An Age of Exploration: Western Explorers and their Interactions with China's Southwestern Tribes

In southwestern China, American explorer Roy Chapman Andrews enters a village in Yunnan province. The area had only been opened up to Western travelers in the past few decades after ages of isolation, and as a naturalist he felt compelled to explore Qing China's wilderness in an expedition lasting from 1916 to 1917. There he spots two villagers from the Shan ethnicity, one of the many indigenous groups living along China's border with Burma. But when he saw these two villagers, Andrews did not think to compare them to the Han Chinese. Instead, he referred to the Shan girl he saw as "Priscilla" and the Shan boy he saw as "John Alden".[1] His frame of reference for these people were not Europeans, Chinese ethnicities, or even Americans. Instead, he draws them into American founding history by identifying them with one of the first couples in the Plymouth colony. It deeply humanizes these two villagers by drawing them into a narrative that identifies them with Americans, albeit ones from over a century ago. At the same time, it is an utterly bewildering tale that almost demands explanation. Why Andrews understood these ethnic minorities through this lens and the consequences emerging from this type of thinking is something this work explores.

Andrews was one of many explorers who traveled to southwestern China following the Opium Wars, conflicts that ranged from 1839-1842 to 1855-1860. The victories of the British and French guaranteed numerous privileges and concessions from Qing China. The Treaty of Tianjin was ratified in 1858 following the subsequent negotiations, granting Westerners the right

[1] Andrews and Andrews, *Camps and Trails in China*, 234.

to travel through China's interior. With that freedom, explorers journeyed across the empire.[2] This work focuses on the explorers who ventured into China's southwestern provinces, particularly because of their fascination with the region's indigenous populations. A brief overview of the populations' historically complex relationship with their Chinese neighbors is necessary before their interactions with Westerners can be fully understood.

During the early 13th century, these ethnic groups had long since been established as smaller communities as well as kingdoms with their own diverse cultures.[3] Prior to the Yuan dynasty (1271-1368), a dynasty ruled by a Mongol elite, major groups among the indigenous peoples underwent negotiations with the Chinese in an attempt from the latter to stave off border conflict and assert influence. Part of these negotiations even resulted in the leaders among these native groups taking on the titles of Chinese officials. While these titles held little power and no real place in the Chinese bureaucracy, these indigenous elites were not tightly bound to Chinese authority and operated with great deals of political autonomy. It was a mutually beneficial relationship in which the native groups provided information on the frontier and the Chinese in turn provided protection and access to their markets.[4] This state of affairs shifted with the rise of the Yuan dynasty. The Mongols were far less concerned with Chinese customs in handling these indigenous groups, and they began granting these elites legitimate titles.[5] Furthermore, under the Mongols both the Han Chinese as well as the indigenous groups in the southwest found themselves under a single authority. The latter were now considered imperial subjects rather than

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[2] Paul A. Varg, *Missionaries, Chinese, and Diplomats: the American Protestant Missionary Movement in China, 1890-1052*, (New Jersey: Princeton University, 1958), 12
[3]John E. Herman, *Amid the Clouds and Mist China's Colonization of Guizhou, 1200-1700* (Cambridge, Mass: Harvard University Asia Center, 2007), 1.
[4] Herman, *Amid the Clouds and Mist,* 103.
[5] Herman, *Amid the Clouds and Mist,* 104.

outsiders or barbarians. When the Ming dynasty (1368-1644) rose to power, they inherited the idea that the southwestern provinces had always been Chinese. They would also perpetuate the concept that the native groups were part of the empire, but this did not mean that these groups were accepted as they were.[6] Under the Qing dynasty (1644-1912), leaders such as the Yongzheng Emperor clearly stated their belief in these ethnic groups being their subjects; however, their current political organization was in question. As Chinese subjects, the perspective developed that these groups had to be saved from brutal rule under tribal chieftains.[7]

The tools for dismantling native institutions and leadership on a large scale had first been implemented by the Ming, a dynasty ruled by the Han Chinese following Mongol rule. Indigenous leaders that worked with the Chinese were compelled to designate a male heir, a form of succession that not all groups naturally adhered to. This heir would then be given a Chinese education, and nearly all Confucian schools in Yunnan and Guizhou were based in areas that were primarily Han Chinese. Alongside the massive cultural influence they exerted on the future indigenous leaders, the Ming also utilized military force to pacify and punish disobedient natives. While their successors the Qing had a Manchu elite, they made use of the lack of military resistance and established infrastructure to exert even more influence in Yunnan and Guizhou.[8] Taking on an increasingly active role in the governance of indigenous groups, Qing officials relied on the aid of native leaders but only in the short term. The expectation became that eventually these positions would disappear entirely, and these territories would become identical to China proper.[9] This process would be furthered by the evaluations that Qing officials

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[6] Bin Yang, *Between Winds and Clouds: the Making of Yunnan* (New York: Columbia University Press, 2009), 245.
[7] Yang, *Between Winds and Clouds*, 247.
[8] Herman, *Amid the Clouds and Mist,* 235-236.
[9] Herman, *Amid the Clouds and Mist,* 220.

performed on native leaders who had been given titles and offices. If these leaders could not produce a male heir, or if that heir did not display sufficient knowledge indicative of a Confucian education, officials could deny these leaders government appointments.[10] Leadership could even be granted to another individual or the office eliminated entirely. These developments springing from Ming doctrine and tools place the Qing Dynasty's actions as tying up the loose ends of incorporating southwestern China into the empire.[11] While effective, these efforts were not without resistance. The Miao Rebellions of 1795-1806 and 1854-1873 served as examples of outbursts from indigenous groups in southwestern China despite the apparent 'taming' of the regions.

The explorers from the West moved throughout China in the shadow of these events. They only knew most of these groups as being dependents, small communities, or existing at the pleasure of the Chinese. While some of these groups were antagonistic towards foreigners, they were never powerful enough for Westerners to see them as dangers or threats beyond the scale of individuals. The idea of truly independent native groups was largely relegated to ancient history. Instead, Western explorers saw ethnicities that shared communities and culture with the Han Chinese populations they lived with. They watched Chinese cultural penetration in indigenous communities result in the adoption of footbinding and other Chinese customs. The explorers would observe and sometimes live among these groups, recording their findings about the various cultures in journals or articles. They were expedition members mapping out trade routes for their nation, missionaries hoping for easier conversions among natives than the recalcitrant Han Chinese, and academics seeking to catalogue an unknown land and its people. Even when

[10] Herman, *Amid the Clouds and Mist,* 220-221.
[11] Herman, *Amid the Clouds and Mist,* 236.

their goals were not focused on the indigenous groups themselves, they were inevitably drawn to analyze these groups. They desired to categorize and explain their customs, their attributes, and their origins. While many Westerners focused on individual tribes, the natives' relationship with the Chinese and the explorers' own experiences in the nation made comparison inevitable. Approaching either group in total isolation was impossible because of their close proximity and notable differences. Consequently, Western explorers constructed identities for native groups that simultaneously defined the Chinese.

This work asserts that these explorers formed an intellectual movement based on examining China's native groups using Western notions of race and ethnicity. Orientalist thought and comparison formed the foundation for this movement. Explorers weighed the Han Chinese and indigenous groups against each other, deciding which conformed more to their Western understanding of civility and culture. Some explorers were comforted by indigenous culture when it resembled their own, and they critiqued Qing culture for lacking or taking advantage of these traits. In other cases, they were charmed by the physical resemblance that certain groups had to Europeans. But perhaps the most common sentiment among explorers who favored the tribes were those who were glad to see customs such as footbinding being nonexistent amongst certain tribes. Those who saw the Chinese as being more civilized heard gruesome tales about indigenous violence and primitive customs in the regions. Many of these explorers also experienced Chinese art in the form of theater, sculptures, architecture, and dress. They appreciated these forms of expression as bridging the gap between their respective cultures through universal, objective understandings of beauty. But these comparisons were not isolated accounts. These Western scientists, missionaries, and explorers existed in an interconnected

world, reading texts from their predecessors and peers to form their own outlooks on China's many ethnic groups. As information was shared and exchanged through the explorer's published accounts, dominant narratives and counternarratives manifested, and recurring elements took shape as the dialogue continued. Corrupt, malicious officials who orchestrate the deaths of foreigners, invasive staring, and barbarous customs became staples of Chinese depictions. In comparison, the innocently primitive native, the surprisingly well-behaved tribesman, and the bold and beautiful native women fiercely contrasted these expectations. This work does not mean to say that this pattern of comparisons was always followed nor that it was the only pattern. In fact, as this body of knowledge grew it began to receive accounts in response to its own stereotypes and tropes. Counternarratives seeking to shine light on unreported or more positive aspects of groups, particularly the Han Chinese, arose in opposition to the existing depictions made by explorers. Understanding how this field of study incorporated both indingenous groups and the Han Chinese into a spectrum of otherness, how the exchange of information developed certain narratives and stereotypes about China's ethnic groups, and how the individuals in this field influenced each other's writing and outlooks on China is the focus of this thesis.

This paper's claim is addressed by examining three types of explorers and their writings, separating them based on their goals. These accounts stretch from the later half of the Qing Dynasty in the 1860s into the early Republic during the 1940s. Some explorers, such as Edward Sladen or Major H.R. Davies, served in expeditions funded by a colonial power to map out the territory for possible trade routes or prospective railroads. As their goal was not to investigate the natives, they observed from afar. They saw individual rituals, spoke with the groups, and examined their clothing, but they did not live amongst the tribes for an extended time. The

second part investigates missionaries such as Samuel Pollard, Samuel R. Clarke, and John M'Carthy whose goals were ideologically motivated. Unlike expedition members, they lived in indigenous communities for several years or even decades. Their close contact primarily with these groups allowed them to form their views on native culture with minimal input from the Qing. Missionary views were also influenced by the successful reaction many native groups had to Christianity. Compared to the meager gains and harsh resistance from attempts at converting the Han Chinese, indigenous groups were far more receptive to the Christianity, and news about the newfound faith in these tribes circulated in missionary circles..[12] Tribes such as the Miao rose from what missionaries considered immorality and ignorance into the Christian faith and Western culture.[13] They were evidence that the Christian missions in China were finding success. Another influence on missionary outlooks was also the reaction that this news had amongst Qing officials. Anti-missionary sentiment had existed for a time, but missionary influence over these indigenous groups further fueled the feeling and led to mutually more hostile relations . The third part investigates independent travelers and scientists who journeyed through southwest China. Some botanists and zoologists collected fauna and flora in the region. In their travels, several grew interested in the native inhabitants they met and began researching them. Other explorers desired to journey through areas untouched by Europeans and the tribes that lived within them, eager to contribute information from paths no Westerner had walked before. These groups sought the unknown in China hoping to incorporate it into the Western intellectual tradition.

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[12] Samuel R. Clarke, *Among the Tribes in South-West China*, (London: China Inland Mission, 1911), vii.
[13] Ibid, 137.

Primary Sources

The Western explorers and their records presented the native tribes and China itself to the West. Other travelers and parties interested in Chinese ethnography saw their work as credible because of their personal experience and status as pioneers in the field. Through their differing goals and detailed work, they provide extensive but varied perspectives on the tribes and China.

Major-General Henry Davies and Major Edward Sladen entered China during the late 1860s and early 1900s in expeditions under British command. They evaluated routes from southwestern China to British India to determine if an overland trade route was viable. Sladen led the earliest expedition in 1868 and recorded his experiences in the *Official Narrative of the Expedition to Explore the Trade Routes to China Viâ Bhamo*. While he reached Yunnan, a southwestern Chinese province bordering Burma, he could not move deeper into China as the province was locked in a war between the Qing and Islamic groups.[14] His interactions were limited to the Shan and Leesaw, two ethnic groups which populated both Burma and southwestern. He identified these groups as Chinese Kakhyens as their language was similar to the Burman Kakhyens, another ethnicity that lived in Burma. Sladen notes that the greater questions that these linguistic similarities pose would have to be solved by others trained in the discipline.[15] Davies led a later expedition into the region after these events had concluded, and his purpose was to assess whether a railroad from Burma to Yunnan was viable. His writings include a sizable section on Yunnan's indigenous tribes. While he does not write much about their culture, he addresses their language, appearance, and race in detail. Davies also wrote on

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[14]Augustus Roy Margary and Alcock Rutherford, *The Journey of Augustus Roy Margary, from Shanghae to Bhamo, and Back to Manwyne from His Journals and Letters, with a Brief Biographical Preface; to Which Is Added a Concluding Chapter*, (London: Macmillan, 1876), i.

[15] Edward Bosc Sladen, *Official Narrative of the Expedition to Explore the Trade Routes to China viâ Bhamo*, (Calcutta: Office of the Superintendent of Government Printing, 1870), 156.

how China completely assimilated certain native groups, making them functionally Chinese.[16] These expeditions examined tribes as they moved through China's southwestern provinces, providing general overviews for many natives along the borders.

Among the most prominent missionaries in southwest China were Samuel Pollard, Samuel R. Clarke, and John M'Carthy. They were contemporaries who served from the 1880s to the 1900s in the China Inland Mission, a British and Protestant missionary movement. This group prioritized conversions in China's interior where Christianity had not penetrated. Pollard was famous for his unprecedented success in converting the Miao tribes across China's southwest to Christianity.[17] He wrote about his time living primarily among the Miao and Nosu tribes. The Miao were among the most populous tribes in southwestern China, and the name itself covered multiple tribes with different customs. They often lived close to or among Han Chinese settlements. The Nosu had a much worse relationship with the Qing, and they even raided Han Chinese communities. On the other hand, Clarke focused on and lived in Guizhou province bordering Yunnan, and he paid special attention to the Lao, Miao, Chung-chia, and Nosu tribes. Both Pollard and Clarke address the tribes' appearances and languages as the expeditions did; however, they also provide detailed accounts of the tribes' behaviors, religious practices, and beliefs. M'Carthy is more general in his analysis and focuses on geographic location and missionary progress among these groups. He also echoes previous explorers' consensus that the various tribes are directly related, stating that the confusion comes from the Chinese classification which labeled every group separately..[18] These accounts examine the

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[16]H. R. Davies, *Yün-Nan, the Link between India and the Yangtzė*, (Cambridge: The University Press, 1909), 368.
[17] Samuel R. Clarke, *Among the Tribes in South-West China*, 275.
[18] John M'Carthy, "The Province of Yunnan," in *The Chinese Empire: a General and Missionary Survey*, ed. Marshall Broomhall, (London: Morgan & Scott, 1908), 242-243.

tribes' traits and characteristics to determine how receptive they are to Christianity and Western civilization. They address a smaller selection of ethnic groups but provide significantly more information on native lifestyles and beliefs.

The independent and academic explorers are the last group addressed by this work as they are also the travelers least influenced by external factors. Their reasons for traveling through China are mostly personal, and they are not as beholden to institutions such as colonial governments or church missions. Sir Reginald Johnston and Roy Andrews both journeyed to expand the West's knowledge on Qing China and its various populations. Johnston was from Britain while Rock and Andrews both originated from America. Only Andrews represented a larger group as his expedition was sent by the American Museum of Natural history. Johnston's records were the earliest of the two, his book being published in 1908. He notes his encounters with indigenous groups, particularly the Lolo tribes who are also known as the Nosu. But he also compared prior research with his own experiences with the Man-tzu, Shan, Miao, Mo-so, and Li-so tribes to categorize them and explain their origins.[19] Andrews' focus was zoology and he collected several specimens throughout his expedition from 1916 to 1917, but he often met with natives during his travels. Some aided him in hunting while others he encountered as he moved through settlements. He met with several tribes that Johnston interacted with such as the Mosu and Shan and they generally left good impressions, but his views on the Chinese were stronger than Johnston. Andrews found footbinding abominable and could not place China among the civilized nations as long as the practice persisted.[20] Rock's work began after the other two

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[19]Reginald Flemming Johnston, *From Peking to Mandalay; a Journey from North China to Burma through Tibetan Seuch'uan and Yunnan*, (New York: E. P. Dutton, 1908), 265-266.
[20] Yvette Borup Andrews and Roy Chapman Andrews, *Camps and Trails in China, a Narrative of Exploration, Adventure, and Sport in Little Known China*, (New York: D. Appleton, 1918), 71.

explorers and took place from 1924 to the 1940s. He focused on China's Nakhi tribes in Yunnan province, and he would compile his findings along with Chinese sources into two volumes on the Nakhi tribes' history and former kingdoms. These explorers applied Western thought to address the question that Sladen noted years ago. They saw the Chinese categorization for natives as insufficient or entirely incorrect, and so they drew on their personal experiences and records from other Westerners to define the southwestern tribes.

Historiography

Historical studies on China's southwestern frontier, specifically Yunnan and Guizhou, have focused on its ethnic confrontations. The interactions between the Chinese and the tribes within the southwestern provinces over several centuries are well-documented; however , historians have left individual explorers largely unexamined. These travelers and their accounts are often overlooked by many historians in favor of sources that compose broader movements such as missionary action within China as a whole. Anthropologists have focused on these encounters between natives and explorers, but their work generally focuses on individual explorers and accounts. Attempts to address multiple explorers are usually found in edited collections rather than being a singular work's focus.

The most comprehensive works on Western explorers and China's southwestern tribes are anthropological anthologies, and the essays collected in Denise M. Glover's *Explorers ε Scientists in China's Borderlands* thoroughly explore interactions between individual explorers and indigenous tribes. Glover's argument is that the explorers' accounts explain the period's political and social characteristics.[21] Despite differing in goals and methodology, they shared a

[21] Denise Marie Lover, *Explorers & Scientists in China's Borderlands, 1880-1950*, (Seattle: University of Washington Press, 2011), 4.

common outlook that reflected Western thought. This outlook included a belief in universally valid and objective science, little disagreement between scientific and religious views of the world, and tension between the West's imperialism towards China and the Chinese state's imperialism towards indigenous tribes.[22] Glover also argues that the interactions triggered responses from the people these explorers studied, forming the scientific foundations for nationalism.[23] Erik Mueggler, a contributor to the work, uses Chinese 'gaping' to exemplify how explorers revealed and reacted to previously unknown social characteristics. Gaping refers to the behavior observed by Western explorers where Chinese men and women would stare at them in public, something that discomfited several travelers. While racialized perspectives were common, Mueggler notes how the botanist George Forrest responded differently to stares from Han Chinese compared to indigenous people. He reacted to the former with suspicion and subsequent violence. But when he received similar responses from the Tibetan groups in Yunnan, he saw their reactions as perfect for photography.[24] He repeated the situation on other occasions using technology the Tibetans were unfamiliar with, comfortable because these displays allowed him to control and capture reactions. When viewing the Chinese whose behavior he did not initiate or have power over, he saw them as threatening and strange rather than awed and respectful. This example supports Glover's argument, revealing how these individual interactions added to existing stereotypes and further defined natives and the Chinese.

Other anthropological works explain how Westerners fit into the existing cultural conflicts that were prevalent in the region. In the anthology *Cultural Encounters on China's*

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[22] Ibid, 5-6
[23] Ibid, 6.
[24] George Forrest, ***Explorers & Scientists in China's Borderlands, 1880-1950 (Explorers and Scientists in China's Borderlands, 1880-1950)***, ed. Denise Marie Glover (Seattle: University of Washington Press, 2011), 40-41.

Ethnic Frontiers, Siu-woo Cheung investigates missionary movements in southwest China. He focuses on how the Hui Miao people's circumstances within the preexisting social order benefitted missionary action. James R. Adam was one among many missionaries in the area who enjoyed immensely positive feedback from the Hui Miao. For them, Christianity provided an emotionally resonant symbol in Jesus that would free them from the Han and the Yi people who exploited them.[25] Unknowingly, the missionaries' actions and their impact on the native people stemmed from existing social tension in Guizhou and northern Yunnan. The missionary movement provided an outlet that allowed the Hui Miao to indirectly challenge their oppressors. [26] Cheung's approach places missionaries within existing social contexts, larger phenomena that explain their mindsets and mission's impact on the indigenous tribes.

While anthropology has dominated the discourse on exploration in southwest China, historian Daniel Wallace Crofts' *Upstream Odyssey* records Daniel Webster Crofts' travels throughout the country, starting in Guizhou. He focuses on unveiling Webster Crofts' motivations and experiences in China as a Western missionary.[27] But he also notes that despite his small role, Webster Crofts represented phenomena greater than himself.[28] In the early 20th century, he was part of the missionary movement's drive to Christianize China, and during the Republic's rise, he exemplified the influence that rising antiforeignism harshly rejected. When he did interact with indigenous tribes, he displayed a respectful interest in their traditions.[29] But

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[25] Siu-woo Cheung, "Millennialism, Christian Movements, and Ethnic Change among the Miao in Southwest China," in *Cultural Encounters on China's Ethnic Frontiers*, ed. Stevan Harrell, (Seattle: University of Washington Press, 1995), 233-234.
[26] Ibid, 234-236.
[27] Daniel W. Crofts, *Upstream Odyssey: an American in China, 1895-1944*, (Norwalk: EastBridge, 2008). 12
[28] Ibid, 236.
[29] Ibid, 72.

even amongst these tribes, antiforeignism could emerge and result in hurt or even dead missionaries.[30]

These books are supported by supplementary historical works as well. Monographs such as C. Patterson Giersch's *Asian Borderlands*, John E. Herman's *Amid the Clouds and Mist* and Bin Yang's *Between Winds and Clouds* all address China's policies and interactions with the tribes before Western exploration in the area began. These works are key in understanding how these tribes were influenced but not fully assimilated by the Qing and its predecessor dynasties. Others such as Paul A Varg's *Missionaries, Chinese, and Diplomats* expand on Western incursions into inland China as a whole, examining the Chinese response and the motivations which drove the movements.

Between the anthropological and historical texts on the subject, there is no singular work that addresses Western exploration amongst China's indigenous tribes as a whole. This thesis examines the interactions between the explorers and natives as a whole. However, many accounts are currently inaccessible, so this work can only provide a glimpse into the topic. But it hopes to spark discussion regarding how the Western mindset has defined ethnicities in the past. In a postcolonial world where ethnic identity has become increasingly important, the West's judgements still echo in many nations. These explorers display how these labels were still constructed in areas that were not directly colonized or owned by America or the European nations.

[30] Ibid, 95.

Colonial Expeditions

The two early explorers that this work addresses are Major E.B. Sladen and Major H.R. Davies. Their writings were published in 1869 and 1909 respectively, making them among the earliest sources utilized by this work. Both were British army officers who were sent to explore possible trade routes to Southwestern China. Sladen made his way up from Burma while Davies traveled from India, but they each recorded their journeys in comprehensive reports. They detailed their interactions with the Chinese populace as well as the different ethnicities they encountered in the area. In ensuing decades, later explorers would read these accounts and learn from . Davies in particular was referenced for the route he took as well as his categorization of the ethnicities he met on the way to and within Yunnan. As their expeditions were not motivated by ideological reasons or academic investigation, Sladen and Davies provide perspectives on Southwestern China's ethnicities less influenced by personal interests.

Sladen's interaction with the inhabitants of Yunnan begins with his arrival at the border town of Manwyne. He begins by noting his own disappointment in the mannerisms of the Shan people in the town. Sladen specifically references the way that the townsfolk would stare at and surround expedition members, and he notes that even compared to similar incidents among the Chinese the Shan were particularly uncouth in their curiosity. He goes far as to say that throughout Asia one could not find a ruder community.[31] In the text he continues to write how the expedition was given no reprieve from these gazes, and it served as a source of anxiety that

[31] E. B. Sladen, Robert Gordon, and Albert Fytche, *Official Narrative of and Papers Connected with the Expedition to Explore the Trade Routes to China via Bhamo* (Rangoon: British Burma Press, 1869), 106.

could be forgotten for a time but never entirely dismissed.[32] Through this description, Sladen presents his experience with the Shan as an extreme in behavior for the entirety of the continent. Hyperbolic or not, his comparison between the Shan and Chinese exemplified the rudeness of the former by comparing them unfavorably even though similar incidents had happened with the latter. While Sladen did not solely speak of the Shan in negative terms, the positive attributes he assigned to their ethnicity did not outweigh the condemnations he made.

In the town of Manwyne, Sladen notes that the Shan community is unusually prosperous. He attributes this success to an apparent lack of taxation and outside interference from the government. The latter aspect is most prominent as Sladen believed the Shan's unique characteristics as a race helped maintain their way of life. He noted that while they lack any external authority to control them, they had an instinctual understanding of right and wrong with individual goals that naturally discouraged uncivil behavior.[33] Furthermore, he addresses the widespread consumption of alcohol among the Shan as another inexplicable attribute they possess. Sladen argues that all existing understanding of political and social theory states that large amounts of alcohol consumption are ruinous to a society. Despite this, the Shan freely produce and partake of it without any notable consequences.[34] He provides no explanation for the situation, and the reader can only assume that it is among the other strange qualities inherent to the ethnicity. While these remarks are generally positive, Sladen's writing does nothing to bridge the initial gap created by his early criticisms and leans into a race based theory on communities. The Shan consequently existed outside Sladen's worldview as well as his audience's. They were

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[32] Ibid.
[33] Sladen, Gordon, Fytche, *Official Narrative of and Papers Connected with the Expedition to Explore the Trade Routes to China via Bhamo,* 108.
[34] Sladen, Gordon, Fytche, *Official Narrative of and Papers Connected with the Expedition to Explore the Trade Routes to China via Bhamo,* 113.

presented as strange, inexplicable people whose natural characteristics allow them to form communities that did not conform to a European understanding of society.

Sladen's perception of the Shan is best understood when juxtaposed with his comments on the Chinese. The most blatant comparison occurs when he arrives in the town of Mynela. There he notes that the settlement appears to have been more clearly prosperous in the past than the previous villages the expedition had moved through. He attributed this prosperity to "...a very palpable infusion of Chinese blood which has permeated the old Shan stock and left traces only of Shan originality."[35] This perspective implicitly provokes the comparison that the prosperity that Sladen had attributed to the Shan, while remarkable because of its strange nature, is still less than the prosperity that the Chinese can achieve. The argument is then that by the nature of their race the Chinese are predisposed to a greater prosperity than the Shan people. Sladen's perspective on the inherent traits that belong to the Chinese is also noted in his arrival at the town of Nantin. There he notes that amidst the extreme poverty of the area the Chinese inhabitants there were lacking in their "...ordinary thrift and national vitality."[36] While both these incidents invoke a hierarchy in which the Chinese are above the Shan, their relationship with European culture is harder to understand. Instead, Sladen's ideas on aesthetics and beauty provide a better example.

When he writes about the dress that Shan women wear, Sladen writes that it is difficult to understand how any woman can wear it well. He continues to say that despite this, Shan women manage some gracefulness in these clothes. This sentiment is followed by noting that this

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[35] Sladen, Gordon, Fytche, *Official Narrative of and Papers Connected with the Expedition to Explore the Trade Routes to China via Bhamo,* 122.
[36] Sladen, Gordon, Fytche, *Official Narrative of and Papers Connected with the Expedition to Explore the Trade Routes to China via Bhamo,* 138.

perspective comes from a lengthy separation from European culture. Without this separation they are instead clad in "hideously apportioned attire" rather than beautiful.[37] The explanation cements the idea that, from at least a European perspective, the dresses were ugly. Furthermore, that they could only be seen as beautiful through distance from European civilization firmly draws a line between European and Shan culture. In comparison, Sladen is not nearly as firm or judgemental in his examination of Chinese aesthetics. His comments on a reception hall in Momein are not without criticisms; however, it is carefully described and the paneling along with the wall plates are called beautiful.[38] Unlike with the Shan, Sladen does not find it necessary to note that this is a beauty that requires a departure from Europe to appreciate. A similar situation is found when he writes on the Chinese plays that he watches in Momein as well. There he writes that the dresses of the actors are "gorgeous and genuine" which contrasts heavily with the remark he makes on the Shan clothing.[39] Sladen shows a respect and admiration for these aspects of Chinese culture, and he does so because they are similar to his own Eurocentric perspective on art. This is exemplified when he describes a Chinese sculpture as exhibiting a "perfect acquaintanceship with true art" in the figure's flowing marble clothing.[40] In Sladen's perspective, the Chinese have also tapped into an objective understanding of beautiful art emerging from shared principles such as realism. The result is that while not wholly negative in presentation, the Shan are fundamentally shown as rather alien to the European worldview. Aesthetic clashes

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[37] Sladen, Gordon, Fytche, *Official Narrative of and Papers Connected with the Expedition to Explore the Trade Routes to China via Bhamo,* 131.
[38] Sladen, Gordon, Fytche, *Official Narrative of and Papers Connected with the Expedition to Explore the Trade Routes to China via Bhamo,* 177.
[39] Sladen, Gordon, Fytche, *Official Narrative of and Papers Connected with the Expedition to Explore the Trade Routes to China via Bhamo,* 157.
[40] Sladen, Gordon, Fytche, *Official Narrative of and Papers Connected with the Expedition to Explore the Trade Routes to China via Bhamo,* 176.

aside, their communities work in ways that are impossible to understand using Sladen's understanding of the world. In comparison, while the Chinese are still described using racial rhetoric, Sladen does not emphasize the differences between them and Europeans. Furthermore, the connections that he draws through an understanding of universal artistry between cultures humanizes the Chinese. These factors result in a subtle but impactful difference in which China is drawn closer to the West while the Shan are distanced from it. While these observations on Yunnan's inhabitants are informative, Sladen's focus on trade routes means that he does not reflect or analyze them in depth. For more extensive examination Davies' work is more relevant as he sought to classify and provide full explanations for the various ethnicities in Yunnan.

Davies' account strongly differentiates his approach to the ethnicities from Sladen's through including an appendix that details Yunnan's tribes. His goal was to explain the differences between the groups as well as classify them through their languages. Drawing an understanding of their history, language, culture, and the local geography, Davies sought to provide an academic account for the ethnicities. He begins with what Sladen could not do and provides an explanation for the various differences and languages within Yunnan. Davies writes that after the original tribes entered the province, they found their current living conditions unsustainable with the land allocated to them as their population increased. Consequently, part of the population emigrated deeper into Yunnan into uncharted areas and saw no reason to return home. He argues that over time they forgot their own ancestry and saw themselves as being distinct from the groups they broke off from. Differences in identity and language formed over the years because of the distance and inevitable tribal conflict.[41] While appearing more objective

[41] Henry Rodolph Davies, *Yün-Nan : the Link between India and the Yangtze* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1909), 332-333.

than Sladen, Davies' work contains judgements even in this initial stage. He states several other reasons for the various tribes to break away fully from their parent group. The tribes as a whole lacked a written system to preserve their traditions, were isolated from civilizing influences in the province, and they were primarily concerned with growing enough crops to subsist on.[42] The second point in particular, the isolation from civilization and its influences, is an interesting statement which reveals the assumptions that underlie Davies' thinking. His statement heavily implies that the tribes in Yunnan are not themselves civilized which helps contextualize the other additional statements. They lack another hallmark of civilization since there is no written language, and they are subsistence farmers which means they do not have a system capable of providing specialized labor. This apparent lack in what Davies considers civilization depicts the various tribes in Yunnan as being undeveloped or even primitive as a society. From this establishing point, Davies proceeds to expand on the various tribes.

The groups that conform to Davies' initial statements include the Miao tribes that are found in Yunnan as well as in several neighboring provinces. He describes their dress as well as their looks, and with the latter Davies notes that their features are far more regular than the Chinese. He further clarifies the statement by saying that nearly any country in Europe would consider their women handsome.[43] While he does not expand much on this, it draws faint similarities with Sladen's account. There is a familiarity with the Miao, if only in their appearance, that the Chinese do not possess. He otherwise notes that they are effective warriors although circumstances have not allowed them to assert themselves. Davies concludes that they are "an extremely pleasant people" to interact with so long as the visitor is not a Chinese official.

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[42] Ibid.
[43] Davies, *Yün-Nan*, 371.

[44] The Lo-los are another group that he writes about in which he notes that they are both pleasant and hospitable. He goes as far as to say that it is a pleasure to move through their lands, and any European could do the same as him with the proper arrangements.[45] Despite noting that the Lo-los raid and even enslave the Chinese, he does not take this as indicating barbarism. Instead, it is left implicit that circumstances or history they have with the Chinese resulted in violence rather than race. The Li-so are described similarly except he includes a split between the "natural, primitive" groups and the groups which have been influenced by the Chinese.[46] This statement reinforces Davies' idea that the tribes in Yunnan are largely only civilized once they have been in contact with and influenced by a power from outside the province. On their own, the tribes were an isolated bubble of ancient history. Only a few groups managed to break from this perception.

The Shan are the major ethnic group which broke from the initial statements he asserted at the start of the appendix. Davies writes that they used to hold an empire, and he attributes several territories as having previously belonged to them because their names originate from the Shan language.[47] These traits are already a significant difference from how the tribes in general were described. In Davies' eyes, the Shan have achieved a level of civilization that is superior to the ethnic groups, and even the Chinese are not entirely exempt from this comparison. For example, he writes that the Shan communities within valleys are significantly more civilized than the Chinese that live on the hilltops.[48] This judgement is derived from Davies' experiences in different towns during his journey. Previously in the account, he records visiting a squalid

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[44] Ibid.
[45] Davies, *Yün-Nan*, 390.
[46] Davies, *Yün-Nan*, 392.
[47] Davies, *Yün-Nan*, 379.
[48] Davies, *Yün-Nan*, 380.

Chinese town. It was filthy and smelled awfully, and he found it a stark contrast compared to the clean Shan villages that were nearby.[49] He draws another direct comparison when it comes to the manners of the Chinese and Shan as well. Just as with Sladen, Davies is stared at by the Shan groups in Yunnan and reflects on how the situation is dissimilar to the Chinese. While Sladen considered the Shan especially rude even when compared to the Chinese, Davies saw their attention as having a "respectful curiosity" devoid of the bad manners held by the Chinese.[50] It is an interesting contrast between the two explorers that shows which group they favor. Davies' relative appreciation for Shan results in him giving them more leeway for the same behavior. Another meeting that Davies records seems to encapsulate his perspective on the Shan and Chinese. A meeting with a Shan silversmith resulted in the native man expressing his displeasure towards the local Chinese inhabitants. Acknowledging this, Davies writes, "Certainly the Shans are in many ways a much more civilized race than the Chinese."[51] Despite this, Davies' comparison is not limited to asserting Shan superiority. His thoughts on Chinese dominance over the Shans provide more ambiguity to their relationship.

While he explains the Shan ethnicity as spanning multiple groups across Yunnan, Davies commonly refers to them as two types. The first are the Shan communities within the Shan states and the second are the Chinese Shan who lived within Chinese territory.. Davies writes that the Chinese Shans are generally poorer than the Shan of the Shan States, and he attributes this to the competition the former have with the Chinese. This statement is contextualized through his previous remark that the Shan have a propensity towards laziness, even if there are hardworking

[49] Davies, *Yün-Nan*, 29.
[50] Davies, *Yün-Nan*, 21.
[51] Davies, *Yün-Nan*, 38.

individuals among them.[52] The racial characteristics of the Shan when it comes to competition are inferior to the Chinese. Even when a Shan population is considered less lazy, the result is because of an external influence. While he notes that the Chinese Shan are generally more hardworking than their counterparts, he asserts that it is because they have been influenced by the Chinese.[53] Consequently, even when cultural factors are considered, the Shan's inherent nature leaves them at a disadvantage economically with the Chinese. Furthermore, while they live in fertile valleys they do so only because the Chinese consider the areas too unhealthy. They are allowed to live there because fever is so common at that elevation it makes the Chinese unwilling to claim the territory.[54] The Shan's continued existence as an independent group was rooted solely in Chinese convenience. It was undeniable that Chinese civilization was superior to the Shan civilization; however, despite this superiority Davies' comparisons assert that the Chinese were not necessarily more civilized. Exploring this sentiment requires examining Davies' feelings on the Chinese as a whole.

Davies's first major point on the Chinese focuses on their involvement in the deaths of European travelers. He highlights the death of Augustus Margary, and he asserts that Margary had been assassinated by the order of Yunnan's Viceroy.[55] Expanding on this topic, he writes that Chinese officials are either the direct instigators or largely responsible for European deaths in China, and these officials had the capacity to stop these murders but refused to. Under these individuals, Davies writes that it is easy and almost casual for ill intentioned Chinamen to kill Englishmen as a hobby.[56] While Davies never asserts a negative character to the Chinese race as

[52] Davies, *Yün-Nan*, 380.
[53] Ibid.
[54] Davies, *Yün-Nan*, 379.
[55] Davies, *Yün-Nan*, 30.
[56] Ibid.

a whole, he describes an environment in which those with the worst attitudes are free to act out against Europeans. Furthermore, as Davies continues he notes other negative characteristics. The Chinese have a "natural bumptiousness" that makes them unpleasant to interact with, and it is only after that has been reduced that their bad manners subside and they become pleasant to interact with.[57] These issues are reemphasized when Davies discusses missionaries in China. He clarifies that missionaries who live in China for extended periods face an unpleasant life. They are surrounded by a population that despises anything foreign in subtle as well as blatant ways, and they are at the risk of riots or death if the circumstances turn towards the worst.[58] Davies also writes that their general perception of Europeans is also poor, saying that they view foreigners as having "...a grotesque appearance, scarcely belonging to the human race at all."[59] The negative history that Europeans have had in the country as well as anti-foreigner sentiment paint a far worse picture of the Chinese. While they are not depicted solely in negative terms, more attention is given to the issues Davies sees living among them rather than acknowledging them as generally pleasant. Furthermore, how he describes interactions with the Chinese as a whole is different from other ethnic groups. He claims that they are willing to adopt European ways so long as Europeans hold fast to those methods in China. If they were to adopt Chinese methods in any ways, he argues it would be seen as acknowledging Chinese ways as superior.[60] Ultimately, Davies' presentation shows that the Chinese's national pride and xenophobia are large barriers to living amongst them, and cooperation with them can only be accomplished through stalwartly holding to European customs and having them follow suit. So despite Chinese civilization's

[57] Davies, *Yün-Nan*, 99.
[58] Davies, *Yün-Nan*, 68.
[59] Davies, *Yün-Nan*, 69.
[60] Davies, *Yün-Nan*, 33.

power and wealth as a whole, their behavior leaves much to be desired. This assessment on their behavior explains how Davies can claim that they are in many ways less civilized than groups such as the Shan. Their poor manners, threatening behavior, and pride may be exhibited in other ethnicities, but in those cases they are only found in a small minority of groups. Civilized or not, many other tribes in Yunnan had a far more amiable demeanor than the Chinese, and compared to their overall welcoming and pleasant behavior it is difficult to see Davies' writing on the Chinese as anything but alienating.

The China Inland Mission

All three missionaries this thesis examines were part of the China Inland Mission, Founded in 1865 by Hudson Taylor, it sought to spread Christianity to China's interior. However, it also sought to Westernize China. A collection of articles from *China's Millions*—the mission's periodical—contains a short preface from Ernest Satow that reveals how the mission presented itself. He writes that over the past century missionaries had attempted to spread Christianity across China, a venture which provided the West with knowledge but no progress in conversions. Satow describes China's opening with inoffensive language, saying that the "barriers of separation" between aloof China and the Western world had faded. The Chinese realized they had much to learn from all the West has discovered.[61] He finishes the preface by praising the missionaries who had devoted themselves utterly to China's welfare despite great hardship. These missionaries spread the essential attributes needed for a nation: religion, liberty, justice,

[61] Ernest Satow, "Preface," in *The Chinese Empire: a General and Missionary Survey*, ed. Marshall Broomhall, (London: Morgan & Scott, 1908), vii.

and a heightened quality of life for the Chinese people.[62] The preface defines Christianity and Western civilization as the influences needed for China to better itself. These values were also reflected by the missionaries themselves who praised the gospel's power among the natives. "Communities that less than a decade ago were ignorant, degraded, and very immoral are now moral and Christian."[63] Through God these people could become righteous and civilized; they could become Western. But this did not mean there was nothing the missionaries could learn from the natives. The Westerners were intent on classifying the natives as well as converting them.

Missionaries Among the Miao

The Miao tribes had revolted against and intermingled with the Chinese communities in Yunnan and Guizhou. Clarke writes on the groups' culture and history, intent on answering who they were, where they came from, and why they were in Guizhou province now.[64] In doing so, he also shares his thoughts on the tribes' innate character. While he does not make any holistic judgements, Clarke often compares the Chinese to the Miao tribes as he examines their interactions. The latter are portrayed as simple, stubborn, but not difficult to govern. In comparison, the Chinese were civilized and moral, but prone to corruption and abusing their authority. For instance, Clark writes that for the Miao the law, "...is a point of honor with them, and they think it is due to themselves and their reputations to fight a cause to the bitter end."[65] The cultural importance placed on personal honor was strong enough that rather than satisfying themselves with the local headman's decision, the loser will almost always pay the fee to bring

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[62] Ibid, viii-ix.
[63] Samuel R. Clarke, *Among the Tribes in South-West China*, 137.
[64] Ibid, 4.
[65] Ibid, 27.

their case to the district magistrate. Clarke notes that the magistrate's successor can retry these cases, and rather than justice it is greed and corruption which convinces them to do so. Furthermore, the officials will agitate the people and convince them to pursue hopeless or falsified cases for additional funds. He writes the officials' greed has no bias, but the ignorance and lack of education amongst the Miao make them especially vulnerable to exploitation.[66] Clarke also notes that the average Miao tribesmen are less intelligent than the average Han Chinese citizen. He measures this based on the Miao tribesmen's quality of life. For example, he notes that the Black Miao was the most intelligent and self-reliant tribe among the Miao in Guizhou. They owned their own farmland and were nearly equal to Chinese peasants in living standards. Many other tribes lived in poorer conditions and were tenants to other native groups.[67] For Clarke, intelligence was implicitly tied to social and economic status. The Black Miao were more successful because they were more intelligent, and so the other Miao tribes were less successful because they were less intelligent.

Clark continues describing the exploitative system between the Miao and Chinese when he discusses the two ethnicities in general. The Miao are considered an amiable people who would never cause trouble, but the extortion from Chinese tax-gatherers forces them to express themselves violently.[68] He also writes that Guizhou suffers from widespread banditry with members from the Miao and the Han Chinese, a problem that officials often benefit from. Soldiers and runners in the official's employ are seen aiding the bandit expeditions to secure riches for themselves. Even the nobility and law enforcement within the area are prone to work

[66] Ibid, 28.
[67] Ibid 33 -34
[68] Ibid, 32.

with them and aid in the raiding.[69] So Clarke presents the Miao as a peaceful group whose revolts are responses to their exploitation from Chinese officials. This echoes the perspective that was presented in the preface for *China's Millions*' article collection. According to the Western perspective, the Qing Dynasty lacked a fair justice system and moral government officials. Clarke's writings on the Miao reinforce that outlook through the domestic problems they faced.

His work also addresses issues in morality amongst the Miao as well. Clarke's criticisms are directed towards their drinking habits and their women. He believes that alcohol is their major vice, noting how Miao women often became shamelessly drunk. While Chinese women occasionally drank too much for their own good, they would retire from the festivities and go indoors until the feeling passed. The missionaries could not remember a single instance where they saw a drunk Chinese woman. In comparison, the moral depravity among certain clans such as the Ta-hua Miao there was so great that Clarke declares that they could not find a single decent woman among them.[70] The Miao women's behavior along with other acts that the missionaries refused to describe were evidence that the Miao were morally inferior to the Chinese. So while the Chinese government was corrupt, their moral standards were closer to the Western ideal for Clarke.

In comparison to Clarke, M'Carthy has a greater focus on ethnography. He was based in Yunnan where he considered the tribes' languages as well as their history to understand and categorize them. He first mentions the Miao as having formerly ruled Guizhou, "...the battlefield between the Aborigines and the Imperialists."[71] While labeling the Chinese forces in the regions as imperialistic is interesting, M'Carthy does not expand on this statement. He takes a stronger

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[69] Ibid, 32.
[70] Ibid, 34-35
[71] John M'Carthy, "The Province of Yunnan," in *The Chinese Empire*, 245.

stance on how the West can classify the natives, referencing the notion that most confusion regarding their relationships to each other comes from the inefficient Chinese system. He makes the claim that there are only three true tribes in Yunnan, though he knows there is not sufficient evidence to prove this. Still, he believes that rather than a multitude of distinct peoples the indigenous tribes have simply splintered from three main groups, and while they refused to recognize each other their origins lie in one of those three sources. He hoped that in the future his theory would be proven because if these groups do share common ancestry evangelizing them would be less difficult.[72] While his motivation was based on religion, M'Carthy shows that the missionaries still operated within a Western intellectual tradition. He believed in and supported an approach that could classify these disparate groups within broader categories, providing a simple but effective explanation for their shared characteristics through direct relations.

Pollard is another missionary who, like M'Carthy, was primarily based in Yunnan; however, Pollard is perhaps the most famous among his peers. His successes among the indigenous groups were well known at the time, and he even created a script for the Miao so that the New Testament could be translated and spread amongst them. When he first began his work in Yunnan, his perspective was influenced by the missionary field's progress prior to the Miao conversions. Yunnan was considered among the most difficult provinces in China for missionaries, and the territory exacted a great cost on the mission in lives and finance. Despite the effort invested by these missionaries, for over a decade it failed to show any progress.[73] The Miao began a massive shift that caused Christianity to flourish in the region. This result perfectly matched the overarching missionary belief that, despite all obstacles and evil, China would be

[72] Ibid, 243.
[73] Samuel Pollard, *The Story of the Miao*, (London: H. Hooks, 1919), 21.

converted through God's grace.[74] His view is rooted in what was seen as the miraculous transformation in Yunnan, and he consequently sees the Miao in hopeful terms as a group with the potential to become civilized and righteous. He describes the Miao as ignorant, dirty, and sinful but also lovable. In fact, he was delighted that they considered him a Miao.[75] Pollard viewed them as men who had not been educated or taught what was necessary, but they had the potential to become moral and righteous. He echoed the missionary ideal that the heathen was naturally trapped within a sinful and ignorant state. It was through Christianity's regenerative powers that they could rise up and escape their pitiful conditions.[76]

Despite their potential, it was clear to Pollard that the Miao had many faults. He blames their insular tendencies for their ignorance, and that ignorance allowed wizards and medicine men to control them. These magic users were particularly offensive to the Christian worldview. But the largest issues that Pollard saw among the Miao were drunkenness and immorality. Unlike Clarke, he ascribes the former primarily to men and does not mention women at all. Immorality did not spring from shameless women but instead clubs where unmarried and married young people spent their evenings. He provides no specifics, but he derides the clubs as a curse on the Miao. Pollard also notes that the actions taken within the clubs were so wicked that the Christian Miao were reluctant to share details on them out of shame.[77] Whatever praise the missionaries gave the Miao, it never erased the fact that the heathens were sinful and needed to be elevated from their state through missionary aid.

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[74] Paul A. Varg, *Missionaries, Chinese, and Diplomats*, 17.
[75] Samuel Pollard, *The Story of the Miao*, 33-34.
[76] Paul A. Varg, *Missionaries, Chinese, and Diplomats*, 18.
[77] Samuel Pollard, *The Story of the Miao*, 45-46.

The comparisons between the Chinese and Miao tribes are fairly direct in Pollard's writing. He respects both cultures, but he has far more to say on the Miao's positive attributes than the Han Chinese. For instance, he remarks on how the Chinese repeatedly ask missionaries stupid questions to the point where any Westerner would grow weary. But the Miao only request that the missionaries give them books and teach them about Jesus.[78] When speaking on the Miao society as a whole, he notes that in their judgement the Chinese overlook the tribes' many virtues. The Miao do not bind their women's feet, infantacide is virtually unknown to them, the destitute are rarely found in their communities, opium addiction is near nonexistent, and they do not practice idolatry. This view is rare amongst Westerners; while the moral issues concerning infanticide and footbinding are common, few posit that the natives had societal improvements over the Chinese. Even contemporaries such as Clarke viewed China as being more civilized.[79] He also remarks on the major interactions between the Chinese and Miao that he experienced. Both the Chinese and the Nosu, another ethnic group in the region, grew suspicious at the Miao's mass movements towards areas where missionaries had gathered. As these concerns grew, Pollard states that members of secret societies in China intensified these fears into a panic that the Miao and Westerners would massacre them. Pollard describes the populace as being ignorant of the missionaries and the Miao, and even the highest-ranking official in the district was convinced by these rumors. The missionaries were horrified by the news that the Miao were being driven away, beaten, murdered, and tortured.[80] Ultimately, the Chinese displayed ignorance no different than the Miao and resorted to violence. Pollard is charitable as he describes both sides, and he even writes on how Han Chinese individuals aided him afterwards. Still, this did

[78] Samuel Pollard, *The Story of the Miao*, 38.
[79] Samuel Pollard, *The Story of the Miao*, 44-45.
[80] Samuel Pollard, *The Story of the Miao*, 53-55.

not erase this incident's impact. It puts Chinese anti-foreignism and dangerous ignorance on full display, and unlike the Miao who sought to elevate themselves and become moral through conversion, the Chinese clung to their cruel traditions. Even the fundamentals behind governance decay with secret societies inciting subjects for their own gain. Within this narrative, China's failures to live up to Western standards are brought out through the Miao's spiritual successes.

While his work among the Miao was exceptional by missionary standards, Pollard also worked with the Nosu people. Before he arrived in their lands, he knew the Nosu only through the Chinese perspective. The Nosu were wildmen, barbarians, and outsiders with the capacity to perform many evil acts. While Pollard approached them with a more open mind despite this perspective, that openness was colored by the way he romanticized the land they lived in. He saw it as a "fairyland" he longed to explore himself. There is an innate positivity that colors his views from the exhilaration at venturing through territory unseen by Europeans.[81] What he encountered were people who, just as the Miao, saw him as kin, "... a Nosu from the land of the distant sunset."[82] In turn, he appreciated that, unlike their Han Chinese counterparts, Nosu women did not bind their feet. "As to the size of the feet, one of the greatest pleasures of my journey in Nosuland was the sight of healthy women and girls tripping about with natural feet."[83] He was also more comfortable with the Nosu women's behavior, especially compared to Chinese women. "It was nice to see that the women were frank and open and not afflicted with a false

[81] Samuel Pollard, *In Unknown China: a Record of the Observations, Adventures and Experiences of a Pioneer Missionary during a Prolonged Sojourn amongst the Wild and Unknown Nosu Tribe of Western China* (London: Seeley, Service & co. ltd, 1921), 23.
[82] Ibid, 19.
[83] Ibid, 96-97.

shyness."[84] For all their differences, the Nosu more closely resembled his Eurocentric view of proper behavior. Similarly to the Miao,

Academic Explorers

The scientists and academics who explored Southwestern China during this period provide surprisingly personal accounts of the ethnic groups they encountered in Yunnan. Unlike the explorers and missionaries, these academics did not have geostrategic or evangelical motivations. They wrote to record their own research, to create personal memoirs, and to share their experiences with a broad readership. They did not need to answer to the higher authority of a colonial government or the missionary movement with their reports. As a result, their accounts are more direct and more intimate. This section analyzes the writings of Roy Chapman Andrews and Sir Reginald Fleming Johnston. The former was a notable explorer and naturalist who became the director of the American Museum of Natural History . The latter was a traveler who served as a British diplomat, ultimately becoming the commissioner of Weihaiwei and the tutor of the last Qing emperor, Puyi. Both explorers wrote memoirs which covered their journeys through China, although they wrote from very different perspectives. Johnston finished his account in 1918, a full decade before Andrews completed his. Furthermore, their experiences as explorers were deeply colored by their prior experiences, or in Andrews' case lack of experience, in the region. Neither author held any obligation to a higher authority or institution, and their autonomy gave them the freedom to focus on events and ideas that earlier explorers either glossed over or ignored entirely.

Johnston's experience as a diplomat who lived among and worked with the Chinese at the

[84] Ibid, 110.

heart of their nation informed how he approached his account of his travels. He understood much more about the Han Chinese and Qing officials than the explorers who had gone straight to southwestern China. He also makes it clear from the start that no special interests are involved in his journey. He began this journey to satisfy his own curiosity about the territories and explore the southwestern lands.[85] At the same time, Johnston reveals a level of romanticism or exoticism both in himself and in his audience directed towards the region. Part of his attempt to attract the reader's attention involves the charm of a more primitive, stateless time. He specifically notes that if one desires to experience life as their nomadic ancestors do or as "the homeless state" of Hindu ascetics, the untamed regions of China are as close as they can get.[86] At the same time, Johnston also seeks to address the ignorance and preconceptions that exist regarding the Chinese. He wishes to add complexity to the discourse surrounding them and provide explanations for behavior. As he states in his conclusion, "There are Chinese and Chinese, and good manners are less characteristic of one locality than of another."[87] Johnston sought to provide a more nuanced perspective on the Chinese, one that acknowledged the variance caused not solely race but in living conditions and overall environment the people lived in as well. It is a purpose that also influenced how he depicted the indigenous groups as well.

When it comes to the Chinese themselves, Johnston provides a significant amount of information when writing about them. He notes that overall his experiences living and journeying among their population has been unambiguously positive. Whether it is interacting with officials or the general populace, he has been treated politely and with goodwill by all

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[85] Reginald Fleming Johnston, *From Peking to Mandalay a Journey from North China to Burma through Tibetan Ssuch'uan and Yunnan* (London: J. Murray, 1908), 1.
[86] Johnston, *From Peking to Mandalay*, 2.
[87] Johnston, *From Peking to Mandalay*, 356.

parties. It is only because other Europeans have had such different experiences that he hesitates to place the Chinese among the most kindly and hospitable people in the world.[88] Despite this, Johnston was still willing to acknowledge the problems Europeans saw in Chinese society.. Johnston attempts to create a balance, explaining the various issues which Europeans find the most troubling in China. He does not absolve them of responsibility, but he also explores the issue and the ways in which China is attempting to deal with them. For example, Johnston writes that it is undoubtedly true that the Chinese do not like foreigners; however, their natural manners and customs often prevent them from openly displaying this dislike.[89] He continues by saying that friendly relations with the Chinese is possible despite the cultural difference between them and Europeans. Johnston argues that among the Chinese there are many individuals who are willing to compromise and bend their existing beliefs to accommodate others. There are no irreconcilable differences that cannot be overcome between the Chinese and Europeans.[90] That the differences are not insurmountable nor always negative is a recurring theme in Johnston's writing on the Chinese. He also lays part of the blame for China's attitude towards foreigners at the feet of Europeans as well. Johnston writes that Europeans in China often hold prejudices against the Chinese, and that the Chinese response is poor is not great surprise.[91] But he also goes one step further. Johnston says that while Chinese civilization is inferior to Western civilization in many ways, although he expands on this statement later, the Chinese as a race are not inferior to Europeans. He uses the quickly Westernizing Japanese as an example that ethnicity played no part in the development of civilization.[92] As far as Johnston is concerned, the Chinese are

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[88] Johnston, *From Peking to Mandalay*, 355.
[89] Johnston, *From Peking to Mandalay*, 358-359.
[90] Johnston, *From Peking to Mandalay*, 359.
[91] Johnston, *From Peking to Mandalay*, 363.
[92] Johnston, *From Peking to Mandalay*, 366-367.

inarguably equals to Europeans as a race. While different races have distinct differences or unique qualities, he argues they are never inferior to each other. For instance, he addresses what Europeans see as rampant corruption and oppression in the Chinese government. Johnston states that the Chinese do not see this as oppression at all. Chinese subjects and officials alike recognized payments such as extortion or bribery as informal but necessary parts of the law. He compares them to how Europeans understand the necessity of legal fees, but in this case the transaction is simply unofficial. In the case where the people are truly being abused or harmed by corruption, Johnston argues that punishment is swift and unforgiving.[93] His depiction of the Chinese is unique among these explorers for his persistent attempt to cross ethnic boundaries and humanize them. Paired with his criticism towards Europeans for their own prejudice and well-intentioned blunders, Johnston argues for a more thoughtful stance towards China on part of Europe. Considering his ideology, it is then interesting to note what qualities he ascribed to the natives in Yunnan.

Johnston's stance on the various ethnic groups in Southwestern China broadly follows the same ideas he holds for China and Asia as a whole. They are not fundamentally different from Europeans even if their civilizations were not on par with Europe's. He engages in an ethnographic overview of the various groups in Yunnan, but he refrains from any meaningful judgements or comparisons in the text. While he notes that China has been historically at war with its less civilized neighbors, he also mentions that these have not been uniformly successful. [94] Furthermore, Johnston's previous statements reduce the usually derogatory implication behind the term uncivilized. His insistence that there are no lesser races and that civilization can develop

[93] Johnston, *From Peking to Mandalay*, 373-374.
[94] Johnston, *From Peking to Mandalay*, 269-270.

over different amounts of time means that there is nothing wrong with these groups for not being equal to China. But Johnston does make comments unique to the groups in southwestern China that can be discussed. For instance, he describes the Chinese as lacking the natural charm and grace characteristic of several Shan tribes.[95] Earlier, Johnston writes on how Min-chia women are bold and amiable, and that they would be considered attractive by most any European. He also mentions a Min-chia child who he said would be beautiful by the standards of virtually any Western nation.[96] As noted before, Johnston acknowledges that different races can have different characteristics without being unequal. This compromise may make it appear as if his work has little value in evaluating the comparisons between the Han Chinese and indigenous tribes, but it actually provides insight into the ongoing discourse surrounding these groups. Johnston's work is a deliberate counter to the more common narratives that promoted ethnic tensions and misconceptions about the Chinese. For instance, he states earlier that if not for many accounts saying otherwise he would have without question written on the good nature and hospitality in China. Despite this, it is clear from other later explorers that his view never became dominant. In the discourse on the Chinese and native tribes, Johnston's perspective on detaching the ideas of civilization from race, and indeed reconsidering the idea of unequal races entirely, never became popular. The persistence of more judgemental views which inevitably drew comparisons between the West, the Chinese, and the natives in Southwestern China is shown in the later American explorer, Roy Chapman Andrews.

A scientist and a lover of the natural world, Roy Andrews describes his feelings regarding his trip to China at the end of his book, "The story of our travels is at an end. Once

[95] Johnston, *From Peking to Mandalay*, 355.
[96] Johnston, *From Peking to Mandalay*, 251.

more we are indefinable units in a vast work-a-day world, bound by the iron chains of convention to the customs of civilized men and things."[97] His memories of China tap into ideas of exoticism and a world beyond civilization, a free world similar to Johnston's description. This perspective emerges from his experience adventuring in the wilderness of the land for research; however, Andrews also provides a Burmese village as an example of this free world.[98] It is not only the wilds but also the people that dwelled in the lands he adventured in that made up the unrestricted world he described. While he describes it as a beautiful and unregrettable journey, he ultimately portrays the provinces he saw as having a fundamentally foreign and uncivilized structure.

When writing about ethnicities, Andrews saves the greatest amount of criticism for the Chinese. This is broken up into multiple aspects, but it is introduced earliest through his views on Chinese women and the lives they lead in China. The premier example is foot binding, a practice which Andrews heavily criticizes as barbarous and cruel. He writes that China can never be among the civilized nations of the world until it abolishes the institution of footbinding entirely.[99] The particularly cruel way that China is portrayed as treating women is key to his representation of the nation as barbaric. When writing about the experiences of women in China, Andrews emphasizes a particularly dreary and empty life. In addition to foot binding, their living conditions are in perpetual squalor. They live in run down places with animals freely roaming, and they are worked into an aged appearance within only a decade. Andrews goes far as to say

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[97] Roy Chapman Andrews and Yvette Borup Andrews, *Camps and Trails in China: a Narrative of Exploration, Adventure, and Sport in Little-Known China* (New York: D. Appleton and Company, 1918), 322.
[98] Ibid.
[99] Andrews and Andrews, *Camps and Trails in China*, 71.

that it is true that "...there are no real homes in China..."[100] The life he depicts is so defined by oppression that the ideal of a home, of a domestic life as Western readers would understand it, cannot exist within Chinese society. In fact, only through introducing Western culture can this issue be remedied. Andrews writes that while internal solutions such as imperial edicts failed, Chinese women may be emancipated through education and a Western spirit of revolt.[101] The issues which plague them are endemic to Chinese society so the solution must be foreign. At its most generous, Andrews' writing can only be read as a condemnation of the lifestyles and customs that women in China live under. It is an anchor weighing the nation down from being a civilized country, and the remedy is for it to become more like the West. Andrews' argument that China must become Westernized to become civilized is a recurring element in his book.

When the subject of foot binding and barbarous cultural customs is mentioned again, Andrews is writing about missionary work. Andrews describes missionaries as the "...real pioneers of Western civilization," and just as with footbinding he sees them as a force for educating the Chinese[102] He writes that their efforts introduced new standards of living to the people of China, and he expands on this by explaining how alongside foot binding was the institution of infant selling and the killing of female babies. Andrews argues that missionary action was the main force in reducing the infant trade and infanticide in Fukien Province.[103] It serves as an example that supports his claim regarding how necessary Western influence is in China. At the same time, he juxtaposes the progress the missionaries make with their reception by the Chinese. He characterizes the average Chinese individual as materialists who are

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[100] Andrews and Andrews, *Camps and Trails in China*, 69.
[101] Andrews and Andrews, *Camps and Trails in China*, 71-72.
[102] Andrews and Andrews, *Camps and Trails in China*, 206.
[103] Ibid.

incapable of understanding the idea of pure altruism. They are entirely selfish individuals who only consider their own personal wellbeing and wealth. Consequently, they cannot understand missionaries who attempt to take action to better life in general, and so they are inherently suspicious of the missionary movement.[104] The anti-foreigner sentiment in China is thus elevated from general suspicion into inherent characteristics. Andrews argues that it is impossible for the Chinese to accept the very idea of goodwill, a concept that is near fundamental to the human experience. Furthermore, they continue to exhibit the negative traits written by explorers such as Sladen. Andrews recounts an incident where his group encountered a filthy Chinese town. In order to distance themselves from it, they camped a mile away from the settlement. Despite that, he writes that the Chinese crossed the distance and swarmed the camp. Because he was unable to endure their "insolent stares," he resorted to throwing stones at them until they retreated to the top of a hill. Even then, he writes that they sat at the hilltop and continued to watch the group.[105] The Chinese stares also occur later in a later section where he mentions how unbearable their "insolent curiosity" is.[106] The recurring element of the Chinese stare stretches across these accounts to emphasize how different and also rude they are. It is difficult to imagine a more greedy, alien, and perhaps completely unapproachable people than the Chinese depicted by Andrews. Furthermore, Andrews' description also projects gendered traits onto the Chinese which further complicate their image.

Andrews' description of the Chinese is notable among the explorers for deliberately feminizing Chinese men. He draws from a similar place as Major H.R. Davies, though he ends with a different conclusion. Davies noted that finding a translator was difficult for learned

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[104] Ibid.
[105] Andrews and Andrews, *Camps and Trails in China*, 197.
[106] Andrews and Andrews, *Camps and Trails in China*, 281.

Chinese men rarely desired to walk, but he did not attribute this to a particular racial characteristic. Instead, he says that it was a matter of status. The only individuals who traveled by feet were those who could not afford transportation.[107] Andrews' account completely lacks that element. Instead, he characterizes the Chinese as, "...the ease-loving, effeminate Chinaman whom one sees being carried along the road sprawled in a mountain chair."[108] He draws a comparison to Tibetan men and writes on how refreshing it is to see men with strength and virility compared to those among the Chinese. The implication that Chinese men are notably inferior because they have feminine characteristics is an interesting example of feminizing the other. Eric Reinder's chapter in *Beating Devils and Burning Their Books* describes the feminizing of the Chinese by the British as an expression of patriarchal assumptions. Women are assumed to be weaker and more passive than men, and because of this Andrews merges his description of Chinese 'laziness' and desire for comforts with femininity. Furthermore, Reinder's work also explains the comparison that Andrews draws between the Chinese and Tibetan men. He argues that as a culture which prized various strengths in subduing weaker, and consequently more femenine groups, the fetishization of the strong male served as a spiritual justification for imperial conquest.[109] Over the course of his writings, Andrews questions and attacks the value of Chinese civilization and their worth as a race.

In contrast to Andrews' words on the Chinese, he praises the native groups in Yunnan, particularly the Mosos. He introduces the Mosos as having once been an independent race with their own ancient civilization, and that while the Chinese may consider them barbarians he and

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[107] Davies, *Yün-Nan*, 33.
[108] Andrews and Andrews, *Camps and Trails in China*, 179.
[109] Anthony E. Clark and Eric Reinder, "The Chinese Macabre in Missionary Publications and Horror Fiction," in *Beating Devils and Burning Their Books: Views of China, Japan and the West* (Ann Arbor: Association for Asian Studies, 2010), pp. 15-41, 28.

the expedition have only good words to say of them. The Mosos were not simply excellent people, but Andrews even says that there is an inherent decency to them that the Chinese lack. While he does not elaborate specifically, he does note that this characteristic was shown even though they had never seen a white woman before. In contrast, he found the Chinese incredibly lacking despite the superiority they claim they have achieved.[110] Andrews also casts doubt onto the idea that the Chinese are as "highly civilized" as they claim. That he has come to differing conclusions on what they consider barbarians only further reinforces the dubiousness of Chinese judgement, especially since he finds them inferior to these barbarians in multiple ways.[111] Andrews never outright calls the Mosos civilized, and that is most likely because they are also far from the Western ideals of civilizations. Despite this, he acknowledges a difference in their natural traits which affirms the Mosos' superiority as a people. His writing is more bare when it comes to other groups, and he often draws on Davies as a source instead rather than speaking on them himself.[112]

While most of Andrews' writing on the other natives of Yunnan is more varied in length compared to the Mosos, he does spend time on the Shan as well. He does not focus on their ethnography but instead primarily writes about the personal experiences he had amongst them. Andrews was particularly enamored with Shan villages for being so distinct, and often more clean, than many Chinese villages that he had seen during his travels. In his first encounter with a Shan village, Andrews is in utter disbelief that this place could exist in China. Its bamboo houses and single clean street reminded him of Burma, India, and Java, but it shared little resemblance to the China he had seen up to this point. The sheer wonder in his writing strongly

[110] Andrews and Andrews, *Camps and Trails in China*, 111.
[111] Ibid.
[112] Andrews and Andrews, *Camps and Trails in China*, ix.

indicates that this difference was positive.[113] Andrews' wording and descriptions as he continues also humanize the Shan. He begins with a short idyllic description of the village, characterizing it as being a place of "immemorial peace and quiet" until his group arrived.[114] There is an undeniably romanticized element to his account. The village is almost unreal, a place out of time where nothing has changed since its inception. But rather than being primitive in a derogatory sense, it is a place of natural beauty. He even remarks on how it is as if the water buffalo stand guard over the Shan children beside them who play with the calves. In the end, Andrews describes his own arrival in their village as an "invasion," and writes that while they left they did so regretfully.[115] The ending to this passage revealed how Andrews presented himself as an outsider who does not belong. This depiction is in sharp contrast to his adventures across southwestern China. Throughout his writing, Andrews happily travels throughout China judging and comparing natives as well as hunting wildlife for sport and science. Only now does he feel that he does not belong, and that he does not have the right to be here. There is a degree of respect, one that is mixed in with reverence and a romanticism towards the Shan natives and their home. His love of the natural world and his perception of the Shan as being from a more primitive and perhaps purer world bled together. While his opinions towards the Shan are not universally favorable, this excerpt does more to make the natives of Yunnan appear as people than any of Andrews' writings on Qing China.

Along with Andrews' description of the Mosos, his writing on the Shan provides a far more appreciative and human glimpse into Yunnan's natives. Based on his perspective, their better traits and inherent nature should fill the Chinese with shame at their inadequacy. When

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[113] Andrews and Andrews, *Camps and Trails in China*, 234.
[114] Andrews and Andrews, *Camps and Trails in China*, 235.
[115] Ibid.

combined with the negative traits he describes the very idea that the Chinese are civilized is put into question. His comparisons drew them away from the West while pulling the natives of Southwestern China closer. The latter are more amiable, inherently decent, and deserve more respect than the selfishly materialistic and barbarous Chinese. The difference between Johnston's and Andrews' account is vast, but it is also indicative of the varied perspectives involved in the discourse surrounding southwestern China and its indigenous groups.

Conclusion

Many authors have written about Western explorers and their relationships with natives, but many of these works only address a single explorer or particular movement. They provide in depth knowledge on how these tribes reacted to and incorporated Western ideas, and they also help frame the reactions of explorers in the context of Orientalism. Despite this, few books or essays address the overall exploration effort. This work focuses on widening the scope of this research to evaluate the opening of China and the consequent exploration into southwestern China, amd it does so specifically through the lens of multiple explorers. Yunnan and Guizhou's status as frontier provinces still home to various indigenous communities presented a unique point of comparison for the Western explorers. Rather than simply the West and the other in the form of the Chinese, degrees of otherness began to manifest. The Chinese and the various indigenous groups were compared to Western societies and to each other by explorers, and whether it be explicit or implicit one of the two was always found lacking. Chinese high culture which transcended national boundaries contrasted with ugly Shan customary dresses. The surprising piety of the Miao was placed next to suspicious and materialist Chinese. As noted

before, this work does not encompass the entirety of these comparisons; however, it identifies a pattern in how these groups are perceived.

Identifying a pattern of comparison between the Chinese and indigenous groups of southwestern China requires recognizing the connections between the various explorers. They cannot solely be categorized by their individual motives or experiences. The shared knowledge between these explorers and the ways in which they interacted with one another resulted in an exchange of information on the groups in southwestern China. From that exchange emerged discourse on those groups both in the ethnography of the indigenous tribes and the general descriptions of them and the Chinese. What other prominent explorers wrote or what happened to them was relevant to their peers and later group. For example, Roy Andrews cites and uses a direct excerpt from Major H.R. Davies' writing on the ethnic groups in Yunnan.[116] Explorers regardless of profession were invested to varying degrees in understanding the customs and origins of these natives. Sharing information on how Westerners may identify them as well as explanations for how they entered and spread throughout the province was another purpose of several books, whether they be expeditions by colonial powers or missionary accounts. These explorers built on each other's knowledge and achievements in ethnography, but they also wrote more general accounts of tribal behavior. On a less academic level, the perception of the Chinese and native groups in southwestern China were largely influenced by previous writings. The explorers wrote on the rude staring of the Chinese, natives, and even Asians as a whole as if it was common knowledge, and the only surprise would be the extent of it rather than that fact it happened at all. Stories on Chinese xenophobia as well as European death were common, and it

[116] Andrews and Andrews, *Camps and Trails in China*, ix.

would fall on explorers to explain these occurrences. In particular, the role of officials in European deaths exemplifies a recurring narrative that flourished in this discourse. Explorers such as Davies would explain how these fatalities occurred through such a framework, and the murderous Chinese would stand in sharp contrast to later descriptions of largely friendly indigenous tribes who would let a stranger live among them.[117] In comparison, others such as Johnston sought to push back and provide a different account But as mentioned earlier, these explorers were also aware of one another on an individual level. The issues other explorers encountered, their successes, or even the harm that came to them even outside of their written accounts was something that these travelers were aware of.

An example of the explorers being aware of each other is best shown in the case of Augustus Margary. His death notably affected many travelers, and in their accounts is the certainty that he had been killed under the orders of a high ranking Yunnan official. Palpable distrust towards Chinese officials over the situation is seen with individuals such as Pollard, and it grounds the narrative of the murderous Chinese official that appears in several accounts.[118] These influences would not be wholly negative either. Missionaries referenced the success that their peers had found amongst other indigenous groups, impressed at the spiritual regeneration that occurred within tribes their peers had visited. This success emboldened missionaries and resulted in positive acknowledgement from explorers who saw their earnest efforts to better lives in China despite the hardships. Several written accounts mention the anti-foreigner sentiment, strange customs, and the fear of violent death that missionaries faced while living amongst the Chinese. These works simultaneously praised the missionaries' steadfastness in the face of

[117] Davies, *Yün-Nan*, 30.
[118] Pollard, *In Unknown China*, 23.

adversity, but they also openly condemned Chinese who created these circumstances. This awareness of not just what others believed but what their lived experiences further suggests viewing these explorers as an overall movement.

Fundamentally this work sees the presentation of southwestern China's indigenous groups and Han Chinese by Western explorers as juxtaposing each other. By examining these explorers as part of an active intellectual movement, it addresses how those comparisons developed through a shared academic understanding and discourse on the ethnic groups as well. From this point, further examination of this Western ethnic classification over time can be revealing in terms of how it can represent shifts or continuities in what is considered civilized and familiar. Viewing this situation from a Chinese perspective also opens the possibility for evaluating any shift in their own idea of the outsider and barbarian, especially considering the Qing dynasty's efforts to fully incorporate these ethnic groups while Western foreigners moved freely in their borders and applied their own definitions.

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