FROM SHANGHAI TO DIXIE: TSOONG KIA-TSING AT EMORY COLLEGE

Stephanie Dilullo

Emory University did not admit any female students until 1917, nor any African American students before 1963, but almost seventy years earlier, in 1891, Emory welcomed its first Chinese student to the college. At a time when anti-Chinese legislation was electrifying political debate in the West, Tsoong Kia-tsing, alias George H. Bell, was studying French, German, Science, Theology, and, by far his least favorite subject, Mathematics, in the heart of the Antebellum South. Tsoong’s journey to, and education in, America is remarkable because, unlike many earlier Chinese students studying abroad in America, his education was not funded by rich family members nor subsidized by the Chinese government. Rather, Methodist missionaries, intent on training “native” preachers to extend the church’s reach within China and drum up missionary zeal among American Methodists, sent Tsoong halfway across the world to Emory College in Oxford, Georgia to study and preach. This choice of Emory was not arbitrary. The director of Tsoong’s college, the Anglo-Chinese College, was an Emory graduate who had previously helped a bright young Korean student named Yun Chi-ho gain admission to this same college.

Tsoong Kia-tsing’s life and experiences provide valuable insight into many trends of the late 19th-century. His early education and eventual enrollment in Emory College reflect the growth of Protestant missions in mainland China, which was due in great part to the relaxing of immigration standards as a result of the Opium Wars. Tsoong’s pursuit of a modern, Western education also reflects the changing emphasis in education within China. From the 1840s onward, Chinese scholars were torn over the importance of Modernization and Westernization and a major bone of contention was the question of whether children should study traditional Chinese knowledge or pursue a more modern, useful curriculum. Perhaps most importantly, Tsoong’s story sheds light on what it was like to grow up between cultures during times of rapid change. In China, Tsoong lived in a Western-controlled city, Shanghai, where tensions between Chinese traditionalists and “Western foreign devils” ran high. In America, Tsoong studied deep in the Antebellum South, where American Reconstruction and a growing religious revival were rapidly changing the face of the South, but racial prejudice remained. Tsoong Kia-tsing lived in interesting times and little about his life or his personality does not excite the imagination or stir up debate.

GOOD CONFUCIANS IN HEATHEN AMERICA

Tsoong was certainly not the first native-born Chinese student to study at an American university. That distinction belonged to a young Yung Wing, who grew up
near the Portuguese trading hub of Macao in the 1830s and 1840s. In 1847, five years after the end of the first Opium War, Yung Wing traveled to New Haven, Connecticut and enrolled in Yale University, which he graduated from in 1854. Upon his return, Yung Wing became a fierce advocate of Western education stating, "the rising generation of China should enjoy the same educational advantage that I had enjoyed; that through Western education China may be regenerated." Yung Wing’s activism originally received a chilly reception from Qing administrators, owing to lingering resentment over the conduct of foreigners in the first Opium War and the continued ambivalence of mandarins about accepting Western modernization. The outbreak of the second Opium War further polarized the Qing government’s attitude towards Western knowledge, institutions, and governments.

Without the activism of an American lawyer, Tsoong Kia-tsing and many other 19th century Chinese students would not have had the liberty to study in the United States. Anson Burlingame, a member of Lincoln's cadre and a former congressman, played a pivotal role in encouraging the Qing court and the American cabinet to familiarize relationships between China and America. Burlingame served as the United States' minister to China from 1861-1867, and, after resigning from his ministerial post, he became China's ambassador-at-large. Though his chief responsibility was to explain China to Western nations, Burlingame used his position to negotiate the Seward-Burlingame Treaty of 1868, which officially granted Chinese citizens the right to reside in America, though without the possibility of naturalization. This treaty specifically addressed the issue of Chinese study abroad in Article 7, which reads "Chinese subjects shall enjoy all the privileges of the public educational institutions under the control of the government of the United States."

Less than three years later, Zeng Guofan and Li Hongzhang, two key leaders of the Self-Strengthening Movement, proposed and enacted a program to send “bright young boys from coastal provinces at a rate of thirty per year” from 1871-1875. The pioneering group of teenagers was sent to Hartford, Connecticut to attend American preparatory schools before continuing on to colleges in the Northeast. Initially, the program was well received in both America and China. Congress had just passed the Fifteenth Amendment in 1870 and Republicans dominated both Congress and the White House. Hartford was also, by all accounts, a very progressive place that drew writers like

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Harriet Beecher Stowe and Mark Twain to its literary scene. The Chinese Educational Commission originally received an outpouring of local support; in fact, more than 120 families volunteered to house the original 30 students. In China, Yung Wing’s vision not only had the support of Viceroy Li Hongzhang and Zeng Guofan, but also the support of the reform-minded Tongzhi Emperor. The program was scheduled to last twenty years, but changes in the political climate of both countries led to its cancellation after only nine.

During the late 1870s, reform-minded administrators began to lose influence in the Qing court. The Tongzhi Emperor died in January of 1875, leaving the Empress Dowager Cixi in almost complete control as regent for Tongzhi’s successor, the four year-old Guangxu Emperor. Neither Prince Gong nor the Empress Dowager Ci’an, the Guangxu Emperor’s other regents, were able to prevent Cixi from reneging on earlier reforms. The leader of the Chinese Educational Commission, Chen Lanbin, was a conservative Hanlin scholar who constantly bickered with Yung Wing, the Associate Commissioner, over how much freedom the Chinese students should have. The disharmony within the commission only grew when Chen and Yung were sent by the government to investigate the mistreatment of Chinese laborers in the Americas. The Chinese students lost their greatest defender in Yung Wing, and in 1879 Chen’s successor as commissioner, the conservative Wu Zideng, began cracking down on the students’ freedoms. Reacting to growing Christian and “Westernized” sentiments within the Chinese Educational Commission’s ranks, Wu Zideng dismissed more than five students and sent dozens of memorials back to China decrying the students’ behavior. The final nail in the commission’s coffin was the United State government’s adamant refusal to allow Chinese students to attend West Point or Annapolis, which, to the Chinese, was a clear breach of the Burlingame Treaty.

In the United States, growing anti-Asian sentiment reduced the government’s support for the program. Completion of the Transcontinental Railroad in 1869, created an unemployment problem in the West and, in 1873, financial panic due to the failure of a

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large investment bank precipitated five years of economic depression. Economic hardship increased anti-Chinese sentiment throughout the United States, leading to the rise of the Know-Nothing Party, which controlled over 100 congressmen across the United States by 1875. In that same year, Congress passed its first immigrant restriction act, the Page Act, which forbade the admission of immigrants under “coolie labor” contracts. Congress tried to increase immigration restrictions further in 1879 by passing a bill forbidding ships with more than 15 Chinese persons onboard from docking in American ports; but the bill was vetoed by President Rutherford B. Hayes. Finally, in 1881 the United States renegotiated the Burlingame treaty, altering it so that they could "regulate, limit, or suspend" Chinese immigration, ending Yung Wing’s dreams forever.

METHOD OF INQUIRY

As there is no extant literature on Tsoong Kia-tsing, I have based most of my paper on primary sources written by Tsoong, Young John Allen, Yun Chi-ho, and Dr. Candler. Tsoong kept up fairly regular correspondence with Allen and much of my research is based on his letters to his former teacher. Tsoong, however, made an impression on his schoolmate Yun as well as the President of Emory College, Dr. Candler, and their impressions of him add depth to his story. I have also enlisted archived newspapers and missionary documents from the 1890s that mention Yun and Tsoong’s work in the Antebellum South to verify Tsoong’s personal accounts. While I did not have the benefit of reading Tsoong’s diary, of which no copy could be found though Tsoong references it several times in his letters, I believe that much of his character, motivation, and purpose are evident in his correspondence.

MISIONARY INPIRATIONS AND ASPIRATIONS

Tsoong Kia-tsing’s inspiration to become a missionary came primarily from his mentor Young John Allen. Young John Allen was a prominent Southern Methodist missionary in China who spent more than 40 years spreading the gospel in Shanghai. Allen’s activities in China, however, expanded past the missionary sphere into the fields of publication and education. Forced by financial necessities precipitated by the American Civil War, Allen began supplementing his missionary work with secular work for the Jiangnan Arsenal and local publications in the 1860s. He worked as editor for the North China Herald and eventually founded and wrote for the Wan Kwoh Kung Po

Throughout the lean years of Southern Reconstruction when missionary funds were slim, Allen used his secular work to publish numerous translations of Christian works and to fund missionary schools within China. His greatest achievement may have been the establishment of the Anglo-Chinese College in 1885. This College, located in Shanghai, served to educate Chinese students in both English and basic theology. The school became very popular and by the 1890s it enrolled more than 200 students every year. Besides serving as both a teacher in and president of the Anglo-Chinese College, Allen worked tirelessly to recruit converts and attract future missionaries to China. Young John Allen was most successful in recruiting missionaries who had close affiliations to his alma mater, Emory College. The president of Emory College at the time, Warren A. Candler, fully supported Allen’s mission work and strived to spread missionary zeal within the student body and the Oxford community. While the Southern Methodist mission in Shanghai remained small in comparison to its counterpart in Japan, it was well-known and supported at Emory College.

Before becoming a student of the Anglo-Chinese College, Tsoong had already been exposed to Christian theology and Western education. His grandfather was a prominent Baptist pastor, Reverend Wong, who converted Tsoong to Christianity, thus allowing him to enroll in the Anglo-Chinese College in 1884. During the mid-1880s, when Tsoong attended the Anglo-Chinese College, Young John Allen served as the school’s superintendent as well as one of its teachers. There, he obviously made an impression on Tsoong because shortly after graduating from the College, Tsoong applied to convert to Methodism. Tsoong also must have made a strong impression on Doctor Allen because in 1890 Allen wrote Dr. Candler, the president of Emory College, asking if Tsoong might be given the opportunity to attend Emory College in Oxford, Georgia. Allen professed that he was “not as a rule in favor of sending Chinese boys to U.S. to be educated” but that Tsoong, like Yun Chi-ho before him, had the education and drive to be a useful tool in the Methodists’ “literary and educational work for China.” Though Tsoong was a few years younger than Yun, Allen considered Tsoong to be “a good boy…an earnest Christian” who had proven himself by teaching in a Baptist missionary school in Chin-kiang (Zhenjiang). Young John Allen may have felt that Tsoong was “by no means the equal of Mr. Yun,” but he must have believed that Tsoong would be valuable as a tool for missionary recruitment and that his future utility would justify the educational expenses he would incur.

Tsoong seems to have earnestly believed in the Methodist missionary cause and felt great personal loyalty towards Young John Allen. Whilst still in China, Tsoong Kia-

27 Tsoong, Kia-ting. Letter to Dr. Young John Allen, Dated April 3, 1891. MARBL
28 Tsoong, Kia-ting. Letter to Dr. Young John Allen, Dated April 3, 1891. MARBL and Tsoong, Kia-ting. Letter to the Members of the Shanghai Baptist Church, Dated March 14, 1891. MARBL
29 Allen, Young J. Letter to Dr. Candler, Dated July 09, 1891. MARBL
30 Allen, Young J. Letter to Dr. Candler, Dated July 09, 1891. MARBL
31 Allen, Young J. Letter to Dr. Candler, Dated July 09, 1891. MARBL
tsing proved his missionary zeal not only by teaching in Chin-kiang, but also by applying for a preacher’s license and converting to Methodism in the late-1880s. Tsoong tells Allen in one letter that “the gospel shined into my heart” and that his most earnest wish is to continue the study of theology. In America, Tsoong tried to raise funds for the missionary cause through a student missionary band that he and Yun headed as well as through numerous benefits arranged by the Women’s Missionary Society and other similar organizations. In 1894, Tsoong began collecting artifacts from Young John Allen and other Chinese missionaries to create a Chinese museum at Emory College. Tsoong believed that creating such a museum would spark new interest in China from both the student body and the Methodist community, as a similar museum dedicated to Japan had done. While there is no evidence that Tsoong’s plan for a museum actually ever came to fruition, the large body of artifacts, books, and pamphlets that Young John Allen sent indicate that some kind of museum probably was established at Emory.

Perhaps Tsoong’s greatest contributions to the Chinese Mission were his speeches and sermons to communities throughout the American South, and some few portions of the North. Throughout the spring of 1892, Tsoong traveled with Brother Eakes to country churches in towns like Shiloh and Monroe. Tsoong also became heavily involved in the State Sunday School Convention, regularly attending conventions in Marietta as well as preaching to Sunday Schools throughout the Oxford area. Tsoong also sermonized on Emory’s campus in an attempt to recruit future Chinese missionaries for Young John Allen:

Last Friday was our Y.M.C.A. prayermeeting and I said something about how China needs more missionary. Some of the boys just could hardly keep their tears from flowing. Yes, I will try to be very useful on that line.

Tsoong’s enthusiastic recording of these events makes it clear that he enjoyed both preaching and advocating missionary work. In fact, Tsoong devotes most of his letters to descriptions of the talks he has attended or given whether they were in a country church or at the North Georgia United Methodist Conference. This is especially true of letters dated in September or November when Tsoong updates Young John Allen about the progress of his summer tours. Every summer Tsoong Kia-tsing would transform into a

32 Allen, Young J. Letter to Nathaniel Lewis, Dated July 22. 1891. MARBL
33 Tsoong, Kia-tsing. Letter to Dr. Young John Allen, Dated April 3. 1891. MARBL
35 Tsoong, Kia-tsing. Letter to Dr. Young John Allen, Dated September 16, 1894. MARBL
36 Tsoong, Kia-tsing. Letter to Dr. Young John Allen, Dated September 16, 1894. MARBL
37 Through discussions with Naomi Nelson, Coordinator for Research Services, and Assistant University Archivist Nancy H. Watkins, I have confirmed that there is a large number of Japanese, and possibly Chinese, artifacts in the archives. Ms. Watkins believes that they were brought over from Oxford in the early 1900s, but no one has ever looked into the history of these items and how they came to Emory.
38 Tsoong, Kia-tsing. Letters to Dr. Young John Allen, Dated March 4&25, 1892. MARBL
39 Tsoong, Kia-tsing. Letter to Dr. Young John Allen, Dated May 23, 1892. MARBL
40 Tsoong, Kia-tsing. Letter to Dr. Young John Allen, Dated January 6, 1892. MARBL
kind of itinerant preacher, visiting towns and churches far from Oxford to raise funds for the Chinese Mission and inspire others to take up the missionary cause. In 1892, it seems he stayed in state and traveled throughout Georgia, but in 1893 he went further a-field to Alabama and Mississippi.\textsuperscript{41} While Tsoong doesn’t elaborate on his 1894 summer trip, in 1895 Tsoong traveled to “the North”, primarily Virginia and Maryland, where he spent over a week preaching at a kind of Methodist revival.\textsuperscript{42}

I spent a week at Wesley Grove Camp, 30 miles this side of Baltimore. Here I had the pleasure of preaching to a large crowd of Methodist folks. As this was my first experience in Camp meeting, I enjoyed it very much…\textsuperscript{43}

\section*{Tsoong the Student}

Tsoong Kia-tsing’s experiences at Emory reveal him to be a fairly average student. Tsoong did not follow a special curriculum, rather he took the standard, standard for the 1800s that is, curriculum: arithmetic, English grammar, ancient history, Biblical studies, and botany.\textsuperscript{44} At this time Emory had six levels of proficiency: 1\textsuperscript{st} year Sub-Freshman, 2\textsuperscript{nd} year Sub-Freshman, Freshman, Sophomore, Junior, and Senior. Tsoong started out in Sub-Freshman classes for English and mathematics, but his studies of the Bible and Botany must have been much further advanced as he placed in the Sophomore and Junior classes (respectively).\textsuperscript{45} Tsoong appears to have been a diligent student; in fact he almost always closes his letters by telling Allen, “I must get up my lesson.”\textsuperscript{46} One could argue that this only means that Tsoong wants Allen to think he is studying, but Tsoong’s grades reflect continuous hard work and effort. Freshman year, Tsoong scored 9.5 (out of 10) on his Medieval History exam while he averaged a 9 overall his sophomore year, a grade he justifies by claiming “the only thing that held me behind is the mathematics.”\textsuperscript{47} In addition to these core classes, Tsoong also took French, Latin, Greek, and German. Surprisingly, Tsoong liked French and even found it to be “far easier to learn than English.”\textsuperscript{48}

As far as extracurricular activities, Tsoong found time to join several clubs at Emory and developed friendships with many of his fellow students and teachers. In his first year at Emory, Tsoong was invited to join both the Phi Gamma Literary Society and the Few Society, though he eventually joined Phi Gamma so that both the Few Society, of which Yun was already a member, and Phi Gamma would have one Asian representative.\textsuperscript{49} Tsoong also is listed in several club rosters in the \textit{Zodiac}, Emory College’s yearbook. In 1894, Tsoong is listed (under his alias George H. Bell) as a

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\textsuperscript{41} Tsoong, Kia-tsing. Letter to Dr. Young John Allen, Dated December 4, 1893. MARBL
\textsuperscript{42} Tsoong, Kia-tsing. Letter to Dr. Young John Allen, Dated November 5, 1895. MARBL
\textsuperscript{43} Tsoong, Kia-tsing. Letter to Dr. Young John Allen, Dated November 5, 1895. MARBL
\textsuperscript{44} Tsoong, Kia-tsing. Letter to Dr. Young John Allen, Dated January 6, 1892. MARBL
\textsuperscript{45} Tsoong, Kia-tsing. Letter to Dr. Young John Allen, Dated January 6, 1892. MARBL
\textsuperscript{46} Various letters from Tsoong Kia-tsing to Dr. Young John Allen
\textsuperscript{47} Tsoong, Kia-tsing. Letter to Dr. Young John Allen, Dated July 4, 1894. MARBL
\textsuperscript{48} Tsoong, Kia-tsing. Letter to Dr. Young John Allen. Dated November 5, 1895. MARBL
\textsuperscript{49} Tsoong Kia-tsing. Letter to Dr. Young John Allen. Dated January 6, 1892. MARBL
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member of the Non-Fraternity Men’s Club. According to the 1896 edition of the Zodiac, Tsoong was a member of both the Western Club and Deutsche Geselschaft (the German Society). While Tsoong is also listed in several clubs his senior year, most of them are fake clubs, such as The Sons of Rest, that Emory students added to the yearbook to make it more interesting.

Tsoong was quick to make friends at Emory College. Tsoong and his roommate Nathaniel Thompson quickly became friends, though Nathaniel’s best friend at Emory was not Tsoong but Yun Chi-ho. Dr. Candler seems to have been fond of Tsoong because not only did he invite him to missionary talks and Methodist meetings, he was also one of Tsoong’s few known correspondents. Tsoong also quickly became a favorite of Mrs. Candler, who sought to look after him in a rather motherly fashion. When Tsoong became sick during his first winter holiday in America, she sent him dinner and constantly inquired after his health. Mrs. Candler was also the only person to give Tsoong a Christmas present, a pearl scarf-pin, that first year in America. Tsoong expresses virtually universal amity towards all of his classmates, roommates, and professors, but there is some evidence in the diary of his contemporary Yun Chi-ho that Tsoong may not have been as popular as he believed, or wanted to believe.

YUN AND TSOONG: YIN AND YANG

Yun Chi-ho’s account of Tsoong Kia-tsing’s character portrays Tsoong in a fairly unflattering light. Though Young John Allen described the two as “fast friends” who developed a close relationship at the Anglo-Chinese College, Tsoong and Yun were hardly friendly towards each other at Emory. Yun’s diary enumerates the deficiencies, as Yun saw them, of Tsoong’s character. Yun describes Tsoong as forward, claiming that he poked “his nose into everyone’s business, parading his by no means graceful appearance in all sorts of crowd.” He also writes that Tsoong claims a familiarity with all the boys at Emory, a “familiarity many do not relish.” While Yun claims that he is “far from harboring any positive antipathy toward him,” his diary describes Tsoong as a skirt-chasing, vain, obstinate, impudent spend-thrift [sic] who was perpetually jealous of Yun. Tsoong himself seemed unaware of his fellow student’s antipathy, repeatedly asking Doctor Allen to forward his missives to Yun and inquire as to why Yun had not yet responded to him. While Tsoong might have been oblivious, Doctor Candler’s wife, one of Tsoong’s closest allies on campus, noticed the pair’s chilly ties. On March 13, 1982, Mrs. Candler confronted Yun about his refusal to room or socialize with Tsoong, and claimed that “in a hundred other ways you [Yun] show there is an antipathy between you and him.” Yun does not refute these accusations and instead enlists the remainder of his

52 Tsoong Kia-tsing. Letter to Dr. Young John Allen. Dated March 6, 1892. MARBL
53 Tsoong Kia-tsing. Letter to Dr. Young John Allen. Dated March 4, 1892. MARBL
54 Tsoong Kia-tsing. Letter to Dr. Young John Allen. Dated January 6, 1892. MARBL
55 Tsoong Kia-tsing. Letter to Dr. Young John Allen. Dated January 6, 1892. MARBL
56 Allen, Young J. Letter to Dr. Candler. Dated July 09, 1891. MARBL
journal entry defining the key differences between himself and Tsoong.

Certainly she [Mrs. Candler] is very sharp, though I confess that I cherish not the least animosity toward Bell. Only there is too wide a difference between his temperament and disposition and mine. He is too cheeky: I am too sensitive. He loves company: I love solitude. He pokes his nose into everybody’s business: I mind mine only. He regards his impudence as a virtue: I carry my shyness to a fault. He tries to imitate every American manner: I hate any such ‘namaikishness….”

Certainly the differences in character between the two colored Yun’s perceptions of Tsoong. Yun Chi-ho was somewhat of a recluse. Seemingly his only campus activities involved the missionary cause and the Few Society. During his two years at Emory, he is not listed in the rosters of any of the clubs, real or imagined, represented in the Zodiac. Yun freely admits “there is only one boy in the college” that he feels comfortable calling by his given name: Brother Nathaniel Thompson. Indeed Yun had such a low opinion of himself that upon being elected president of the Few Society, he immediately tendered his “resignation from the chair on the ground that…the Society let their love override their judgement.” Yun’s attacks on Tsoong’s forwardness, especially with members of the gentler sex, almost reads as envy, particularly in light of Yun’s belief that his prospects for marriage while in America were non-existent because “no American girl of social standing, of education and of beauty would condescend to marry me.” Yun, himself comes off as more than a little girl-crazy in his diary, but I believe his lack of success in that area only fueled his jealousy of the more charismatic Tsoong, who apparently had more luck.

Jealousy is a two-way street and Tsoong Kia-tsing certainly had reason to envy Yun. Yun Chi-ho had already spent three years at Vanderbilt College in Tennessee and was already much further advanced in his studies. In contrast, Tsoong was new to America and he was forced to start at the pre-freshman level of education, meaning he had to spend six years at Emory in order to get his degree. Yun’s oratorical abilities not only gave him priority of place in Emory’s debate societies, they also ensured that he was constantly traveling to Atlanta and various other cities to advocate missionary work. In fact, when Tsoong first arrived at Emory College on December 8, 1891, Yun was not there to welcome him to Oxford, instead he had “gone to Atlanta to lecture,” leaving Tsoong virtually alone on campus, as it was Christmas break and most students and professors at Emory were already home. Tsoong eventually joined Yun in attending

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61 Tsoong, Kia-tsing. Letter to Young John Allen. Dated December 10, 1891. MARBL
missionary conferences and working as an itinerant preacher during the summer months, but it seems that Tsoong certainly envied Yun’s freedom in those first few years they were at Oxford together. Though there is no indication in Tsoong’s letters that he envied Yun, Yun reports in his diary that “He [Tsoong] gets blue over my success…and happy in my defeats…he seems to lose no chance for droppings [sic] some words there that tend to my discredit.”

I would argue that the single most important reason for Tsoong and Yun to be jealous of each other, however, is that they were the only two Asian students at Emory and that in a school with less than 300 boys there may only have been room for one of them. Both Yun and Tsoong felt pressured to carve out their own niche in college, and on top of the pressure to succeed academically and socially, they faced the added pressure of trying to distinguish themselves from each other. Thus, Yun’s success in academics and the Few Society would have increased his fame on campus, at the expense of Tsoong’s. Tsoong seems to have developed something of a younger brother syndrome while at Oxford, emulating and envying Yun all at the same time, because everything he did would always be compared to Yun’s achievements.

PREJUDICES

Surely Yun Chi-ho’s low self-esteem can be tied to prejudices both he and Tsoong Kia-tsing faced. Yun documents several instances of direct racism in which children refuse to play with him or reveal their malice in small, backhanded ways. In particular, one little girl, Lottie Berry, delighted in taunting Yun, following him around and repeating “I don’t like Mr. Yun” endlessly. Yun, however, also feels that his fellow students reject him because of his race, lamenting that,

None of the dozen secret fraternities has solicited my membership. This hurts me, not that I care to join any, but that the boys, in spite of their professed love and friendship for me, show their unwillingness to consider a Corean their equal—A disgrace, unutterable [sic]! This and any number of other quotidian slights, real or imagined, left Yun feeling very inferior and bemoaning his “contemptible nationality.” Yun seems to be very sensitive to any hint of a racial slight, but that is probably a result of his thoughtful nature and not an indication that students at Emory were more biased towards Koreans than Chinese. It is unlikely that Yun faced more racial prejudice because of his appearance as pictures of Tsoong and Yun show that Tsoong was by no means less foreign-looking.

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Tsoong does not document many cases of outright racism, but in nearly every letter he writes to Young John Allen he reassures Allen that “all the boys here like me and are very kind”66 or that “everything in Oxford goes on smoothly.”67 This constant reassurance that he is being treated well raises the question of whether Tsoong really encountered little racial prejudice or whether he really did not want Doctor Allen to worry about him. Upon arrival in America in December 1891, Tsoong was forced to remain onboard his ship for several days while customs officials analyzed his papers. Tsoong claims that the customs officer said “let all the Japanese went away, but keep all the Chinese on the steamer.”68 In fact, it seems that without the intervention of Mr. Masters, a Methodist friend of Young John Allen, Tsoong may have been detained for several weeks because of strict Chinese immigration laws passed in the 1880s. During his first sermon in Oxford, Tsoong observed that “all the boys laughed at [me] and their little blue eyes [looked] curios [sic].”69 Still, it seems that Tsoong does not usually perceive such behavior as racist. For example, at a benefit organized by Mrs. Callaway, Tsoong acquiesced to being dressed “as an Indian chief and...talking about poverty” while “begging and singing for dimes.”70 While Yun Chi-ho makes it clear that he found the display distasteful and racist, Tsoong does not express similar sentiments in any of his letters. It is possible that Tsoong found this and similar events beyond the pale, but there is no written evidence supporting that idea and Tsoong’s genial, if somewhat naïve, approach to new phenomena leads me to believe that, at least during his early years at College, Tsoong either ignored or was unaware of racist slights aimed at him.

Tsoong does, however, list several occasions where former missionaries and other guest lecturers give very culturally insensitive, if not downright racist, assessments of China. In particular, one Dr. D. L. Anderson, who came to lecture at Emory in late December of 1892, particularly distressed both Tsoong Kia-tsing and Yun Chi-ho. Dr. D. L. Anderson apparently said that “all China-man are liars,” prompting no few Emory students to ask Tsoong whether he was a liar.71 Tsoong felt very strongly that Dr. Anderson’s comments were counterproductive to the missionary cause and that the doctor’s only success at Emory was in planting a seed of doubt in his classmates’ minds as to whether Tsoong or Yun could be trusted. At this same time, Yun records a particularly distressing letter published by Bishop Key, a Methodist missionary who had just returned from China and Japan, in his diary,

‘Idolatry is devil worship and the superstitious fears of the Chinese, fostered and fed for ages by its observance, have emasculated them to the last degree. They are in perpetual “bondage unto fear.” I had no dream of the depths to which they had descended, or the paralysis which has fallen

66 Tsoong, Kia-tsing. Letter to Young John Allen. Dated December 24, 1891. MARBL
67 Tsoong, Kia-tsing. Letter to Young John Allen. Dated March 24, 1892. MARBL
68 Tsoong, Kia-tsing. Letter to Young John Allen. Dated December 10, 1891. MARBL
69 Tsoong, Kia-tsing. Letter to Young John Allen. Dated December 24, 1891. MARBL
upon them. China, as compared with Christian countries, is a thousand years behind in the race of national progress. Without railroads or post offices or schools or courst or laws or rational currency of her own, she is afloat like a great bulk without rudder or sail, drifting with wind and tide, and four hundred million souls on board. The Mongolian mind, naturally phlegmatic and unspeculative [sic], has grown stolid by these ages of repression and unbelief. Dullness of spiritual perception characterizes the Chinaman.\textsuperscript{72}

Tsoong was also very offended by this letter and expressed to Dr. Allen his profound disappointment that any missionary, particularly a seasoned missionary, would be so “short-sighted” and insensitive.\textsuperscript{73} While he does not address the Bishop’s use of racist language, his tone is clearly indignant and he even asks Allen to forgive him for his harsh words, which in comparison to Yun’s commentary seem quite mild. Tsoong usually maintains a fairly neutral tone in his letters, but in this missive he breaks with protocol in order to address racist rhetoric that has bled into the missionary cause. Bishop Key and Doctor Anderson were hardly the only missionaries who returned with negative reports about China. Yun recalls that the most numerous complaints from returning missionaries were “hard times” and cultural differences.\textsuperscript{74} Many missionaries sent to China felt ill prepared for the hardships they would confront there and left after only a brief time. While Young John Allen, Professor Bonnell, Brother J.C. Woodbridge, and other missionaries who embedded themselves in China for a number of years seem to have gained a favorable impression of the Chinese, many missionaries who dropped out early were much less favorably disposed to China and its citizens. Even seasoned Methodist missionaries used paternalist and sometimes-racist rhetoric in discussions on China. Even after Yun and Tsoong were in their late-20s, Allen continued to refer to them as “boys”.\textsuperscript{75} Additionally, calls to the missionary cause often referred to the Chinese as “heathens.”\textsuperscript{76}

RETURN TO CHINA

There is little written evidence about what happened to Tsoong Kia-tsing when he returned to China. Indeed the Emory archives only have one letter, dated November 5, 1897, from Tsoong after his return to Shanghai. While Tsoong was often a poor correspondent, it seems unlikely that Tsoong would have only written his mentor and friend Dr. Candler once after returning to China. I propose that further research would either yield new letters from later dates or a letter from Young John Allen describing what befell Tsoong Kia-tsing. As it stands, neither Yun Chi-ho’s journal entries, nor

\textsuperscript{73} Tsoong, Kia-tsing. Letter to Young John Allen. Dated January 8, 1893. MARBL
\textsuperscript{74} Yun Chi-ho’s Diary: 1890-1892. Vol. 2. National History Compilation Committee: Seoul, Korea, 1974. P. 382
\textsuperscript{75} Allen, Young John. Letters Bishop Candler. Dated July 09, 1891 and January 12, 1897. MARBL
\textsuperscript{76} Loehr, G.R. “From China.” Wesleyan Christian Advocate: Wednesday, January 13, 1892. Microfilm P.2
letters from Allen or Candler illuminate what happened to Tsoong after he settled back into life in Shanghai.

With certainty we know that Tsoong graduated in the spring of 1897 and that as of June 1897 Dr. Candler was trying to arrange his trip back to Shanghai. In Tsoong’s apparent last letter to Bishop Candler he documents the changes he sees in Shanghai and the arrangements being made for his work at the Anglo-Chinese College. His return was apparently cause for great excitement not only within his family, but among his missionary brethren as many of them, including Dr. Allen, “met me at the wharf and we had a jubilee time.” Tsoong seemed to have some trouble re-adjusting to China. After nearly seven years in America, Tsoong had become accustomed to Western cuisine and was forced to eat at Dr. Parker’s house, a fellow professor at the Anglo-Chinese College, house until he could recondition his stomach to eat Chinese food. Tsoong’s Western-style clothing became a topic of heated debate among the faculty of the Anglo-Chinese College, who were bitterly divided over whether Tsoong should continue to wear Western suits or if he should return to his traditional Chinese costume. This debate was actually sparked by changes that had occurred within China while Tsoong had been away.

There has been a wonderful change among the natives here in the way of their customs, manners, &c. all tending to the European style. So when a man wears the American clothes, they rather respect him more than he [sic] dislike him….Some years ago when one walks inside the city with foreign clothes on, hundreds of the Chinese will follow him and called him foreign devil &c. But there was no sign of excitement or curiosity when I passed inside the city with foreign clothes. In every respect there is a sign of gradual change.

Tsoong also reports that the Chinese government had begun construction on two new English schools, one each for boys and girls. This seems to have been a great boon for the Anglo-Chinese College because upon arriving Tsoong found the school so over-filled that Dr. Parker was unwilling to take on any new students. After updating Dr. Candler on his status within the College and the city-wide preparations for a missionary jubilee in honor of one of China’s longest serving missionaries, Yun closes his letter by promising to write the Candler family again soon.

That these later letters have yet to materialize, however, does not negate the importance of Tsoong Kia-tsing’s story. Tsoong was a true believer, who

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77 Candler, W. A. Letter to Young John Allen, Dated June 15, 1897. MARBL
78 Tsoong, Kia-tsing. Letter to Bishop Candler, Dated November 5, 1897. MARBL P. 1
79 Tsoong, Kia-tsing. Letter to Bishop Candler, Dated November 5, 1897. MARBL P. 3
80 Tsoong, Kia-tsing. Letter to Bishop Candler, Dated November 5, 1897. MARBL P. 3
81 Tsoong, Kia-tsing. Letter to Bishop Candler, Dated November 5, 1897. MARBL P. 3-4
82 Tsoong, Kia-tsing. Letter to Bishop Candler, Dated November 5, 1897. MARBL P. 5
83 Tsoong, Kia-tsing. Letter to Bishop Candler, Dated November 5, 1897. MARBL P. 4
84 Tsoong, Kia-tsing. Letter to Bishop Candler, Dated November 5, 1897. MARBL P. 7
stepped outside the bounds of his culture and society, in pursuit of a dream. Like most American immigrants, Tsoong came to this country seeking something more, something better than what he had in China and I feel that he found this and much more in his time at Emory College. At a time when financial hardship crippled most of the South, Tsoong was free to travel, study, and experience much of the Southeast. He also made lifelong friends with the President of Emory College and many professors and students, while fulfilling his goals to spread missionary zeal and information about China in America. Tsoong traveled more than 6,000 miles from home, on the strength of his dream to learn and preach the Gospel to improve his Chinese brethren. Even with the guidance of his mentor Young John Allen, this must have seemed less like a leap, and more like a dive, of faith.