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This paper traces the development of libraries in China, emphasizing the role missionaries played in laying the early groundwork of future progress. Inseparable from the development of libraries in China is the development of education. The paper demonstrates the link between missionaries, education, and libraries focusing on the nineteenth and twentieth centuries.

Religion has played a critical role in the continuing evolution of civilization. Two areas on which religion has had its greatest effect are the fields of education and library science. Even where religion is not directly associated with these institutions, it plays a subtle, but vital role in their development. Missionaries spread the faith and culture of their own societies, and over the years have often relied on the written word as a primary means of doing so. Perhaps nowhere has the work of missionaries been so crucial to the development of education and librarianship than in China.

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RELIGION, EDUCATION, AND LIBRARIES; THE IMPACT OF WESTERN
MISSIONARIES ON THE DEVELOPMENT OF CHINA

by
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Introduction

By the beginning of the 21st century, the National Library of China held approximately twenty-five million items, including some 270,000 volumes of rare books, 1.6 million volumes of general ancient books, and 35,000 pieces of scripted turtle shells and animal bones (Yanbo, 2003). Ranking fifth in size amongst world libraries, the National Library of China serves as the place of legal deposit for Chinese publications, contains the largest collection of Chinese materials in the world, and houses the largest collection of foreign language materials in China. Modeled after the ideals of access and service fundamental to Western library culture, the National Library of China is open 365 days a year to the public and boasts online access to services and resources 24 hours a day. In 2008, the National Library of China worked to develop software enabling the addition of 1.5 million records to OCLC's WorldCat database, further enhancing worldwide access to their collections (OCLC, 2008). The modern Chinese library system, as epitomized by the National Library of China, shares common ideology with Western library practices, cherishing the importance of open public access and user oriented services; but it was not always so.

The history of libraries in China can arguably be traced back to the Shang Dynasty (c.1560-1045 BCE), and for the vast majority of that time consisted almost

entirely of closed, private collections focusing on preservation, not access. The move towards open access only began to gain traction in the years following the first Opium War in 1842, as Chinese officials began to seek a greater understanding of the Western world in order to stave off future invasions. The transformation of China in the nineteenth and twentieth century from a nation steeped in imperial tradition, resting on the laudable laurels of their past, to a world power rivaling the United States was almost entirely a result of the political and military pressure brought to bear on the country as a result of the Western worlds' ascendancy to military and technological superiority in the eighteenth and early nineteenth century.

The changes taking place in China beginning in the latter half of the nineteenth century were not, however, a new phenomenon for a civilization thousands of years old. Throughout its history, China's longevity as a uniquely identifiable civilization can be largely attributed to their ability to assimilate foreign elements into their own national identity. Wars, immigration, and conquest altered the demographic makeup and cultural identity of the nation of China repeatedly throughout its history; empires rose and fell, and brought with them new ideals, preferences, and structures, which were forced on the population. Perhaps it is from the warring nature of early Chinese empires that the Chinese people became so adept at quickly adapting to drastic changes in their social and cultural heritage. The greatest example of Chinese assimilation of a foreign idea, however, is probably that of their acceptance of Buddhism. Though it was a gradual process occurring slowly over several centuries, Buddhism, initially seen as a threat to the Confucian mold, was nevertheless so completely assimilated into the Chinese culture

as to become inseparable from national identity. The Chinese mindset, then, when encountering foreign threats has historically been one of learning the nature of the threat in order to best incorporate the most agreeable tenets into its own national identity, turning the foreign in to the known, and changing a threat into a cultural strength.

In similar fashion, China in the mid-nineteenth century opened its eyes, or rather was rudely awakened, to the technological superiority of the Western world. Rather than withdraw into its own national history, however, China again chose to learn about their new rivals, so as to incorporate their strength into developing a stronger nation. While the major impetus for change may have been China's military defeats and weaknesses, coupled with political pressure brought to bear by Western nations, a more subtle power was at work beneath the surface, paving the way for the transition that was to take place. As with many of the great social changes in world history, religion asserted itself in China's transition by means of missionaries. From the early Jesuit missions of the sixteenth century to the later Protestant missions beginning in the 1830s, missionary work in China opened the way for the introduction, and made possible the assimilation, of Western knowledge. Their absence from the major histories indicates to a large extent just how subtle and gradual their influence was; yet without missionaries greasing the wheels of progress, China's development in the nineteenth and twentieth century would have been drastically altered. In no area is the impact of the missions more evident than in the development of Chinese librarianship from a traditional model of preservation and storage to a modern Western model of access, service, and education. The growth of libraries in China is linked inexorably to the development of education; which also saw

significant contributions by missionary societies. Thus, in a sea of drastic world change, of political, social, economic, technological, and military pressure on the world's oldest civilization, the subtle and gradual pressure for change embodied in the very presence of Western missionaries on Chinese soil paved the way for China's transition into the twentieth century, and served as what was perhaps the crowning achievement of missionary history.

Religion and Libraries in Antiquity

That religion played a significant role in the development of Chinese librarianship should, perhaps, not come as any great surprise. The relationship between religion and libraries is, after all, one of the oldest and most important in the history of library development. Libraries do not exist in a vacuum, and their development has not progressed absent the involvement and influence of outside institutions, ideas, and innovations; that libraries exist as part of a political, economic, and social context is inseparable from their function and growth. The strong historical relationship between religion and librarianship is evidenced by the very nature of many of the earliest collected texts and the motivations of efforts to keep, distribute, and promote those texts by religious authorities.

The earliest texts were largely religious in nature, as often religious leadership were among the few literate within a population. Religion was inseparable from politics in many ancient civilizations, as sovereigns frequently ruled by divine right, if they didn't claim to be divine themselves. The temple library in ancient Egypt, one of the earliest

forms of libraries for which evidence exists, likely began as a simple collection of sacred texts, possibly centered around the *Book of Thoth*, attributed to the Egyptian God of learning (Harris M. , 1999, p. 29). While the Greek and Roman civilizations brought the rise of secular libraries, religious repositories remained in force.

The second, and perhaps greater, tie between religion and libraries lies in the actions of religious authorities in attempting to promote their beliefs, often to the exclusion of others. In medieval times in Europe, monastic libraries were almost singlehandedly responsible for the preservation of texts through their libraries and scribal duties. The relegation of librarianship to religious orders, however, was not without its pitfalls. While monastic authorities were certainly concerned with the preservation of texts, the selection of those texts was not without bias. Works which proffered views not consistent with the understanding of the Church authority were often banned, censored, or destroyed. While imperfect in nature, monastic libraries nevertheless represented “the heart of Western learning for more than 1,000 years” (Harris M. , 1999, p. 103).

Historically, religion is responsible for the earliest libraries and, in the Western world, for the preservation and continuation of libraries in the darkest of times. By means of their controlling authority over the bulk of collected works during much of history, to the nature of the very texts themselves, religion is inseparable from the development of libraries; never more so than in ancient times. In the Western world, the relationship between religion and libraries has historically been very direct. In China, however, libraries initially developed primarily outside of any religious influence. The

influence of religion, then, becomes apparent in the work of missionaries in creating cultural exchange between China and the outside world.

Buddhism and Early Missionary Activity in China

The earliest working missionaries in China were not, in fact, Western, but Indian, and entered China with the intent of spreading Buddhism. In their successful conveyance of Buddhism to a China steeped in Confucian heritage, these early missionaries set the mold of mission work in China; a mold that later Western missionaries would use to spread Christianity and Western culture. The earliest Buddhist missionaries to China came from central India and settled in the capital city of the eastern Han dynasty of Loyang in the valley of the Hoang-ho and at the meeting of the great trade roads in the year 67 CE. There, they proceeded with their main task, translating into the Chinese language the Sutra of Forty-two Sayings, a “handbook of moral teaching which could give no great alarm either to Confucian-ists or to Taoists” (Saunders, 1923, p. 159). As part of their translation, the missionaries chose to frame the work in the Confucian model, beginning each paragraph in the style of the *Analects*, and omitting many of the more controversial aspects of Buddhism. Thus, the early Buddhist missionaries were aware of their status as outsiders, equipped with the knowledge that they were presenting foreign ideology to a cultural proud nation. Armed with this knowledge, they were prepared to take the necessary time in cultivating acceptance of their message.

Over half a century later, in 148 CE, the second mission arrived at Loyang, bringing with it Anshikao, the “Parthian Prince” (Saunders, 1923, p. 161). Anshikao’s

education and training provided him the tools necessary to continue and expand upon the work of translation begun by his predecessors. Over the course of twenty-two years spent in Loyang, Anshikao translated over one hundred and seventy-six works into Chinese, furthering the spread and assimilation of Buddhism in China (Saunders, 1923, p. 161). Over the next four centuries, the work of translation begun by the first two Buddhist missions in China would continue, ever so patiently building up the foundation of Buddhism in China. The use of translation in spreading foreign ideology would be used again by Christian missionaries, who learned from the patient example of their Buddhist forerunners, and their experiences elsewhere. In their slow yet persistent style of establishing Buddhism in China, however, these early missionaries provided an example of successfully penetrating the wall of cultural identity erected by the Chinese that would prove instrumental in later attempts.

Chinese Librarianship and Higher Education prior to 1800

While libraries in China can arguably be dated back to the Shang Dynasty, (c.1560-1045 BCE) these early libraries bore little resemblance to the concept of library known today. These earliest collections were almost entirely private, and public access was an unfathomable idea. Additionally, the small collections preserved in these repositories were unclassified, as providing ready access was not a concern of the keepers. The classification of materials in China began in the first century BCE, when a Confucian scholar broke down knowledge into a scheme of seven main divisions. Over the next two centuries, other scholars continued to toil with various classification models until, in the third century, the fourfold classification scheme was established. In the

fourfold scheme, knowledge was divided into the divisions of “Classics,” “Philosophy,” “History,” and “Belles-lettres.” The fourfold classification scheme would remain the most widely accepted classification model in China until the eighteenth century. Interestingly, the four divisions bear a remarkable similarity to Francis Bacon’s three divisions of “History,” “Poesy,” and “Philosophy;” derived from his three faculties of memory, imagination, and reason (Tsien, 1952, p. 308).

The next significant leap in classification did not occur until the eighteenth century, when the Manchu government ordered the creation of several compilations intended to capture the entirety of human knowledge. In 1725, Ch’en Meng-lei and Chiang T’ing-hai presented the *Ku chin t’u shu chi ch’eng* (Synthesis of Ancient and Modern Books) to the throne; an encyclopedia numbering 5,020 volumes and consisting of over one hundred million characters. The material was classified under 32 sections which existed under the six main headings of “Astronomy,” “Geography,” “Human Relationship,” “Art and Science,” “Literature,” and “Social Institutions” (Tsien, 1952, p. 315).

Higher education in China dates back as far as the Eastern Zhou dynasty. (771-221 BCE) By the time of the Tang dynasty (618-907 CE) there existed in China a variety of institutions of higher learning, the most preeminent of which was the Guo zixue, (School for the sons of the Emperor) which used Confucian texts as the basis for their curriculum. It was during this time that publically regulated examinations were established by the state, institutionalizing the use of meritocratic selection for entry into

the civil service. The classic works of Confucianism were later reorganized during the later Song dynasty (960-1279 CE) to create an established knowledge base; mastery of which was required for advancement within the civil service, with examinations segmented into provincial, capital, and palace levels. This system of imperial examination dominated Chinese education until the nineteenth century (Hayhoe, 1989, p. 54).

While the imperial examination system served as the dominating form of higher education for nearly the thousand years leading up to the nineteenth century, it was not the only form to exist. First appearing during the Tang dynasty, the Shuyuan, private academies or scholarly societies most often associated with Buddhist monasteries, provided an alternative to imperial institutions. The Shuyuan were generally fairly independent, often financed by privately held grants of land, and while they shared a similar generic identity as scholarly institutions, they did not benefit from any sort of group autonomy, such as was enjoyed by medieval European universities via papal charter. As such, the Shuyuan were frequently threatened by the imperial bureaucracy which desired to bring them into the examination system or, more simply, to eliminate them entirely. Additionally, the value of the Shuyuan was closely tied to the success and vision of whatever great scholar led it, and would often fall into decline when a particular master died or moved on (Hayhoe, 1989, p. 55). Though the Shuyuan existed for centuries alongside the imperial examination system, its style of education never seriously challenged the examination system for dominance.

The earliest Jesuit missionaries who arrived in China in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries were typically admiring of the state of education in China. Upon arriving in China, the Jesuits were readily absorbed by the imperial institutions, and were occasionally able to take positions within them. Befitting of their organization, the Jesuits wrote back to their offices in Europe “admiring accounts of a state which was ruled by the imperial university and its scholars, according to secular Confucian canons of reason and justice” (Hayhoe, 1989, p. 56).

The sixteenth century arrival of Jesuit missionaries sparked the beginnings of the second major importation of foreign ideology into China. Similar to the Buddhist missionaries of the first century, the Jesuits undertook a mission of translation of Western texts into Chinese in hoping to gradually win over and influence the minds of their intended converts. Between their arrival in the sixteenth century through the beginning of the nineteenth, the Jesuits in China translated over four hundred works, half of which regarded Christianity, a third related to science, and the rest dealing with Western institutions and the humanities (Tsien, 1954, p. 306). Thus, as the Buddhist missionaries had shown before, the Jesuits laid the groundwork for the use of translation in gradually bringing the ideology of Western civilization to the forefront of the Chinese mind.

China, 1800-1839

The early years of the nineteenth century remained a fairly quiet time in China; much like the calm that precedes a storm. The Qing dynasty, which had taken power in 1644, had adopted a defensive stance towards foreign influence, turning inward to their

own great history for inspiration and growth. That the empire had stood largely unchallenged for nearly the past two centuries gave China confidence in their superiority. The closing of China to the outside world, however, was not complete. The Jesuit mission, due to the successful negotiation of early treaties, existed within the country, primarily centered around Peking. Apart from the Jesuits, however, Western missionary activity was officially prohibited at the beginning of the nineteenth century, the same as the opium trade. At this time, the British East India Company monopolized all Anglo-Chinese commerce via the Portuguese port at Macao. The East India Company and opium runners, however, enjoyed resources which enabled the evasion of Chinese authorities; resources that the Protestant missionaries lacked (Malcolm, 1973).

With access to China by the missionaries severely limited, the earliest Protestant missionaries working in China turned to the written word to convey their message, both in China and the world back home. The first two American missionaries, Elijah Coleman Bridgeman and David Abeel, gained access to the port city of Canton in 1830. The American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions, however, had failed to send a printing press. David W.C. Olyphant, the head of Olyphant and Company, the American firm which had promised free passage and a years residence to the first missionaries, arranged for his church to donate a press, which arrived in Canton in 1831 (Malcolm, 1973, p. 166).

The press established by the first American mission was evocative of the other missionaries presses of the time; presses which operated outside of Chinese jurisdiction.

The first press to engage in translation work had been the London Mission Press, which had been established by Morrison and Milne at Malacca in 1818 in conjunction with the Anglo-Chinese College. This press was later transferred to Hong Kong, and then Shanghai (Tsien, 1954, p. 313).

The slow emergence of Protestant missions in the 1830s was a direct result of a significant change in China's trade, namely the dissolution of the East India Company's monopoly by the British in 1834. The elimination of this trading giant allowed independent merchants greater access to the China trade. Seeing their avenue, American missionaries formed unlikely alliances with private merchants to secure access to China. In the 1830s, there were two main missionary endeavors backed by private enterprise, each one with a different strategy for accomplishing their goals.

The Society for the Diffusion of Useful Knowledge in China (SDUKC) was formed as a publishing enterprise, meant to offer information about the West in the Chinese language. The pamphlets and periodicals produced by the Society were intended to impact the attitudes of the literate population of China toward the West. The hope was to reach as broad an audience as possible by means of mass publication and dissemination. While the Society did exert some influence, the nature of the mass produced materials served more as a source of information to relevant Chinese authorities, allowing for an enhanced ability to distinguish between the Americans and the British, as opposed to swaying them towards Western attitudes of thought. The strategy of the Society could be referred to as "diffuse Westernization," as the concept

was to broadcast the message “widely but with an inevitably minimal and unpredictable impact on individual response” (Harris P. , 1991, pp. 321-322).

In contrast to the diffuse method employed by the SDUKG, the second group believed that a more intensive strategy might be in order. This kind of strategy “would seek a maximal impact on a smaller audience” (Harris P. , 1991, p. 322). The main objective of such a strategy would be to produce a similar degree of expertise about the West in their audience, but to do so with them emerging fully indoctrinated, with knowledge from and information about the West along with a Western frame of reference. The method of achieving this goal was an English-language school, created in 1836 by the Morrison Education Society. Unfortunately, the schools’ growth and success was dramatically interrupted by the outbreak of the first Opium War in 1839. When the school reorganized at the conclusion of the War, it had largely lost the interest of its sponsors, and soon the school closed its doors. Even within its short life, however, the Morrison Society school turned out a number of highly successful students, including T’ang Ching-hsing, who became Compradore for Jardine, Matheson and Co. and a leading Chinese member of the Shanghai community, and Yung Wing, who left China with the schools’ headmaster, Samuel Robbins Brown, in 1846 and graduated from Yale in 1854 (Harris, P. , 1991, pp. 323-235).

The years in the beginning of the nineteenth century were fairly quiet in terms of missionary work in China, with only the Jesuits having a significant presence within China. The restrictions on foreign trade imposed by the Qing court, and the monopoly

enjoyed by the East India Company prior to 1834, severely limited the ability of Protestant missionaries to carry out their objectives. With the dissolution of the East India Company's hold on China trade, however, Protestant missions began to grow immediately, seizing the opportunity to spread their views in what had been unchartered territory. It was in the 1830s that missionary power began to shift dramatically from the Jesuits, who had come before and laid the groundwork, to the Protestants which would build on the legacy of translation and education left by the Jesuits and earlier Buddhists and begin, with the help of world events, to affect drastic change within China. Peter Fay writes of the decline of the Jesuits:

Once upon a time, the story goes, that Mission had been centered openly and proudly at Peking itself. There, deep inside the Middle Kingdom, Jesuit priests mingled freely with the literati, helped the Emperor with his cannon and his calendar, and in return were allowed to open churches, to preach, and to baptize, with such effect that in China as a whole the numbers of the converted approached a third of a million. But the Rites of Controversy, and the suppression of the Society of Jesus, reduced the flow of missionary recruits from Europe to a trickle while at the same time it destroyed the indispensable rapport between missionaries and the imperial court (Fay, 1970, p. 117).

In reality, however, the Catholic mission was only seriously setback within the confines of Peking. At the onset of the 1830s, the Catholics claimed approximately two hundred thousand converts served by a score of European missionaries supplemented with an even larger number of native priests. While the Protestants did become the driving force after the first Opium War, the Catholic mission did not vanish, but continued its work with the same methodical diligence as it had for two hundred years (Fay, 1970, p. 118). The landscape in Anglo-Chinese relations, however, was about to face a drastic change, as the upcoming war altered the balance of power and perceptions on both sides about the very nature of the other.

The First Opium War, 1839-1842

The First Opium War (1839-1842) has been the subject of a great deal of literature. One of the persistent themes in such literature is the inevitable clash of cultures. That war should naturally follow is pointed out by Hsin-pao Chang in the preface to *Commissioner Lin and the Opium War* when he writes, “When two mature cultures, each possessing its own peculiar institutions and values, come into contact, conflict of some kind is bound to arise” (Hsin-pao, 1964). Historians differ on the exact precipitating measure for the Opium War, but the general consensus appears to be that it was the result of a build up of tension between British traders and the Qing court. Fay suggests that “the conflict’s underlying cause was the unwillingness of the British to be treated, in their persons or in their property, as the Chinese were accustomed to treating the ‘barbarians’” (Fay, 1970, p. 116).

Protestant missionaries, though still relatively new in China and limited to restricted areas, nevertheless made significant contributions during the Opium War. There were 12 Protestant missionaries on the China coast in March of 1839; Abeel, Bridgman, Brown, Gutzlaff, Lockhart, Morrison, Parker, Roberts, Shuck, Squire, Stanton, and Williams. That there were 12 is a deceptively large number, considering that these missionaries were confined to the Macao and Canton areas. As the war got under way, these missionaries, who had learned the Chinese language, became useful to English officers as interpreters and de facto consuls. Their deeds are noteworthy: John Morrison translated for the Superintendency; Bridgman observed the destruction of the surrendered opium near Chuenpi; Parker excised tumours in his mission hospital; and

Gutzlaff went ashore with the regiments at Tinghai (Fay, 1970). Their main work in the transformation of China would come afterward, when both their ability to perform and the Chinese reception were greatly enhanced.

In August of 1842, the Treaty of Nanjing was signed, signaling the cessation of the First Opium War. The treaty gave free right of entry to foreigners to China's five major port cities, and ceded Hong Kong to British control. The Protestant missionary community grabbed at the opportunity to finally get a foothold within China, and the number of missionaries operating in the country rose rapidly following the signing of the treaty. More important to the development of China, however, was the recognition by Chinese officials of their embarrassment in falling so completely to the superior military might of the West. The British military's domination of Chinese forces changed the world by shining a light on the eyes of a stunned nation in China. The next hundred years would witness radical change in both China's perception of the West, and their own institutions as Western ideology began to be assimilated into the Chinese tradition.

Through the Sino-Japanese War (1842-1894)

In the wake of the First Opium War, the missionary landscape in China was remarkably altered from its previous character. After the Treaty of Nanjing, missionaries were able to enter China directly. An increasingly wide range of missionary societies began to seize the opportunity, and missionary activity in China grew rapidly in the latter half of the nineteenth century. As Jesuit missions dominated in earlier years, the period

following the First Opium War would be dominated by Protestant missionaries; who typically followed a similar style to their Jesuit predecessors, with a few minor alterations.

The Jesuits had emphasized the cultivation of government officials and the literati, those amongst the most influential members of Chinese society. The Jesuits, having established their model through prior missionary endeavors, believed that the most effective method of bringing China into the “greater glory of God was first to win favor with the heathen ruling class – the governmental officials, scholars, and other literati who were the mainstays of Chinese society and the Confucian ideal – and, then, by their conversion, secure the Christianization of the people at large” (Pappas, 1987, p. 168). In contrast, the later Protestant missionaries focused their attention on the more populous farmers, traders, and other less educated segments of society. Arthur Henderson Smith, a pioneer of the American mission in China, claimed the ninety-five percent of his auditors consisted of farmers, rebels, barbers, coolies, loaders, and yamen-runners. Smith held that “Christianity always and everywhere begins with the lowest stratum of society and works upward” (Pappas, 1987, p. 168). Thus, in contrast to the Jesuits top-down approach, the Protestants favored a bottom-up approach to spreading their doctrines.

In the period following the First Opium War, the missionary community in China most actively pursued two major cultural projects: the first being the translation and publication of Western works, especially religious texts, and the second being the

establishment of schools. Timothy Richard, a missionary from Britain, estimated that approximately half the adult male population living in Chinese cities could read, and promoted the use of publication as a method of conversion, a message that was further championed by other prominent missionaries, including Young John Allen, Calvin Wilson Mateer, and John Fryer. Fryer, in particular, was especially prolific and was responsible for the translation of over 170 titles including textbooks from mathematics to chemistry and popular works on history, political institutions, and western culture (Liao, 2006, p. 362). Fryer eventually became the secretary of a library at the Shanghai Polytechnic Institute and Reading Rooms in 1875, and founded the Chinese Scientific Academy and its library in Shanghai in 1901. Mateer, while engaged in the work of translation, was also a staunch believer in the role education had to play in the transformation of China. It was through education, which would include the availability of texts, that Christianity could be spread to every corner of the Chinese empire. Mateer believed that “not until the people who received Christian education controlled the Chinese government, business, and educational system could Christianity take root in China.” (Liao, 2006, p. 362) Hu Shi, a Chinese scholar educated in the United States, would later write:

It is not a disgrace for a nation to lack a navy; or to lack an army! It is only a disgrace for a nation to lack public libraries, museums, and art galleries. Our people must get rid of this kind of disgrace (Chow, 1960, p. 28).

In the end, as is ever the case, it was the successful merger of these two tactics that led so unerringly to China’s transformation. The work of translation, begun two hundred years earlier by the Jesuit mission, provided the groundwork within China to establish the church schools that would follow. The availability of translated text lent immediate

credibility and value to these church formed schools, allowing them to gain a foothold in what remained, at first, a reticent China.

The earliest translations served to introduce western culture and ideology to the first generation of Chinese library reformers, including Lin Zexu, Yao Ying, Xu Jiyu, and Wei Yuan. These prominent mid-century scholars began to develop a belief that understanding the Western world was paramount to staving off future Western invasions by reestablishing Chinese superiority. Following in the steps of the scholarly elite, the imperial government of the Qing dynasty began to send diplomats and scholars abroad to gather intelligence about the Western world while fulfilling diplomatic missions. That the imperial government was so conducive to responding to the scholarly community was a result of the disastrous defeat at the hands of Western military power in the First Opium War. The movement thus begun by these scholars and taken up by the government was known as “zhi yi,” and was based in the ideology of gaining an understanding of the West for the benefit of China (Liao, 2004, p. 163).

The missionaries, for their part, viewed the promotion of Western culture as essential to their work in China. Missionaries often believed that convincing China of the superiority of Western culture was an essential step towards gaining their acceptance of Christianity; the achievement of the latter could not occur without the former (Liao, 2006, p. 361). The work of missionaries in China at introducing Western culture has led to a discussion of the link between missions and cultural imperialism. Cultural imperialism is often viewed as the practice of promoting, spreading, or otherwise

injecting that culture of one nation into another. Historically, this practice has often followed military conquest, as part of the overall imperialistic framework. In recent times, the notion of cultural imperialism has often taken on negative connotations; the cultural subjugation of a people. In contemplating the role of missionaries in advancing cultural imperialism, missionaries have often been considered a sort of advanced guard for cultural conquest. The distinction that becomes important when considering missionaries in light of cultural imperialism is the implicit cooperation of the mission in the act of subjugation. Most often, it seems that the work of missions is not tied directly to the work of imperialism, but rather that the work of missionaries naturally acts as a kind of catalyst for cultural change. Paul Harris qualifies the role of missions by writing:

Even more important, “imperial culture” posits a link between missions and imperialism that is not tied to any specific, functional role that missionaries played in the larger operations of the Western powers. It thus makes it possible to recognize that functional autonomy of missions without seeing this as necessarily refuting their imperialistic character. Missionaries may be considered cultural imperialist regardless of whether they served as advance agents, subversives, propagandists, salespeople, or in any other particular way of use to other imperialists” (Harris, P. , 1991, pp. 311-312).

Thus we can recognize the integral role missionaries played in establishing the foundation of Western culture in China without necessarily linking them in a negative way to the work of imperialism that they may have embodied. Ruth Hayhoe writes that the “first important point to be made about the presence of these missionary institutions and the foreign models they represented on Chinese soil is that they were more symbolic of the threat of foreign domination than truly coordinated with forces of external economic and political exploitation” (Hayhoe, 1989, p. 60). Perhaps it was partly due to this separation between missionaries and the foreign governments they represented that

the Protestant missions of the nineteenth century were able to accomplish so much in light of the political and militaristic upheaval that shared the same time period.

The work of translation, which had been stepped up a great deal in the middle of the nineteenth century with the explosion of Protestant missionaries in China, served to promote an awareness of Western culture amongst the literate of Chinese society. Translated texts were actively circulated amongst its citizens and can be considered evidence of a form of librarianship previously unheard of in China. Additionally, some of texts that were being translated included accounts of Western libraries, which served as demonstrations of the cultural superiority of the West. Discovering that written descriptions of publically accessible libraries captivated the Chinese imagination, and as part of their overall strategy, it was not long after the signing of the Treaty of Nanking that Protestant missionaries opened the first mission libraries in China. Shanghai, in particular, became an early hub of church library activity, having been opened to incoming missionaries by the Treaty of Nanking. The first open church library of its kind, the Xujiahui Public Library opened in 1847 in Shanghai, followed closely by the Bibliotheca Zi-Ka-Wei and the Shanghai Municipal Council Library in 1851. While most of the early users of these libraries consisted of church membership and Western residents of the city, their visibility helped establish the validity of Western librarianship to a doubting Chinese population. In Beijing, the missionary community had, over the centuries of Jesuit presence, collected over 85,000 items in their private collections; a treasure trove of materials that, once opened to the public in the latter half of the

nineteenth century, helped spur the growth of schools and provided the foundations for later libraries (Liao, 2006, p. 363).

The second half of the nineteenth century also saw in China the establishment of the first Christian schools by missionary societies. The earliest of the Protestant colleges founded in China was Tengchow College, established by American Presbyterians in 1864. The American Episcopalian mission was not far behind, establishing St. Johns College in Shanghai in 1877 (Hayhoe, 1989). Prior to St. Johns, the Episcopalians had established the Boone Preparatory School in 1871, which later became a fully developed college. In the early years of these church schools, it was a struggle to recruit students, as the classical Chinese educational model of examinations and the emphasis on the classics remained dominant. (Wood, 1907, p. 85)

In 1861, however, the Qing government did begin to make concessions towards Western education by establishing the T'ung Wen Kuan, a language school created to train future personnel and translators for government services. By 1888, the school enrolled 125 students and an instructional staff of nineteen, which included eight of American, French, German, or English nationality. The school's library consisted of three hundred volumes written in Chinese, and more than seventeen hundred in foreign languages (Tsien, 1954, p. 316).

The dominant model of missionary schools established in the last half of the nineteenth century was that of the American liberal arts college. The schools established

by the missions were recognized for their programs in basic science, the arts, and social science. Notably, however, other strengths of these church schools included rural sociology, agriculture, journalism, and library science. One area of difference between the American model and that employed in China is that professional training was primarily done at the undergraduate level (Hayhoe, 1989, p. 58).

Despite resistance from a China that maintained a view of cultural superiority and remained rooted in the examination educational system, the later years of the nineteenth century were a significant time in the development of Christian colleges in China. In spite of the resistance they faced by the local population, Western missionaries were determined to establish a system of Western education in China, convinced that the bringing of modern science and thought to the Chinese would aid the cause of Christianity. In 1877, Bishop Schereschewsky asked, "If education has been an element of such importance in establishing Christianity in the West, have we any reason to believe that it will be a less powerful agent in establishing Christianity in the East?" (Liu, 1960, p. 73)

An American missionary from the New Albany Theological Seminary, William A.P. Martin, was responsible for a critical restructuring of the Tongwen Guan Library in 1877. Martin was noted for both his enthusiasm and drive to acquire books, and also his commitment and desire to create a library that was convenient for its users. From 1880 to 1882, Martin traveled on a seven-country tour commissioned by the imperial court to observe foreign education systems, during which he took note of the user oriented

services provided by the school libraries. Upon his return to China, Martin worked to ensure that the Tongwen Guan library emphasized relevance and accessibility, such that items were available to faculty and students, and a reading room was created to provide a place for users to peruse newspapers and magazines in a variety of languages. What made these achievements even more notable was their existence in an imperial institution. The Tongwen Guan was the earliest example of Western library practice to exist within the structure of the imperial government, following in the example of the missionary libraries which preceded it (Liao, 2006, pp. 366-367).

From the Chinese perspective, Wang Tao was a scholar who studied closely with the Protestant missionary community, and became one of the first Chinese scholars to travel abroad to study Western culture. In the 1860s, Tao traveled to England for two years, where he became a prolific writer about his experiences there. After returning to China, Tao published many of his works, many of which recounted his visits to the British Library and the library at the University of Edinburgh. Among the observations that frequented his works was his astonishment at finding that these libraries were open to the public (Liao, 2004, p. 163).

Perhaps the most influential Chinese scholar of the late nineteenth century, however, was Zheng Guanying. If the First Opium War served as the wake up call to the Qing government, it was only the first of many. The latter half of the nineteenth century was filled with additional conflicts between East and West, with the West continually demonstrating their superiority over a China that seemed incapable of defending itself

The ideology of understanding the West, *zhi yi*, which became policy following the First Opium War, was fairly quickly replaced by a philosophy of *shi yi*, or learning from the West as a teacher. The resultant political movement became known as the Self-Strengthening Movement, and was the catalyst which provided scholars like Wang Tao and Zheng Guanying the ability to travel to Western lands in search of knowledge. The difference between the two movements is, perhaps, subtle but it represents a critical difference in Chinese thought. The difference lies between understanding the West through Chinese mastery and gaining understanding of the West by submitting to its teachings. The prior *zhi yi* philosophy maintained a sense of Chinese superiority, allowing that there were aspects of Western civilization worth learning, but assured of the native ability of the Chinese to learn it. The *shi yi* philosophy, and the resultant Self-Strengthening Movement represented a leap forward in progressive thinking, allowing for the idea that there was value to respecting the West as a teacher. Still, the Self-Strengthening Movement was not a complete leap forward, suffering from a conceptual flaw. The movement was, above all else, characterized by an emphasis on Western *things*, particularly modern weaponry and technology. Moreover, it stressed these aspects to the exclusion of Western ideas in an attempt at preserving Chinese cultural superiority. Despite the official emphasis on things over ideas, the ability for Chinese scholars to visit and learn from the West nevertheless created a group of prominent thinkers that would begin to lay the groundwork for future reform (Liao, 2004, pp. 164-165).

Zheng Guanying learned English from the prominent British missionary John Fryer. In working with Fry, Zheng gained an appreciation for the work of translation and the importance of library systems within a society. As a respected scholar, Zheng argued that the growth of China's commerce and industry was dependent on political and educational reform. In framing his argument for these broader reforms, Zheng focused on difference between modern Western librarianship and the traditional Chinese model, and the need for comprehensive reform there. Zheng's argument for library reform was centered upon four main points. First, Zheng was extremely critical of the library as had historically existed in China. These libraries, which served almost exclusively as private repositories, served only their owners: collectors who sought to preserve their texts, with no regard for access or circulation. Zheng argued that these collections were useless and without public benefit. Second, he emphasized the services and values exemplified by libraries in Western Europe, specifically within Britain, France, and Germany. Third, Zheng commented on the relationship between the modern library and education. He suggested that an ideal system of education was supported by three pillars: public schools, newspapers, and open libraries. In support of his argument, Zheng provided examples of Western scholarship which had been made possible by access to academic libraries. Finally, Zheng exhorted the Qing government to create modern libraries in order to advance both Western and Chinese learning, arguing that "only when the Chinese people had access to such resources...could they become informed and capable of making China as powerful as the West" (Liao, 2004, pp. 165-166).

While the events of the second half of the nineteenth century went a long way towards advancing librarianship in China, significant reform continued to meet with resistance. Zheng's arguments, though insightful and respected, failed to garner sufficient support within the Qing government to create significant impact. Resistance to such comprehensive reform was grounded in three main areas. First, missionary influences on librarianship were somewhat minimized by Chinese resentment towards Christianity. Certainly, the missionary community had made great strides in China after the First Opium War, but thousands of years of Confucian tradition, which stood opposite the major tenets of Christianity, could not be so easily erased. Second, the Chinese had a long standing tradition of librarianship which had seemingly served them well for centuries. In this tradition, libraries were firmly entrenched as repositories for the storage and preservation of texts, not as places to facilitate access and circulation. Scholars, both foreign and domestic, began arguing against this model in the nineteenth century, but tradition, as before, is not easily changed. Finally, arguments in favor of library reform stemming from observations of Western models met with significant resistance because the Qing court and China's intellectual elite continued to hold a belief in China's cultural supremacy. While the First Opium War and following engagements with the West in the nineteenth century hammered home the advancements that the West had made technologically and militarily, China still valued their rich cultural heritage to the point of dismissing the value of foreign ideas.

While the years between 1842 and 1894 may not have witnessed significant library reform accepted by the Qing government, the period remained vital in the

transformation of China. The influx of Protestant missionaries following the Treaty of Nanking allowed for the rapid expansion of translation activities and the establishment of church schools which served to demonstrate the ideals of Western education. The growth of the Protestant missionary community was staggering; in 1872 there were a few hundred missionaries operating in China, a number which reached nearly 1,300 by 1890 (Pappas, 1987, p. 167). The embarrassing defeats suffered by the Chinese at the hands of superior Western firepower led to a gradual acceptance and desire to learn from the West, if on limited terms. The combination of Chinese willingness to learn and the missionaries desire to cultivate led to the development of native Chinese scholars with an understanding and appreciation of Western library models. Thus, in the years leading up to the Sino-Japanese War in 1894, the groundwork was laid for future reform.

Through the People's Republic (1894-1948)

The Sino-Japanese War in 1894 was the culmination of a series of conflicts as it pertains to China's acceptance of Western domination. Less than six months after declaring war on China in 1894, Japan had defeated the Qing imperial army, conquered most of the major cities in Northeast China, and had threatened to attack Beijing. The Treaty of Shimonoseki, which ended the war, resulted in China paying a massive indemnity, the opening of additional treaty ports, and the granting of privileges to Japan for creating industries in China. China's humiliating defeat at the hands of Japan consequently encouraged Western powers to make increasingly egregious demands of access and trade benefits. The Self-Strengthening Movement, which had limited its scope to the learning of Western technology and material goods collapsed in a heap of

indignity, opening the door for true reform. The Qing court, and China's educated elite, in light of half a century's worth of defeats at the hands of Western powers, began to reconsider their belief in Chinese cultural superiority and gave way to a "national reform of China's own sociopolitical institutions based on Western ideas of government" (Liao, 2004, pp. 166-167).

Similar to the beginnings of reform shown by Zheng Guanying with the Self-Strengthening movement, library reform became a centerpiece of the broader educational changes advocated by reformers. As Zheng had spearheaded the charge for reform in the previous movement, the leader of reformist thought after the Sino-Japanese War became a Chinese scholar named Liang Qichao. Acknowledging the growing influence of the West, Liang decided to increase his knowledge of both Chinese and Western learning by studying under Kang Youwei, a connected and influential professor, and advocate for reform. Taking up his teachers' mantle, Liang quickly developed as a leading and vocal advocate for institutional reform, which had as one of its highest priorities libraries. Following in the logic first established by Zheng Guanying, Liang argued that modern libraries were essential components of a successful education system, and that without access to such libraries, China could never surpass the scientific and technological achievement of the West, nor cultivate the necessary political and social outlook for creating a modern nation. Ultimately, then, according to Liang, "all institutional reforms came to depend on the creation of modern libraries" (Liao, 2004, pp. 167-168).

Liang Qichao's argument proved more persuasive than Zheng Guanying's, in large part due to the changes in mentality that had occurred as a result of the Sino-Japanese War. Liang had the advantage of being an accomplished scholar within the traditional Chinese system prior to his advocacy of reform, which made him more popular with the traditionalist within the court. In addition to advocating reform via publications and through official channels, Liang worked to demonstrate the viability and effectiveness of the models he was suggesting. In cooperation with Kang Youwei, Liang Qichao founded the Qiang Xue Hui (Study Society) in 1895, with the primary purpose of educating the intellectual elite of China. It was hoped that the court officials and scholars educated by the Society would spread reform minded ideas to the court and high offices of the government. As a cornerstone of the Society's plans, Liang ensured that one of the first tasks was the opening of a public library. A persuasive man, Liang was able to collect significant contributions from scholars, government officials, bookstore owners, and foreign ambassadors for his library. Though the Qiang Xue Hui, and its library, was closed after a short time in 1896 for being just a little too aggressive in disseminating reform ideology, its structure provided the model for the Guan Shu Ju. (Official Book Bureau) Sun Jianding, who had been the Minister of State Affairs, created the Bureau with the idea of stimulating interest in Western civilization through the operation of its library. He had been impressed by Liang's management of the Qiang Xue Hui, and was able to inherit the collection Liang had developed when the Bureau opened. Sun Jianding later became the president of the Beijing Metropolitan University in 1898, and transferred the collection to the university library (Liao, 2004, pp. 168-169).

The establishment of the Beijing Metropolitan University (Shi Da Xue Tang) in 1898, with its library modeled on the Western ideals of open access and user services, marked the culmination of the change undergone in imperial China in the latter half of the nineteenth century. The University was the first comprehensive public university in China, and was created to serve a growing program of public higher education. The University library (Jing Shi Da Xue Tang) served as the model for future Chinese academic libraries; six universities modernized their library collections based on the Metropolitan University Library between 1909 and 1918 (Liao, 2004, p. 171). The Foreign Dean of Faculty at the University was a familiar persona in William A.P. Martin, the American Missionary who had restructured the Tongwen Guan Library in 1877. Upon accepting the new post at the Metropolitan University, Martin resigned as president of Tongwen Guan and merged its library into that of the new University (Liao, 2006, pp. 367-368). Following the tradition of the Tongwen Guan, a translation school was established as part of the Metropolitan University in 1903, the I Hsueh Kuan, which boasted an initial enrollment of 120 students (Tsien, 1954).

The growth of education, specifically missionary controlled education, from the end of the nineteenth through the middle of the twentieth century was phenomenal. During this time period, Christian colleges were the most advanced educational institutions in China. In the years between 1882 and 1912, at least 12 institutions of collegiate rank were established by Protestant missionaries, mostly American (Liu, 1960). When the imperial examination system, which had remained dominant in Chinese education for centuries, was abolished in 1905, missionary schools became even more

popular. By 1925, there were at least 14 Christian colleges in major Chinese cities. The Protestant colleges in 1920 enrolled 2,017 students, compared to 23,334 students enrolled in China's national education system in 1917. As a result, Protestant missions were responsible for almost ten percent of the educational activity within China (Hayhoe, 1989). Including non-collegiate level schools, the picture grows even more astonishing. Towards the end of the nineteenth century, over one thousand schools operated by American missions shared total enrollment of over 20,000 students. By 1921, more than eighty percent of the students enrolled in Chinese universities had been educated, at least in part, by Christian schools (Liao, 2006, p. 362).

Furthering the cause of library reform in China was the spread of Western classification schemes in the early twentieth century. The fourfold scheme, which had dominated Chinese librarianship in China, started to meet with challenges as Western ideas of library practice began to gain ground. The Dewey Decimal System was introduced to China at the beginning of the twentieth century, and was first adopted in 1907 for the Western collection at the North China branch of the Royal Asiatic Society's Library at the recommendation of Dr. Bolton of the Boston Athenaeum. In 1929, the United States Library of Congress system was introduced in the Chinese *Library Science Quarterly*. The majority of institutions began adopting either the Dewey Decimal or Library of Congress system for use in their Western language collections while continuing to use the fourfold scheme for their Chinese language collections, playing to the strengths of each system and the inherent nature of works written in different languages (Tsien, 1952).

The change in thinking that occurred at the beginning of the twentieth century in China is exemplified in the work and accounting of the Episcopalian mission and the establishment of the Boone College Library. Boone College grew out of the Boone preparatory school established in Wuchang in 1871. Prior to the Sino-Japanese War, it, along with other missionary schools, struggled in establishing itself among the local population. After the War, however, the school became very successful, even having to establish a waiting list, as they were unable to accommodate the demand. Wuchang is located 600 miles up the Yangtze River, opposite Hanikow, which by 1907 was the largest tea port in the world and a major trading center of Middle China. Mary Wood, an Episcopalian missionary working in Wuchang at the beginning of the twentieth century wrote:

Under the old regime Wuchang was a center of learning, for here one of the great examination halls was located, where sometimes between 20 and 30 thousand competitors gathered from all over this section of China to try the great triennial examinations for Chinese degrees. Now by the Emperor's edict, this ancient system of examinations, which has existed in some form since several centuries before the Christian era, has been done away with for all time, and Western methods of teaching have been adopted in all the government schools of prominence throughout the empire (Wood, 1907, pp. 84-85).

Through her written word, we can glimpse the impact of the abolishment of the examination system. The new building for the Public Library at Boone College had its cornerstone laid in June of 1909, and was to be among the first and finest libraries of its kind in China. In his account of the day, S.H. Littell remarked in a letter home that the "dark clouds which overhung the city that day did not obscure the vision of those who look upward and know what this event signifies; nor could the torrents of rain which fell during the ceremony dampen the ardor of any one present" (Littell S. , 1909, p. 851). It is remarkable to glimpse the zeal with which missionaries sought to bring libraries and

education to China at the turn of the century. Littell goes on to write about how “the idea of a circulating library is a new thing, even in this land where learning is sought and venerated,” and mentions that “the very character for ‘library’ in Chinese means ‘a place for hiding books.’” He continues, “Boone Library will not conceal its wisdom on dusty shelves, but will let its light so shine before men that they may glorify our Father which is in heaven” (Littell S. , 1909, p. 852). The Boone Library had a collection of 3,000 volumes which substantially contributed to the learning of the College’s students. Mary Wood, in a letter read at the 1907 American Library Association meeting in Asheville, North Carolina, wrote:

In the city of Wuchang one can see in all its fullness the great educational changes through which this ancient country is at present passing. The Viceroy has opened here about 100 schools. He has put up between 20 and 30 foreign buildings, and equipped them with school furnishing from Japan...Even the historic old examination halls, to which I have just alluded, which in the past were held in such reverence that they were set apart and never used for any other purpose, now simply take rank as one of the many schools of Western learning...There are about 8,000 students in the city, and the place has the appearance of a university town (Wood, 1907, p. 85).

The establishment of the Public Library at Boone College was viewed by the Episcopalian mission as a major step forward in bringing their message to the Chinese people. Dr. W.A.P. Martin, the outspoken and prominent missionary, commented when discussing the subject that “if a circulating library can be started it will introduce a new force, which, like radium, will shine in the dark without being exhausted” (Wood, 1907, p. 86).

While the missionary community in China after the First Opium War was dominated by Protestant missions, it is important to remember that Catholic mission

remained a viable force in the country, even if relegated to a secondary role. French Jesuit activities at the turn of the twentieth century mirrored those of their Protestant brethren, though the two groups were nominally competing with one another to bring salvation to the Chinese empire. The vision to establish a university of such caliber to enable Chinese scholars to keep up with those in America and Europe was, surprisingly, not natively theirs, but rather came from a Chinese ex-Jesuit, Ma Xiangho. Xiangho contributed significant segments of his family property to the Jesuits for the purpose of creating l'Universite l'Aurore in 1903. L'Aurore grew rapidly into a distinguished French Catholic institution with faculties of law, engineering, and medicine. Its graduates were noted for their abilities, but were also limited somewhat by their inherent conservatism and respect for the authority of the Jesuit order (Hayhoe, 1989).

Another significant Catholic institution was established in Beijing in 1925. Furen University was created under Papal charter and was meant to lead the Catholic school system in China. After strenuous debate, English was selected as the primary language of instruction at the University, and American Benedictines were offered the leading role in instruction. This move represented the decline of French religious and political influence and the rise of American education. Contrary to l'Aurore, Furen University more closely resembled in structure and function an American Liberal Arts college than a French institution or the Grande Ecole (Hayhoe, 1989).

Beijing in 1921 was a center of the Chinese empire, and a focus of missionary activity in the country. At that time, between 5,000 and 5,500 Christians lived in the city,

depending on whether you consult church records or official census reports. There were 95 mission schools in the city, including a university for men and women. Specialized schools included a medical school for women, nurse and Bible training schools, and a school for commerce and finance. It is reported that the total number of students enrolled in Protestant schools in the city in 1921 was 5,827. Almost half of the 188 missionaries and over half of the Chinese workers assisting them were primarily engaged in educational work (Gamble, 1921, p. 381).

The largest of Beijing's libraries in 1921 was the Beijing Public Library, which was devoted to old, rare, and classical works. The Library held a collection of over 100,000 volumes, which could not be checked out due to the rare and valuable nature of so many of works. The texts could, however, be copied at a cost of 50 cents per volume. In the written analysis of a survey of Beijing conducted by the Young Men's Christian Association, Sidney Gamble writes of the Beijing Public Library:

A tea or rest room is furnished for the readers in this and all the other Peking [Beijing] libraries. Smoking and talking are not allowed in the reading rooms, but are permitted in the tea room where hot tea is supplied by the servant...In connection with the library there is also a small newspaper and magazine reading room where some ten different publications are on file (Gamble, 1921, p. 154).

This account provides an image of Chinese librarianship in 1921 that is trikingly similar to the Western model. This version of libraries that differs radically from the traditionally Chinese in favor of ideas favored by the West. This contrasts readily with examples of Chinese libraries from just a few decades earlier, at the end of the nineteenth century, during which ideas of public access and user convenience were limited primarily to mission libraries.

Another of the larger libraries to exist in Beijing in 1921 was the Central Park Library. Established by the Board of Education near the Temple of Five Grains in Central Park, the Library housed approximately five thousand volumes, including text from both ancient and modern times. Though smaller in size than the Beijing Public Library, the Central Park library enjoyed wider usage, as materials were available for circulation. The Central Park Library also appealed more to the general population, housing popular materials; in contrast to the Beijing Public Library, which focused on historic, and rare text of scholarly value. Gamble gives an overview of the budget and salaries of the Central Park Library, which provides an interesting perspective of librarian valuation:

There are some six librarians and officials connected with the library besides three clerks, six servants and two policemen. The librarians receive from \$20 to \$40 a month, the clerks \$12 a month, servants \$5-\$7, and the policemen \$9. The monthly budget paid by the Board of Education amounts to \$500 (Gamble, 1921, p. 155).

Even taking inflation into account, it is enlightening to see a library budget from 1921 with which to contrast budgets of today.

In terms of education, Beijing in 1921 continued to be a center for educational institutions in China. The Beijing University, which had continued to grow and expand from its earliest inception, had undergone a reimagining in 1915. This restructuring did nothing to diminish its size, collections, or prestige; rather it further broadened the scope and reach of the University by absorbing four additional Christian institutions of higher learning. The University in 1921 was an amalgamation of the original University, which had seen its beginnings in a Methodist school founded in 1888, the North China Union

College, originally established by the American Board Mission in 1889, the North China Union Theological School, and the North China Union Women's College. The North China Union Women's College was the first college for women in China, opening in 1905. Notably, in 1909 the college awarded the first full college diploma ever given to a Chinese woman within China (Gamble, 1921, p. 381).

The first half of the twentieth century saw radical library reform within China, as prior notions of cultural supremacy gave way to the rising tide of reform-minded, Western educated scholars who influenced the Qing government in the aftermath of half a century of embarrassing defeats at the hands of Western powers. Libraries transformed from closed, dusty repositories for the private preservation of text to places open to public access focusing on the ideals of user services, relevance, and accessibility. What began in the nineteenth century as part of the inherent cultural imperialism of Protestant missionaries flooding into China, in the translation and publication of hundreds of thousands of texts, and in the establishment of church schools and libraries by those same missionaries, culminated in a Chinese library system that, by the halfway point of the twentieth century, was modeled on that of the United States, down to the use of the Dewey Decimal and Library of Congress classification schemes for non-Chinese language texts. All that, however, was going to change.

World War II had a widespread and lasting impact on the entire globe, and China was not spared. The rise of communism, and the People's Republic of China would drastically alter the future development of library systems in China, as East and West

again aligned on opposite ends of the political spectrum, placing at odds the relationship of China with the United States; as the Soviet Union, communism, and the many fronts on which that struggle was engaged, took its toll on future growth. In contrast to the first half of the twentieth century, which saw rapid and sustained growth towards an ideal of librarianship, the latter half of the twentieth century would be a turbulent upheaval of both the traditionally Chinese and the influences of Western civilization.

The People's Republic through the Cultural Revolution (1948-1966)

The establishment of the People's Republic of China on October 1, 1949 hailed the beginning of a drastic shift in the direction of Chinese development. Despite the significant change which accompanied the new government, the transition was notable for the tolerance with which the Western missionary community was treated. While the missionary community in China in 1949 was hardly consolidated, consisting of Catholics, Protestants, fundamentalist, modernists, pro-Nationalists, and pro-Communists, it was, however, readily distinguishable to the Chinese; it was foreign, Christian, possessed of significant property and other interests, and attempting to actively spread its faith. Inseparable from the notions of cultural imperialism, the missionary community in China in 1949 was a recognized symbol of foreign governments which were hostile to the newly established PRC. In the culminating years of the 1940s, as the Communist Party in China was attempting to consolidate its hold over the country and establish its new government, its leadership was determined that the process should proceed as rapidly as possible. Thus, their policy was to create the broadest possible unified front of support, which included minimalizing resistance within the missionary community. A community

which, if raised, held not insubstantial persuasive power within China at this time. When the Red Army took over power in 1949, missionaries reported the transition as both peaceful and structured. Red Army commanders in some areas even requested the aid of local missionaries to prevent disorder, while missionary hospitals tended wounded soldiers. In Linhsien, in particular, missionaries were awarded a banner of commendation for their work during the transition (Tucker, 1976).

This policy of missionary acceptance was short lived, ending dramatically with the outbreak of the War to Resist U.S. Aggression and Aid Korea (Korean War) in 1950. In the spring of 1950, American missionaries in China began to face charges of espionage and sabotage as relations between the United States and China soured. On December 29, 1950, just less than two weeks after the U.S. government froze Chinese assets in America, the PRC ordered all Christian organizations in China to sever their ties with American mission boards (Tucker, 1976, p. 114). In addition to the War in Korea, the United States in the 1950s and 1960s supported the Kuomintang in Taiwan, which stood opposed to the PRC. The confrontational opposition between the United States and China after the establishment of the PRC drastically altered the landscape of cultural exchange taking place within the country. Where Western culture, and specifically American ideology, had shaped China's growth in the beginning of the century, a new power would be brought to bear in the time between 1949 and 1966.

The vacuum left by the dissolution of good ties between China and the United States was to be filled by the Soviet Union, the largest and most powerful of the post-

World War II communist nations. In 1949, Mao Zedong declared that “all Chinese without exception must lean either to the side of imperialism or to the side of socialism...Internationally, we belong to the side of the anti-imperialist front headed by the Soviet Union, and so we can turn only to this side for genuine and friendly help, not to the side of the imperialist front” (Yu, 2001, p. 254). Thus originated the “lean to one side” policy which became entrenched on February 14, 1950 when China and the Soviet Union signed the Treaty of Friendship, Alliance, and Mutual Aid.

Within the field of librarianship, the switch of allegiance and cultural exchange from the United States to the Soviet Union had a significant and immediate impact. The dominant model of American librarianship which had been established under the influence of the Protestant missionaries was discarded for the Soviet model, which was more forced into acceptance than the American model had been. Libraries were re-shelved with works important to the communist cause, including especially the classic works of Marx, Engels, Lenin, Stalin, and the numerous publications of Mao Zedong. At the same time, the PRC banned books which were deemed harmful to their cause, including works which referred positively to capitalism, feudalism, idealism, imperialism, and individualism. Even in the absence of forced alterations in collections, Chinese libraries were forced to pursue Soviet collection development simply due to the unavailability of Western texts during a period of strict trade embargos between the U.S. and China (Yu, 2001, p. 255).

Continuing governmental pressure to switch from an American model to the Soviet model is evidenced by the Anti-Rightist struggles which began in 1957, and served to reduce freedoms of speech enjoyed by critics of the changes taking place. In the 1950s, the majority of librarians and library scholars in China had been educated in and by Western models, and had come to support the work being done in that system. Their professional competencies were based on a framework of Western librarianship which had suddenly become, not only unpopular, but nearly treasonous to the ruling party. Those that spoke out, however, faced increasing persecution, leading many library professionals to keep quiet, and do what they could to ensure that their institutions remained as effective as possible. The Soviet Union played a crucial role in ensuring that their ideas of librarianship were introduced in China, sending experts on missions to re-educate professionals in China (Huanwen, 2001, p. 44). Russian publications grew rapidly in this time, while Western resources became increasingly rare and difficult to obtain. In addition to collections and theory, in the late 1950s China officially adopted the Soviet classification model; a model, which like the ancient fourfold model of traditional China, was divided into four classes of Marxism-Leninism, social sciences, natural sciences, and generalia (Yu, 2001, p. 256).

During the 1950s, the National Library of China entered into several exchange programs with Soviet libraries in an attempt to broaden their collection of Russian language materials. Approximately a hundred thousand volumes a month were sent from the Lenin State Library in Moscow, the library of the Academy of Sciences of the U.S.S.R. in Leningrad, and the Social Science Library of the Academy of Sciences in

Moscow to the National Library of China. In 1949, the National Library of China held approximately 4,163 Russian language texts, representing a scant 1.5% of the total collection; compared to 163,126 Western language texts, representing almost 56%. By 1958 Russian language materials at the National Library of China accounted for nearly 60% of that years collection. By the end of the decade, Russian language materials were the largest foreign language segment at the Library, and represented a close second to Chinese language materials (Yu, 2001, pp. 261, 263).

The years of Soviet influence over Chinese institutions, however, were to be short lived. In the early 1960s, Chinese leaders began to question Soviet communism, believing that the Soviet Union had transformed from the ideals of Marxism/Leninism to a more revisionist model. At the time of the Cuban Missile Crisis in 1963, relations between the two nations were strained to the point of breaking. The dissolution probably would have occurred even earlier, except for a three year period of ecological disaster in China beginning in 1953. By 1965, however, the Soviet Union had withdrawn its experts from their missions in China and compelled China to settle its debts. It was, perhaps, partially in response to this betrayal by the Soviet Union that China undertook a period of social revolution which would ultimately stagnate their evolution, and leave scars which would take years to heal.

The Great Proletarian Culture Revolution (1966-1976)

China is possibly the only nation to willfully dismantle their entire system of education in an attempt to establish a new system more suited to the ruling party. This

might be hailed as a remarkable achievement, had it succeeded. Instead, all universities in China were essentially shut down for a period of five years beginning in 1966; wiping out a century of progress. The period between 1966 and 1976 saw the cultural isolation of China, as it looked inwards for new directions.

In the eyes of the United States, China remained a communist nation in the 1960s, diametrically opposed to the Western ideals of democracy, and on the wrong side of the Vietnam War, ensuring that the economic embargos of the 1950s remained in full force, along with means of cultural exchange. At the same time, after splitting with Soviet communist ideology, China became engaged in a number of skirmishes with Soviet forces on the Northeast border, ensuring that no quarter would be provided there. Thus, China in this time was largely isolated in terms of foreign support, maintaining their antagonism towards the West while ensuring a crisp separation from Soviet influence. In the midst of this political, economic, and cultural isolation came the sweeping change and turmoil of the Great Proletarian Culture Revolution, during which much of the intellectual class was sent to rural work camps for re-education, or faced political persecution in the discharge of their duties. Research, teaching, and, consequently, librarianship were effectively curtailed, as those individuals were force-fed mainline ideology through manual labor. As an additional step from banning works which ran counter to State mentality, the Cultural Revolution saw the burning of texts and other materials in attempts at purification. Despite two thousand years of civilization, and the dramatic advances of the prior two centuries, all progress in China between 1966 and

1976 stopped, as an entire generation was lost to the absence of education, forced indoctrination, and the fierce persecution of all who resisted.

The loss of educational institutions during the Cultural Revolution was truly one of the most significant factors in Chinese development over the ensuing decades. In the absence of institutions of higher learning, China underwent a period of half a decade during which no future scientific or industrial leaders were trained. In 1965, approximately 164,212 students were recruited across institutions of higher learning in China; the last recruits for a period of five years, representing a loss of more than 650,000 individuals who would have received advanced education absent the Cultural Revolution (Hayhoe, 1989, p. 50).

Similar to the staggering losses sustained by China's education system, were losses within the library community. In 1949, at the time of the establishment of the People's Republic of China, there were 55 public libraries and 132 academic libraries in China. In 1965, the year before the Cultural Revolution, China had 573 public libraries, a remarkable growth over 16 years. In 1970, however, the number of public libraries had diminished by over a third, down to a mere 323 (Huanwen, 2001, p. 48). In this time of upheaval and cultural isolation, library and educational institutions took a great leap backward in China, erasing much of the ground gained in the nineteenth and early twentieth century. Fortunately, by 1976, China would emerge from the social catastrophe that was the Great Proletarian Culture Revolution, and would once again begin to make rapid progress in redeveloping these critical institutions.

Growth from 1976 through the Present

In the aftermath of the Cultural Revolution, China entered an era defined by reform and openness to foreign influence. Two major aims of the post revolution government in China were continued peace and development. In seeking to meet these goals, China re-established friendly relations with the Soviet Union while simultaneously beginning the process of normalizing relations with the West, and specifically the United States.

Librarianship in this period once again became dominated by Western models, and continued to be most heavily influenced by American scholarship and practice. Liu Guojun, one of the remaining prominent library figures in China in the mid 1970s, was one of the first and most vocal proponents in reintroducing Western librarianship to China. In 1975, Liu, who was the Dean of the Department of Library Science at Beijing University, introduced the United States Library of Congress MARC record format to China, laying the groundwork for the growing relationship between the major libraries of the two nations. In the years between 1977 and 1981, Liu translated and published dozens of papers concerning Western librarianship, with an emphasis on American library automation, which has continued to be a significant theme in advancing Chinese librarianship (Huanwen, 2001, p. 46).

The China Society for Library Science (CSLS) was established in 1979, which served as the first national library organization in China since the dissolution of earlier, short-lived attempts thirty years before. One of the major tasks of the CSLS was conducting exchanges between China and foreign countries in order to strengthen

relations and cooperation with the international library community. After re-establishing its membership in UNESCO, the CSLS regained its national association membership in the International Federation of Library Associations (IFLA) in 1981. In the 1980s, China began modernizing itself by complying with international standards, joining the Technical Committee for Documentation Standardization of the International Organization for Standardization and establishing the China Technical Committee for Documentation Standardization. In 1992, over 39 different national standards were implemented by the State Standard Bureau in China regarding documentation. Library growth also saw a rapid re-emergence in the years after the Cultural Revolution. At the low point of the Revolution in 1970, there were 323 public libraries in China. By 1980 there were 1,732 public and 675 academic libraries operating in China; 2,527 public and 1,075 academic libraries by 1990. With a self proclaimed goal of development, China in the late twentieth and early twenty-first centuries rapidly rose to the challenge (Huanwen, 2001).

Conclusions

Over the course of human history, religion has played a critical and constant role in the continuing struggles and evolution of civilization; wars have been fought over it, the flow of trade and economics has been bent by it, and civilizations have risen and fell over their beliefs. Two areas of study on which religion has had its most understated effect, however, are perhaps the fields of education and library science. From the earliest recorded histories we can glimpse the inexorable link between faith and education; the literate amongst many ancient civilizations being predominantly limited to the various

clergy of different faiths. Among the earliest of recorded libraries can be found temple libraries for storing religious texts, often coupled with temple schools for the education of future acolytes. Even where religion is not directly associated with the grandness of these heralded institutions, it plays a subtle, but vital, role in their development.

Missionaries, the advance infantrymen of cultural exchange, spread the faith and culture of their own societies, and over the years have often relied on the written word as a primary means of doing so. Perhaps nowhere in history has the work of missionaries been so crucial to the development of education and librarianship than in China.

The earliest missionaries to China were Buddhists, from India, and arrived nearly a century and a half before their Western followers. In the first centuries CE, these Buddhist missionaries were already laying the groundwork for missionary work in China by establishing the usefulness of translation as a tool for spreading knowledge. The first Western missionaries to arrive in China were the Jesuits, who led the way in so many places, and who established themselves in Beijing in the early seventeenth century. The Jesuits actively pursued the goal of translation, believing that the key to China lay in reaching the literati and court elite, thus spreading their message from the top down.

In contrast, the Protestant missionaries who began to take interest in China in the beginning of the nineteenth century believed in cultivating their message by reaching the masses. Following China's defeat in the First Opium War, Protestant missions became dominant in China, and eagerly pursued a mission of translation and established schools for the education of the Chinese through a Western, Christian model. While the

Protestant missions in the latter half of the nineteenth century failed to affect radical reform within the Qing government in China, their work at educating future Chinese scholars, and the models they provided through the establishment of their own church schools and libraries, laid the groundwork for the reform which was to occur in the beginning of the twentieth century. After suffering from several military defeats during the second half of the nineteenth century culminating in the Sino-Japanese War, that serious reform began to occur within the Qing government. Universities and libraries were established in increasing numbers, and modeled on the ideals of librarianship cherished in the Western world, and most particularly in the United States. Missionaries in this period worked closely with Chinese scholars and officials in the creation of national institutions shaped in the mold of their American brethren.

The rise of the People's Republic of China after World War II, however, and the ensuing struggle between East and West over communism would see a shift in the nature of China's development. Eschewing Western influence, China turned to their communist neighbor for inspiration. In the 1950s, Soviet models of education and librarianship rapidly replaced the work that had been done by the missionaries in the prior century. Not even this was to last, however, as by the time of the Great Proletarian Culture Revolution in 1966, China had isolated itself from foreign influence, alienating both the Soviet Union and the United States during its period of most radical reform.

After years of moving backwards, though, China in the late 1970s once again began to take up the mantle of reform began in the nineteenth century by the Protestant

missionaries. Again, they turned largely to the United States to model their educational and library systems, with the encouragement of library scholars who had kept the flame of reform alive during the darkest of times. China's libraries today are increasingly interoperable with their Western counterparts, as China continues to work towards the ideals of access and user services first introduced by the Protestant mission libraries in the nineteenth century. In examining the two centuries of activity that contributed to the reform of the Chinese library establishment, the contributions of economics, politics, and the clash of cultures has often been examined, as expressed in the many conflicts that transpired between East and West in that time. While these broader themes certainly played a critical role in China's transformation, the more subtle work of Western missionaries laid the groundwork, most especially in the area of libraries, for all future progress, and is in very large part responsible for the magnificence of China's modern library system.

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