native religion and

philosophy. It also tends to be hegemonic in sanctioning only one "right" belief system. But like colonial discourse, missionary discourse also has its internal frictions. Such frictions exist especially between missionaries with a liberal attitude and those narrowly mired in their soul-saving endeavors.

Martin's article on Buddhism as a preparation for Christianity was presented to the Association of Missionaries in Peking. When the article was reprinted in *The Lore of Cathay*, the first two paragraphs were deleted. In these two missing paragraphs he had commented on the missionary contribution to the scholarship of comparative religion and urged missionaries to have their minds "open to all that is good in ethnic systems, doing them on all occasions full justice, borrowing from them freely to enrich his own presentation of the truth,..." (Martin 1849:279). If we consider the positive message about Buddhism Martin was about to deliver to the missionaries, this way of opening his presentation by praising missionaries' role in developing comparative religion was a necessary preemptive utterance. His appeal to missionaries to give full justice to native belief systems illustrated the potential resistance from the missionary community with regard to Buddhism's utility for evangelization. Ching (1977:57) reported for example that James Legge's view that Confucianism was defective rather than antagonistic to Christianity, a view very similar to Martin's, was not accepted by the missionary community at the missionary conference in Shanghai and his paper was excluded from the printed record.

One major internal fission among the missionary community in China was the so called "term question" (see Latourette 1929:262-63; *CRep* 1846), the argument about whether the Chinese notion of *Shangdi* could convey the Christian notion of God. In philological terms it is a question of translation. In terms of discourse, the controversy is a location for the clashes of different ideologies within the larger discourse of the Christian missions regarding the relationship between

Christianity and indigenous belief systems. Martin did not talk much on this issue. He suggested that either "*Shangdi*" or "*shen*" (god, spirit) or "*zhenshen*" (true god) or "*Tianzhu*" (Lord of Heaven) could be applied and it would not affect winning converts (Martin 1966:34-35). His attitude differed from the much more scholarly-minded James Legge, who insisted that only "*Shangdi*" was the appropriate native term for "God." On this issue, Legge wrote a monograph debating with Dr. Boone of the Protestant Episcopal Church of the United States (See Legge 1971).

Still another area of missionary contention was about the native religious practice of ancestor worship. Martin actively involved himself in the controversy, the details of which will be discussed in the following chapters.

The conflicts and inconsistencies within the missionary discourse about native religion indicates the polyphonous nature of the texts of missionary Sinology. When Martin complimented missionaries for their contribution to comparative religion, his utterance was in an intertextual relationship with anticipated resistance from his audience. As Walker (1995:13) says: "... each word is doubly oriented; it looks back to the word it is answering and forward to the anticipated word it will partly determine in advance." Martin's liberal discourse about the way "God" should be translated into English actually was a space of the clashing utterances of different sects and denominations.

I have shown in this chapter that in Martin's study of Chinese religion and Confucian philosophy, he spoke the missionary language inherited from his Jesuit predecessors. This language he also shared with some of his contemporaries, such as James Legge, which showed that this missionary language had a considerable social basis. This missionary discourse in Sinology however met with opposition from some missionaries who were not flexible in their stand regarding the value of native religion and intellectual traditions. Thus we see the internal inconsistencies of missionary discourse as a whole. I also have

demonstrated how the missionary perspective shaped Martin's interpretation of Confucian philosophy and pointed out that this Christian Confucianism was more a mission strategy than the pursuit of a correct Confucian exegesis. In the next chapter, I will continue to examine how Martin presented Neo-Confucianism and ancestor worship.

CHAPTER SIX

MISSIONARY DISCOURSE IN MARTIN'S SINOLOGY, PART II

In the last chapter, I discussed Martin's presentation of Chinese religion and Confucianism in the missionary discourse, which tried to interpret away the potential harm such native practices might have done to the missionary enterprise. Missionary discourse selectively processed native religions according to their relative importance in the native life and in mission work. Since the Christian mission enterprise did not change fundamentally with time and denomination, the missionary discourse of different times shared a marked similarity. I showed how Martin's thoughts were similar to the Jesuit mission ideology. In this I have demonstrated the legitimacy of setting up a separate missionary discourse from colonial discourse; the latter was mainly the product of the nineteenth century.

In this chapter, I will discuss Martin's treatment of Neo-Confucianism and ancestor worship. I have stated that Matteo Ricci was hostile to Neo-Confucians because of their rejection of the concept of a human-deity like the Christian God. I will show how Martin went further than Ricci in attempting a Christian-Confucian syncretism by trying to accommodate more of Neo-Confucianism. Martin's treatment of Neo-Confucianism was also in the framework of missionary discourse, but it bore the individual characteristics of the author, showing the creativity and idiosyncrasy of the agency of missionary discourse. In presenting Martin's study of ancestor worship, I will show that his liberal attitude was not only a mission strategy but also a sign indicating how Confucian scholarship helped to foster a sympathetic understanding of native culture in Martin as well as in some of his contemporary missionaries. This I take as evidence of the orientalization of Orientalists.

6.1 Neo-Confucianism

Missionaries inevitably depended on the exegesis of Confucian philosophers for an understanding of the Confucian classics. James Legge's lengthy notes in his translations of the classics, for example, reveal the native Confucian exegesis he relied on. Missionaries' communication with the Confucian literati determined their exposure to the latest form of Confucian scholarship as well as their confrontation with the basic concepts and thoughts of Neo-Confucianism. This school developed at the beginning of the Song dynasty (960-1279) around 1000 AD and absorbed many elements from Buddhism and Daoism (Fung Yu-lan 1953:424). In this section, I first introduce briefly the basic thoughts of Neo-Confucian philosophy that are relevant to our discussion. Then I examine Martin's reaction to Neo-Confucian ideas through the missionary lens.

6.1.1 The basic concepts in Neo-Confucianism

The first milestone in Neo-Confucianism was Zhou Dunyi (1017-73), whose *Taiji Tu* (Supreme Ultimate Diagram) and *Taiji Tu Shuo* (*Taiji* Diagram Explained) were the major documents of his thoughts. In these two documents, Zhou outlined his theory of cosmogony: the Ultimateless or the Supreme Ultimate produces the *yang* (positive) by movement and the *yin* (negative) by quiescence. The quiescence comes at the extreme of the movement and the movement starts at the extreme of the quiescence. The transformation and combination of the *yin* and *yang* produces five *Qi* (ether), which are diffused in the universe. By the mysterious union of the Ultimateless and the Five Elements, the *qian* (male) principle and *kun* (female) principle are produced. The interaction of the male and female principles produces all the things in the world and promotes their evolution (See Zhou Dunyi 1990).

Zhou held that human beings are the most intelligent of all creatures because they receive all the creative forces in their most extreme forms. Human nature corresponds with the five elements by

having five Confucian virtues: *ren* (love), *yi* (righteousness), *li* (propriety) *zhi* (wisdom) and *xin* (good faith). These virtues react with the external phenomena to produce good and evil in human nature and the various kinds of human conduct.

From this theory of human nature, Zhou developed his political theory about the rule of the sage: "The sage regulates himself according to the mean, correctness, love, and righteousness, and takes quiescence as the essential, thus establishing the highest standard for mankind" (Fung Yu-lan 1953:437). The sage's virtue is in harmony with the natural forces and his good fortune comes from the cultivation of these virtues.

Two important concepts in Neo-Confucianism are *Qi* (ether) and *Li* (principle). In Zhou's texts, *yin* and *yang* and the five elements are ethers (ibid.:444). *Qi* is matter and the principle *Li* refers to "the immaterial and metaphysical principle or principles that underlie, yet transcend, the physical universe" (ibid.). *Li* is often used as synonym for the Supreme Ultimate (ibid.:445).

Between another milestone, Zhu Xi (1130-1200), and Zhou, we had Shao Yong (1011-77), well-known for his study of the *Book of Changes* and his theory of cosmogony and development, Zhang Zai (1020-1077), well-known for his elaborations of the notion *Qi*, and the Cheng brothers, Cheng Hao and Cheng Yi, whose rationalism led to the branching of Neo-Confucianism into the School of Principle and the School of Mind. The Cheng brothers were noted for their discussions of the physical and metaphysical subjects and the notions of *Qi*, nature and spiritual cultivation.

Zhu Xi's theory summed up the Neo-Confucian thoughts which originated before him and integrated Chou Dunyi's cosmogony, Shao Yong's numerology, Zhang Zai's theory of *Qi* and the Cheng brothers' theory about physics, metaphysics and the ether (ibid.:534).

Zhu Xi equated *Taiji* with *Li*. This *Li* (Principle) exists before the beginning of the world. Movement produces *yang* and quiescence, *yin*. There is no order as to the sequence of movement and quiescence. The Principle, which does not have form, produces *Qi*, the matter, which then causes the development of all the things (Zhu Xi 1986:1). Zhu Xi saw the creation of the world as the result of the constant revolving of the heaven (ibid.:6).

What position does the Principle have in the universe? The Principle and the matter reside in each other, but the Principle is "above the shape," i.e. metaphysical, while the matter is "below the shape," i.e. physical (ibid.:3). The Principle is manifested in the complex but orderly movement of the five elements (ibid.).

Is the Principle an intelligent being? Zhu Xi opposed the notion of divine design in the beginning of the world. He said: "The heart of heaven and earth may not be said to be un-intelligent, but it does not think like human beings do" (ibid.:4, my translation). He also wrote: "The heart is of course the will of the main ruler (*zhuzai*), but the so-called main ruler is nothing but the Principle. It is not that there is a Principle outside the heart, or there is a heart outside the Principle" (ibid.). Asked about the meaning of the statements in ancient classics that mentioned *Shangdi*, Zhu Xi answered (ibid.:5):

> All these statements mean the same thing, namely it is the Principle. *Shangdi* is governed by the Principle....It will not do to say that there is a person in the heaven who judges evil, nor will it do to say that there is no ruler there."

It is clear that Zhu Xi was against the idea of an anthromorphous intelligent being that created and governed the world.

6.1.2 Neo-Confucianism from the Christian point of view

Neo-Confucian cosmogony, by ascribing creative power to the Ultimateless, the Supreme Ultimate, *yin* and *yang*, the five elements, and the Principle, contradicted the biblical theology of creation and consequently received criticism from missionaries as early as in the days of Matteo Ricci. Like Ricci, Martin criticized Neo-Confucian

thoughts in his Chinese work *Tiandao Suyuan* (1854, see facsimile in Yoshida 1993). His paper on Confucian ethics written in 1861 (Martin 1881:125-53) was actually a criticism of Neo-Confucian values. He compared Neo-Confucian thoughts with some notions in Cartesian philosophy (See Martin 1894b). His paper written in 1898 on the Chinese canon of philosophy reviewed a collection of Neo-Confucian works. Thoughts expressed in Martin (1894b) were further discussed in Martin (1901).

Martin was critical about Zhu Xi and his "distortion" of the early Confucian philosophy: "Nobody in China ever gets a view of those ancient worthies [Confucius and Mencius] except through the *colored glasses* [my italics] which he supplied" (1898.:235). His criticism of Neo-Confucian philosophy from the Christian point of view is discussed below.

6.1.2.1 Criticizing the basis of Neo-Confucian thoughts

From the Christian point of view, Martin attacked the Neo-Confucian cosmogony, which derived much of its components from the *Book of Changes* and Daoist ideas. Martin's negative comments on Neo-Confucian philosophy can be found in his 1898 paper (Martin 1898) which was a comment on a twelve-volume collection of Confucian works published in the late years of the reign of Emperor Kangxi, *Xingli Jingyi* (The Essence of Human Nature and Principle). This collection was condensed from an encyclopedia of 70 books compiled in the Ming dynasty in 1415 (Wylie 1964:85-86). The historical background of the compilation was perceived by Martin as an effort against the spreading of Christianity, and it was out of this concern that he wrote his critique (Martin 1898:234).

In this paper, the *Book of Changes*, as the fountain-head of Neo-Confucian philosophy received Martin's sarcastic judgement (Martin 1898:236):

> ...the physical philosophy of this school....is based entirely on the Yihking, a cabalistic book, to which it is doubtful whether any man ever found the key; and which, if the key were found, has nothing to add to the knowledge of a world five

> thousand years ahead of its semi-savage authors.... The Yihking begins without facts, and proceeds without reference to the laws of nature. The permutation of its symbols may indeed grind out certain results; but as it starts with sheer assumption, the result cannot possibly be of more value than the working out of a Chinese puzzle. Its students, the ablest men China has ever produced, never get out of it more than they put into it, yet they deceive themselves into the belief that they are drawing wisdom from an inexhaustible fountain; whereas they are in reality, like famished infants, tugging at an empty feeding bottle, mistaking all the while the moisture of their own lips for the fluid they seek to extract.

Martin subsequently cited some applications of the *Book of Changes*, such as proving that ocean tides were the "palpitation of the earth's lungs," to show how absurd they were from scientific point of view. He lamented this waste of China's best minds. In his eyes, these philosophers all acted like a "blind ass" that "trots all the day in the same circle, and fancies he is making progress" (ibid.:237). He blamed this on their lack of logic, on which he felt they needed instruction (ibid.).

6.1.2.2 Interpreting Li *as divine design in Neo-Confucian cosmogony*

Martin's interpretation of *Li* changed with time. In the 1850s, Martin tried to convince his Chinese readers that the Confucian concept of *Li* (Principle) could not possibly be the creative force of the universe (Yoshida 1993:40-41, my translation from the Chinese facsimile):

> Some people asked what this Principle was. The Principle of things is the nature of things and the nature of things is the order of Heaven and Heaven is the Lord. Therefore we see how different it is to say that things are born of the Principle from the saying that things are born of the Lord. What is more, things possess their nature, which exists in the things proper. Where there are things, there is their nature and where there are no things, in what can the nature of things reside? Since the nature of things is the Principle and the Principle comes from the things, how can it be that things are born of the Principle? The order of the Heaven is constant and the Principle of things does not change. This is just like a nation that has its laws, by which it is governed. The ruler is the one who keeps the nation in order. All living things have their Principle and the reason why they grow is because of the God that gives them their nature. As time goes by, the laws of a nation change, become obsolete and are ignored. The Creator gives things their principles, which are appropriate and clear and good, so they remain unchanged. This is why things are constant. When people see that the laws of a nation can be changed, they know that it is the ruler who makes the

> decision; yet when they see the constancy of things, they forget that it is the Lord that makes them steady. How foolish this is! The scholars of the Song dynasty said that the Heaven was the Principle. Their fallacy lies here.

This rejection of *Li* in *Tiandao Suyuan* changed later into describing it as embodying divine creation. Martin differed from Ricci in that he sanctioned Zhu Xi's interpretation of *Shangdi* as *Li* (Martin 1881:100). In discussing the Neo-Confucian cosmogony, he imposed the notion of divine creation by insisting on the sequence of the development of the universe. When he discussed Zhou Dunyi's statement about the Ultimateless and the Supreme Ultimate, he saw a sequence and held that the Ultimateless *produced* the Supreme Ultimate (Martin 1881:163). In Zhou's original text, however, there was no such word as "produce" that implied a causal sequence. Zhou's statement was "*Wuji er Taiji!*" (Ultimateless, and/yet/then Supreme Ultimate!) (Zhou Dunyi 1990:3). Zhu Xi's commentary on this was that "it does not mean there is an Ultimateless outside the Supreme Ultimate" (ibid.). Chan (1963:463) translated it as: "The Non-ultimate and also the Great Ultimate!" Martin had difficulty grasping this relationship. He was comfortable only with a sense of "producing" explicitly expressed. Thus he criticized some philosophers' omitting of the verb. "They make it a mere sequence, and deny causation" (ibid.:162, note).

Martin was wrong for three reasons. First, he was thinking in English, which needs the verb linking two arguments to make meaning clear. Second, he could thus conceive of development as only a linear process that must have a cause-effect chain. Third, he was thinking in terms of the Christian theory that the world must be created by an intelligence. There must be a cause, which is God. His emphasis on the causative nature of the Ultimateless echoed his claim that in Neo-Confucianism, a divine force was not lacking (See below). But what Zhou Dunyi meant was that the Ultimateless and the Supreme Ultimate was one and the same. According to Zhu Xi, the Supreme Ultimate was *Li*, the

Principle (Zhu Xi 1986:1). Zhu Xi replied to the question as to which came first, the Principle (*Li*) or the Ether (*Qi*): "There was not such a sequence, but if we need to trace the source, we must say *Li* comes first" (ibid.:3, my translation). I believe that Zhu Xi's emphasis on the non-sequentiality of the initial state of the universe was related to his denial of an intelligence external to the universe (ibid.:4). For Zhu Xi, time was meaningless at the creation. People only imposed their framework of thinking on the universe. Zhu Xi was obviously able to struggle with the limits of language when he thought of this cosmogonical problem. For example he explained the infinity of the universe this way: "The heaven is a big thing. To correctly perceive it, we have to think with a big heart [mind]." (Zhu Xi 1986:6).

Martin, from his Christian point of view, however, tried to invent such an intelligence in Zhu Xi's theory. He accused Zhu Xi of explaining away the personal attributes of the *Shangdi*, which existed in the ancient classics (Martin 1898:238) and he tried to find any hint of divine will in Neo-Confucian texts (Martin 1894b:228; 1901:38, 42). In his second series of *Hanlin Papers* (Martin 1894b), Martin listed three quotations from Zhang Zai's *Zheng Meng*, which had the Chinese word "*shen*" in them (my translation):

> 1. *Qi*(ether) gathers and disperses in the great void, just like ice forms and melts in water. If we know that the great void is but *Qi*, then there is no nothingness. Therefore when the sage speaks of the extreme of nature and the heavenly Way, they locate it in the *shen* (spirit) and it is nothing but change. Those superficial philosophers believe there is a distinction between being and non-being, which is not a learning aimed at exhausting the principle.
>
> 2. The great void is clear, and hence there is no obstruction, and hence [we have] *shen* (spirit). When clearness changes into turbidness, there is obstruction and hence [we have] *xing* (form).
>
> 3. When *Qi* is clear, there is free passage. When it is turbid, there is obstruction. The extreme of clearness is the state of *shen* (spirit),...

"*Shen*" here can be rendered as "spirit" or "divine." The second quotation indicates that *shen* (spirit) is in opposition with *xing*

(form), a common antinomy in Chinese thinking. In the Chinese theory of painting, for example, the painting and the object painted should bear a resemblance in spirit, not just in form. *Shen* denotes a subjective perception of an existential experience. It does not refer to a kind of power, intelligence or will. In this sense, *shen* does not mean "divine" in the Christian sense.

In Zhang Zai's texts, *shen* is also the opposite of *gui* (ghost). But in Neo-Confucianism, *shen-gui* as binary opposite means positive spiritual force and negative spiritual force and they are the homophones of two other words with different tones: *shen1* (expansion), and *gui1* (contraction). In Chinese classical reasoning, homophonous words were often perceived to have an internal semantic and logic relationship (Fung Yulan 1953:487). The pattern of implication of the above mentioned concepts is (the numbers indicate the tones):

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shen1 (expansion)----------------> shen2 (spirit)
     vs                                  vs
gui1 (contraction)---------------> gui3 (ghost)
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Figure 6-1 Correspondence between homophonous concepts

The left column refers to two forms of the movement of the ether, which expands (*shen1*) and contracts (*gui1*) incessantly. This explains the second quotation above, which says when there is no obstruction, there is *shen*, the expansion of the positive spiritual force.[48]

Martin translated the second quotation as: "Being freed from obstruction, it becomes divine" (ibid.:228, fn.). He explained: "This gives, it is true, no distinct idea of personality, or what Plato calls eternal mind; but it does imply the inherence of a *divine power*"

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48 For an explanation of the English translation of these terms see Chu Hsi and Lü Tsu-Ch'ien (1967:366).

(ibid.).

Martin (1898) criticized Zhu Xi for being atheistic by quoting his remark that heaven was but the Principle. He then described how Neo-Confucians, "who ignore God" (Martin 1898:238), explained the "creation" of the world.[49] He stated that these philosophers "assume two principles--li and ch'i, "matter" and "force",--and make all things flow out by a process of evolution" (ibid.). He then argued that there was a difficulty that the Chinese, "not possessed of sufficient logic" (ibid.), failed to perceive. To illustrate his point, he compared the Chinese philosophers with Ovid's *metamorphoses*. Ovid viewed the transformation of Chaos into a world of beauty as the work of God, and he had a doubt "full of beauty" (ibid.:239) as to "whether man was *made* or *born* of the gods" (ibid.). Chinese philosophers, however, definitely stated that human beings came as a result of having absorbed all the five elements born from the *yin* and *yang* (ibid.).

In *The Lore of Cathay* (1901), Martin revised his former translation of *Li* as force by explaining that it is "a principle of order...synonymous with Tao 'reason,' answering to the Greek *logos*" (Martin 1901:38). After quoting again Zhu Xi's statement that heaven was *Li*, Martin stated that "this reason...is rather a property of mind than mind itself" and criticized Zhu Xi and the Daoists for "not perceiving that a property implies a substance, and that in this case the substance must be mind" (ibid.). In other words, there cannot be a reason without a reasoning being. Martin's rendering of *Li* and *Dao* as reason gave the two terms the meaning of human agent, while in the Chinese philosophy, this meaning is not present. Scholars tend to be ambiguous as to the translation of "*Dao*", because it often cannot carry the total meaning of the concept. Graham (1989:129) translated the first two lines of *Dao De Jing* as: "The Way that can be 'Way'-ed is not

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49 I put "creation" in quotation marks because I hold that this is a Christian concept that should not be used to explain the cosmogony of Neo-Confucianism that talks only about the *beginning* of the world.

the constant way." Legge (in Müller ed. 1966[1891]:47) translated it as "The Tâo that can be trodden is not the enduring and unchanging Tâo." Chiu wrote (1984:141): "Tao that can be truly Tao is not a permanently fixed Tao." Needham (1978:85) stated that it is untranslatable. The literal meaning of *Dao* is of course way or road to follow. In Daoism it is a creative force, which is why the early Chinese Bible translated God's "word" (logos) as "*Dao*." In Confucian texts, *Dao* often refers to doctrine or theory, as in "*Wu Dao yi yi guan zhi*" (*Lunyu* 4:15) (My doctrine has one principle as its backbone). *Dao* was a favorable concept in Chinese philosophy and popular religious thinking and therefore a target of missionary appropriation. Martin's Chinese apologetic work *Evidences of Christianity* has the Chinese title "Traces the Sources of the Heavenly *Dao*." Martin's translation of "*Dao*" as "reason" undoubtedly was linked to his Christian notion of divine intelligence as the creative agent.

By explaining Neo-Confucian cosmogony this way, Martin made it possible to subvert it with a Christian concept of logos. His strategy was to distinguish between Zhu Xi and his predecessor Zhang Zai. While criticizing Zhu for his atheism, he reserved that Zhu "does not deny that there is a power at work whose nature is inscrutable" (1901:42). It was Zhang Zai, however, that he fully lauded as "the most daring of the five" for invoking "the intervention of a *divine power*" (ibid.). Martin thus concluded that "the cosmogony of our Chinese philosophers is by no means so atheistic as it might appear" and that "they considerately leave room for him [God]" (ibid.). He optimistically claimed that "there is reason to expect that another generation will come to understand that law implied mind, and will proclaim with Emerson that 'Conscious law is King of kings'" (ibid.). Logic and psychology would bring later Confucians back to their Master who revered the Heaven (ibid.:43):

> He [Confucius] approaches far nearer to the Christian idea of God than the negations of Buddha, or the metamorphoses of

> Taoism; and there is reason to hope that his disciples will come back to the mental attitude of their great master, which has been somewhat obscured by later speculations. To bring them back, and to carry them beyond it, they require, above all things, a truer and a juster psychology than they have ever possessed.

6.1.2.3 Yin *and* Yang *as light and darkness*

Martin also interpreted the Neo-Confucian and Daoist's concepts of *yin* and *yang* and the five elements in terms of Christian theology. He was partially justified because *yang* originally meant the sunny side of a mountain and *yin* the shady side. Martin interpreted *yin* as meaning the moon and then associated the moon with darkness, saying that although the moon did not mean darkness, it presided over the realm of darkness (Martin 1881:162). Thus he smuggled the Christian dichotomy of light and darkness in the creation of the world (*Genesis*:1-3) into the Chinese cosmogony. He saw a further resemblance between the Chinese cosmogony and the biblical counterpart in the Chinese idea that the Supreme Ultimate produced *yin* and *yang*. Martin was obviously hinting that this Supreme Ultimate was the equivalent of the Christian God. It is interesting to note that Martin (1894b) compared Zhang Zai's concept of *qi* and *shen* with the Cartesian concept of ether and theory of vortices. In that article, which focused on the subject of scientific parallels between Neo-Confucianism and Cartesian philosophy, Martin wrote (1894:230-31):

> The Chinese philosopher, no more than the Frenchman, can explain the creation of matter, without invoking the aid of a *divine* force. That he meant God in a proper sense, we shall not assent; all that we insist on is that he attempts to explain the process by a theory of vortices.

In *The Lore of Cathay* (1901) which targeted the general public in the West, Martin shifted his focus from the scientific tone of Zhang Zai's text to the alleged theological tone. He wrote: "That our Chinese thinkers meant God in a proper sense, I will not affirm, but they considerately leave room for him" (1901:42).

Martin thought that the meaning of *yin* and *yang* became more abstract later, first being associated with the male and female sexes,

and then acquiring a mysterious significance that was assigned to other things, concrete and abstract. This change gave rise to pantheism and superstition (1881:163; 166).

6.1.2.4 The five elements: unscientific or un-divine?

Martin considered the Chinese concept of the five cardinal elements - water, fire, wood, gold, and earth - unscientific. He examined it against the European method of classification, by which he might be referring to the cosmological idea of Plato expounded in *Timaeus* (see Cornford 1948). In Plato's text, Timaeus establishes four cardinal elements, fire, earth, water and air, through reasoning. Since the world is visible, there must be light, hence fire. Since nothing is tangible without earth, there must be earth. To make a world out of fire and earth, there must be mediating agents, hence water and air (Conford 1948:43-44). As to why there must be no less than four, Timaeus argued from his numerological philosophy, which is not our concern. What concerns us is the assumption behind his reasoning, namely, that the world was made by a builder, a god, using the elements as materials (ibid.:44). This four element classification was still popular in the 1800s but it was by no means the only proposal (Collier 1968:351). There was, however, a deeply rooted concept of first cause in the European notions of the cardinal elements of the universe. In preferring this system of cardinal elements of the universe, Martin was sanctioning the concept of an external creator. The Chinese system states that the five elements produce one another and overcome one another, instead of being chosen by a creator as building blocks of the world. The system therefore was qualitatively different from the Platonic system. To argue against the defects of the Chinese system in terms of the Platonic system does not make much sense for it claims the superiority of the latter according to a standard that is biased against the former. The Chinese notion of the interrelationship between the five elements and the *yin* and *yang* was very complicated (See Zhu Xi's

commentary in Zhou Dunyi 1990:4) and cannot be said to be devoid of logic, only that this logic is not the Aristotelian logic. For example, the Chinese believed that the five elements produced each other in this order: wood, fire, earth, metal and water. This is very logical in that wood is the material for making fire, ash from fire is a form of earth, earth contains metals and metals can be reduced to liquid form, the last point being related to the Daoist practice of alchemy. Again, the Chinese believed that the five elements conquer each other in this order: fire by water, water by earth, earth by wood, and wood by metal. This is also very logical in that water extinguishes fire, earth blocks water, trees control earth and metal tools cut trees.[50]

From the above discussion of Martin's presentation of Neo-Confucianism we can see how his Christian lens interfered with his interpretation of the Chinese philosophy.

6.2 Ancestor Worship

6.2.1 The accommodation of ancestor worship as mission strategy

Missionary discourse not only attacked what it deemed defective in the Chinese religion and philosophy and interpreted this religion and philosophy in such a way that they could be appropriated by the missionaries or explained away as obstacles to evangelization, but also appreciated what it deemed compatible with the ultimate goals of moral improvement through missionary enterprises. Martin, for example, praised filial piety in the Confucian ethics about the five human relationships. He saw a religious shade in the manifestation of this affection in ancestor worship and claimed that this feeling "is analogous in the universality of its application to the incentive which the Christian derives from his relation to the 'Father of spirits'"

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50 See Graham (1989:340-55) for a more detailed discussion of the five elements. Chiu (1989:161) has a diagram showing the relationship of generation and conquering in the five elements. He also suggested that the English translation "element" was not exact for the Chinese "*xing*," which meant literally "to walk." Thus the five elements are not the material elements of the world but only a symbolization of five moving agents or five movements.

(Martin 1881.:134) and "if inferior in its efficacy, it is yet far more efficacious than any which a pagan religion is capable of supplying" (ibid.).

Martin was noted for holding that ancestor worship did not contradict Christian beliefs. Smith (1989) put Mateo Ricci and Martin in the accommodation model in his typology of Christian response to ancestor worship. Martin's thoughts on ancestor worship, however, did not remain the same throughout his career. When he worked in Ningpo in the 1850s, he held that ancestor worship was idol worship and accordingly required one of his converts to surrender his ancestral tablets. His thought was expressed in his Chinese apologetic work *Tiandao Suyuan* (Yoshida 1993:101; Covell 1978:112), in which he quoted the Ten Commandments to show that worshipping ancestors was worshipping idols and sacrificing to ancestral tablets was the same as sacrificing to idols (Covell 1978:122). This early view about ancestor worship had not changed in 1869 when he wrote the article on the three religions of China. This article was included in *The Chinese* (1881) together with an article on the subject of ancestor worship written in 1880. The 1880 article indicated his liberal views, but he did not care to change his way of presenting ancestor worship in the 1869 one, where he described that ancestors were "worshipped precisely in the same manner as the popular idols" (Martin 1881:109). But in 1904, when Martin recalled his early mission methods, he felt ashamed of having demanded the turning in of ancestor tablets (Martin 1904:305).

Martin wrote three articles on ancestor worship. The first one was presented to the American Oriental Society in 1880. The second was a presentation at the Shanghai Missionary Conference in 1890, collected in his *Hanlin Papers* (1894b). The third one was published in 1904 in the *Chinese Recorder.*

Martin's presentation at the Shanghai Protestant Missionary Conference in 1890 was his major effort at influencing the missionary

community. In this presentation, Martin asked the missionaries to exercise discretion and adapt their means to contend with "this giant difficulty" (Martin 1894b:328-29). Such discretion as suggested by Martin was a lesson learned from the failure of the Roman Catholic missionaries in the Ming dynasty. Martin urged missionaries to reconsider the Pope's condemnation of ancestor worship by which "China was lost to the Church of Rome, a loss immense, and perhaps irreparable, to our common Christendom" (ibid.:352).

The irreconcilable stand of the Roman Catholic faith on pagan beliefs and customs can be found in a series of commandments given to its converts. The commandments involved divination, the selection of lucky days, the wearing of amulets, the pasting of charms on doors, the offering of gilt paper, the worship of the upper beam in constructing a house, the pasting of the characters "Spring," "Happiness," and "Longevity" in festival seasons, the observation of native wedding customs and burial customs, dragon boat racing, dramas at religious festivals, the worshiping of heaven and earth, geomancy, weeping over the dead and the eulogies given to the dead, the worshiping of the north polar star, the worshiping of ancestor tombs, the "foolish weeping before the tablet of the deceased," the belief in bad omens in birds, candle flowers, coughing and sneezing, and the worshipping of the sun, moon and stars (Thoms 1851).

Protestant missionaries in China tended to be as intolerant. Martin's friend S.W. Williams, who supported Martin in the 1890 conference, nevertheless wrote in his famous book on China that: "...it is somewhat surprising that a Protestant [referring to Sir. John Francis Davis] should describe this worship as consisting of 'harmless, if not meritorious, forms of respect for the dead.'...there can be no dispute, one would think, about its idolatrous character" (William 1849a:270; 1913:253). In 1881, when Martin's *The Chinese* was published, a book review concentrated on his article on the worship of ancestors (*CR*

1881:146):

> May the gracious prayer of our blessed Lord preserve his Church from accepting any such temporizing policy. The teaching of the great apostle of the Gentiles, who had the full opportunity of seeing and knowing all that was good and beautiful in this institution of ancestral worship..., are clear and explicit, "Wherefore, my dearly beloved, flee from idolatry." 1 Cor. x.14. "What agreement has the temple of God with idols? Wherefore come out from among them, and be ye separate with [sic] the Lord, and touch not the unclean thing." 2 Cor. vi.16, 17.

The review concluded that "We can not give place, no not for a moment, to the Chinese worship of ancestors" (ibid.:147).

The intolerance of ancestor worship among the Protestant missionaries was no less strong when the *China Mission Handbook*, a guide for missionary practice in China, was published in 1896 (American Presbyterian Society 1973:5, italics original):

> The *Worship of Ancestral Spirits*, tablets and graves, we have to regard as a *sin*, for it takes the place of the worship of God. It is an *error* so far as it rests on wrong notions in regard to the departed in the other world; their happiness being thought dependant on the sacrifices from their descendants and the fortune of the living as caused by the dead. It is an *evil*, because selfish considerations take the place of moral and religious motives. The superstitions of geomancy, spiritualism, exorcism and all kinds of deceit practiced by Buddhist and Taoist priests, have their origin in it....The ritual duties of the dead in dressing the corpse, burial, mourning and periodical sacrifices, are so numerous, onerous and expensive that, if carried out conscientiously by everybody very little of wealth and of energy could be left for anything else. Christianity acknowledges no other duty to the dead beyond all their good for our imitation. This is in accordance even with some Confucian teaching in the Classics.

When Martin proposed his liberal policy towards ancestor worship, he caused havoc at the conference. The *London and China Express* described the controversy aroused by Martin's paper: "Individual opinions broke out and upset the unanimity in which the proceedings had hitherto been carried on, and something like a scene ensued" (*CR* 1890:411). A special session was arranged to discuss the issue and finally the conference decided to leave Martin's paper out of its proceedings, for fear of causing another "rite controversy" that could undermine mission work in China (ibid.:412).

As a mission strategy Martin highlighted the failure of the Roman

Catholic missionaries in the Ming Dynasty because of the rites controversy (Martin 1904:302) and the insurmountability of ancestor worship (Martin 1881:257, 1894b:327-28) and suggested a reform of ancestor worship rites to rid the ritual of the idolatrous elements (Martin 1881:269-70, 1894b:347).

Martin first argued that ancestor worship was not idolatrous. For him, the word "worship" in English "signifies etymologically nothing more than to assign worth to an object" (Martin 1894b:343). The corresponding Chinese words were "equally vague and comprehensive" (ibid.). He then analyzed the elements of the ritual--the posture, the invocation and the offering. The posture of kneeling and prostration was not idolatrous in itself because it was also used to living persons (ibid.:264). Although Martin exhibited his Eurocentric bias by saying that this form of salutation "merits our contempt as a fit expression of the abject condition of most oriental nations" (ibid.:344), he insisted that it was not sinful (ibid.). The invocation was idolatrous only when attributes that should be assigned to God were assigned to the deceased (ibid.). Martin obviously was adopting an expedient attitude because his logic was that as long as God's power was not undermined by the views the living held about the dead, the invocation would be alright. Finally, Martin admitted that in offerings there were elements of idol worship, but it was the object, not the offering, that constituted idolatry (ibid.:347).

Martin suggested that invocation and offering be reformed to be accommodated by Christianity (ibid.:345). Prayers uttered in the services at the family cemeteries could be re-worded to express natural affections (ibid.:346). The food offered in ancestor worship could be replaced with flowers or the planting of trees to express the same "innocent and beautiful sentiment" (ibid.:347; Martin 1881:269). This suggestion for reforms clearly aimed at removing the signifier of the cultural sign of ancestor worship and substituting it with a meaning

conducive to acceptance of Christianity.[51] His suggestion was similar to the actions of the missionary Père Vial among the Gni-p'a (Sani minority): he did not want to destroy the religiosity of the people, but put crosses on their sacred rocks to establish an association between the Christian symbol and the natives' sense of sacredness (Swain 1995:178).

6.2.2 Missionary sympathetic identification with Confucian values

Martin obviously antagonized most Protestant missionaries at the conference by criticizing Protestant theology's rigid dogma forbidding any emotional connection with the dead. He praised the "more humane" "Catholic custom of keeping alive their affections by praying for the dead" (Martin 1894b:349). He pointed out that the rupture with the Roman church had led Protestants "to abandon many graceful observances, in themselves as innocent as the painted windows which Puritan soldiers took such pleasures in smashing" (ibid.:350). As a mission policy in China, he urged that Protestants should not impose their rules on the Chinese (ibid.): "...is it not admissible to have one rule for the West and another for the East,...?" In this matter he was successful in ridding himself of Eurocentrism: "The venerable usages of a civilized people should be judged by their own merits, and it is to be borne in mind that our aim is not to Europeanize the Chinese, but to make them Christians" (ibid.).

At the 1890 Shanghai Missionary Conference, the main figure against Martin's theory was the famous founder of the China Inland Mission, Hudson James Taylor (1832-1905). One interesting contrast between

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51 If we regard ancestor worship as a sign, the sacrifices, prostration, and prayer constitute the signifier of the sign and the expectation of the reciprocal blessing from ancestral spirits, the fear of punishment from unsatisfied spirits and the assumption of an afterworld of ghosts and spirits which can return to cause trouble constitute the signified. Martin suggested replacing sacrifices with presenting flowers to the tombs. In thus changing the signifier, he intended to change the signified to pure respect for the dead relatives and the remembrance of them. Although the sign was not to be removed, the content was to be changed.

Martin and Taylor is that in all the photos that I have ever seen of him, Martin never appeared in Chinese clothes, while Taylor made it his mission's policy that his missionaries should don Chinese garments (Henry 1890:550, Latourette 1929:386) and have Chinese hairstyle (Broomhall 1984:225). But this superficial imitation of Chinese clothes did not prevent Taylor from sticking to his Christian stand against native folk custom. Martin commented on Taylor in his autobiography: "He erred in leading his followers to make war on ancestral worship instead of seeking to reform it;..." (Martin 1966:214). Martin's mission ideology on the accommodation of Chinese beliefs was at a higher level of operation and of a more sophisticated nature than Taylor's.

Their difference may be explained by their concerns: Martin was not only a missionary, but also a reformer, educator and an employee of the Qing government. His immediate working environment and the mandarins and scholars he dealt with made his acceptance of Confucian ideas a necessity. As an education-minded reformer, well versed in Western Classics and historical knowledge and contemporary developments in science and technology, Martin's mind was broader.

Another factor leading to their difference may be Martin's schooling in Confucianism. Serious study of Confucian classics tended to reduce the bigotry in the missionary mind. James Legge, for example, was the most famous missionary-scholar because of his translation of the Confucian Classics (Muirhead 1898:114). His view of Confucius, however, underwent a change over time. In 1861, he wrote in the first edition of the Confucian *Analects* that he was unable to regard Confucius as a great man. In the second edition published in 1893, he said that the more he studied him, the more highly he came to regard him (Kranz 1904). Another example was Ernst Faber, "a master of the Chinese language and the author of many works in Chinese, German, and English" (Latourette 1929:373). He did an exhaustive study of filial piety in 1878-1880. In his study he criticized the claim by Dr. Yates that the Chinese actually

did not respect their living parents. Comparing the Chinese sense of respect for adults and the elderly with the naughty behavior of German children, he stated that Chinese youth's behavior was controlled by their moral values. They refrained from going to the extreme even in actions against foreigners. In Germany, however, children dared to pull the queue of the Chinese ambassador in the street. "Disobedience and want of discipline in general is the grievous complaint, multifariously heard against the rising generation, even in Christian countries" (Faber 1878:329). He concluded his article (Faber 1880:12):

> I only point to the fact that the tender care taken for aged persons is the finest and very remarkable benevolent institution of the world. As it is kept in connexion with filial piety this virtue really becomes one of the sources of humanity though not the only source, nor of humanity as we understand it now in Christian countries.

S.W. Williams described in detail the social custom of ancestor worship and quoted in length a native guide book of the prayers for funerals, the selection of burial grounds, the burial of the dead, and the visit to the tombs (Williams 1849b). These could be used as evidence of idolatrous elements in the contemporary practice of ancestor worship. Williams, however, concluded his article by writing (ibid.:384):

> The nature of the opposition [to Christianity]...is easily seen; for its associations are so pleasant, so domestic, and so gentle, that the heart itself rebels against adopting a faith, which disrupts all these sweet remembrances, even if the head be convinced that they are wrong.....
>
> This superstition has so much in its ritual that is commendable, that it requires the teaching of Spirit of truth himself to enable the half enlightened Chinese to see the difference between what is due to parents in filial respect, and what is due to God in heartfelt worship.

On the surface level, his words were critical of ancestor worship. His statements and his diction, however, carried the appreciative tone for the sentiment expressed in the ritual.

Martin's appreciation of ancestor worship led him to argue that this "venerable institution" could be applied in the West (Martin 1881:268). He asked (ibid.): "May there not be some feature in the

Chinese system which we might with advantage engraft on our Western civilization?" He contrasted the tender feelings associated with the words "brother" and "sister" with the lack of them in the American counterparts: "Meeting at the shrine of a common ancestor, the widely severed members are reminded of their blood relationship; and it is perhaps owing to this that the tender appellations of brother and sister find among the Chinese a wider application than among us" (Martin 1894b:338).

In fact, not only was Martin tolerant of Confucian values, he also applied them in thinking about his relationship with his brother. In his later years, he recalled the many quarrels with his elder brother: "As boys we often quarreled and sometimes fought, I not having learned the Chinese doctrine, so important for the peace of families, that a younger should always be in subjection to an older brother" (Martin 1966:212).

Martin's liberal attitude towards ancestor worship indicates how a missionary with a colonial mentality and a Christian world view could actually came to hold positive views about native folk custom through contacting native intellectual tradition. His texts on ancestor worship embodied both the voice of missionary manipulation of native cultural signs and the voice of anti-Eurocentrism and openness to native cultural meanings. The conflicts over how to accept ancestor worship by the missionaries, on the other hand, indicates the internal disunity of the missionary discourse as a whole, which weakened its hegemonic power. Missionary practice with regard to ancestor worship never achieved consensus in China.

In this chapter, I discussed Martin's study of Neo-Confucianism from his missionary perspective and how he tried to locate a divine message in the Neo-Confucian theory of cosmogony, thus making the philosophy more congruent with Christianity. I have shown that this approach

necessarily presented the Chinese philosophy in a modified form. I then discussed Martin's liberal views on ancestor worship and his difference of opinion on this topic with other missionaries. I also showed that missionaries, by their study of Confucianism, came to identify more sympathetically with some aspects of the native culture and to think reflexively on their own societies. However, there were still internal inconsistences in the missionary discourse on the issues covered in this chapter, indicating that missionary discourse, though a form of cultural imperialism, could not achieve absolute hegemony even among the missionaries themselves.

CHAPTER SEVEN

ACADEMIC DISCOURSE IN MARTIN'S TEXTS

In the last two chapters, I demonstrated the missionary discourse in Martin's texts, by which I mean texts that speak from the missionary point of view in addressing academic and non-academic issues. I have shown that the missionary lens determined that Martin's presentation of Chinese religion, philosophy and history could be both prejudiced and to some extent fair and practical. I also have demonstrated that internal inconsistences and conflicts were not lacking in this missionary discourse. In this chapter, I will discuss the academic discourse in Martin's study of Neo-Confucianism and ancestor worship to demonstrate that 1) academic discourse could sometimes contradict missionary discourse and colonial discourse in "speaking for" the native; 2) academic discourse could be positive in promoting the development of native scholarship; and yet 3) the objectivity of academic discourse is subjected to the context of production of the texts, the ideology underlying the discourse, and the rhetoric of the discourse.

7.1 Neo-Confucianism and Modern Science

I have shown that Martin, from a missionary point of view, evaluated Neo-Confucianism and interpreted some of its concepts in the light of Christian theology, thus legitimizing his mission strategy of Confucian-Christian accommodation and extending this accommodation to Neo-Confucianism. I also showed that his perspective led him to interpret Chinese philosophical concepts in terms of European concepts to favor his Christian view of the world. This interpretation which was tainted with theological colors is evidence of Martin's failure to translate the Chinese philosophy with some faithfulness to the original. In this section, I will look at how he interpreted Neo-Confucian concepts from the secular point of view. By this I hope to show that Martin's presentation was not totally determined by his mission

ideology. His educational background in modern science provided him with another perspective to examine Chinese philosophy and to discover some positive values in it. I will show that the perspective of looking at Neo-Confucianism also shifted with Martin's concern with the changing situations in China. By this I argue that truth in missionary Sinology was often shaped by non-academic considerations and the context of the production of the texts.

7.1.1 Neo-Confucians as pioneers of modern scientific thought

Martin studied Neo-Confucianism in the light of Cartesian philosophy and modern science. He saw some parallels between some concepts of the Chinese philosophy and the European concept of ether and the theory of vortices. His research was presented in several papers. In 1872, he published an article in the *American Journal of Theology* under the title "The Speculative Philosophy of the Chinese."[52] This article might have been the back-bone of his later elaborations on the same subject (1894b:207-234; 1898:239-240; 1901:33-43). Of these the most complete presentation is in Martin (1894b). Martin analyzed the Neo-Confucian theory of *Qi* (ether) and the *yin-yang* interaction in terms of Cartesian philosophy and modern physics, claiming that the Chinese philosophers predated Europeans in developing a scientific view about the physical universe and in adopting the deductive method, however defective, for intellectual inquiry.

Martin pointed out that the method of inquiry among the Neo-Confucian philosophers of the Song dynasty was the same as the Cartesian deductive method. However his debasing colonial discourse revealed itself in his remark that the Chinese philosophers' deductive method came from a blind worship of the authority of Confucius. Although Confucius stated that the acquisition of knowledge came from the study of things one by one, he studied the *Book of Changes* in a deductive way

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52 I do not have this article. The information was from the bibliography of Covell (1978).

and this became the example for later Confucian scholars, who followed the master's example rather his words. As a result, the Chinese philosophers were "bound by the yoke of authority" and "led by the Oriental mind" to apply deductive method even "in questions susceptible of easy solution by experiment" (ibid.:224). Such questions included the number and kind of cardinal elements of the physical world and the location of the human senses. Martin believed that experiments would have convinced the Chinese that wood should not be one of the cardinal elements and that air should be included. They should have also known that the heart was not the organ for the senses (ibid.). The Chinese philosophers were also inferior to Descartes in that the latter always examined his premises. But Martin was able to contain his colonial discourse by putting in a word of apology for the Chinese philosophers (ibid.:226):

> Yet, is it more surprising that they should entertain irrational opinions than that Descartes should believe that the actions of brute animals are purely automatic, or that Bacon should believe in witchcraft?

His academic discourse that featured intellectual curiosity[53] overcame his colonial discourse in his discussion of the relationship between Descartes's notion of ether and vortices and the Chinese philosophers' notion of *Qi*. Martin hypothesized that Descartes might have borrowed from the Chinese by having access to fragments of Chinese philosophy translated by the Jesuits. He wrote that if this borrowing had been the case (ibid.:234):

> we should have to acknowledge an obligation to the extreme Orient,...We should have to confess that the philosophic movement which rose in France, and swept over the whole of Europe, drew its first impulse from Chinese thinkers of the 11th century.

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53 Here I use "curiosity" in the sense explained in Mungello (1989:14) as implying "painstaking accuracy, attention to detail and skillful inquiry" (ibid.), features typical of academic pursuits and hence academic discourse. Whether a particular scholar has achieved these standards is a question of performance, but the engagement in scholarly research presupposes the commitment to this curiosity.

Even without confirmation of such a hypothesis, Martin believed that the available information he had found "may heighten our respect for the Chinese," when it was known that the speculations of the Chinese thinkers are not unworthy to be compared with those of the 'Father of Modern Philosophy'" (ibid.:234).

Towards the end of the article, Martin speculated about the source of the Neo-Confucian concepts of ether and vortices. After making a remark typical of his missionary discourse that the Chinese, as had been suggested, obtained their knowledge, and even their written language, from the middle east, he wrote: "their [own] theory on this subject springs from the most ancient of their own sacred books" (Martin 1894b:233). Martin was right in making this remark, because the reference to *Qi* can be found in Confucius's appendix to the *Book of Changes*: "The refined material force (ch'i) [integrates] to become things. [As it disintegrates,] the wandering of its spirit (force) becomes change" (Chan, 1963:265. words in brackets original). No wonder that as an example of the ancient Chinese sacred books, Martin cited the *Book of Changes* in the footnote. In doing so, however, Martin contradicted his own negative evaluation of the book when he examined it from the missionary point of view (see previous chapter).

Martin was more positive on the subject of *Qi* (ether). His main sources came from Zhang Zai's *Zhengmeng*, in which the philosopher stated that the seemingly empty universe was filled with *Qi*, the ether, and *Qi* could both condense into visible objects and disperse to become invisible. Martin pointed out that this idea about the movement of ether surpassed Descartes' theory in stating that objects could become invisible due to the dispersion of ether, a point Descartes never made (ibid.:228; also see Fung Yulan 1953: 480-81). Martin then quoted a recent European work on the universe to show that some nineteenth century European scientists also came to realize this possibility (ibid.:229). Here Martin was drawing attention to the fact that Neo-

Confucians had come upon this notion of modern physics three hundred years earlier than the Europeans.

On the subject of vortices, Martin quoted Neo-Confucian texts on the movement of *yin* and *yang*. He especially appreciated Zhu Xi's description of the beginning of the world as the mutual rubbing of the two forces (Zhu Xi 1986:6):

> In the beginning there was only two *Qi*, the *yin* and *yang*, between the heaven and the earth. They moved and rubbed against each other and many residues resulted in this process. These formed the earth in between. The light and clear *Qi* rose up to become the [physical] heaven, the sun, the moon and the stars, which revolved on the outside. The earth remained steady in the center.

Martin maintained that this theory was not more crude than Descartes's idea that the particles of ether, originally cubic, got their angles rubbed off during their revolution (ibid.:232).

7.1.2 Back to divine power in Neo-Confucianism: the historical construction of academic truth

The second half of the paper on the Confucian speculative philosophy was re-phrased into a chapter in *The Lore of Cathay* (1901), where Martin did not add anything substantially new, but the narrative focus highlighted a different theme. In this rephrased version, Martin gave more weight to his view that the Chinese were not totally atheistic, and that they left room for the divine power of God (Martin 1901:42). This shift of focus away from the scientific aspect could be accounted for by the intended readership of his book, which was the general public of the West who might not be so interested in the scientific nature of Chinese philosophy or might not be so receptive to the proposed respect for the Chinese mind.

The emphasis on the religious aspect of Neo-Confucianism in Martin (1901) might also be geared to Martin's main concern in his writings in the early 1900s; he wanted to depict China as hopeful for Western civilization. Although *The Lore of Cathay* was a revised edition of *Hanlin Papers* (1880, 1894b), which were more academically oriented, the

editorial policy shifted from academics to politics. The first chapter of *The* Lore of Cathay is titled "The Awakening in China." This chapter was a revised version of an article in *Hanlin Papers* (Martin 1881:228-256) which was originally positioned towards the end of that book.

Martin (1901) continued the same theme as in his 1894 paper, i.e. that the Chinese philosophical speculation anticipated scientific thoughts in modern Europe. To impress his readers with the advanced state of Chinese civilization, he juxtaposed the beginning of the age of philosophy in the Song dynasty with Europe in the same historical period: "...the age of philosophy...was at the beginning of the Sung dynasty (1020 to 1120 A.D.), when gross darkness brooded over Europe and when the Western world was convulsed by the Crusades" (Martin 1901:34). He suggested that modern physics in Europe that rehabilitated Descartes's theory of ether and crowned him with the title of "father of modern philosophy" should also "reflect a little luster on those early thinkers of the far East who made the Cartesian ether the basis of their cosmogony" (ibid.:41). This juxtaposition was obviously a rhetorical consideration to highlight native enlightenment in Chinese history. This is in congruence with Martin's effort to present a hopeful China to the West in the early 1900s.

His editorial change also led Martin to add a second theme: the elements of evolutionary theory in Chinese thought. Martin asked: "What but a most thoroughgoing doctrine of evolution is to be expected from men who begin with the evolution of matter?" Martin's citing of evolutionary theory in discussing ancient Chinese thoughts of change however, was also more rhetoric than literal. He interpreted evolution as the development from a lower form to a higher one but did not refer to the concepts of natural selection and the survival of the fittest. This way, he could almost account for any idea of development and change as being under the theory of evolution.

The third theme in this chapter of Martin (1901) was the emphasis on the room for God in Neo-Confucianism, supported by what Martin saw as divine force in the texts of Zhang Zai. In the previous chapter, I quoted Martin's (1901) rewriting of a sentence he wrote in Martin (1894b). I now quote them again here for convenience:

> That he meant God in a proper sense, we shall not assent; all that we insist on is that he attempts to explain the process by a theory of vortices (1894b:230-31).
>
> That our Chinese thinkers meant God in a proper sense, I will not affirm, but they considerately leave room for him" (1901:42).

This double-tongued interpretation of Neo-Confucianism in terms of evolution and divinity created a bright picture of the possibility of the Chinese educated class accepting Christianity and Western modernization. Martin concluded his chapter with much hope: "Happy will it be for China when those who control the opinions of the people learn, in that vague Power of which they stand in awe, to recognize the *Pater Mundi*" (ibid.:43).

Martin's effort in creating a positive image of Neo-Confucianism and the educated class of China for the Christian West might also have been directed to the aftermath of the Boxer Uprising. He saw the Boxer War as the last act in a five act drama leading to China's opening to the world and saw God's will behind all the changes: "Looking back, the eye of faith can discover a Divine hand controlling the shifting scene" (Martin 1972:4). In the Boxer War, missionaries and their Chinese converts suffered a great deal (Latourette 1929:507-518; for a list of missionaries killed, see PBRC 1967:115-118). Ch'en (1979:100) described the time between the defeat of the Boxers and the outbreak of the First World War as the "Indian summer of the Christian missions in China." Doubts as to the civilizing power of the missions developed. Anthropological and psychological knowledge "dampened the zeal of young people either to save souls or to improve social conditions overseas" (ibid.).

Martin was not in favor of abandoning China as a mission field (Martin 1972:161). In his *The Siege in Peking* (Martin 1972 [1900]) he outlined a hopeful prospect for China, apart from expressing his anger towards the Chinese government. He stated that "the fires kindled by the Boxers throw light on the success of missions, and prove that Christianity *was* making no little headway" (ibid.:170). "The outlook for China is not cheering...yet it is far from hopeless" (ibid.:169). Martin was happy to see that seventeen missionary societies in America resolved not to withdraw from China. He quoted one of their resolutions and included the complete text of the resolution of the Presbyterian Board for Foreign Missions in the appendix of the book (ibid.:175-85).

Martin's discourse on the prospects for China after the Boxer Uprising was typical of the missionary way of presenting disasters in the course of the spreading of the Gospel. Reff (1994:75) suggested that one of the determining factors of missionary discourse was the traditional rhetoric of hagiographical writing about the lives of saints and of Christian martyrdom. The blood of the saints bears witness to the spreading of God's message and sows the seeds for future growth. In the history of the missions, there were only too many analogies to draw in order to show the hopeful aspect of a tragedy. Martin wrote in the beginning chapter of *The Lore of Cathay*: "But if the reign of terror was the renovation of France, and the Sepoy mutiny the harbinger of better things for India, why may not this dreadful drama prove to be the birth-pangs of a new China?" (Martin 1901:8) This rebirth of China became the dominant tone in Martin's 1901 book. One area for rebirth and transformation was in the intellectual field. He saw several such rebirths in China's intellectual history: the early Confucianism, the rebirth of Confucian texts "phoenix-like, from their ashes," (ibid.:13) after the destructive book-burning fire of the Qin dynasty, the flourishing intellectual life after the invention of printing, the development of national literature in the Tang dynasty, the speculative

philosophy of the Song Dynasty and the development of literary style in the most recent two dynasties (ibid.:13-15). The Boxer Uprising, for Martin, only furnished another opportunity for rebirth. He concluded the chapter with the following words (ibid.:20):

> That temporary madness which showed itself in the burning of the Hanlin Library, the destruction by fire of the richest sections of the capital, and the destruction by water of the library of our University, is sure to have the effect of giving a fresh impetus to the cause of educational reform.

Thus we see that the main keynote of Martin's *The Lore of Cathay* was hope for China's entering into the big family of Christian civilizations and this keynote sounded the voice of missionary discourse. It then was no surprise that he should give more of a religious tone to his presentation of Neo-Confucianism in this book than he had done in his 1894 paper, which emphasized more the scientific aspect of the speculative philosophy of Neo-Confucianism.

In the above analysis, it is clear that the academic discourse in Martin's discussion of Neo-Confucianism sometimes contradicted his colonial discourse and missionary discourse, and sometimes spoke within the missionary discourse and bent itself to its needs. After this examination of the academic discourse in Martin's presentation of Neo-Confucianism, let us turn to his discussion of ancestor worship.

7.2 The Study of Ancestor Worship as Folk Custom

Martin's presentation of ancestor worship as a folk custom was related to his discussion of ancestor worship from the missionary point view in terms of purpose (i.e. to convince his readers that ancestor worship is not idolatrous), but textually it appears more disinterested. In this discussion, Martin touched on the subjects of ancestor worship's origin and development, its relationship with Confucianism, its sources of superstitious elements, its form and meaning, its social functions and its foreign parallels. I argue that as academic discourse, Martin's study of ancestor worship was an extension of the native Confucian scholarship. I also argue that this discussion, though seemingly aimed

at achieving objectivity, could not completely rid itself of the subjective interpretation that served the needs of mission work.

7.2.1 The study of ancestor worship as religion

The ritual aspect of filial piety in ancestor worship was not a subject of much academic concern for native scholars, who were more concerned with the observation of filial piety as a moral cultivation of the self. They were not interested in studying the nature of the rituals to decide if they were idol worship. They simply did not have the conceptual framework for determining the nature of ancestral worship in this way. Besides, ancestor worship as folk ritual might have been considered too base a subject for scholarly discussions except when the literati were concerned with its moral significance as expounded in ancient classics or its negative social consequences. In this sense we can say that the missionary study of ancestor worship from the religious point of view added a dimension to Confucian scholarship.

Martin found the earliest record of ancestor worship in the story of Shun's adoption by Yao in 2,200 B.C. and in King Wu's overturning of the Shang dynasty and establishment of the Chou Dynasty (Martin 1894b:330). These were recorded in *Shujing*, the *Book of Documents*.[54] Another reference to this historical book was in his 1880 paper (Martin 1881:258-59). He also referred to the story of the Duke Zhuang of Zheng, who imprisoned his mother but later repented. In order not to violate his vow that he would not see her unless in the subterranean world, he adopted the suggestion of a guard to dig a tunnel to see his mother (Martin 1881:200). This was recorded in the *Zuo Commentary of*

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54 In the document about Shun in *Yushu* (The Books of Yu [dynasty]) of *Shangshu* (The Book of Historical Documents), it was recorded that when Shun was adopted, sacrifices were held in the ancestral temples as well as to the *Shangdi*, the supreme ruler, the mountains and minor spirits (http://www.sinica.edu.tw/ftmsbin/ftmsw3?ukey=198754316 &path=/3.1.2.2.2.2.2p). In the *Taishi* (Great Declaration) of *Zhoushu* (The Documents of Zhou), King Wu invoked ancestors to legitimize his overturning of the Shang dynasty (same web site, path=3.1.2.5.1.1.17p. Also see Legge 1969, Vol.3:33-34, 286).

Spring and Autumn,[55] as an example of the cultivation of filial piety. Another ancient textual evidence of the practice of ancestor worship was the funeral poems in the *Book of Odes* (Martin 1904:304).

Martin then traced the development of ancestor worship over the ages, pointing out that in Confucian times, it was not practiced with much seriousness. Confucius, as an adult, did not know where his mother was buried (Martin 1881:263).[56] Confucius, he pointed out, did not care much about the after-world and advocated only sincerity [not extravagance] in sacrificing (ibid.:264). The sage refrained from talking about life after death (Martin 1894b:340, See *Lunyu*, 11:11). Nor did he encourage the deification of ancestors in his emphasis on family ties (Martin 1904:304). Martin noted that Confucius would not approve of beliefs common in the contemporary practice of ancestor worship, i.e. that the deceased could protect the fortunes of their descendants (ibid.:263).[57] He pointed out that the early rites of ancestor worship, according to the *Book of Rites*, was to obtain happiness not from the dead but from the inner consciousness of living persons (Martin 1904:305).

The earliest form of ancestor worship, he noted, was human sacrifice, which was abolished in a feudal state of about B.C.700 (ibid.:260-61). Human sacrifice was later replaced with effigies made of straw that were buried with the dead, a custom Confucius protested as the semblance of human sacrifice (ibid.). Martin said that ancestor

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55 In the first year of the Duke of Yin (*Chunqiu Zuozhuan*).

56 Martin was wrong here, as it was the grave of Confucius's father, which was unknown to him because his mother, being too young when her husband died, did not attend the burial and did not know the burial place (See Confucius's biography in Sima Qian). Martin changed this point in Martin (1904:304).

57 Martin would have agreed with Faber(1902:170-75), who imagined how Confucius and Mencius would have disapproved of many contemporary practices if they should visit China in the nineteenth century. These include the worship at the tombs and the selection of tomb sites according to *fengshui*, geomancy.

worship was then codified in the rite of Chou (ibid.:262). In this he was probably referring to the *Rite of Zhou*, one of the Thirteen Canons of Confucianism.

Talking about one of the social consequences of ancestor worship, he referred to the many offspring a Chinese couple would like to have. He argued that this was sanctioned by Mencius's remark that the cardinal violation of filial piety was in having no offspring (ibid.:266; See *Mengzi* 4:1, see Legge 1890:111).

Confucius was held to be responsible for the universal observation of ancestor worship, for he made filial piety "the corner stone of his ethical system" (ibid.:263). Confucius's use of an ambiguous term *Tian* (Heaven) to replace "the personality of the supreme power" (ibid.) led him to seek ancestor worship as a religious sanction for maintaining social order. Martin quoted Confucius as saying that people's virtues could be strengthened by observing funeral rites (ibid. See *Lunyu* 1:2, Legge 1890:1).

But Martin noted that many superstitious elements had crept into the rites of ancestor worship (Martin 1894b:337). He saw Buddhism and Daoism as the influencing forces (Martin 1881:264), and said that Confucius was not responsible for them (ibid.:264). He listed *Fengshui* or geomancy and the invocation of ancestor protection as two main elements of superstition (ibid.:263-64). He cited a prayer as evidence for the belief in spiritual protection (Martin 1904:305). He believed the contemporary Chinese custom of burning paper human figures was a remnant of the ancient effigy burial (Martin 1881:261).

7.2.2 The ethnography of ancestor worship

In his discussions, Martin gave sporadic ethnographic descriptions of the custom. He mentioned the family shrine in the form of a cupboard or miniature temple, where the tablets of ancestors and deceased members of the family were located (Martin 1894b:336), the ancestral temple of the clan, where, he emphasized, there were no images but tablets (ibid.;

Martin 1881:261), the spring and autumn tomb visits (ibid.), the half-monthly prostration before the tablets (Martin ibid.:262), the announcing of important family events (ibid.), and the offering presented by an incoming bride as a token of adoption into her husband's family (ibid.). Martin also emphasized that the family saluted the dead "as they do the living" (Martin 1894b:336) and the offering to the dead attended to the want of the living more than to the dead, for it was the living that enjoyed the beautiful country scenery (1894b:337) and the food and fruits offered to the dead (1881:261). Here we see that he tried to emphasize the non-idolatrous aspects of the contemporary practice of ancestor worship.

Martin discussed the many social functions of ancestor worship: the cultivation of a code of family honor and self-respect (Martin 1881:265; 1894b:338; 1904:304), the strengthening of blood ties (1881:266; 1894b:337), and the many charitable functions of the clan ancestral temple such as the economic protection of the poor, education of the young, and the caring of the aged (1881:266; 1894b:338).

7.2.3 Foreign parallels of ancestor worship

To establish that the Chinese custom of ancestor worship was not more despicable than similar beliefs and customs of other countries, Martin referred to both aboriginal and Western practices here and there in his presentation.

Martin believed that notions of heaven and hell were the signs of an early civilization. "Few tribes have been found so rude as not to have found some notion of a heaven or hell" (1881:259). He cited the Zulus, the North American Indians and "the rude progenitors of our own race in the wilds of Northern Europe" who all believed in a heaven where they could join their ancestors. The Chinese, he said, already had such a notion at the dawn of history (ibid.). We can infer from this reasoning then that the Chinese civilization was thought by Martin to be more developed than the Zulus, the Indians and the ancient

Europeans.

The Duke of Zheng's story found parallels in "Homer's narratives of Ulysses seeking his father among the Cimmerian shades, or Virgil's story of Æneas's descent into Avernus" (1881:260; 1894b:329). The ancient custom of human sacrifice was practiced in China at the same time that Poluxena was immolated on the tomb of Achilles (ibid.). In refuting the view that ancestor worship led to conservatism in the Chinese, Martin stated that Chinese conservatism was due to other causes and the Chinese were by no means underdeveloped in humanity (ibid.:268). In defending the filial sentiment of the Chinese, Martin showed that the same feeling was not absent in the literature of the West. He quoted Cowper's poems addressed to his mother's picture, the scene of worshipping the ancestor tomb in Victor Hugo's *Hernani*, and Don Carlos's praying in the mausoleum of Charlemagne (1894b:347). Martin then wrote sarcastically: "This, it may be said, is poetry, not religion; while the worship of the Chinese is religion, with very little poetry" (ibid.).

7.2.4 Truth and presentation

To sum up, we see that the rhetoric strategy in Martin's presentation of ancestor worship was to link it with the Confucian value of filial piety and to de-emphasize its idolatrous aspect, especially in the ancient form sanctioned by Confucius. He did not talk much about the contemporary practice of ancestor worship and when he did touch on the superstitious elements in the actual practice of ancestor worship, he attributed them to Daoism and Buddhism. In the presentation of ancestor worship, he was being prescriptive rather than descriptive and he deprived the subject matter of its historicity. To present an image of ancestor worship purified of all it superstitious nature, Martin did not scruple to suppress the superstitious aspect of the ritual even in its antiquarian stages. His use of the *Book of Rites* was not well designed to support his claims since this book was compiled in the former Han dynasty and the twenty-fifth chapter to which he refers to

does not describe the ancient ancestor worship descriptively but prescriptively, giving emphasis to the concept of respect and filial piety. It is more a moral textbook than an historical record.[58] Martin's reference to *the Book of Odes*, moreover, enables us to see how his rhetoric bent the reality. If we examine some poems in this book describing ancestor worship, we see the expectation of protection from the spirits of ancestors. In the pre-Confucian times, ancestor worship was performed to a *Gongshi*, a living person impersonating the dead, whose words were regarded as having issued from the mouth of the deceased through that of the living (Legge 1969, Vol.IV:[163]).[59] In the poems we read:

> And all the service is complete and brilliant./ Grandly come our progenitors;/ Their Spirits happily enjoy the offerings;/ Their filial descendant receives blessing:--/ They will reward him with great happiness,/ With myriads of years, life without end. (ibid.:370)

> When all the ceremonies have been performed,/ Grandly and fully,/ 'We confer on you great blessings,' [says the representative of the dead],/ 'And may your descendants [also] be happy!' (ibid.:396)

Basing his observation on the ethnographic information in the *Book of Odes*, Legge (ibid.:[163]) stated that before ancestor worship, the Chinese "prepared themselves for this ceremony by washing the body, and by abstaining, for several days, from unbecoming words and actions." Thus ancestor worship in ancient China was highly religious in that it was a communication between the sacred and the profane. It was not merely a show of family intimacy and memories of the dead. Nor was it only a sentimental get-together. The worshipers truly believed that they were communicating with the spirit of the dead, from whom they could expect protection and blessing as a return on the gift of their sacrifices. This psychology fits well the reciprocal nature of the gift

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58 Chapter 25, "The Meaning of Sacrifice" of *Li Ji*.

59 The page number in square brackets is from the Prolegomena of Legge's translation of the Chinese classics.

as described by Mauss (1990) in religious rituals. Therefore we can say that Martin selectively interpreted the meaning of ancestor worship, making it an acceptable practice to the Christian belief system. Although Martin's discussion of the ancestor worship shifted from being apologetic in his missionary discourse to being "objective" in his academic discourse, the overall framework of missionary discourse in which this academic discourse was produced shaped the rhetorical strategies in his presentation, giving it more ideological color than can be found in ideally disinterested academic texts. As in examining Martin's presentation of Neo-Confucianism, in analyzing Martin's presentation of ancestor worship from the secular point of view, I underscored the intertextual nature of his academic discourse. This academic discourse sometimes goes against the author's colonial mentality, as in juxtaposing ancestor worship with similar customs in the West, and sometimes reveals this mentality, as in the classification of nations in terms of civilization measured by the notion of heaven and hell. The three discourses discussed in this thesis are thus both spatially and temporally separable in some cases and integrated in others. My aim has been to show the multiple discourses in the texts of one individual missionary Sinologue and the polyphonous nature of them.

In this chapter, I have discussed the academic discourse in Martin's Sinological research concerning Neo-Confucianism and ancestor worship. I have shown that this academic discourse was more removed from colonial interests and missionary interests and therefore spoke more favorably of native philosophy and religion. I also show how Martin's comparative study of Neo-Confucianism and Cartesian philosophy added a new dimension to the study of Confucian philosophy, i.e., the exploration of the scientific speculations in this school. Finally I show that although Martin's academic discourse was supposedly disinterested and truth seeking, the statements in such a discourse were

not all referring to an objective reality, but were accomplishing "speech acts."[60] Martin's statement about the nature of Neo-Confucian cosmogony varied with the tasks he intended to perform: to persuade his readers of its scientific content or of its religious connotation. Likewise, his statement about the nature of ancestor worship was determined by his purpose of persuading the missionary community.

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60 Speech Act theory was developed by Austin (1962) and further developed by Searle (1969). Austin classifies three acts in utterances: locutionary, illocutionary and perlocutionary. A locutionary act utters "a certain sentence with a certain sense and reference" (Austin 1962:108). An illocutionary act performs a task such as informing, ordering, warning, and so on and so forth. A perlocutionary act is "what we bring about or achieve *by* saying something." I use the notion of speech act here to differentiate the sense and reference of Martin's academic discourse and the illocutionary act this discourse performed.

CHAPTER EIGHT

CONCLUSION: THE PROBLEM OF COLONIAL DISCOURSE ANALYSIS

My thesis so far has discussed the colonial discourse, the missionary discourse and the academic discourse in Martin's texts. In this chapter I will conclude with a synopsis of the thesis and a discussion of the issue of analyzing missionary Sinology. I argue that it is undesirable to approach missionary Sinology with a preconceived assumption about how it should be judged ideologically and with a grand narrative perspective. I hold that in studying missionary Sinology, not only the texts but the authors must be given due attention and since authors are the concrete locations of multiple social, cultural and intellectual identities, the study of texts produced by these authors should aim at characterizing the polyphonous nature of such texts, rather than essentializing them as one type of discourse.

8.1 A Synopsis of the Research

In this research I began with an introduction of the expansion of Christianity in China, providing a backdrop for my discussion of W.A.P. Martin. In Chapter Two I outlined the theoretical concepts that I intended to use for my research. My research was intended as a case study of the application of Said's theory of Orientalism in the analysis of missionary Sinology, but I noticed the criticism of the limitations of this theory by other scholars and theories of colonial discourse analysis and framed my research using the theories of hybridity and polyphony as guidelines.

In Chapter Three I outlined Martin's early life in the United States, his mission work in China and his position among his contemporary missionaries. I introduced Martin's Sinological research against the larger historical environment in which Western Sinology developed in the nineteenth-century China and showed that there was a colonial ideology that guided Martin's Chinese scholarship.

In Chapter Four I discussed the colonial discourse in Martin's academic and non-academic writings. This discourse legitimized Western expansion in China. By using the tropes which are typical of colonial discourse and by addressing directly some colonial issues, Martin suggested that China needed the superior Western civilization and legitimized the use of colonial power in imposing this civilization on the Chinese. In this part, I also showed that conflicts and instabilities could be found in Martin's colonial discourse.

I then discussed the missionary discourse in Martin's texts in the following two chapters. This discourse interpreted and criticized native intellectual tradition and native culture from the Christian point of view. This Christian perspective determined Martin's presentation of Chinese religion and his construction of what I call "Confucian Fundamentalism." Martin commented negatively about Buddhism and praised the "original" Confucianism that sanctioned the notion of one God. By referring back to the Jesuits, I showed how this "Christian Confucianism" was a discourse formation crossing the boundaries of historical periods and doctrines. This established the relative independence of missionary discourse vis-à-vis the colonial discourse. I also showed that Martin's interpretation of the Neo-Confucian cosmogony as embodying the concept of divine creation was also determined by his missionary worldview. In discussing Martin's treatment of ancestor worship, I argued that it indicated how missionaries could learn to identify positively with native tradition. In presenting the missionary discourse in Martin's texts, I also showed the internal conflicts on such subjects as ancestor worship and the translation of the concept of the Christian God.

In Chapter Seven I discussed the academic discourse in Martin's texts. On the one hand, I showed that a missionary Sinologue such as Martin could distance himself from the colonial discourse and missionary discourse in the more specialized pursuit of knowledge and speak more

favorably about native subjects. He promoted the image of Neo-Confucian philosophy by interpreting its cosmogony in the context of Cartesian philosophy and modern physics. On the other hand, I also showed that the truth value of academic discourse was subjective to the pragmatics of this discourse in promoting the Christian project in China.

In summary, my research has been concerned up to this point with demonstrating the multiple voices in the texts of Martin. In the rest of this chapter, I will discuss some theoretical implications of my analysis.

8.2 The Problem with the Saidian Model for Studying Missionary Sinology

My study of the writings of W.A.P. Martin as a sample of the Orientalism defined by Edward Said indicates that his writings about China fit Said's notion of Orientalism; they constituted a group of texts that produced meaning and knowledge about the Orient in the colonial setting of the late nineteenth century, a period of "high imperialism" (Mills 1991:1). Said's theory and the analytical concepts that he borrowed from Foucault, can indeed provide us with a political sensitivity for examining what the West produced as knowledge about the East in colonial times. Although Said deals with this Orientalism - the textualization of the Orient - over a wide temporal, spacial, institutional and disciplinary spectrum, the traits of Orientalism as a colonial enterprise are obvious in the texts of an individual Orientalist such as Martin.

In Martin's writings, it is not difficult to find texts that spoke in the colonial voice. Said was not really concerned with the colonial mentality of individual authors, but his theory makes sense in the study of the texts produced by an individual author as one chain in the colonial discourse of a particular historical period. In the case of Martin, the Saidian perspective does shed light on the nature of his texts and his thoughts, which unveils some aspects of Martin not well studied in previous research on him. In most cases, Martin has been

defined as a pioneer in promoting China's progress and modernization (Covell 1978) and as an agent of East-West cultural exchange (Li Qifang 1992). The colonial aspect of missionaries as cultural brokers in such studies has been toned down to give more emphasis on their positive contributions to China's modernity.

Yet in analyzing the texts of individual authors with the aim of evaluating their ideological position vis-à-vis the colonizing and the colonized, Said's theory tends to be one-sided and sometimes oversimplifying. This aspect of the Saidian model has received criticism from Sinologists and scholars of colonial discourse analysis, as demonstrated in the second chapter of this thesis. Sinologists emphasized the specificity of Sinology as against the Orientalist tradition described by Said. They argued that China has never been passively subjected to colonization and therefore the relationship between the Western colonizer and the Chinese was not a simple colonizer-colonized one. The boundaries between the East and West sometimes were not as clear as suggested by the East-West dichotomy in the Saidian model. Feminist critics (Lewis 1996; Mills 1991) maintained that the image of intentional, authoritative and unified colonial discourse was destabilized when gender was brought in. Said was also criticized for developing a totalitarian rhetoric about his subject that admitted no alternative interpretations (Marcus and Fischer 1986:2). In reading Martin's texts, I feel that although Said borrows analytical tools from Foucault, he tends to subjugate some discourses to create his image of Western Orientalism. Interestingly, one of Foucault's concerns in his discourse criticism is to highlight subjugated discourse. Foucault (1980:81) defines subjugated discourse and knowledge as "the historical contents that have been buried and disguised in a functionalist coherence or formal systemisation" and "a whole set of knowledges that have been disqualified as inadequate..." (ibid.:82). Foucault talks about the " the inhibiting effect of global, *totalitarian*

theories [italics original]" (ibid.:80) and it seems to me that Said's theory of Orientalism can be characterized as such a totalitarian theory in the area of colonial discourse analysis. This theory establishes a grand narrative about colonial text production and essentializes this production as the domination of the Orient by the Occident.

This seems to be a methodological trend in the works criticizing colonial writings. For example, as is mentioned in the second chapter of this thesis, Rubinstein (1997) discusses several missionary works on Taiwan to show how the representation of Chinese society was filtered through a missionary lens. One of his examples is the Canadian Presbyterian missionary George Leslie MacKay's book *From Far Formosa* (MacKay 1896). Rubinstein remarks, without providing evidence, that Mackay's deepest biases are reflected in the book's chapter on Chinese religion (Rubinstein 1997:21). A checking of the original, however, shows that although this remark is generally true, there are texts that also show Mackay's positive comments on ancestral worship. Although Mackay defined the custom as idol worship, he also stated that "there are some things that appeal to human nature in this ancestral idolatry" and that "ancestor worship has its beauties,..." (Mackay 1896:132; 133). As mission strategy, his custom was "never to denounce or revile what is so sacredly cherished but rather to recognize whatever of truth or beauty there is in it, and utilize it as an 'open sesame' to the heart" (ibid:133). He, like Martin, also felt that the Chinese young people's kind and respectful reverence of their parents and elders was something "many of his young friends across the sea would do well to copy" (Keith 1912:106). Rubinstein's general remark about MacKay's biases towards Chinese religion actually suppressed this discourse.

Likewise in his critique of Said's *Orientalism*, James Clifford (1988:261) points out that Said has downplayed "the sympathetic, nonreductive Orientalist tradition." He also points out that in formulating his image of the Orientalist tradition in the West, Said has

selectively presented the Orientalisms of Britain and France as representing Western Orientalism while ruling out those of other countries (ibid.:267). For example, Clifford remarks that German Orientalism "is too disinterested and thus atypical of a genealogy that *defines* [italics original] the discourse essentially colonialist" (ibid.)

This suppressing of texts and discourses that are incongruent with what one attempts to prove in discourse analysis calls into question the methodological assumption of such a project. Although discourse analysis is a form of cultural criticism that is more interpretive than empirical, the texts that are analyzed still constitute an objective body of data that can be classified and diagnosed. I believe a comprehensive collection of data, a clear set of classification criteria and a meticulous analysis of the contents of the texts can determine, at the textual level at least, to what extent a text cohort is colonial. Things may be more complicated at the interface of texts and society, but the same principle can be extended to study the actual functioning of texts in society to decide the extent to which texts serve particular ideologies, institutions and agendas.

8.3 The Multi-identity of Text Producers and the Polyphonous Nature of Language

To avoid essentializing Orientalist texts as a discourse of colonialism, what is needed is a framework for analysis that allows us to examine text producers comprehensively and link them not only with the larger historical context but also with the specific social, cultural and intellectual spaces they belong to. When we shift our attention to the concrete producers of texts in concrete historical situations, we will find that the issue of defining the nature of those texts is more complicated than Said's theory would lead us to expect. Clifford (ibid.:270-271) points out that discourse analysis (of the Saidian style) is unfair to authors because it "is concerned merely with

statements as related to other statements in a field," and therefore creates difficulty for Said when he tries to address both this "discursive formation" and the "individual intentionality and subjectivity" (ibid.) of authors.

Said's model for analyzing Orientalist texts, then, is inadequate for treating individual authors. An individual is never a "thin" character but "round" in having multiple identities. This determines that the utterances of an individual can never be monolithically addressing one concern and making one proposition but are necessarily entangled and polyphonous. An individual is also a social being in that he or she never speaks an isolated language that does not address other languages. On this point, the Bakhtin School's theory of heteroglossia which regards "language as ideologically saturated and stratified" (Morris 1994:15) and the notions of dialogics and polyphony are very insightful for my study. According to this theory, individual consciousness embodies a multiplicity due to an individual's cultural and linguistic multiplicity (Walker 1995:11). Here linguistic multiplicity does not necessarily mean multilingual; it means that one's utterances are in a dialogic relationship with other utterances, synchronic or diachronic. One's multi-identity and affiliations also enrich his or her utterances with discourses from different social groups and cultural affiliations.

In the area of missionary Sinology, missionaries were not just missionaries. In the Protestant mission movement in China, for example, some quite influential missionaries had a much wider scope of concerns, interests, and viewpoints. Martin was one example, and so were E.C. Bridgman, S.W. Williams, J.Y. Allen, Timothy Richard, and Peter Parker. They were certainly not imperialists from head to toe. Nor were they Christian fanatics who saw nothing positive in native culture. For such missionaries, to label them as Orientalists in the Saidian sense is meaningful only in the temporal sense, i.e., they belonged to the time

of Orientalism. Their textual products, however, are informed with meanings beyond the narrow scope of Orientalism and constitute a space for multiple voices that echo one another, reinforce one another and undermine one another.

Following this line of thinking, I classified Martin's texts of Sinology into colonial discourse, missionary discourse and academic discourse. I believe this finer classification of the texts of an individual Sinologue is better than a crude classification and a sweeping generalization of his texts as colonial discourse. Martin's texts of Sinology[61] taken as a whole cannot be simply labeled as colonial discourse, i.e. discourses that directly legitimized imperialist interests in China. Martin's main concern was promoting Christian civilization in China and his scholarly pursuits served mainly missionary goals rather than the colonial goals of political domination and economic exploitation. While there is an overlap between the missionary concerns and the colonial enterprises of the nineteenth century in China, the missionary discourse in Martin's texts of Sinology spoke its own agenda and addressed its own concerns.

8.4 The Dynamics of Orientalist Consciousness

The multi-identity of individuals is not a fixed thing. My thesis has demonstrated the possibility that missionaries could be transformed by their field experience and could come to identify sympathetically with native society. This transformation of missionaries indicates the flexibility and dynamics of the consciousness of Orientalists as a result of the dialogic relationship between missionaries and the field societies. In the framework of Saidian Orientalism, missionary Sinology should be regarded as colonial discourse aiming at the colonization of the Chinese consciousness. This interpretation of missionary Sinology

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61 I emphasize that here I refer to Martin's texts of Sinology, not his texts on non-academic issues such as the Taiping Rebellion. In my thesis, I use part of his non-academic texts to show that he was basically a colonial Sinologue, but that this colonial mentality could not run through all his texts of Sinology.

is based on the assumption that there was an unchanging dichotomy of the East and the West, the self and the other. Missionary Sinology in this model is regarded as a body of knowledge posited against native knowledge as its antagonist. But if we consider the dynamics of colonial consciousness and the changing identities of Orientalists, we must see the possibility of the merging of missionary discourse and native discourse. In developing their Sinological knowledge, missionaries were not just acting as outsiders probing into a passive China. By airing their interpretations of Chinese religion, philosophy and other areas of scholarly knowledge and by engaging themselves in cultural criticism, missionaries were writing themselves into the long native intellectual tradition. Their discourse about China became merged with native discourse, adding new dimensions to the native scholarship and promoting its growth. This merging either means that missionaries' critical discourse about China was taken up by native intellectuals in their own cultural criticism, or that missionary Sinologues initiated themselves into the community of native scholars. An example of the former case is the introduction of Arthur Smith's theory about the national character of the Chinese. His book on this subject was introduced to China via Japan, and was developed into the native discourse of *guominxing* (the nature of the people of a nation) spearheaded by Lu Xun (See Liu 1995, Chapter 2). James Legge might be cited as an example of the second case. By his translation of the Confucian classics that was based on exhaustive study of the Confucian canon and the accompanying exegesis, Legge established his position as a Confucian scholar and his translations and comments were thus a part of the intertextual and dialogic formation of native Confucianism. In the case of Martin, his grand narrative approach to interpret Chinese history is an example of the introduction of Western historiography into the native historiographical methodology. His interpretation of Neo-Confucianism in terms of Western philosophy and science opened a new

window on the exegesis of Confucian philosophy in China.

8.5 Questions for Further Research

The study of colonial discourse is incomplete if native reaction and reception of this discourse are excluded. After all, the power of discourse must be mediated through institutions and must be exercised through its application in real life circumstances. Foucault's discourse analysis set its eye on the control of the body as a result of the development of institutionalized power/knowledge. Said (1979) however mainly concentrates on the Western construction of Orientalism and highlighted the hegemonic *strength and potential* of this knowledge. The actualization of this potential in the Oriental colonial settings is not much emphasized. As compensation for this negligence in the Saidian paradigm, Homi Bhabha's notion of hybridity and the Bakhtin notion of dialogics and polyphony point out a new direction. In the area of missionary Sinology, much has yet to be done to examine the distribution, reception and transformation of missionary Sinology in both the West and China in order to determine the actual role of this discourse in the colonial period of Chinese history and in the development of Western studies of China. To what extent, for example, did missionary Sinology contribute to the discourse of China's nationalism and modernization at the turn of the century? Did missionary Sinology substantially influence Western policy towards China, or was it actually undermined by other discourses, such as political, diplomatic and commercial? No matter what results might be achieved from such studies, it is worth assuming that in the process of colonization, colonial forces could not always assume the aggressive position and the discourses produced in colonial settings could not always speak the language of colonization and domination.

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