

THE LEGENDARY CHINESE: A TRANSNATIONAL PERSPECTIVE OF
IMMIGRANTS' MOBILITY IN NINETEENTH CENTURY

A Thesis

Presented to

The Faculty of the Department

of History

University of Houston

In Partial Fulfillment

Of the Requirements for the Degree of

Master of Arts

By

Yanfei Yin. Student

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Yanfei Yin. Student

APPROVED:

Xiaoping Cong, Ph.D.
Committee Chair

Matthew J. Clavin, Ph.D.

Raul A. Ramos, Ph.D.

John W. Roberts, Ph.D.
Dean, College of Liberal Arts and Social Sciences
Department of English

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The lives of Chinese immigrants Hong Neck Woo, Marshall Tsao, and Chang and Eng Bunker offer an important case study to enhance the understanding of transnationalism in the nineteenth century. These men, who devoted themselves to the American Civil War, became agents of the cultural exchange between China and the United States and challenged the stereotyped images of Chinese Americans. As a result of their transnational activities throughout their lives, they made essential contributions to both the United States and China in the fields of economy, politics, military service, education, medicine, and culture. They came to identify themselves with multiple societies and their interpretations of their identities changed over time. Their hybrid identities as Chinese and American reflect and are complicated by their roles in society. This thesis uses the stories of these four families to interpret immigrants' mobility in the nineteenth century with a transnational approach.

Contents

Introduction	1
Chapter One	14
Whose Civil War?—The American Civil War as a Transnational Event	14
Different Meanings of Patriotism in the Union Army	18
Idealism in the Confederacy	25
Other Motivations—Bounties, Citizenship, Adventure, Masculinity, and Religion	29
Chapter Two	37
Whose Culture?—Cultural Exchange in Transnationalism	37
The Famous Chang and Eng	41
Representation of the Asian Image	43
Cultural Implications on Identity	51
Woo and Tsao’s Contribution to China’s Modernization	59
Hong Neck Woo	59
Marshall Tsao	63
Chapter Three	70
Who Are They?—The Hybrid Identities of Trans-migrants	70
Chang and Eng’s Self-identification as Chinese in the Early Years	73
Chang and Eng’s Change of Identities	77
Hong Neck Woo and Marshall Tsao as Nationalists	81
Woo and Tsao’s Attitudes as Westerners	91
Conclusion	96

The Legendary Chinese: A Transnational Perspective of Immigrants' Mobility in Nineteenth Century

Introduction

When people think about Chinese immigrants to the United States in the nineteenth century, they might envision stereotypes of Asians as servants or cooks wearing long braids and bowing deferentially to their employers or, more likely, laborers toiling on the railroads or the in gold mines of the West as portrayed by media. They are far less apt to think of the diverse activities and experiences of the Chinese immigrants in America who were soldiers, popular entertainers, southern slaveholders, or devout Christian missionaries who returned to China to spread the Gospel, improve medical care and education, and engage in nationalist politics based on principles they learned during their transnational experiences. Their life stories and their transnational experiences have received little attention from American scholars and, as a result, remain largely absent from popular knowledge.

During this era, immigrants' transnational mobility played a crucial role in the history of nation-building in the United States and their homelands, as their cross-continental activities made essential contributions to the both countries in the fields of economy, politics, military service, and culture. Among this group of Chinese immigrants, Hong Neck Woo volunteered in the Fiftieth Regiment Infantry of the Pennsylvania Emergency Militia. Marshall Tsao fought in the Battle of Fort Henry in Tennessee. Both of them returned to China as missionaries. Christopher Wren Bunker and Stephen

Decatur Bunker enlisted in the Virginia Cavalry. Their fathers—Chang and Eng—two conjoined twins, were world renowned showmen and businessmen, staunch Confederates, and wealthy slaveholders. Hong Neck Woo, Marshall Tsao, and the Bunker families were Chinese immigrants who not only devoted themselves to the American Civil War but also impacted America's social development. They became agents of the cultural exchange between China and the United States and image representation of Chinese Americans as a result of their transnational activities throughout their lives.

These people and others like them who have been largely ignored in the historical records deserve consideration and closer examination. Interspersed among different places and times in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, these people's transnational activities challenge the traditional concepts of nation-state. Their contributions to both their host countries and home countries inspire a consideration of how patriotism and nationalism are represented. Also, their roles as agents of a cultural exchange prove that transnationalism is a two-way street, as the immigrants also impact U.S. culture while they retain their distinctive cultural identities. This raises questions for historians about how these people viewed their identities based on their experiences living in different countries and how their transnational experiences forged trans-migrants' hybrid identities. This thesis argues that they came to identify themselves with multiple societies and that their interpretation of their identities changed over time. In addition, this research adds to the study of Chinese immigrants' contributions to the United States as individuals rather than as a monolithic and homogeneous group. It challenges the racial stereotype of Chinese immigrants to the United States in this era as immoral residents in Chinatown dens or submissive victims and unassimilable foreigners.

Definitions of Transnationalism

This thesis observes and interprets immigrants' mobility and identities in the late nineteenth and early twentieth century with a transnational approach. As a new trend rising in the field of immigrant studies, transnationalism helps in conceptualizing the global economic, political, religious, and cultural ties that have received insufficient attention or emphasis.¹ Despite the increased interest in transnationalism, its definition remains ambiguous, varying among experts within the related fields. Social anthropologists, Nina Glick Shiller, Linda Basch, and Cristina Blanc-Szanton consider "transnationalism" to emphasize "the emergences of a social process in which migrants establish social fields that cross geographic, cultural, and political borders."² By "social fields," these anthropologists mean the multiple social relations, including familial, economic, political, and religious, that span borders. Based on Shiller and her associates' study, social relations in transnationalism are essential to differentiate transnationalism from other cross-border activities. The reason is that transnational activities would lose

¹ As a relatively new area of study and method of analysis, transnationalism has drawn increasing attention from historians, anthropologists, and social scientists. The director of the Transnationalism Research Project at the Mexico-North Research Network, Gustavo Cano, found in 2005 that the prevalence of articles on transnationalism in the Social Science Abstracts Database has increased significantly since the late 1980s. By 2003, the number of articles had reached 1,300, with two thirds of those appearing between 1998 and 2003. The burgeoning of transnational studies relates closely to the increasing volume of immigrants who travel and live across borders, while maintaining the ties between their adopted countries and their homelands. Steven Vertovec, *Transnationalism* (New York: Routledge, 2009), 1.

² Nina Glick Shiller, Linda Basch, and Cristina Blanc-Szanton, "Towards a Definition of Transnationalism: Introductory Remarks and Research Questions," in *Towards a Transnational Perspective on Migration: Race, Class, Ethnicity, and Nationalism Reconsidered*, eds. Nina Glick Shiller, Linda Basch, and Cristina Blanc-Szanton (New York: The New York Academy of Science, 1992), ix.

their significance if the immigrants only circulated goods and ideas, which are not “embedded in social relations.”³ For example, a tourist who comes to the United States and brings home a pair of boots made in Texas as a souvenir is not engaging in transnationalism by their definition since the boots have no lasting economic, cultural, or political influence.

Regular cross-border movements also play a crucial role in defining the concept of transnationalism. Sociologists Alejandro Portes, Luis E. Guarnizo, and Patricia Landolt Portes view transnationalism as related “to occupations and activities that require regular and sustained social contact over time across national borders for their implementation.”⁴ They underscore the importance of trans-migrants’ frequent contacts among different countries by discrediting the occasional travels and activities as “neither novel enough, nor sufficiently distinct, to justify a new area of investigation.”⁵ Another group of sociologists, Jose Itzigsohn, Carlos Dore Cabral, Esther Hernandez Medina, and Obed Vazquez interpret transnationalism based on two senses—“narrow” and “broad.” They argue that in the narrow sense, transnationalism refers to people’s constant involvement in transnational activities and a “high level of institutionalization.” While the “sporadic physical movement” and “occasional personal involvement” are also reasonable in defining transnationalism in the broad sense.⁶ In addition, this group’s

³ Shiller, Basch, and Szanton, “Towards a Definition of Transnationalism,” ix.

⁴ Alejandro Portes, Luis E. Guarnizo, and Patricia Landolt, “The Study of Transnationalism: Pitfalls and Promise of An Emergent Research Field,” *Ethnic and Racial Studies* 22, no. 2 (February 2011), 219.

⁵ Portes, Guarnizo, and Landolt, “The Study of Transnationalism,” 219.

⁶ Jose Itzigsohn, Carlos Dore Cabral, Esther Hernandez Medina, and Obed Vazquez, “Mapping Dominican Transnationalism: Narrow and Broad Transnational Practices,” *Ethnic and Racial Studies* 22, no. 2 (1999), 323.

definition emphasizes the economic aspect of transnationalism and transnational enterprises, which are more dynamic in the contemporary period.⁷

Director at the Max Planck Institute for the Study of Religious and Ethnic Diversity, Steven Vertovec defines transnationalism in an all-encompassing way. He characterizes it as “social morphology, as type of consciousness, as mode of cultural reproduction, as avenue of capital, as site of political engagement, and as (re)construction of ‘place’ or locality.”⁸ The findings in this thesis support Vertovec’s definition of transnationalism, especially with regard to treating transnationalism as a type of consciousness. Vertovec primarily refers to immigrants’ multiple identifications and their “awareness of de-centered attachment, of being simultaneously ‘home away from home’, ‘here and there.’”⁹ Immigrants, therefore, might identify themselves with multiple societies and different senses of self, culturally or politically.

Trans-migrants and Their Hybrid Identities

Immigrants’ hybrid identities as well as their dual or multiple loyalties to different countries represent concepts inherently related to transnationalism, but their juxtaposition requires examination. The coexistence of different identities “do[es] not assimilate evenly but produce[s] a new identity that is a result of mixing, fusing, and creolization.”¹⁰ The

⁷ Alenjandro Portes, “Transnational communities: their emergence and significance in the contemporary world system,” in *Latin America in the World-Economy*, eds. Roberto Patricio Korzeniewicz, and William C. Smith (Westport: Greenwood Press, 1996), 151-168.

⁸ Vertovec, *Transnationalism*, 4.

⁹ Vertovec, *Transnationalism*, 6.

¹⁰ Esther Grace Long, “Identity in Evangelical Ukraine: Negotiating Regionalism, Nationalism, and Transnationalism” (PhD diss., University of Kentucky, 2005), 28.

shaping of immigrants' identities is not an isolated process. Instead, immigrants' identities involve and reflect social relations—their social roles, the perceptions and perspectives of others, as well as their social status. These social relations contextualize their self-identifications that are shaped by different economic, political, and cultural circumstances. Defining a person's identity goes beyond the process of self-selection from various social relationships, however, to include the recognition of others' perspectives. Gloria E. Anzaldúa, scholar of Chicana studies, contends that identity emerges “in relation to somebody else because you can't have a stand alone; there must be something you're bouncing off of.”¹¹ Therefore, in the course of comparing the culture of the native country and that of the adopted country, immigrants' identities embody their self-selection in different cultures and reflect others' perceptions of them.

Historians and social scientists also disagree on use of the terms “immigrant” and “trans-migrant,” both of which have important implications to the study of transnationalism. Portes and his associates argue that “Nothing is gained...by calling immigrants ‘trans-migrants’, when the earlier and more familiar term is perfectly adequate to describe the subjects in question.”¹² However, Schiller and her colleagues with whom this thesis agrees, argue that “trans-migrant” differs from “immigrant” in some circumstances, as a new type of migrants whose experiences reflect a different phenomenon, “Immigrants who build such social fields are designated transmigrants.

Creolization refers to “the linguistic restructuring in the domain of grammar, phonology, lexicon, and syntax involved in the formation of creoles,” which is “a type of language that emerged when pidgins were learned as mother tongues by subsequent generations.” Creolization also means a process of immigrants' adaptation to local cultures and identities of adoptive homes. *Creolization: History, Ethnography, Theory*, Charles Stewart, ed., (Walnut Creek: Left Coast Press, 2007), 1-2.

¹¹ Gloria E. Anzaldúa, *Interviews/Entrevistas* (New York: Routledge, 2000), 240.

¹² Portes, Guarnizo, and Landolt, “The Study of Transnationalism,” 219.

Transmigrants develop and maintain multiple relations.” Apart from the trans-migrants’ importance in establishing social relationships, they also challenge the designations of immigrants as “permanent migrants,” “return migrants,” and “temporary migrants” by repeatedly traveling back and forth across borders.¹³

Narrative

The American Civil War involved people of many different nationalities and races, many of them were foreign-born. By no means solely a domestic affair, the war had transnational implications. Both native-born and foreign-born people who devoted themselves to the war effort demonstrated different motivations—faith in liberty, duty and honor, love of adventure, devotion to their way of life, as well as the desire for bounty and citizenship. However, their definitions of these concepts varied even though they shared the same name. Therefore, the significance of participants’ patriotism and nationalism in this conflict is complex and contingent on a broad matrix of forces. Furthermore, the experience impacts how those definitions continue to evolve for trans-migrants after the war ends, as the examples presented in this study of former soldiers Hong Neck Woo and Marshall Tsao demonstrate.

The diasporas’ transnational activities not only create ties between two or multiple societies but also contribute to the material, social, and cultural change at each destination. Trans-migrants become catalysts for change by reshaping the images of foreigners and introducing cultural exchange. The fluidity of social concepts also go hand in hand with the flow of people. Trans-migrants’ mobility helps to break down the

¹³ Shiller, Basch, and Blanc-Szanton, “Towards a Definition of Transnationalism,” 1, 5.

stereotypes associated with people of different cultures. The example of the conjoined twins Chang and Eng Bunker demonstrates how they reshaped Americans' image of Asian immigrants. The twins managed to turn this into a financial profit for themselves while reflecting social concepts of U.S. national identity in the nineteenth century. Hong Neck Woo and Marshall Tsao played important roles in modernizing China on their return after the Civil War by establishing schools, hospitals, and institutional homes, and by promoting Western civilization. In addition, their succeeding generations continued their far-reaching influence by carrying on their transnational activities.

The intricacies involved in defining patriotism and nationalism are critical to understanding the complex personal identities found in the study of transnationalism. Previously, dual loyalties to both native and adopted homes did not fit with the conventional framework of the nation-state where "this identity/people is believed to be contiguous with a territory, demarcated by a border."¹⁴ Transnational diasporas defy these nation-state ideals by belonging both to the home and host countries. Their transnational experiences in multiple countries become and remain part of their identities. The observations in this work regarding the identities of Chang and Eng, Woo, and Tsao reveal that their hybrid identities appear intermittently, subject to their social status, class, and economic and political conditions. Woo's participation in China's nationalist protest in Shanghai's international settlement particularly demonstrates his patriotic feelings as a Chinese native but with a Westerner's attitude toward his rights as a member of the privileged class.

¹⁴ Vertovec, *Transnationalism*, 87.

The Sources and the Existing Scholarship

The major primary sources used in this thesis include Hong Neck Woo's autobiography, the most important source to observe his self-identification; missionaries' journals, *The Chinese Recorder* and *The Spirits of Mission*, which contain a number of Woo's letters and reports to the Episcopal Churches, that directly show Woo's progress of his missions as well as his attitudes on Chinese people and culture; newspapers *Shen Bao* [Shanghai Newspaper], an influential Chinese newspaper and the nation's longest-running that reported Woo and his associates' rhetoric in the nationalist protest, and the *Boston Daily Courier*; addresses, letters, and literature both in English and Chinese, including "The Siamese Twins" by Mark Twain, and Thomas Nast's cartoon, "The American Twins," which reveal the public images and cultural impact of Chang and Eng; essays of Chinese literati and nationalists Guo Moruo, Li Wenqing, and Zhou Zuoren, whose nationalist rhetoric greatly contrast with Woo's Westernized mindset. The primary sources also lie in pamphlets and books published in the nineteenth century, such as *Historical Account of the Siamese Twin Brothers from Actual Observations; A Few Particulars Concerning Chang-Eng, the United Siamese Brothers, Published Under Their Own Direction*; as well as *Lives, Adventures, Anecdotes, Amusements, and Domestic Habits of the Siamese Twins: One of the Greatest Wonders of the Present Time, Being Two Perfectly Formed Persons, Whose Bodies, by A Singular Caprice of Nature, Are United Together as One*.¹⁵ These books published in the nineteenth century to

¹⁵ James W. Hale, *Historical Account of the Siamese Twin Brothers from Actual Observations* (New York: Elliott and Palmer printer, 1831); James W. Hale, *A Few Particulars Concerning Chang-Eng, The United Siamese Brothers, Published Under Their Own Direction* (New York: J. M. Elliott, 1836); Hon. J. N. Moreheid, *Lives, Adventures, Anecdotes, Amusements, and Domestic Habits of the Siamese Twins: One of*

promote Chang and Eng provide graphic descriptions of the twins' images and the U.S. social culture at that time. Moreover, the two biographies on Chang and Eng, *The Two: A Biography* and *Duet for a Lifetime: The Story of the Original Siamese Twins*, tell the most complete and vivid story focusing not only on their lives but also on nineteenth century U.S. society.¹⁶ *The Two: A Biography*, in particular, contains a great number of primary sources, such as Chang and Eng's letters to their managers, their pictures, as well as reports and articles from nineteenth-century newspapers and magazines.

Because of the insufficient attention paid to Chinese soldiers during the Civil War, very few secondary sources can be found on Marshall Tsao. Therefore, this paper relies on accounts provided in the biographies and diaries written by one of his sons, Tsao Yunxiang, as well as his friend Song Yaoru as the major sources regarding Marshall Tsao's life in China.¹⁷

The stories of Hong Neck Woo, Marshall Tsao, Chang and Eng, as trans-migrants in the nineteenth century have attracted the attention of some scholars such as Ruthanne Lum McCunn who offers short stories of each of them based on interviews, family pictures, letters, and newspapers for documentation in "Chinese in the Civil War:

the Greatest Wonders of the Present Time, Being Two Perfectly Formed Persons, Whose Bodies, by A Singular Caprice of Nature, Are United Together as One (Raleigh: E. E. Barclay, 1850).

¹⁶ Irving Wallace and Amy Wallace, *The Two: A Biography* (New York: Simon and Schuster, 1978); Kay Hunter, *Duet for a Lifetime: The Story of the Original Siamese Twins* (New York: Coward-McCann, Inc., 1964).

¹⁷ Degui Cai, *Qinghua Zhi Fu Cao Yunxiang* [The Father of Tsing Hua University—Yunxiang Tsao] (Xian: Shanxi Shifan Da Xue Chu Ban She [Shanxi Normal University Press], 2011).; Lifu Xie and Guang Feng, *The Song Family* [Song Shi Jia Zu] (Beijing: Archives of Social Science Press [Shehui Ke Xue Wenxian Chu Ban She], 1996); Guang Chen and Si Ye, *Song Shi Jia Zu Quan Zhuan* [Bibliography of the Song Family], (Beijing: Zhongguo Wen Shi Chu Ban She [China Literary History Press], 1999).

Ten Who Served.”¹⁸ But her research fails to uncover the complexity of these people, their roles in cultural exchange between the East and the West, or their hybrid identities forged in transnational practices. This thesis sheds a light on all of these aspects of their transnationalism.

Several scholars address Chinese American communities with a transnational approach that inform the conclusions of this thesis. Huping Ling’s *Chinese Chicago: Race, Transnational Migration, and Community Since 1870* examines how the capital accumulation, business operation, and the distribution of merchandise depended on the transnational ethnic network as well as the crucial position of Chicago as the vital socioeconomic link to the other Chinese communities in American West.¹⁹ However, she focuses mainly on the business realm without mentioning the immigrants’ political activities.

Yong Chen’s book, *Chinese San Francisco, 1850-1943: A Trans-Pacific Community*, discusses the Chinese communities’ remarkable political activism in the era of Chinese exclusion in the United States. It demonstrates how their transnational activities helped improve their social status and shaped their identities, in addition to exploring issues of labor, gender, race, and laws limiting their rights. He reinforces a dynamic and ever-changing Chinese community in San Francisco in terms of economy, culture, identity, and politics. Chen introduces the term “trans-Pacific rim” to indicate

¹⁸ Ruthanne Lum McCunn, “Chinese in the Civil War: Ten Who Served,” *Chinese America: History and Perspectives* 10 (1996).

¹⁹ Huping Ling, *Chinese Chicago: Race, Transnational Migration, and Community Since 1870* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 2012).

that “many Chinese Americans comprehended their experiences in the context of the trans-Pacific world, rather than solely in that of American society.”²⁰

Raúl A. Ramos also argues that “transnational history often lacks insight into the political dimensions of identity formation, particularly from the perspective of relatively powerless people.” Echoing both Ramos and Chen’s discussion of immigrants’ political activities and the position of both of these scholars, this thesis presents a transnational history, especially focused on the immigrants’ political activities, from “below”—meaning it studies individuals’ transnational practices rather than that of government and official organizations.²¹ In contrast to Chen’s work on trans-migrants’ political activities, this thesis reveals their inconsistent identities and how those identities impact their activism. Chen describes Asian American communities’ connection with their native land as a “love-or-hate relationship”; yet, this thesis identifies a relationship that stands somewhere between extreme love and hate, evidenced by the trans-migrants dual or multiple loyalties in transnationalism.

This thesis adds to the current scholarship in several ways. First, it fills a void in the prior studies of Chinese soldiers in the American Civil War, which are neither sufficient nor thesis-driven. The studies on the lives of Hong Neck Woo and Marshall Tsao who returned to China after the war are especially few. Second, this work fills a gap in the study of the Chinese presence in the South as slaveholders and the impact of Chinese migrants, some of whom gained national notoriety, on the definitions assigned to Asians in the United States during the nineteenth century. Third, this study also adds to

²⁰ Yong Chen, *Chinese San Francisco, 1850-1943: A Trans-Pacific Community* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 2000), 7.

²¹ Raúl A. Ramos, *Beyond the Alamo: Forging Mexican Ethnicity in San Antonio, 1821-1861* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2008), 236.

the understanding of trans-migrants' influences on their native countries as well as their hybrid identities, demonstrating that the cultural exchange that occurs with transnationalism is a two-way street that goes beyond the host country. Since most of the ethnic studies merely focus on the lives of ethnic communities in foreign lands, this reciprocal influence on both identities and activism adds to our knowledge on transnationalism's broader effect.

Chapter One

Whose Civil War?—The American Civil War as a Transnational Event

Throughout the nineteenth century, global mobility—the circulation of capital, commodities, people, and ideas—gained momentum. Events that took place in one country no longer remained strictly domestic affairs; rather, solid economic, political, and cultural ties increasingly connected them globally. The American Civil War represents one such event given the significant number of foreign-born soldiers who served in the military on both sides of the conflict. At the outbreak of the Civil War, 13 percent of the soldiers came from foreign countries. Since 86.6 percent of the foreign-born population lived in free states, the vast majority of those soldiers, a total of 3,903,672, fought for the Union. By contrast, the entire Confederacy had only 233,650 immigrants in 1860.¹

The foreign participation made this milestone in U.S. history a transnational event. A variety of motivations contingent on a broad matrix of global political, economic, cultural, and religious forces drove these non-native soldiers to take part. Yet, their patriotism and nationalism were complicated by dual loyalties to their home and host countries.

This chapter examines three aspects of foreign-born soldiers' patriotism: their compassion for the United States as their adopted home, where they successfully integrated into the local society; their desire to honor or aid their homelands and countrymen; and their dual loyalties to both countries, demonstrating a hybrid identity. Further, it explores the idealistic and pragmatic reasons that motivated foreign-born

¹ Ella Lonn, *Foreigners in the Union Army and Navy* (Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 1951), 1.

soldiers in the North and the South. Patriotism and belief in their region's cause were common among the immigrant communities, though their loyalties might have been conditional or divided. Other reasons—achieving citizenship, collecting bounties, demonstrating masculinity, or adhering to religious beliefs—also came into play during the war.

A few scholars have devoted their work to the participation of foreigners in the American Civil War. Ella Lonn provides valuable statistics and other primary source material in two books that detail the panorama of the immigrant population during the Civil War.² James M. McPherson, by explaining both native and foreign-born soldiers' motivations, challenges the “conventional wisdom about the motives and mentalities of civil war soldiers.” His extensive review of soldiers' diaries and letters demonstrates the vivid images and emotions of these Civil War heroes.³ Susannah J. Ural and six other historians each studied soldiers from a different country of origin, exploring how their home and adopted countries shaped their loyalties.⁴

Few of these works were strongly thesis-driven, however. They concentrated on tapping into unknown stories of foreign-born soldiers, highlighting their numbers, nationalities, attitudes, and service. This leaves a void in the Civil War historiography from a transnational perspective. Moreover, few works have traced foreign-born soldiers' lives before and after the Civil War. Thus, this chapter adds to the scholarship by focusing on the more diverse elements of the Union and Confederate armies. The

² Lonn, *Foreigners in the Union Army and Navy*; Ella Lonn, *Foreigners in the Confederacy* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2002).

³ James M. McPherson, *For Cause and Comrades: Why Men Fought in the Civil War* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1997), x.

⁴ Susannah J. Ural, *Civil War Citizens: Race, Ethnicity, and Identity in America's Bloodiest Conflict* (New York: New York University Press, 2010).

presence of transnational participants in the conflict expands the traditional interpretation beyond slavery and states' rights to include patriotism and nationalism as motivations for participation, particularly for immigrant soldiers. In other words, the American Civil War set in a transnational matrix generates new contexts through which to study the relations of individual immigrants to the nation.

Even among the few works devoted to immigrant Civil War soldiers, the treatment of Chinese soldiers specifically is superficial at best and nonexistent at worst. None of the four books discussed above mentions Chinese soldiers. A comprehensive introduction of Chinese men in the war can be found in Ruthanne Lum McCunn's "Chinese in the Civil War: Ten Who Served." She offers ten short stories of Chinese men on both sides of the conflict, relying on interviews, family pictures, letters, and newspapers for documentation. Her work introduced the stories of Hong Neck Woo and Marshall Tsao, two Chinese soldiers who traveled back to China at the end of the Civil War. Adding to her study, I discovered the transnational connections between Woo and Tsao who met during a nationalist protest in Shanghai, China. McCunn also contends that few books acknowledge Chinese participation, apart from a single sentence in George R. Stewart's *Pickett's Charge: A Microhistory of the Final Attack at Gettysburg, July 3, 1863*; and a few pages from Arthur Bonner's *Alas! What Brought Thee Hither?: The Chinese in New York, 1800-1950*.⁵ McCunn's research only provides basic knowledge of the Chinese

⁵George R. Stewart, *Pickett's Charge: a Microhistory of the Final Attack at Gettysburg, July 3, 1863* (Boston: Houghton Mifflin, 1959); Arthur Bonner, *Alas! What Brought Thee Hither?: The Chinese in New York, 1800-1950* (Madison, N.J.: Fairleigh Dickinson University Press, 1997); Ruthanne Lum McCunn, "Chinese in the Civil War: Ten Who Served," *Chinese America: History and Perspectives* 10 (1996), 149.

soldiers, however; and she does not examine the historical significance of Chinese participation in the Civil War or offer a theoretical analysis of her findings.

This chapter fills a gap in the study of the Chinese presence in the South. Its absence in the historical literature is partly due to the relatively small number of Chinese immigrants in the antebellum United States. Even though a few Chinese immigrants in the Confederacy owned slaves, the majority, unlike skilled European laborers, primarily worked in tertiary service positions in restaurants, laundries, and gardening. The general conditions in U.S. Chinese communities and the image of them portrayed by the media overshadowed the fact that some Chinese had become prominent and economically influential, some even owning slaves in the South during the nineteenth-century. For example, the exceptionally wealthy Bunker family became famous in the nineteenth century because the fathers—conjoined twins—were world-renowned celebrities. They remained staunchly Confederate and sent two of their sons to fight for the South. Contrary to the assumption that the Chinese had little impact on U.S. economic development, the Chinese community's contribution to the economy actually preceded the Civil War. They worked in mines during the California Gold Rush and in construction of railroads, helping to fuel the country's economic transformation in the antebellum period. This economic growth, the industrialization of production, and improvements to transportation added to the political differences between the North and the South.⁶

⁶ Robert A. Margo, *Wages and Labor Markets in the United States, 1820-1860* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2000), 1.

Different Meanings of Patriotism in the Union Army

Some foreign-born soldiers in the Union army fought for justice and national unity. Though Ella Lonn contends that such patriotic motivations were rare early in the war, some immigrant soldiers undeniably fought for idealistic ends—“the preservation of the Union and liberation of the slaves”—as well as from a sense of loyalty and honor.⁷ Their devotion and commitment deserves particular respect since, unlike native-born soldiers who invoked the legacy of the Founding Fathers, foreign-born fighters did not have the same deep connections to their adopted country. Nevertheless, by joining the war effort, they showed their loyalty to their new home. A Norwegian soldier wrote, “I prefer to die with the conviction that I have not been unfaithful in time of distress to the oath of allegiance I made my adopted country.”⁸ Thus, immigrants’ importance to U.S. nation-building went beyond economic contributions to embody a sense of emotional and spiritual dedication.

In a transnational event like American Civil War, the connotations and significance of patriotism created an intricate web. Transnationalism challenges the traditional beliefs about patriotism and nationalism to a nation-state. Although the country had united under one banner after the American Revolution, U.S. society consisted of people from many different races, cultures, and classes. This was particularly true of the antebellum period, when the divergence between North and South had increased tremendously. Further, foreign-born soldiers’ transnational experiences, their

⁷ Lonn, *Foreigners in the Union Army and Navy*, 66.

⁸ Knut Langland, letter to (need first name) Madison, *Emigranten*, October 24, 1864, as quoted in Lonn, *Foreigners in the Union Army and Navy*, 66.

compassion for the United States, and their cultural, political, economic, and emotional ties to their homelands combined to forge complicated identities and senses of patriotism.

Among the Unionists, a Chinese soldier, Hong Neck Woo, showed his integrity and dedication to the United States by serving as a private in the Pennsylvania state militia. He became one of the few naturalized Chinese citizens in the antebellum United States.⁹ Woo explained his motivation for joining the Union army in his autobiography:

Volunteered on June 29th 1863 in spite of the advice of my Lancaster friends against it, for I had felt that the North was right in opposing slavery. My friends thought I should not join the militia and risk my life in war, for my own people and family were in China and I had neither property nor family in America whose defense might serve as an excuse for my volunteering.¹⁰

Woo was devoted to his adopted country and “took his citizenship seriously,” Ruthanne Lum McCunn explains.¹¹ He still considered the Chinese his “own people,” but he was willing to risk his life to guard justice in the United States, revealing his dual self-identification in the transnational experience.

The Christian culture and the attraction of a whole new world lured Woo to leave his family and explore the United States. He was born on August 7, 1834, in a Chinese hamlet of about thirty-five families. In 1848, his father sent him to a boys’ school established two years earlier by the first Episcopal missionary bishop, William J. Boone, to prepare Woo for employment in the foreign “hongs” of Shanghai.¹² Woo did not

⁹ Willis L. Shirk Jr., “A Chinese American Soldier in the Civil War,” *Pennsylvania Heritage* 39, no. 1 (Winter 2013), 45.

¹⁰ *Autobiography of Rev. H. N. Woo*, 1915, Record Group 64, Archives of the Episcopal Church, Austin, Texas, 9.

¹¹ McCunn, “Chinese in the Civil War,” 168.

¹² The “hongs” were the major foreign trading houses started in early eighteenth-century China. In Qing times, the hongs became the official solution to deal with expanding foreign trade and the increasing number of foreigners. The hongs also played important

expect attending the mission school to pave the way for a new religious life and travel halfway around the world. Bishop Boone's touching lectures piqued his interest in Christian teachings, and Woo volunteered to be baptized. He wrote, "His preaching impressed me so much that on several occasions I cried over my own shortcomings. At fifteen, I applied for baptism."¹³

Woo also had a "strong desire to visit that country [the United States]" and "was absorbed in the ambition to see foreign lands" after six years studying English and Christianity.¹⁴ His chance finally came in 1854, when the squadron of Commodore Matthew Perry stopped in Shanghai after a trip to Japan to negotiate a trade treaty. After learning of the Perry expedition and its speedy return to the United States, Woo decided to work his way across the ocean on board one of the ships. In the autumn of 1854, Woo and two other students boarded the ship and began their journey.¹⁵ They dressed in sailors' uniforms and worked under the same rules and discipline as the other sailors. Woo's experience as a seaman shows that he actually began his service to the American navy years before his participation in the Civil War.¹⁶ After Woo landed at the Philadelphia

roles in Sino-Western relations through the management of trade and customs collections. The hong merchants even had policing powers over "house and ships' compradors, linguists, the more than one hundred shopkeepers who enjoyed limited right to carry out a retail trade with foreigners, and up-country suppliers." W. E Cheong, *The Hong Merchants of Canton: Chinese Merchants in Sino-Western Trade* (Richmond Surrey, UK: Curzon, 1997), 12-15.

¹³ *Autobiography of Rev. H. N. Woo*, 4.

¹⁴ Woo's autobiography says that his daily life at school included an hour of Chinese studies, morning and evening prayer in the chapel, and English studies. Yihua Xu also mentions astronomy, philosophy, and geometry. Yihua Xu, Wu Hong Yu Yu Zhong Guo Sheng Gong Hui [Hong Neok Woo and Chinese Episcopal Church], *Fu Dan Xue Bao* [The Journal of Fu Dan University], 2, 1997, 42.

¹⁵ The other two students' information is not traceable.

¹⁶ *Autobiography of Rev. H. N. Woo*, 5.

Naval Shipyard in March 1855, he worked in the printing business as a pressman in Lancaster City until the outbreak of the Civil War.

The Battle of Gettysburg boasted a particularly large number of immigrant soldiers, with Union soldiers from different countries displaying their patriotism in different ways as interpreted by the individual ethnic groups. Chinese and Irish soldiers' motivations are examined here. After the outbreak of the Civil War, Woo answered Pennsylvania Governor Andrew G. Curtin's call in 1863 for 15,000 soldiers to defend the state capital and enlarge the Union army.¹⁷ In June 1863, the Confederate Army of Northern Virginia under General Robert E. Lee invaded Pennsylvania at the Battle of Gettysburg, which was the South's high water mark until its defeat made the battle a turning point of the Civil War and the precursor to President Abraham Lincoln's famous Gettysburg Address.¹⁸ Private Woo served in Company I under Captain John H. Druckenmiller in the 50th Infantry Regiment of the Pennsylvania Emergency Militia. The battle included more destruction than "the participants in the battle could ever have imagined."¹⁹

At first, Hong Neck Woo was assigned to "defend against a possible Confederate approach to Safe Harbor at the mouth of Conestoga Creek in Lancaster County." He then returned to Lancaster but saw no action there. On July 2, 1863, Woo was mustered into

¹⁷ Rebecca Gifford Albright, "The Civil War Career of Andrew Gregg Curtin, Governor of Pennsylvania," *The Western Pennsylvania Historical Magazine* 47, no. 4 (October, 1964): 323-341. In 1864, Governor Curtin issued his second call for 12,000 volunteers to serve in Pennsylvania, Maryland, Washington, and its vicinity. Curtin's methods of recruiting troops included "capitalizing on his record as the 'Soldiers' Friend,'" through the press, eloquent public addresses, and proclamations. "Gov. Curtin's Second Call," *The New York Times*, July 8, 1864; Albright, "The Civil War Career of Andrew Gregg Curtin," 323-341.

¹⁸ Amy J. Kinsel, "From Turning Point to Peace Memorial: A Cultural Legacy," in *The Gettysburg Nobody Knows*, ed. Garbor S. Boritt (New York: Oxford University Press, 1997), 203-205.

¹⁹ Kinsel, "From Turning Point to Peace Memorial," 203- 205.

service at Harrisburg to join his unit leaving for Chambersburg. The unit marched to Maryland, via Hagerstown, to Dam Number Five on the Chesapeake and Ohio Canal in Williamsport, where Woo's commanding officer assigned him to "cooking, sentinel work, and target practice as well as long marching drills."²⁰ Woo was mustered out of service again on August 15, 1863, after his company returned back to Camp Curtin in Harrisburg.

Woo might not have known two other Chinese soldiers— Joseph L. Pierce and John Tomney—who also fought in this battle. Pierce, a member of Company I of the 14th Connecticut Volunteer Infantry, was on the skirmish line on July 2 and involved in the attack on the Bliss Farm on July 3, the day of Pickett's famous charge.²¹ "One of bravest soldiers" in the Army of Potomac, Tomney was "struck by a shell which tore off both legs at the thighs, and he shortly bled to death" on July 2.²²

The behavior of Irish soldiers at the Battle of Gettysburg reveals dual loyalties to both Irishmen and the United States. Major General St. Clair Mulholland of the 116th Pennsylvania described the scene at the Peach Orchard:

There are yet a few minutes to spare before starting, and the time is occupied by one of the most impressive religious ceremonies I have ever witnessed. The Irish Brigade... whose green flag had been unfurled in every battle in which the Army of the Potomac had been engaged... As a large majority of its members were Catholics, the Chaplain of the brigade, Rev. William Corby, proposed to give a general absolution to all the men before going into the fight.²³

²⁰ Shirk, *A Chinese American Soldier in the Civil War*, 46.

²¹ Charles P Hamblen, *Connecticut Yankees at Gettysburg* (Kent, OH: Kent State University Press, 1993), 112.

²² *Daily Alta California*, August 5, 1863, 1, as quoted in McCunn, "Chinese in the Civil War," 165. These two Chinese soldiers used their English name in the Army.

²³ William Corby, *Memoirs of Chaplain Life*, 182-183, as quoted in McCarthy, *Green, Blue, and Grey*, 160-161.

Interestingly, this battlefield ceremony, with its strong sentiment of Irish national identity, encouraged Irish soldiers to better fulfill their duties as patriotic American soldiers.

Chaplain Corby addressed the soldiers, saying that if they confessed their sins through a sincere act of contrition, they could receive the benefit of absolution. He also urged Irish soldiers “to do their duty and reminding them of the high and sacred nature of their trust as soldiers and the noble object for which they fought. As he closed his address, every man fell on his knees with his head bowed down.”²⁴

Rather than exhibiting dual loyalties, some foreign-born soldiers served in the war to honor or aid their homelands. As a result, the war developed beyond merely a domestic civil war and instead became an international event. Some soldiers considered themselves surrogates of their own countries in the army. Some soldiers believed that saving the Union represented an indirect way to strengthen their homelands, again demonstrating that the Civil War was not an isolated event. It gained international importance because the result of this war could have upended global politics. A Welshman wrote to his father-in-law, “When we are fighting for America we are fighting [in] the interest of Ireland striking a double blow cutting with a two edged sword for while we strike in defense of the rights of Irishmen here we are striking a blow at Irelands’ enemy and oppressor England.” He believed that the economic and military growth of the United States and expanding American liberty would threaten British aristocratic government and thus increase Ireland’s power.²⁵ Some Irish nationalists joined the war because they wanted to gain experience in preparation for a future war for independence in Ireland

²⁴ McCarthy, *Green, Blue, and Grey*, 161.

²⁵ Jordan Ross, “Uncommon Union: Diversity and Motivation among Civil War Soldiers,” *American Nineteenth Century History* 3, no. 1 (2002): 22.

against Great Britain. These soldiers belonged to an organization of Irish Americans, the Fenians. As James McKay Rorty, an Irish immigrant, indicated, “The military knowledge or skill which I may acquire might thereafter be turned to account in the cause of my native land.”²⁶

Some foreign-born soldiers fought to improve their own and their fellow countrymen’s socioeconomic status in U.S. society. Immigrant soldiers serving in the Union army suffered from a lower status in the social hierarchy, particularly Irish Americans. Susannah J. Ural writes, “Irish military service in a manner [was] calculated to improve native-born whites’ perceptions of Irish Americans.”²⁷ Although Irish immigrants served in the military, they also fought for fair treatment in society. They actively protested their diminished status in a job market filled with former slaves, and elites’ ability to buy out of the newly implemented draft, leaving poor immigrants to bear the burden disproportionately for supplying the army with new recruits. These protests culminated in the deadly New York draft riots in 1863.²⁸

The Native Americans added to the military’s ranks, and their participation in the Civil War embodied its transnational influence. In previous wars with whites, Native Americans had been on the losing side, especially in the Seven Years War, the American War of Independence, and the War of 1812. The primary reason Indians served in the Civil War was poverty. They enlisted in hopes of collecting bounties or getting hired by

²⁶ Ural, *Civil War Citizens*, 101-105.

²⁷ Ural, *Civil War Citizens*, 104.

²⁸ Adrian Cook, *The Armies of the Streets: The New York City Draft Riots of 1863* (Lexington: University Press of Kentucky, 1974), 188-189.

wealthy business and land owners.²⁹ For tribes in the eastern states, Indians increasingly relied on the U.S. government economically and politically. The Civil War triggered a conflict between two Cherokee nations. The Nationalists, led by Chief Ross, wanted to remain neutral because the southerners had occupied the Indians' land and excluded them from the East. Conversely, the pro-slavery Ridge Party signed treaties with the Confederate government setting up an Indian Confederate regiment and annuity payments for lands previously taken away from the Cherokees. The agreement turned out to be invalid like most of the treaties Native Americans had signed with the United States.

Idealism in the Confederacy

Only 13.4 percent of immigrants in the United States lived in the South. This had a direct impact on the different types of working conditions found in the North and South during the antebellum period. The majority of northern immigrants were “peasants, laboring class and unskilled white labor.” By contrast, disadvantaged southern industry needed skilled immigrants, particularly Europeans, who brought craftsmanship from across the Atlantic. Thus, most free, foreign-born residents in the South were white, skilled laborers and mechanics.³⁰

The majority of immigrants in the Confederacy either owned slaves or were sympathetic toward the southern cause and slavery. Even though some foreign-born southerners never owned slaves, their connection with slaveholders made them pro-

²⁹ William McKee Evans, “Native Americans in the Civil War: Three Experiences,” in *Civil War Citizens: Race, Ethnicity, and Identity in America's Bloodiest Conflict*, ed. Susannah J. Ural (New York: New York University Press, 2010), 187.

³⁰ Lonnn, *Foreigners in the Confederacy*, 29-30.

slavery, and they witnessed the attachment between slaves and their owners in their day-to-day lives.³¹

Immigrant Jews became staunch proponents of slavery and secession as slave traders themselves. Jews adapted to the South's customs and institutions, selling slaves and accepting southern notions about race and states' rights. In Robert N. Rosen's words, "The question of why Southern Jews would fight for the Confederacy is no question at all. Why would they not fight for their homeland, which had welcomed and accepted them as equal?"³² Likewise, southern society accepted Jews because of their compatibility with different religions. For example, southern Christians and Jews believed in the same God from the Old Testament, and this led to respect for local Jews.

German Confederates became especially influential, publicizing their secessionist voices in German-language newspapers. Their support of the Confederacy focused less on the interests of slaveholders and more toward protecting liberty in the United States. They believed that the North should compensate the South because northerners had sold slaves in the South and then forced southerners to free them. Further, Germans became the first group to argue that their constitutional rights had been violated by restricting southern states' rights.³³

Among staunch Confederates, the Bunker family of Chinese origin sent two sons to the Confederate army. Rich slaveholders living in Mount Airy, North Carolina, the family's two fathers, Chang and Eng Bunker, were conjoined twins who became

³¹ Lonon, *Foreigners in the Confederacy*, 39.

³² Robert N. Rosen, Esq., "The Jewish Confederates," in *Civil War Citizens: Race, Ethnicity, and Identity in America's Bloodiest Conflict*, ed. Susannah J. Ural (New York: New York University Press, 2010), 158-159.

³³ Lonon, *Foreigners in the Confederacy*, 41-47.

worldwide celebrities in nineteenth-century freak shows. The first two persons issued a deed in the Blue Ridge Mountains, they later built a large house on the land. Surprisingly, Chang and Eng almost found themselves drafted to serve in the Union army. After General George H. Stoneman devastated North Carolina, he decided to draft some of the locals in Mount Airy, regardless of their sympathies. On April 2, 1865, the names of all the adult males were put into a lottery wheel. The *Philadelphia Times* wrote, “Into the fateful wheel went the names of Chang and Eng. But one name, that of Eng, was drawn. The gallant Stoneman was nonplussed. Eng must go, but Chang would not. Stoneman dared not take both. So he resigned his claim to Eng.”³⁴ Chang and Eng provided warm hospitality and other services, such as food and clothing for the Confederate troops.³⁵

Influenced by their fathers Chang and Eng, Christopher Wren Bunker and Stephen Decatur Bunker, became two of the 700 soldiers to join the Confederate forces from Mount Airy. Christopher enlisted in “Company I of the Thirty-seven Battalion, Virginia Cavalry, on April 1, 1863.” He did not return home until March 15, 1864, and left again on April 3 after twenty days’ rest. During his second and final fight with the 37th Battalion, Christopher was constantly in battle and wounded during the mayhem. In July of 1864, after Brigadier General John McCausland with 2,600 cavalymen, including Christopher, successfully invaded Pennsylvania and controlled Chambersburg, McCausland moved his soldiers to Moorefield, West Virginia. Mistakenly believing that the Union troops trailed far behind, McCausland camped in an area that was militarily indefensible. The Union army ambushed a Confederate scouting party and then attacked

³⁴ *Philadelphia Times*, January 1874, as quoted in Irving Wallace and Wallace, *The Two: A Biography* (New York: Simon and Schuster, 1978), 248-249.

³⁵ McCunn, *Chinese in the Civil War*, 151. Chapter Two of this work further discusses the stories of Chang and Eng in the nineteenth-century United States.

McCausland's camp at night. Christopher, among many, was wounded and placed in a military prison, Camp Chase. During his prison stay, he was hospitalized with the "varioila" virus and finally returned home on April 17, 1865.³⁶

On July 2, 1864, Eng's third child, Stephen Decatur Bunker, also enlisted. Stephen escaped the debacle at Moorefield but was wounded in battle near Winchester, Virginia. He valiantly insisted on continuing to fight and was wounded a second time before the fighting ended, eight days after General Robert E. Lee's surrender.³⁷ Both Christopher and Stephen became farmers after the war.³⁸

Foreign-born soldiers who fought in the Civil War demonstrated their loyalty to the United States under the banner of liberty, but as Abraham Lincoln's speech at Sanitary Fair in the spring of 1864 indicated, "in using the same *word* we do not all mean the same *thing*." The soldiers in the Union and Confederacy interpreted the significance of liberty in different ways. In his first inaugural address in 1861, Lincoln defined secession as the "essence of anarchy" against the spirit of the Constitution, which sought to "form a more perfect union."³⁹ Lincoln also remarked:

With some the word liberty may mean for each man to do as he pleases with himself, and the product of his labor; while with others the same

³⁶ McCunn, *Chinese in the Civil War*, 152.

³⁷ "Robert Edward Lee, who fought for the Confederacy during the United States Civil War, is considered by many to be among the best generals in military history. He led his small, poorly equipped army to victory after victory against a larger enemy. In 1865, he was made Commander-in-Chief of all Confederate armies, but his promotion came too late to halt the final defeat of the Confederacy. With his starving army on the verge of collapse, Lee surrendered his forces to the Union commander, Ulysses Simpson Grant. Impeccably dressed in a new uniform, with sword swinging at his side, he rode with dignity to Appomattox Court House, Virginia, and signed the terms of surrender." Sara Ann McGill, *Robert E. Lee*, MAS Ultra - School Edition, EBSCOhost, September 2005, (accessed May 17, 2013), 1.

³⁸ McCunn, *Chinese in the Civil War*, 152-153.

³⁹ McPherson, *For Cause and Comrades*, 18.

word may mean for some men to do as they please with other men, and the product of other men's labor. Here are two, not only different, but incompatible things, called by the same name—liberty.⁴⁰

Union soldiers sought to defend liberty and human rights against destruction. Confederate soldiers wanted to protect private property and their independence from a despotic government. The nineteenth-century French writer Duvergier de Hauranne called the American Civil War a “people's war,” since both sides used media to convince the world that their respective ideologies and definitions of nationalism were the correct ones.⁴¹ Industrialization and the transformation of domestic markets prior to the war brought about the evolution of a “free labor” society that eventually led to conflicts over the abolition of slavery and these varying interpretations of liberty.⁴²

Other Motivations—Bounties, Citizenship, Adventure, Masculinity, and Religion

Not all foreign-born soldiers were driven by homogeneous idealism; rather, their motivations were quite diverse, marking one facet of transnationalism. A complicated mix of reasons and impetuses combined to unite people on one side or the other, creating an intricate pattern that formed a larger historical panorama.

War bounties and promises of automatic citizenship induced many immigrant soldiers to join the war. Militia laws and the War Department issued a series of regulations to encourage enlistment in the North. The laws promised \$25 for volunteers who served for nine months and \$100 for those who served three years. Aside from

⁴⁰ Abraham Lincoln, *The Collected Works of Abraham Lincoln*, ed. Roy P. Basler (New Brunswick, N.J.: Rutgers University Press, 1953-1955), 302.

⁴¹ Andre M. Fleche, *The Revolution of 1861: The American Civil War in the Age of Nationalist Conflict* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2012), 153.

⁴² Levine, *Half Slave and Half Free*.

bounties, soldiers also received wages that ranged from \$11 to \$16 per month.⁴³

Unfortunately, these pragmatic motives gave foreign-born soldiers a poor reputation. Patriots criticized them for having no interest in the cause and even regarded them as “no men at all.”⁴⁴ This aggravated race and class tensions in the armies and contributed to immigrant soldiers’ nationalism directed toward their homelands and fellow countrymen during the Civil War.

The spirit of adventure motivated some soldiers from the North and the South. Reckless young men saw the war as an adventure and a thrill, while some considered participation a defiant act against the ordinariness of daily life. In other instances, enlisting in the army occurred as a collective activity, with men volunteering because their friends did when they did not want to be left behind.

Military service also represented a demonstration of masculinity. In Victorian America, religion, literature, and culture combined to create an atmosphere of sentimentalism and anti-intellectualism. Moreover, economic and social changes in this period transformed women’s gender roles, especially in the middle-class domestic sphere. This phenomenon threatened the dominant position of men and their confidence in their masculinity. Ann Douglas explains that nineteenth-century America experienced a

⁴³ Lonn, *Foreigners in the Union Army and Navy*, 72, 436-437. The bounty system also included paid substitutes, which authorized another person to serve as a replacement in the war, as well as the commutation that could exempt people from the war by paying the government.

⁴⁴ Darius Starr, letter to mother, March 18, 1863, as quoted in McPherson, *For Cause and Comrades*, 9.

process of “feminization,” and thus, joining the war effort became akin to a ceremony celebrating soldiers’ manhood.⁴⁵

Religious motivation stood out as an essential component in the making of brave soldiers. James M. McPherson thinks the battlefield intensified soldiers’ religious convictions and transformed many into fatalists. Religious beliefs enabled soldiers to discard previously held notions that they could control their fate and thus helped them conquer their fear of death.⁴⁶ Battles also enabled Christian soldiers to overcome sanctions against killing. Devotion to the Civil War glorified death. In Drew Gilpin Faust’s words, it was a “Good Death,” a concept central to mid-nineteenth-century America culture, especially as the essence of Christian practices. Soldiers were told how life should end—to “give up one’s soul ‘gladlye and wilfully’ ... to pattern one’s dying on that of Christ.”⁴⁷ Therefore, the Civil War soldiers were prepared to die in an artistic way rather than to be killed.

Another Chinese soldier, Marshall Tsao, followed his Methodist master, David Campbell Kelly, in the Tennessee Cavalry as an observer and later as a participant in the war. An American missionary, Rev. J. W. Lambuth and his wife first met the thirteen-year-old orphaned Tsao while on a trip to China in 1859 and brought him to the United States, where Bishop O. F. Andrew, the founder of Emory University, baptized him. Tsao later met Kelly, a Confederate supporter and a Methodist minister who had served as a medical doctor and missionary in China in 1852. Kelly was naturally drawn to the

⁴⁵ Ann Douglas, *The Feminization of American Culture* (New York: The Noonday Press, 1998).

⁴⁶ McPherson, *For Cause and Comrades*, 62-64.

⁴⁷ Drew Gilpin Faust, *This Republic of Suffering: Death and the American Civil War* (New York: Vintage Books, 2009), 6.

Chinese orphan and, by 1860, became Tsao's mentor and master, with Tsao living in his Lebanon, Tennessee, home and working as his servant.

Tsao followed Kelley on his military assignments from 1861 to 1863. Kelly fought in four battles, including the Battle of Belmont in November 1861; the Battle of Fort Henry on February 6, 1862; the Battle of Shiloh in April 1862; and the Battle of Fort Donelson on February 11, 1862. He resigned the following August.

Tsao experienced the extreme brutality of the war with his master in Fort Donelson, Tennessee. Rev. Lambuth described Tsao's experience in the Battle of Fort Donelson in a letter to his great-granddaughter, Margarita Park Sherertz Messersmith:

You will be surprised when I tell you that Sier Whoa⁴⁸ was there when the battle was fought. He happened to be in Tennessee at the time and went not as a soldier but as assistant to one of the officers, Dr. D. C. Kelly. He says while in the fort he was nearly worn out sick with continual watching. Often heavy cannon balls would come whizzing by him and sometimes tremendous shells would explode near him. This was often the case at night and the whole heavens would be a blaze of light and constant thunder of heavy guns would shake the very ground under him. He said he had never expected anything like this and was greatly frightened for in his country there was nothing that would compare with it.⁴⁹

Tsao related the story of the battle to Lambuth when they traveled the Cumberland River together on a steamer and passed Fort Donelson. Tsao also "pointed out the place where he suffered such anxiety of mind when the shells were bursting all around him and

⁴⁸ Sier Whoa was Marshall Tsao's name in the Shanghaiese dialect. He is also known as Charles K. Marshall, Dsau Sier Whoa, Dzau Tsz-zeh, Cao Zishi, Dzau Tse Zeh, and Tsao Tsz-zeh.

⁴⁹Rev. J. W. Lambuth, "Charles K. Marshall 3, Kate in the heathen land," circa 1872, provided by Margarita Park Sherertz Messersmith, Association to Commemorate the Chinese Serving in the American Civil War, <https://sites.google.com/site/accsacw/Home/charles-k-marshall3>, accessed September 24, 2013.

carrying away the limbs and trees from over his head. He showed us the point where he thinks they made their escape.”⁵⁰

Tsao stood among the other brave soldiers who did not surrender easily when the Confederate troops knew they were losing the Battle of Fort Donelson. Lambuth wrote, “One night some time before day he heard it whispered around that [the] Fort and the army would be surrendered the next morning into the hands of the enemy. There was a small part of this noble army which refused to accede...Sier Whoa was with this part of the army.” However, Tsao later regretted his involvement in the war. His experiences made him “determined to go back to his studies and make preparation for returning to his native land.” Lambuth also indicated that Tsao never wanted to go near an army again because he could not bear the ruthlessness of the war:

It was dark and stormy and the cold wind blew fiercely from the north and many poor soldiers suffered. He too suffered, for they had to rush through swollen streams and were wet through. He said it seemed like a bad dream until the suffering awoke him to a reality of the scene. When daylight dawned they were far out of reach of the enemy and traveled more leisurely. Sier Whoa said he had been before this time near the enemy with the same force, but he had never seen any action between contending forces.⁵¹

An examination of Tsao’s master’s motivation for joining the war helps in understanding Tsao’s psychology. Neither Tsao nor Rev. Lambuth specifically mentioned their reasons for fighting in the Civil War; however, it is possible to speculate regarding Tsao’s thoughts through observing his mentor and master, D. C. Kelly. The only intimate person familiar with Tsao’s language and culture, Kelly taught the young man the principles in which he believed and likely had a strong influence as a religious

⁵⁰ Lambuth, “Charles K. Marshall 3.”

⁵¹ Lambuth, “Charles K. Marshall 3.”

mentor and adviser in Tsao's day-to-day life. Also, as historian, Robert E. Hale reasons, "It would be likely that C. K. [Tsao] knew little of the true ambitions of many Confederates, as most of his only meaningful encounters with southerners would in all probability have only been through two very open minded people, Mary Lambuth and D. C. Kelly."⁵² It is reasonable to speculate, therefore, that Tsao probably fought on his mentor's account.

Although Kelly's loyalty to his hometown and his religious beliefs likely motivated him in joining the Confederacy, his definitive thoughts remain elusive. He did not own slaves and no record of his opinions on the sectional crisis exist. Many southern churches served as "bulwarks of the Confederacy," with ministers advocating the rationality of the war and claiming that "God is on our side."⁵³ The churches needed to coexist with pro-slavery parishioners and conform to the government in power.⁵⁴ Kelley's later actions mirrored this position. He formed his own troop following unpleasant encounters with the chaplains, claiming, "This acquaintance led me to avoid the chaplaincy in the Confederacy army."⁵⁵ In battle, Kelly worked closely with Confederate lieutenant general Nathan Bedford Forrest, who held out to the last minute before the Confederacy's surrender in 1865.⁵⁶ Historian Michael R. Bradley explains that Forrest, later a founder of the Ku Klux Klan, organized a troop with Kelly, and the two men

⁵² Robert E. Hale, "Death, Beginnings, and Travels of Charles K. Marshall," Association to Commemorate the Chinese Serving in the American Civil War, <https://sites.google.com/site/accsacw/Home/charles-k--marshall2> (accessed September 24, 2013).

⁵³ Georgia Conference Manuscript Minutes, 1861-1865, as quoted in Christopher H. Owen, *The Sacred Flame of Love: Methodism and Society in Nineteenth-Century Georgia* (Athens, GA: University of Georgia Press, 1998), 98.

⁵⁴ Owen, *The Sacred Flame of Love*, 98-107.

⁵⁵ Michael R. Bradley, *Forrest's Fighting Preacher: David Campbell Kelley of Tennessee* (Charleston: The History Press, 2011), 19.

⁵⁶ Hale, "Death, Beginnings, and Travels of Charles K. Marshall."

“shared a belief that they were fighting to defend their homes.”⁵⁷ Robert E. Hale indicates that “although D. C. Kelley was a Unionist of mind, he was still a Southerner in body,” concluding, “Kelly did not always agree with the Confederacy yet for some time he stayed with his feet strapped into his back arched looking over his men that dotted the patterned fields and forests that were before him.”⁵⁸ Both Hale and Bradley agree that southerners’ compassion for their home front constituted the primary reason for Confederate nationalism and construction of a strong Confederate identity.⁵⁹

Religious beliefs represented a key explanation for Tsao’s participation in the war. As a newcomer to the U.S. South, his decision to fight likely rested more on his faith, profoundly influenced by Kelly, than his compassion for his new home. Religious devotion often grew stronger in the heat of battle. As McPherson states, “Wars usually intensify religious convictions...soldiers who were deeply religious when they enlisted became more so on the battlefield.”⁶⁰ He gives the example of a soldier in the battle of Shiloh who wrote “[I] continually raised my heart to him, in prayer, and in the thickest of the fight, I evoked His protection.”⁶¹ Likewise, when Forrest and Kelley, who served as chaplain for the troop, saw they were losing the battle at Fort Donelson, Forrest cried out, “Parson, for God’s sake pray! Nothing but God Almighty can save that fort!”⁶² As someone who had become devoted to his faith, Tsao likely followed a similar path at the

⁵⁷ Bradley, *Forrest's Fighting Preacher*, 22.

⁵⁸ Hale, “Death, Beginnings, and Travels of Charles K. Marshall.”

⁵⁹ David T. Gleeson, “Irish Rebels, Southern Rebels: The Irish Confederates,” in *Civil War Citizens: Race, Ethnicity, and Identity in America's Bloodiest Conflict*, ed. Susannah J. Ural (New York: New York University Press, 2010), 142.

⁶⁰ McPherson, *For Cause and Comrades*, 63-64.

⁶¹ Joseph D. Thompson letter to Mary Thompson, April 9th, 1862, as quoted in James M. McPherson, *For Cause and Comrades*, 64.

⁶² Bradley, *Forrest's Fighting Preacher*, 22.

time as that of his master, but looking deeper, also found it as the motivation to turn his back on future wars.

* * *

Although the American Civil War involved many transnational elements, one of the most significant and understudied of those is the participation of immigrants in the militaries of both the North and the South. These foreign-born soldiers serve as an example of the impact immigrants had on the United States in the nineteenth century. All of these participants, regardless of their reason for fighting—patriotism toward the United States and their homeland, improving the socioeconomic status of their ethnic group, religious beliefs, or other pragmatic purposes—contributed to this important page in U.S. history. The Bunker family, Marshall Tsao, Hong Neck Woo, as well as immigrant soldiers from other countries and the Indian Nations demonstrated the complex relationships these fighting men had with their adopted country and their countries of origin, as well as the ways in which their transnational experiences influenced their choices. The transnational elements formed a matrix that gave this war in the United States a transnational significance.

Moreover, the Civil War had strong connections with global dynamics. The soldiers who had served in this war did not end their transnational activities. As the next chapter demonstrates, after fulfilling their patriotic dedication to the United States, they travelled back to their home country with the spirit of nationalism.

Chapter Two

Whose Culture?—Cultural Exchange in Transnationalism

Foreign-born soldiers had a wide variety of life experiences following their service in the Civil War. Some lived with chronic illness, some became U.S. citizens, some survived on unskilled, low wage jobs without receiving a war pension, and some returned to their homeland.¹ Hong Neck Woo and Marshall Tsao went back to China. Two factors played major roles in their decisions: their preference for their ties to China, and their desire to convert the Chinese people to Christianity. By contrast, the wealth and social status that the Bunker family—Christopher and Stephen Bunker as well as their fathers, Chang and Eng Bunker—had attained in the United States tempted them to remain.

The service of these soldiers in the Civil War and their economic contributions not only contributed to nation-building in the United States from a transnational perspective, but they also significantly influenced global cultural exchanges between the East and West. Transnational experiences became the vehicle through which a wide

¹ The post-war pension system exhibited ethnic and racial divisions, beginning with applications for benefits. The “Native-born veterans were more likely (2.5 times as likely) to apply for pensions, relative to foreign-born veterans.” Peter Blanck and Chen Song, “‘Never Forget What They Did Here’: Civil War Pensions for Gettysburg Union Army Veterans and Disability in Nineteenth-century America,” *William and Mary Law Review* 44, no. 3 (February 1, 2003): 1109, 1152-1153. For more information on the race and pension systems, see Larry M. Logue and Peter David Blanck, *Race, Ethnicity, and Disability: Veterans and Benefits in Post-Civil War America* (New York: Cambridge Press, 2010); Theda Skocpol, *Protecting Soldiers and Mothers: the Political Origins of Social Policy in the United States* (Cambridge, Mass: Belknap Press of Harvard University Press, 1992).

variety of knowledge, ideas, religious beliefs, and images circulated to different places worldwide. This chapter examines the transnationalism as a two-way street for cultural exchange by examining two sets of stories as a case study—Chang and Eng’s success in the United States, as well as the contributions of Hong Neck Woo and Marshall Tsao in China. The fathers of the Bunker family, conjoined twins Change and Eng became wealthy and well-known in nineteenth-century America. Their success challenged the stereotypes of Asian Americans as passive and submissive, revitalizing the Asian image during a period when people were curious about Eastern cultures. Woo and Tsao brought Christian religious practices to China and dedicated themselves to the country’s modernization in the fields of medicine, philanthropy, and education.

Historian William L. Burton applies the idea of the “melting pot” to Civil War soldiers in his discussion of the American culture. The “melting pot” theory holds that the United States, “the new nation, acting as a crucible, melted down the cultures of other nations and forged them into something new and unique, an American culture.”² Burton recognizes the interplays between different cultures and their importance in producing a new, mixed culture; however, he believes that these ethnic elements were eventually assimilated by “forced Anglo conformity” and lost their Old World heritage.³ More recently, historians, such as Michael D’Innocenzo and Josef P. Sirefman have challenged the “melting pot” theory by introducing the concept of the “salad bowl,” to stress that “most immigrant and ethnic groups have retained distinctive aspects of cultural

² William L. Burton, *Melting Pot Soldiers: The Union’s Ethnic Regiments* (Ames: Iowa State University Press, 1988), 222.

³ Burton, *Melting Pot Soldiers*, 222.

identity.”⁴ Burton’s argument recognizes the interactions among the ethnic cultures, but he overlooks the fact that the cultures also impacted American society. Moreover, he idealized the story of ethnic assimilation into existing American cultures. This chapter discusses how Chang and Eng impacted U.S. society by their public image as Asian conjoined people and created an element of diversity in American culture. The next chapter will examine how the hybrid identities of Eng and Chang were shaped in the “salad bowl.”

In addition, this chapter echoes anthropologist, Takeyuki Tsuda’s suggestion of a new trend in the study of transnational diasporas. She points out that previous studies tended to view immigrants’ flow as unidirectional—“migrants leave the sending society, immigrate and settle in the host society, and eventual assimilation (or segmented assimilation) into the dominant host society.”⁵ Instead, she cites the immigrants who returned to their native communities as evidence that transnational mobility is not a one-way process. She argues that most returning immigrants had difficulty reintegrating into the societies of their ancestral origin, becoming marginalized minorities. However, while recognizing these challenges, this chapter focuses on the successful contributions of the returning immigrants as the “heathen-turned-civilizing-agent.”⁶ By analyzing the experiences of Hong Neck Woo and Marshall Tsao as “acted upons” who converted to

⁴ Michael D’Innocenzo, Josef P. Sirefman, *Immigration and Ethnicity: American Society—“Melting Pot” or “Salad Bowl”?* (Westport: Greenwood Press, 1992), x.

⁵ Takeyuki Tsuda, *Diasporic Homecomings: Ethnic Return Migration in Comparative Perspective* (Stanford, Cal.: Stanford University Press, 2009), 8.

⁶ Cynthia Wu introduced this term in her article, “The Siamese Twins in Late-Nineteenth-Century Narratives of Conflict and Reconciliation,” *American Literature* 85, no. 3 (September 2013).

Christianity, the chapter illustrates the reverse and how they played active roles incorporating Western civilization into the Eastern knowledge base.

As Tsuda argues, transnationalism is a bipolar or multi-polar process and usually unpredictable. The immigrants may not simply travel between two countries, but rather, they have social, political, and economic ties with multiple lands. Also, second-generation migrants continued this transnational cycle, by starting the whole process over again, as the experiences of Woo and Tsao's sons in the United States demonstrate.

A substantial number of studies can be found on Chang and Eng, in the nineteenth century, and this chapter relies on these, citing letters, newspapers, pamphlets, and pictures published at the time as primary sources. A few recent studies focus on Chang and Eng. Irving Wallace and Amy Wallace's biography on them tells the most complete and vivid story, focusing not only on their lives but also on nineteenth century U.S. society.⁷ Kay Hunter's story on the twins is short and concise.⁸ Cynthia Wu's study stands out in terms of Chang and Eng's cultural implications and their image in modern art, film, and literature.⁹ This chapter emphasizes their roles in reshaping Chinese stereotypes and causing U.S. society to reflect on its national identity.

⁷ Irving Wallace and Amy Wallace, *The Two: A Biography* (New York: Simon and Schuster, 1978).

⁸ Kay Hunter, *Duet for a Lifetime: The Story of the Original Siamese Twins* (New York: Coward-McCann, Inc., 1964).

⁹ Cynthia Wu, *Chang and Eng Reconnected: the Original Siamese Twins in American Culture* (Philadelphia: Temple University Press, 2012).

The Famous Chang and Eng

The fathers of the Bunker family, Eng and Chang were conjoined twins bound to each other by a five-inch ligament of flesh at the chest.¹⁰ They were born in a Siamese fishing village at the mouth of the Mekong River sometime between 1810 and 1820.¹¹ Two legends explain their origin. The twins' biographers say that their father was Chinese, and their mother was of Siamese descent on her mother's side, making the twins more Chinese by blood. But a pamphlet printed in 1850 publicizing the twins indicates that they "were born of Chinese parents."¹² Whichever is correct, their facial features indicated their race as Chinese. "Anyone familiar with the oblique eye, and other strongly marked features which characterize the Mongolian race, will at once notice how thoroughly the Twins betray by the cast of their countenances their Chinese origin," reported *Every Saturday: A Journal of Choice Reading*.¹³ Their neighbors in Siam called them "the Chinese Twins," and the twins also identified themselves as Chinese, as chapter three will explain.

The pamphlet, written by Hon. J. N. Moreheid, claimed that he had known the twins personally for long time, and they could only "walk in one direction; but the flexibility of the cartilage is so great, that they can readily turn those shoulders

¹⁰ Ruthanne Lum McCunn, "Chinese in the Civil War: Ten Who Served," *Chinese America: History and Perspectives* (2006), 150.

¹¹ Reports of their year of birth vary. Cynthia Wu records it as 1811 in her book *Chang and Eng Reconnected: The Original Siamese Twins in American Culture*, while an article titled "The Truth about the Siamese Twins" in *Every Saturday: A Journal of Choice Reading (1866-1874)* says they were born in 1825.

¹² Hon. J. N. Moreheid, *Lives, Adventures, Anecdotes, Amusements, and Domestic Habits of the Siamese Twins: One of the Greatest Wonders of the Present Time, Being Two Perfectly Formed Persons, Whose Bodies, by A Singular Caprice of Nature, Are United Together as One* (Raleigh: E. E. Barclay, 1850), 9.

¹³ "The Truth about the Siamese Twins," 1.

outwards...Although they stand so close together, yet they do not seem to be in each other's way... They can run very fast for a short distance; they also can swim very well."¹⁴ A Scottish merchant, Captain Robert Hunter met the twins when they were swimming in a river. The strange creature with two heads and eight limbs attracted Hunter's attention, and his business instincts detected potential profits in the two country boys. He decided to export them to the West to put them on exhibition in the United States and Great Britain; however, anyone wanting to leave Siam required the approval of King Rama III.¹⁵

King Rama III eventually permitted the twins to leave Siam as a means of expanding Siam's influence and propping up his personal finances by trading firearms with Abel Coffin, another American merchant and friend of Hunter's. This reveals that the idea of image representation and cultural exchange already existed in people's consciousness in the nineteenth century. The king rejected the businessmen's first petition, as he was planning a diplomatic visit to Siam's neighbor, Cochin, China, and wanted to take the twins with him as "a remarkable Siamese product." Hoping to revise the trade agreement between the two countries, the delegation successfully fulfilled its goals and received an enthusiastic reception by the Hué officers in Cochin's capital city. This diplomatic trip probably opened the mind of King Rama III and convinced him to let his people travel to the West. Further, biographers Irving and Amy Wallace speculate that

¹⁴ Morehead, *Lives, Adventures, Anecdotes, Amusements, and Domestic Habits of the Siamese Twins*, 16.

¹⁵ Wallace and Wallace, *The Two*, 37-44.

the businessmen's firearms and their appreciation of the King's ego made their negotiation with the King possible.¹⁶

Representation of the Asian Image

The conjoined twins became a representation of Asian images to people in the West. Their lives challenged the stereotype of Asian Americans as immoral disease-carriers, unskilled workers at the bottom of the social hierarchy, submissive victims of racial discrimination, and a deviant group unwilling to assimilate. Instead, the twins were highly independent and resourceful. Taking advantage of their Asian image and their distorted bodies, they had an enormous impact through show business as self-strategists and became prominently wealthy. Despite their struggles, they never ceased fighting, and were independent, self-minded entrepreneurs—they were their business. The Bunker family occupied a more privileged class position than some white people. This exceptional case broke the traditional social hierarchy based on race and provoked a reconsideration of the definition of “privileged” and “oppressed” in the Jacksonian era, a time when global immigration was expanding and large torrents of immigrants pervaded U.S. society. This reassessment also played a crucial role in forging American identities and national character.

Asians in the nineteenth-century United States generated a great deal of attention and curiosity. Relatively few Asian immigrants lived in the country during the antebellum period, particularly outside the western states. Americans' curiosity regarding the twins was due to their Asian identity as well as their unusual body as conjoined twins. During their performance in New York, the *Evening Post* titled its story,

¹⁶ Wallace and Wallace, *The Two*, 37, 45.

“Wonderful Natural Curiosity—The Siamese Twin Brothers will be exhibited at the Grand Saloon.” After the show, the newspaper reported, “They present a spectacle of great interest, alloyed, however, by those feelings of commiseration which human deformity must ever occasion.”¹⁷

Curiosity regarding race did not develop in an overall positive way. Instead, white Americans saw Asians as a deteriorated, immoral group. Many white Westerners consistently viewed people from foreign lands as “others”: less civilized races than whites of northern European descent. Further, economic and social developments across the United States aggravated racial tensions. An increasing number of Chinese immigrants working as cheap labors in the latter half of the nineteenth century threatened the position of whites in the labor market. Worse, the association of Asians with opium dens and prostitutes in Chinatowns created public health fears on the part of whites as well. Dr. Mary Sawtelle, a California physician and the editor of the *Medico-Literary Journal*, claimed that syphilis was a generic condition of the Chinese. “Their mean stature, their ugly faces and their imbecile nastiness mirrors to us what syphilis will do for a nation.”¹⁸ Sawtelle’s sensation reflects the Chinese image as a threat to the public health, and reveals the fierce racism against Chinese in the nineteenth-century United States as well.

Chang and Eng’s biological condition as conjoined twins also occasioned racist comments. In 1853, the *American Phrenological Journal* published an article that studied the twins’ head and related it to Asian religion as:

¹⁷ “Wonderful Natural Curiosity—The Siamese Twin Brothers will be exhibited at the Grand Saloon,” *Evening Post*, September 19-21, 1829.

¹⁸ Dr. M.P. Sawtelle, “State Sanitation,” *Medico-Literary Journal* (February 1880): 2-3.

The shape of their heads is very peculiar. Nothing like it is ever found in the Caucasian head... Their immense Benevolence and almost nominal Destructiveness corresponds with their national characteristic of being so very tender of the lives of animals; to kill which, they consider a heinous sin: while their very large Veneration corresponds with their nation's extreme devotion to their religion.¹⁹

Though this article did not ridicule Chang and Eng based on their race, it revealed a mindset that judged another nation's culture based on its people's physical traits. This demonstrated Western curiosity regarding Asia, but also showed the West's ignorance of the East and its culture in the nineteenth century.

Another derogatory review in *New York Sun* offered more evidence linking the twins' looks with the negative Chinese image:

Chang was larger than Eng, and looked several years younger. He was, too, the mental superior of his brother, although both were ignorant and had intelligence that scarcely rose above low cunning. Their face[s] were peculiarly repelling, yellow in hue, and closely resembling those of the Chinese cigar sellers of Chatham Street.²⁰

These degrading words based on the twins' race also targeted Chinese immigrants at large. The descriptions of Chang and Eng in these publications epitomized the racism against the Chinese in the United States in the nineteenth century. Set in this backdrop, the later success of the twins is particularly remarkable, and the shifting interpretations of their identity reflect their intentions to challenge these negative Asian stereotypes.²¹

Chang and Eng's marriage to two white sisters, Sarah (Sallie) and Adelaide Yates, also met obstacles because of the twins' race, rather than their deformity. Dating presented a problem for Chang and Eng. Their physical condition—two conjoined

¹⁹ *American Phrenological Journal*, 1853 as quoted in Wallace and Wallace, *The Two*, 202.

²⁰ *New York Sun*, 1874, as quoted in Holly E. Martin, "Chang and Eng Bunker, 'The Original Siamese Twins': Living, Dying, and Continuing under the Spectator's Gaze," *The Journal of American Culture* 34, no. 4 (December 2011): 379.

²¹ Chapter Three will further discuss how their identities changed over time.

bodies—required a four-person relationship, and one brother could not easily live as a bachelor if the other was married. At first, Adelaide was in love with Chang, but her sister Sallie remained unmoved by Eng’s courtship. Eng’s pursuit eventually won over Sallie, however; and the four revealed their relationship to the public. This news disturbed residents in the sisters’ hometown of Wilkesboro, North Carolina, and their neighborhood even protested against the sisters’ marriages. Their parents resolutely disapproved of their daughters’ choice because the brothers were Chinese, not because of their condition. The twins’ biographer, Judge Graves, wrote, “Their objection to these gentlemen did not arise from any want of character or social position, for in point of morality, probity, strict integrity, they sustained a spotless reputation, but it had its origin in an ineradicable prejudice against their race and nationality.”²²

Chang and Eng arrived in Boston on Sunday, August 16, 1829, an exciting year in American history. Andrew Jackson had become the newly formed Democratic Party’s first elected president five months earlier, launching the revolutionary Jacksonian era. The sweeping “market revolution” in this period also stimulated the development of mass entertainment in cities. Charles Grier Sellers used the term “market revolution,” in reference to the period from the American Revolution to the Civil War, in particular the Jacksonian era (1815-1846), identified by two characteristics. First, the self-sufficient, self-governing agricultural economy gave way to a new commercial economy in which farmers and manufacturers sold their products in the national marketplace for profit. Second, it witnessed a massive social transformation in terms of political and cultural adaptation, including escalating conflicts between political parties, politicizing the

²² Wallace and Wallace, *The Two*, 173.

banking system, growth of the country as a Christian/capitalist republic, as well as changes in social behavior such as the transformation of gender roles, imbalanced sex ratios, and the alternation of the family functions.²³ The elements of this market revolution offered favorable conditions for development of Chang and Eng's entertainment business.

The twins rapidly became famous worldwide. Dr. John Collins Warren, a reputable senior doctor, conducted the first medical examination of Chang and Eng in the United States before they started their first exhibition in Boston. Afterwards, the twins began their American tour and became a promising box-office draw. They went to Providence, Rhode Island, and New York City. The twins' fame rapidly reached to the British Isles, and their performance in Britain attracted local celebrities. "More than 100,000 persons saw the Siamese Twins in London, with another 200,000 paying to view them in the provinces later." The many celebrities among the audiences included England's Queen Adelaide; Prince Esterhazy, the Austrian ambassador to England; the German wife of King William IV; and the Duke of Wellington, who had beaten Napoleon at Waterloo.²⁴ The British press reported enthusiastically on these two exotic prodigies. After the trip to Britain, the twins also traveled to Paris, France, for more

²³ Charles Grier Sellers, *The Market Revolution: Jacksonian America, 1815-1846* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1991). Sellers's *The Market Revolution: Jacksonian America, 1815-1846* stimulated a new round of academic discussion on the age of Andrew Jackson, the seventh president of United States. Many earlier works, such as *The Age of Jackson* written by Arthur M. Schlesinger, *The Jacksonian Persuasions: Politics and Belief* by Marvin Meyers, and *The Concept of the Jacksonian Democracy: New York as a Test Case* by Lee Benson, discussed the period in depth. But Sellers's book covered it more comprehensively and introduced the term "market revolution" as a framework to analyze and reinterpret the politics, economics, and social culture in the Jacksonian era.

²⁴ Wallace and Wallace, *The Two*, 90-91.

shows, beginning their worldwide show business adventure as world celebrities themselves.



Figure 1. Chang and Eng. Photo from *What the Siamese Twins Taught Me about Pastoring a Church*.²⁵

The twins had separated from their managers in 1832 and became self-made strategists. Their success, being famous, wealthy, and well-respected, defied the Asian image as a submissive, passive labor class. Unlike some celebrities whose agents manipulated and took advantage of them, the twins took control of their own career.

²⁵ *What the Siamese Twins Taught Me about Pastoring a Church*, www.avalonchurch.net/blog/?p=13871.

Entrepreneurs, rather than simply actors, they were financially independent and capable of managing their show business careers. Upon arriving in the United States, Chang and Eng were indentured to Abel Coffin. When they realized their contract was exploitative, they became self-employed performers. In *The Two: A Biography*, the authors explain why Chang and Eng ended their partnership with Coffin:

They ended it because they...felt the Coffin were parsimonious regarding traveling expenses and allowances. They ended it because they felt that they had been and were being ill-rewarded... They ended it because they felt that the Coffins treated them as second class beings, and because they believed that they believed that they had been unfeelingly and ruthlessly overworked. They ended it because they resented being in bondage, ordered about, controlled and driven by fellow humans. They ended it because they believed they had a legal right to do so, that their verbal contract expired on their twenty-first birthday. They ended it because they wanted to be independent and to reap the profits from their exhibits themselves, while it was still possible.

After breaking away from their agent, the twins' no longer shared their earnings, and they worked even harder. They toured extensively in New York State and expanded their exhibitions into New Jersey, Pennsylvania, Virginia, and Ohio.²⁶

Even while under contract, Chang and Eng remained thoughtful and resourceful at creating a desirable public image. They also successfully survived the many difficulties of show business. During their first several exhibitions, spectators often came with strange questions, such as one old man who asked if the twins were the same age. Another audience member claimed one twin was two years older than the other, and the old man left quite satisfied. Gradually, the twins developed a humorous manner that handled such absurdity. Audiences who watched their performance said they were “unfailingly charming and gracious, with impeccable manners.”²⁷

²⁶ Wallace and Wallace, *The Two*, 129, 130.

²⁷ Wallace and Wallace, *The Two*, 58.

By 1839, Chang and Eng already owned 110 acres of land in the Blue Ridge Mountains and had become naturalized citizens.²⁸ The first two people to receive a deed issued in that area, they built themselves a large home, becoming economically prominent in the antebellum South. Proficient and skilled farmers, they used modern, scientific methods to raise domestic animals such as cattle, sheep, and pigs. Additionally, they produced wheat, Indian corn, oats, peas, beans, and potatoes; and they became some of the first farmers to grow “bright leaf” tobacco in the state.²⁹ More importantly, like other rich southerners, Chang and Eng owned slaves. They paid

as high as \$450 for two female slaves... This was a great deal of money, considering that female slaves were probably less useful than male slaves, and that the girls were so young. Other expenditures that the twins made were \$600 for a 17-year-old boy named Briant, \$500 for a 16-year-old female named Emilia, \$470 for a 23-year-old female named Lyde, \$425 for a 40-year-old male named Berry, and \$217 for a 7-year-old boy named Charles... By 1860, they owned a total of twenty-eight.³⁰

The twins were rumored to treat their slaves brutally. The editor of the *Mount Airy News*, J. E. Johnson, claimed the twins shot and killed a disobedient slave after the slave ran away at one night.³¹ No law protected slaves against such behavior, thus, no one questioned killing the slaves, which were the twins’ property. Generally, the twins required their slaves to strictly adhere to southern customs. When they saw a slave standing at the front door instead of the back door, they scolded him instantly and reminded him of the “correct” place for a slave to stand.

²⁸ J. K. W. Tchen, 184.

²⁹ McCunn, “Chinese in the Civil War,” 151.

³⁰ Wallace and Wallace, *The Two*, 188.

³¹ J. E. Johnson’s mother was the colleague of Chang’s daughter.

Cultural Implications on Identity

Chang and Eng exerted great influence on the United States in the nineteenth-century with a twofold impact. First, their appearance inspired reconsideration and thought on several questions, such as: what were the spiritual and metaphysical explanations for the existence of these two “monsters”; and are they one person or two? Secondly, writers and artists employed stories and images of Chang and Eng to discuss American domestic politics, based on the multiple implications of the twins’ existence.

People viewed Chan and Eng as “monsters” and “freaks.” Their agents used the word “monster” as a gimmick to attract an audience. Before the twins’ debut in Boston, their agents, James Webster Hale and Captain Abel Coffin, managed and promoted their first show by launching “a huge publicity campaign featuring a blizzard of provocative posters.”³² A printer billed the twins as “The Monster,” but afterwards, the twins’ agent quickly changed the billing to “the Siamese Double Boys.” The exhibit satisfied the public and stimulated their curiosity about the twins’ body and stories. On their last day in Boston, the *Boston Daily Courier* printed a long piece about them:

All the town goes to see the Siamese twins, and people are set wondering, as well they may be, at this fantastical trick which dame Nature has taken it into her head to play for the special purpose of confounding the wits of us poor mortals. That these two pretty lads should be condemned all their lifetime to be as it were an eternal sticking plaster to one another, and live in a manner alone in the community without the benefits of individuality or the prerogatives of single gentlemen, is a circumstance odd enough to set us pondering³³

³² Wallace and Wallace, *The Two*, 58.

³³ *Boston Daily Courier*, August 22, 1829, as quoted in Wallace and Wallace, *The Two*, 59.

A popular magazine, *The Universal Pamphleteer*, published an article entitled, “A Full History of the Siamese United Twins: with Their Likeness,” that said, “Without being in the least disgusting or unpleasant, like almost all monstrosities, these youths are certainly one of the most extraordinary freaks of nature that has ever been witnessed.”³⁴

The concepts of “monsters” or “freaks” could mirror people’s overall mindsets in this period. Jeffrey Jerome Cohen, director of the Medieval and Early Modern Studies Institute at George Washington University, explains, “The monster’s body is a cultural body.” The interpretation of the monsters is contextual, since the monsters are the “embodiment of a certain cultural moment—of a time, a feeling, and a place.”³⁵ People’s perspectives on the monsters are the indicators of their cultures, psychologies, and economic and political conditions in society at that time.

In the nineteenth century, people had a passion for watching freak shows. Robert Bogdan, a professor of cultural foundations of education and sociology, defines “freak” as “a frame of mind, a set of practices, a way of thinking about and presenting people. It is the enactment of a tradition, the performance of a stylized presentation.”³⁶ Therefore, “freak” is not only a noun, which refers to an abnormal body shape, but it is also a verb describing a set of motions. The objects the word identifies, then, are dual directional in that “freak” means the people who present their bodies as entertainment for profit in a way that exaggerates the abnormality; and it also means the audience that enjoys observing the bodies’ deformities. Rachel Adams explains, “Freak recalls a climate in

³⁴ *The Universal Pamphleteer*, London, 1829, as quoted in Wallace and Wallace, *The Two*, 84.

³⁵ Jeffrey Jerome Cohen, *Monster Theory: Reading Culture* (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1996), 4.

³⁶ Robert Bogdan, *Freak Show: Presenting Human Oddities for Amusement and Profit* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1988), 3.

which the misfortunes of some became sources of entertainment and profit for others.”³⁷ Therefore, the process of becoming a freak could not be accomplished unless people at the two ends of the spectrum, presenter and observer, coexisted. Paying the price of admission to look at another’s body also created an unconscious course of identification and alienation, since the audience could obtain a satisfying sense of normalness by differentiating themselves from the freaks.

Chang and Eng provoked members of U.S. society to ponder their identities and individuality. Dr. Warren who examined the twins raised the question, “Do we view the twins as one subject or treat them individually?” During his examination, he found the twins never consulted each other before moving or talking. They urinated and evacuated their intestines at different time, yet they had exactly the same pulse rates. Dr. Warren wrote in his report:

Among the curious questions which have arisen in regard to these individuals, one has been made as to the moral identity of the two persons. There is no reason to doubt that the intellects of the two are as perfectly distinct as those of any two individuals who might be accidentally confined together. Whether similarity of education or identity of position, as to external objects, have inspired them with any extraordinary sameness of mental action, I am unable to say; any farther, at least, than that they seem to agree in their habits and tastes.³⁸

After the twins’ debut in Boston, a *Boston Daily Courier* article discussed questions such as what if one of the twins was Buddhist, should the other one be converted to Christianity? Do we consider the two men as an individual? How can logic be twisted to

³⁷ Rachel Adams, *Sideshow U.S.A.: Freaks and the American Cultural Imagination* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2001), 10.

³⁸ Wallace and Wallace, *The Two*, 56, 57.

turn darkness into light? How do Chang and Eng settle between themselves the great questions in philosophy of what's what and who's who?³⁹

The twins' existence as a grotesque creature challenged people's normal senses. This, in turn, inspired the public to ruminate on the twin's identity as a person(s), as well as the nation's ambiguous identity as the North and South grew increasingly divided during the antebellum period. Artists and writers used Chang and Eng's story and image to review their own culture and politics, and the integration of national identity. The U.S. media interpreted Chang and Eng's appearance in novels, essays, newspaper and magazine articles, cartoons, poems, and theatrical plays.

Mark Twain's essay "The Siamese Twins" and Thomas Nast's cartoon below serve as two examples that substantiate the cultural impact that Chang and Eng had on the country at the time. The discussions of the twins' identities as applied in these works indicate people's awareness of the divergence between the North and the South before the war and how it continued in the conflict's aftermath. Samuel L. Clemens, better known as Mark Twain, first published his essay "Personal Habits of the Siamese Twins" in 1869's *Packard's Monthly*. In 1875, Twain's collection *Sketches New and Old* republished this essay with the new title, "The Siamese Twins." Using the twins' images as a metaphor to describe the disparity between the North and South in the antebellum period, the essay describes, in a fictional way, their contrasting dispositions, their habits, and how their differences are reconciled on a daily basis:

The Twins always go to bed at the same time; but Chang usually gets up about an hour before his brother. By an understanding between themselves, Chang does all the in-door work and Eng runs all the errands. This is

³⁹ *Boston Daily Courier*, August 22, 1829, as quoted in Wallace and Wallace, *The Two*, 59-60.

because Eng likes to go out; Chang's habits are sedentary. However, Chang always goes along. Eng is a Baptist, but Chang is a Roman Catholic; still, to please his brother, Chang consented to be baptized at the same time that Eng was, on condition that it should not 'count.' During the War they were strong partisans, and both fought gallantly all through the great struggle--Eng on the Union side and Chang on the Confederate... The sympathy existing between these two brothers is so close and so refined that the feelings, the impulses, the emotions of the one are instantly experienced by the other. When one is sick, the other is sick; when one feels pain, the other feels it; when one is angered, the other's temper takes fire.⁴⁰

In analyzing this essay, Cynthia Wu, professor of transnational and Asian studies, argues that it represents the factionalism underlying the tensions between individuals and across regions within the United States before and during the Civil War.⁴¹

In the essay, Mark Twain also reflects on the notion of race on the eve of the war when he describes Chang and Eng in disparaging terms, "And yet these creatures were ignorant and unlettered—barbarians themselves and the offspring of barbarians, who know not the light of philosophy and science. What a withering rebuke is this to our boasted civilization, with its quarrelings, its wrangling, and its separations of brothers!"⁴² The Asian twins were not only physically distorted but also ignorant and morally backward, and symbolized a barbarian in the mind of the author.

Like Mark Twain, the cartoonist Thomas Nast used the image of Chang and Eng as a metaphor for American politics. In an 1874 issue of *Harper's Weekly*, Nast published an article entitled "The American Twins" that showed his interpretation of the union between labor and capital set against the backdrop of the Panic of 1873, when an American and European economic crisis caused many laborers to become unemployed.

⁴⁰ Mark Twain, *Sketches, New and Old* (New York: Harper & Brothers Publishers, 1903), 274. In real life, the twins were all Confederate sympathizers and slaveholders.

⁴¹ Wu, *Chang and Eng Reconnected*, 85-90.

⁴² Mark Twain, *Sketches, New and Old*, 273.

During this time, relations between workers and employers became increasingly strained, as employers often disregarded benefits for employees.



Figure 2. Thomas Nast cartoon that appeared in *Harper's Weekly*, February 7, 1874.⁴³

In this cartoon, two white men stand side by side, connected at the chest by a ligament emblazoned with the words, "the real union." The man on the left wears an apron and holds a hammer in his hand representing labor. The man on the right wearing a top hat

⁴³ "American Twins," *Harper's Weekly*, February 7, 1874. 136, as quoted in Wu, "The Siamese Twins in Late-Nineteenth-Century Narratives of Conflict and Reconciliation," 43.

and carrying a bag of money symbolizes a “factory owner.” The caption under the picture proclaims, “United we stand, Divided we fall.” Cynthia Wu contends this picture reveals the attempt “to bring together the interests of the working classes with those of the property-owning classes.”⁴⁴

This cartoon also shows the impossibility of real solidarity between workers and factory owners. The lone connection between workers and factory owners is obviously weak and unstable, and it is deformed. Nast may have also wanted to show that the two parties in the picture considered a complete separation since Chang and Eng had attempted throughout their lives to cut the ligament joining them. They received numerous examinations in Europe and the United States, but the state of medicine in the nineteenth century made the surgery unfeasible. Chang and Eng had no option but to stay together. By contrast, working- and upper-class individuals were not united in a real sense. Class remained a constant tension between them as the picture illustrates in their solemn manners: the worker appears depressed and concerned, while the factory owner shows an arrogant, ruthless expression.

Nast’s use of Chang and Eng’s image in his cartoon demonstrates the twins’ influence and impact on American society in the nineteenth century. Indeed, the political and cultural implications of the two Asian freaks attracted great attention and inspired public discussion. The question remains, however, why did Mark Twain and Thomas Nast use the story of the twins as Asian immigrants to stimulate an examination of national identity in the United States and for different groups such as labor and capitalists to begin to heal their differences? It was partly due to Chang and Eng’s popularity. More

⁴⁴ Wu, “The Siamese Twins in Late-Nineteenth-Century Narratives of Conflict and Reconciliation,” 44.

importantly, it demonstrated, in a sense, cross-class and cross-race solidarity. The inclusion of the immigrants in a discussion of U.S. politics meant that some Americans had begun viewing immigrants as an integral part of American history, recognizing the role they played in nation-building. The arrival of increasing numbers of immigrants to the United States played an important role in domestic politics. The man representing workers in Nast's cartoon, for example, also speaks for the larger immigrant community made up predominantly of laborers. Their power needed to go hand in hand with the upper class for the sake of national unity in time of economic crisis. Just like the United States in the nineteenth century, Chang and Eng represented a contradictory but united entity where various political, cultural, racial, and socioeconomic groups grappled with each other while nonetheless coexisting.

Looking at transnationalism from the perspective of the receiving country, the immigrants Cheng and Eng substantially influenced their adopted home. They did this by influencing culture, economics, and politics as entertainers, wealthy landowners, businessmen, and, perhaps most importantly, as representatives of Asian culture in the United States.

Woo and Tsao's Contribution to China's Modernization

The impact of transnationalism was also evidenced when immigrants returned to their homelands. After returning to China, Hong Neck Woo and Marshall Tsao influenced the country's modernization process by expanding the presence of Western civilization in China. The United States, as the receiving country, had culturally changed the immigrants, who became Christian missionaries.

Christianized and deeply influenced by Western culture, Woo and Tsao were unique as indigenous Chinese who became agents of Western civilization in China. Their Chinese background, working in reverse, created a complexity in their relationships that enabled them to stand out in a missionary group and, at the same time, facilitated their missions. Woo's familiarity with Chinese psychology aided him in forging his strategy. Tsao's reverence for traditional Chinese culture helped to shape the principles of the Buffington Institute, which concentrated on the study of existing Chinese knowledge. In this way, Eastern and Western cultures intermingled just as Western culture began to take root in China. Woo and Tsao were indigenous men who actively responded to Western knowledge, adapting it as needed, rather than seeking to wholesale what they learned in the United States to the Chinese.

Hong Neck Woo

An attachment to his homeland brought Hong Neck Woo back to China. Discharged from the Union army in 1863, Woo returned to China in February of 1864. He recalled, "I desired very much to see my own people again. I was nine years in

America, and during this time I heard very little from home.”⁴⁵ Woo went to New York City, where he began his trip back to China on an Oliphant Company vessel. After three months at sea, he reached Shanghai in May 1864. Upon arrival, he registered his name at the American consulate as a U.S. citizen.

Woo devoted his life to expanding Christianity in China. After his mentor, Bishop William J. Boon, passed away in 1864, Woo was ordained “for the highest calling that man on earth can be employed in—even to become an ambassador for Christ to persuade men to believe in Christ and to be received by God.”⁴⁶ In 1868, he received his Lay Reader’s Certificate from Bishop S. M. William. Woo began his work by assisting Archdeacon E. H. Thompson, looking after day-school boys, and occasionally preaching. He also helped establish the American Episcopal Church Mission’s first dispensary on the corner of Broadway and Boone Road, which was the predecessor of St. Luke’s Hospital of Shanghai.⁴⁷ On May, 1, 1873, Woo was ordained as a deacon at the Church of Our Saviour, where he negotiated the purchase of land in Kangwan and supervised the construction of the building. At the same time, he began work in nearby towns and villages.⁴⁸ On May 24, 1880, Bishop Schereschewsky ordained him into the priesthood at St. John’s Chapel, where he opened a school and a dispensary.⁴⁹

Hong Neck Woo worked diligently to improve medical services in Shanghai. He played a crucial role in collecting funds for the hospital. This was particularly important

⁴⁵ *Autobiography of Rev. H. N. Woo*, 10.

⁴⁶ C. M. Williams to Hong Neck Woo, April 23, 1866, from *Autobiography of Rev. H. N. Woo*, 12-13.

⁴⁷ Shirk, *A Chinese American Soldier in the Civil War*, 48.

⁴⁸ Reverend F. L. H. Pott, “The Late Reverend H. N. Woo,” *The Spirits of Mission* 85, 1920, 172.

⁴⁹ *Autobiography of Rev. H. N. Woo*, 13.

because Bishop Boone had changed the charitable character of St. Luke's hospital, encouraging private donations while seeking to decrease waste and eventually make St. Luke's self-supporting.⁵⁰ Thanks to Woo's efforts, Mr. Li Chiu-bing donated \$10,700 for the building of the Li Chiu-bing Ward.⁵¹ Woo also faced challenges when some missionary physicians quit work because of poor conditions in the hospital. Lacking doctors, Woo took on multiple jobs as "doctor, druggist, clerk, manage[r], all in one," after his foreign doctors had all left. Woo said, "my connection with the hospital was more or less close for about thirty years. For the first eight years, my whole time was given to it."⁵²

Compared with other foreign missionaries in China, Woo's familiarity with Chinese culture and Chinese people's psychology gave him an advantage that was conducive to his missionary work. On a snowy night, Woo visited Li Chiu-bing to discuss his donating funds for the establishment of a hospital in Shanghai. During their conversation, Li mentioned that he raised \$3,000 for restoring the Bubbling Well Temple that was destroyed during the Taiping movement from 1851 to 1864. Woo praised him "for his zeal for religion" before pointing out that "the restoration of the beautiful temple actually benefitted only a few monk[s]. Had he spent the same sum of money upon the hospital he could have benefitted thousands of sick people and done real good to the community."⁵³

⁵⁰ Meimei Lin, "The Episcopalian Missionaries in China, 1835-1900" (PhD diss., The University of Texas at Austin, 1994), 336.

⁵¹ Li Chiu-bing was the comprador of Gaoyi Bank. He also joined Woo's team in the protest for equal rights to use Shanghai Public Park. Chapter Three will analyze this event in detail.

⁵² *Autobiography of Rev. H. N. Woo*, 15, 17.

⁵³ *Autobiography of Rev. H. N. Woo*, 15.

Woo's Chinese cultural background helped him in creating a strategy to successfully persuade Li to donate. Unlike some Western missionaries who strongly opposed other religious beliefs might have done, Woo did not give up on Li, who had donated to a Buddhist temple. On the contrary, he respected Li's activity and encouraged him to undertake further charity work. It was possible that Woo did not consider Li a Buddhist at all because Woo knew that very few Chinese were genuinely religious. He realized that traditional Confucianism, Buddhism, and Taoism had deep roots in China; but, as a pragmatic people, neither the ruling class nor the grassroots were faithful followers of any religion.⁵⁴ Woo saw faith was conditional, believing that people followed any religion if it benefited them.

Compared to Woo, foreign missionaries lacked sufficient knowledge about China to be effective. The primary reason for Episcopalian missionaries' frustration was their lack of familiarity with the culture and the language. Meimei Lin points out in her comprehensive study of Episcopalian missionaries in China that the "Episcopalian missionaries understood little about the Chinese and their culture." She argues that they came to China merely because of their missionary zeal and heroism. Some missionaries barely read or spoke Mandarin, which was very different from earlier missionaries, such as Robert Morrison and Mathew Ricci, who translated numerous Chinese dictionaries and Confucian classics.⁵⁵

Woo later dedicated his life to philanthropy in China, encouraging women's independence. At the age of seventy-two, he zealously campaigned to raise money for the

⁵⁴ Yi Hua Xu, Wu Hong Yu Yu Zhong Guo Sheng Gong Hui [Hong Neck Woo and Chinese Episcopal Church], *Fu Dan Xue Bao* [The Journal of Fu Dan University], no.2, (1997), 42.

⁵⁵ Lin, "The Episcopalian Missionaries in China," 337.

Industrial Home for Poor Widows. He collected \$10,700 to purchase land and construct buildings. Reverend F. L. H. Pott praised Woo's benevolence to "furnish a striking proof of the value of Christian missions in this land [China]." ⁵⁶ Woo found many widows, old and young, who depended upon their families and had no means of support, commenting, "I have seen many poor women suffering from their husbands' ill-treatment or young widows from the ill-treatment of their families all along my country-stations... they have nowhere to go but to be submissive to their fathers-in-law, mothers-in-law, cousins, etc." ⁵⁷ He originally hoped to establish an industrial home under Christian auspices where women could learn about Christianity and support themselves by doing women's work, such as fieldwork, cooking, boiling tea, and sewing. Rather than merely supplying financial support for the widows, Woo introduced them to the idea of becoming independent in their own right, teaching them skills that could help them support themselves. ⁵⁸

Marshall Tsao

Before Marshall Tsao returned to China in June 1869, he spent years learning medicine in Tennessee while working to support himself. Rev. Lambuth said Tsao thought "he could better his condition and prepare himself for returning to his native land. He had hired himself to work for a farmer with a promise that he could attend school a

⁵⁶ Reverend F. L. H. Pott, 172.

⁵⁷ *Autobiography of Rev. H. N. Woo*, 23.

⁵⁸ Reverend Y .Y. Tsu, "An Industrial Home for Widows in China," *The Spirits of Mission* 87 (1922), 570.

part of the time.”⁵⁹ Tsao put his medical knowledge into practice after he left the United States, treating ill neighbors and preaching to his patients in the meantime.

Changes in Chinese and international politics made it possible to establish Christian schools in interior China. The Tianjing Treaty in 1858 and the Beijing Treaty that resulted from China’s loss in the Opium War allowed settlements of missionaries in China where the Qing government had previously forbidden Catholic and Protestant proselytization. The time was perfect, then, when the Methodist Episcopal Mission facilitated its educational and medical enterprise, the focus of the church’s activity in China.

Tsao’s establishment of the Buffington Institute, named for one of its donors, represented a significant step in the “planting and promotion” of the Christian church. In 1871, Tsao founded the first Methodist day school, predecessor of China’s Soochow University. He chose Soochow, the capital of Jiangsu Province, because it stood at the center of culture in Chinese history, and because Rev. Lambuth wanted to extend mission efforts there. Tsao traveled back to China to work with Lambuth, who he credited with changing his life by bringing him to the United States. The school’s teachings led students to understand “the Christian faith, in the hope that they, like their teachers, would give themselves to its practice and propagation.” The school’s outcomes were satisfactory. Many graduates became “preachers, teachers and doctors. About a dozen

⁵⁹ Rev. J. W. Lambuth, “Charles K. Marshall 3, Kate in the heathen land,” circa 1872, provided by Margarita Park Sherertz Messersmith, Association to Commemorate the Chinese Serving in the American Civil War, <https://sites.google.com/site/accsacw/Home/charles-k-marshall3>, accessed September 24, 2013.

became ministers in the China Conference, Methodist Episcopal Church, South, and were among the leaders in the body.”⁶⁰

The Buffington Institute sheds light on Chinese educational ideas. The institute offered a broad range of disciplines, including Western courses and elementary Chinese science and classics. Tsao adopted the educational ideas of Alvin Pierson Parker, who had assisted his work since 1875. Parker later offered his thoughts on the Chinese educational system and the reforms:⁶¹

One of the dangers of Chinese educational reform is their urge to obtain the Western education fruits, but not value the established principles that we have been using in the existing knowledge. They want to gain ‘standard’, but not to investigate the ‘reasons’. Our Buffington Institute recommends students developing in an all-round manner. We require them [to] study all course[s], rather than only English or practical skills.⁶²

In order to supplement an insufficient Chinese educational system, the Buffington Institute offered classes that included Chinese and Western classics, such as *San Zi Jing* [three character primer], *Bai Jia Xing* [the Book of Family Names], *Lun Yu* [The Analects

⁶⁰ W. B. Nance, *Soochow University* (New York: United Board for Christian Colleges in China, 1956), 9.

⁶¹ China experienced a series of complete educational reforms in the late nineteenth century. Since 1895, after China’s defeat in the Sino-Japanese war, Chinese literati and officials started reforming the examinations; however, their efforts failed several times. The failure of the 1898 reforms, the henceforward turbulence, including the Boxer Rebellion and the foreign invasion in 1900, made the Qing court realize the urgency for educational reform. In 1902, the Qing court carried out the New Policy Reform, issuing the Imperial Regulations for a Modern School System (Qinding xuetao zhangcheng). In 1904, they promulgated the Imperially Approved Memorial on Modern School Regulations (Zouding xuetao zhangcheng), which was based on the previous 1902’s regulation, to announce the establishment of a new-style school system. In 1905, the Qing government abandoned the old school system, the civil service examination in China, and encouraged developing new forms of schools based on the Western model. For more information on the modernization of Chinese education, see Xiaoping Cong, *Teachers’ Schools and the Making of the Modern Chinese Nation-State, 1897-1937* (Vancouver: UBC Press, 2007).

⁶² Wang Guoping, *Dong Wu Da Xue: Bo Xi Tianci Zhuang* [Dongwu University: Bo Xi in Tianci village] (Hebei: Hebei Jiao Yu Chu Ban She [Hebei Education Press], 2003), 15. Translated by author.

of Confucius], *Da Xue* [the Great Learning], *Zhong Yong* [the Doctrine of the Golden Mean], *The Stories of the Bible*, and *The Life of Jesus*. Courses also included science and technologies, such as biology, geography, *Yi Jing* [The Book of Chang], analytic geometry, and hydrodynamics.⁶³ All classes were taught in Chinese. After students finished these classes, they achieved the equivalent of an elementary and secondary school education in the United States.⁶⁴

Hong Neck Woo and Marshall Tsao remained connected with the United States and eventually returned. In 1889, Tsao went back to Tennessee, where he had lived and fought twenty years prior. The American Methodist Episcopal Mission had elected him as a delegate to present at the Methodist conference held in St. Louis, Missouri. Afterwards, he visited New York and took “a post-graduate course in medicine.”⁶⁵ Woo and Tsao both sent their sons to the United States for further studies. Woo’s son, John Robert Cho-Chung, studied at Kenyon College, in Gambier, Ohio, in 1882. On returning to China, he taught English at the Nanking Government College in the Bureau of Foreign Affairs at Nanking, and worked as an interpreter for Christian work and the Great Northern Telegraph Company. Marshall Tsao’s son, Yunxiang Tsao, studied at the University of Virginia. He became one of the principals of Tsing Hua University in China, where he reformed old educational ideas and instilled new ones. He believed the previous system overemphasized Western knowledge and processes. In order to create independent studies and minds, Yunxiang Tsao established a school of traditional

⁶³ Guoping Wang, *Dong Wu Da Xue*, 15.

⁶⁴ Nance, *Soochow University*, 9.

⁶⁵ *The Chicago Tribune*, May 1, 1890, 4.

Chinese culture and encouraged Chinese students to remain in China longer before leaving for America.⁶⁶

Immigrants' returning to their homeland did not end the cycle of transnationalism; rather, many activities carried on the process. Though Woo and Tsao, first generation immigrants, returned to China, their connections with the United States did not weaken. Instead, new forms of transnational activities sustained their transnational, cultural, and spiritual ties, which did not require them to continue traveling between countries. Their experiences living in the United States crystalized as part of their cultural identities and constantly influenced their worldviews and perspectives. Plus, they broadened this influence to a larger group of people through their missions and their contributions to the fields of education and medicine. Beyond that, their sons, the second generation, continued the exchange across different cultures by travelling between China and the United States as well. In other words, the transnationalism was by no means a one-time activity. Rather it became a growing trend as people's mobility increased worldwide.

Woo and Tsao's dual identities as Chinese missionaries who had returned from the United States altered their mission work. Paradoxically, as missionaries Woo and Tsao became ambitious "actors" to promote Western civilization to the Chinese. At the same time, they were the indigenous power, which was "acted upon."— As Cynthia Wu called them, the "heathen-turned-civilizing-agent."⁶⁷ They were heathens before converting to Christianity and becoming agents who promoted the faith in their native

⁶⁶ Yongjun Zhang, "Cao Yun Xiang Dui Qinghua Daxue Ben Tu Hua Fa Zhan De Yingxiang" [Yunxiang Tsao's contribution to the localization of Qinghua University's education], *Education Review* 6 (2009).

⁶⁷ Wu, "The Siamese Twins in Late-Nineteenth-Century Narratives of Conflict and Reconciliation," 33.

land. As Chinese, however, they knew Chinese culture well and had compassion for their homeland. Therefore, rather than trying to oversell Western knowledge, they selected the parts they deemed suitable to present to the Chinese without losing the essence of their culture. They valued traditional Chinese knowledge and encouraged the perpetuation of Chinese culture, especially in Tsao's case. As the founder of the Buffington Institute, Tsao adopted Parker's idea by providing classes in both Chinese and Western culture in Chinese. To some extent, Woo and Tsao's missions differed from foreign missionaries, who had degrading imperialistic views of the Chinese language and cultural system as barbarous. Some of the foreign missionaries, especially the Protestant missionaries who came to China in the nineteenth century, considered only the "advanced" Western civilization as the proper path for the future of China.⁶⁸

* * *

Transnationalism accelerated cultural exchange in the nineteenth century and offers a distinct lens through which to view that period's history. Analysis of cultural change cannot be limited to examining one end of the immigrants' movements. The diaspora was bi- and even multi-polar. Observation of cultural activities in immigrant homelands is also especially important, as most scholarship focuses on the roles immigrants played in the shaping of U.S. culture. A comparative void exists in diaspora research regarding the lives of immigrants who returned to their countries of origin. What were their conversations with their original culture? To what extent did their experiences

⁶⁸ Wang Lixin, *Meguo Chuan Jiao Shi Yu Wan Qing Zhongguo Xian Dai Hua* [American missionaries and the Modernization of China in the Late Qing Dynasty] (Tianjin: Tianjing people's publishing house, 1997).

overseas influence their native land? This chapter adds to the historiography in this regard.

Chapter Three

Who Are They?—The Hybrid Identities of Trans-migrants

Some of the immigrants' transnational practices, such as the complexity of their nationalism and their active roles in the cultural exchange between countries raise many questions: Why did foreign soldiers in the Civil War exhibit dual loyalties? As celebrities in the Western world, did Chang and Eng view themselves as Chinese immigrants or upper class in nineteenth-century U.S. society? As "heathen-turned-civilizing-agents"—Protestant missionaries—did Hong Neck Woo and Marshall Tsao identify themselves as representatives of Western civilization or Chinese culture? By examining Chang and Eng's as well as Woo and Tsao's autobiographical accounts of their activities, answers to these questions begin to emerge.

To fully understand immigrants' nationalism and their roles in the global cultural exchange, it is essential to study their hybrid identities as trans-migrants who at times demonstrated complicated sentiments in response to transnational events in their home and adopted lands. As mentioned in the previous two chapters, Chang and Eng owned slaves and supported the Confederate army but also made profits from their public Asian image. Hong Neck Woo fought for the North, committing himself to battle injustice and preserve the Union; but he also called the Chinese his own people when he participated in a nationalist protest to protect them after he returned to China. Likewise, Marshall Tsao said he missed his native country after experiencing the Battle of Fort Donelson and began devoting his time to expanding Christian missions in China.

By examining the self-identifications of Chang and Eng, and Woo and Tsao, this chapter demonstrates that their seemingly contradictory activities stemmed from the hybridity of the immigrants' identities, which were forged by their transnational experiences. Chang and Eng's self-identification gradually changed over time. Early in their career, they emphasized their identity as Chinese, but gradually they adopted the dress and lifestyles of Americans, while making efforts to integrate into white social life. Woo actively participated in a nationalist protest against the unequal treatment of the Chinese in Shanghai's international settlements; but he also criticized the "wickedness of heathenism" in Chinese culture with an imperialist's attitude as he became deeply devoted to converting more Chinese people to Christianity through his charity work. Tsao considered himself an American southerner in China, while stressing his Chinese identity in the United States.

The construction of immigrants' hybrid identities reflects and is complicated by their roles in society. The dual or multiple identities coexist simultaneously caused by what Won Moo Hurh and Kwang Chung Kim called "adhesive adaptation," which is "a particular mode of adaptation in which certain aspects of the new culture and social relations with members of the host society are added on to the immigrants' traditional culture and social networks, without replacing or modifying any significant part of the old."¹ Based on Hurh and Kim's theory, Fenggang Yang puts forward the term "adhesive identities" as opposed to the clear-cut categorization of immigrants who either assimilated into their adopted country or maintained their ethnic identities. Yang suggests

¹ Won Moo Hurh Kwang and Chung Kim, "Adhesive Sociocultural Adaptation of Korean Immigrants in the U.S.: An Alternative Strategy of Minority Adaptation," *International Migration Review* 18, no. 2 (Summer 1984), 188.

that many immigrants in the United States wanted to integrate into U.S. society while maintaining a position in their subgroup.² In the case of Woo, his social roles as a missionary and his national identity as Chinese appear intermittently in response to varied situations. He was a nationalist when guarding his Chinese homeland, but he was also a Protestant missionary, who represented Western culture at odds with Chinese tradition and religion.

As Steven Vertovec points out, identities are “generated in, and constructed through, a kind of internal (self-attributed) and external (other-ascribed) dialectic conditioned within specific social worlds.”³ This is especially true in the case of ethnic identity. For example, Chang and Eng, in a manner, agreed with the audiences that they were freaks by profiting from showing their deformed bodies in nineteenth century freak shows. Also, by participating in politics and hunting competitions with white southerners, Chang and Eng worked to fit into American society and perhaps felt less foreign as a result.

The social status of immigrants was critical to shaping their hybrid identity, as the stories of Woo, Tsao, Chang, and Eng illustrate. The examination of Woo and his fellow countrymen’s participation in a nationalist protest in China reveals that their positions went hand in hand with their interests as members of the bourgeois. As American missionaries returned from the United States, Woo and Tsao held different perspectives on Chinese culture. On the reverse side, their identity as both Chinese and American came into play in their missionary work. Likewise, Chang and Eng’s activities

² Fenggang Yang, *Chinese Christians in America: Conversion, Assimilation and Adhesive Identities* (University Park: The Pennsylvania State University Press, 1999), 27.

³ Steven Vertovec, “Transnationalism and Identity,” *Journal of Ethnic and Migration Studies* 27, no. 4 (October 2001), 577.

demonstrate that they viewed themselves more as white slaveholders at a higher level in the social hierarchy than other Chinese immigrants. Their self-identification, like those of many immigrants, changed many times over the years. Constantly evolving, identity was fluid and subject to change, closely related to the individual's personal, economic, political, and religious circumstances.

Chang and Eng's Self-identification as Chinese in the Early Years

The twins' agents, James Hale and Charles Harris, controlled their public images in the first three years of their career. During this period, little is known about Chang and Eng's own viewpoints, how they saw themselves, and to what extent they had a say in their own careers. Very few records of their accounts exist because whites in the United States did not credit the twins with the ability to think rationally. Since their agents' publicity strategy combined their racial and biological features as selling points, the media forged the twins' images as either monsters, curiosities of nature, or Asian exotics, in accordance with their commercial needs. Judgments regarding the twins' temperaments also differed. The majority of journalists considered the twins "strong and active," "good-natured," or "happy and gay." But some described them with compassion, "Among the subjects of natural curiosity...none could excite more really painful feelings of pity than the contemplation of these ill-fated fellow creatures."⁴ However, none of these published descriptions were based on interviews with the twins, nor did they

⁴ *Boston Patriot*, August 17, 1829; *Aurora and Pennsylvanian Gazette*, October 24, 1829; *New York Courier and Enquirer*, September 22, 1829, as quoted in J. K. W. Tchen, "New York Before Chinatown: Orientalism, Identity Formation, and Political Culture in the American Metropolis 1784-1882" (PhD diss., New York University, New York, 1992), 173.

mention Chang and Eng speaking on their own behalf. These observations completely excluded their participation.

Resenting that their managers portrayed them as two freaks from a barbarous and superstitious Asian land, the twins took over control and management of their careers in 1832. At that time, their own thoughts on their identities began to emerge and their public image changed greatly. In 1836, Eng and Chang co-supervised the publication of a pamphlet, *A Few Particulars Concerning Chang-Eng, the United Siamese Brothers, Published Under Their Own Direction*, in which they announced, “It is deemed proper to state, that the present publication is made...to correct any erroneous statements which may have occurred in previous publications” directed by their ex-managers.⁵

Chang and Eng officially claimed that they were Chinese in the 1836 brochure. When introducing stories of their early life, they stressed the large number of Chinese immigrants in Siam and the Chinese people’s advantages over native Siamese. This raises the question, why did the twins consider themselves Chinese, rather than “Chinese-Siamese” as other Chinese who lived in Siam were called? In the nineteenth century, restrictive ethnic policies in Siam drew a clear boundary between the Chinese and Siamese. Siam did not promote policies or ideas of “plural cultural sensibility.”⁶ In this black or white situation, Chang and Eng’s preference to be strictly Chinese indicates their strong Chinese cultural identity and their conscious choice to manage their business persona by tying it to the Chinese image. They had in fact, adopted this Chinese image from the beginning of their career when they signed their names in Chinese characters

⁵ James W. Hale, *A Few Particulars Concerning Chang-Eng, The United Siamese Brothers, Published Under Their Own Direction* (New York: J. M. Elliott, 1836), 1.

⁶ Tchen, “New York Before Chinatown,” 216.

“曾” (Zeng) and “因” (Ying) on their original contract with their former agents, instead of the English “Chang” and “Eng,” which sound similar to the pronunciation of their names in Chinese. It is not clear, however, if the twins could actually read and write Chinese.⁷

The twin’s early pamphlet made by their previous managers, “Historical Account of the Siamese Twin Brothers from Actual Observations,” describes the country of Siam, “The government of Siam is probably one of the most despotic and cruel in the world...The person of the King is considered so sacred...and any person found guilty of looking at his most excellent Majesty, is punished with immediate death.”⁸ The twins challenged negative views of Asians by showing that they behaved elegantly and were well educated. In the 1836 pamphlet’s picture, Eng and Chang wore tuxedos and had graceful smiles on their faces. Eng also held a book in his hand to indicate his literacy—the first time this element appeared in one of their publications. Evidently, the twins purposely designed their new image and refuted former manager Abel Coffin’s description of their involvement in superstitious Asian rituals and pointed out his own incompetence.⁹ The twins’ strategy proved to be wise and successful, uplifting their career and garnering recognition for them. A French newspaper reporter praised their talent and courage, saying, “What I admire about them, is the intelligence with which they have profited from their position. It is the first time I have seen monsters or savages with enough spirit to conserve their independence, take care of their own affairs

⁷ Tchen, “New York Before Chinatown,” 217.

⁸ James W. Hale, *Historical Account of the Siamese Twin Brothers from Actual Observations* (New York: Elliott and Palmer Printer, 1831), 5.

⁹ Tchen, “New York Before Chinatown,” 183-184.

themselves, and not sell themselves as weird beasts to an avid master who profits from their dependence.”¹⁰

Despite their increasingly prosperous career in the United States, the twins remained emotionally connected with their homeland. Chang and Eng made several attempts to travel back to Siam, but they all failed because of “a series of engagements, or temporary shortage of money, or some other pressure which demanded that they should stay in the States.”¹¹ The twins refuted Coffin’s claim that they would live in the United States forever, thinking it unlikely that “they would be absent longer than eighteen or twenty months.”¹² They asked a missionary in Siam to “Tell our mother we will see her some day—as soon as we have enough money to make the trip,” but she passed away in 1847 before seeing her boys again. Being extremely heartbroken, Chang and Eng decided to return to “comply with her deathbed wish...and pay homage to their deceased mother.”¹³ In 1860, like many of the Asian immigrants, the twins joined in the Gold Rush in California by performing for the newcomers in San Francisco. They did this for the economic allure and, more importantly, because they could travel to Siam from California more easily. They eagerly awaited their return to Siam after thirty-one years, but, sadly, once again their plans did not materialize, as the next section explains.

¹⁰ *La Quotidienne*, 1836, as quoted in Irving Wallace and Amy Wallace, *The Two: A Biography* (New York: Simon and Schuster, 1978), 148.

¹¹ Kay Hunter, *Duet for a Lifetime: The Story of the Original Siamese Twins* (New York: Coward-McCann Inc., 1928), 74.

¹² Hale, *A Few Particulars Concerning Chang-Eng*, 6.

¹³ Wallace and Wallace, *The Two*, 218, 220.

Chang and Eng's Change of Identities

Chang and Eng retained a strong Chinese identity in their early career, but this identity changed as they assimilated into American culture. The way they dressed, their participation in white people's politics and activities, their deep connection to southern society, and their climb up the social ladder, all speak to the Americanization of their identities. Their two identities, Chinese and American, were not mutually exclusive, however; rather, they were a hybrid, each integrated with the other.

A glimpse at publications across different periods that describe Chang and Eng's clothes trace the changes in the twins. Their first public image showed them dressed in the traditional Chinese style. An article published in 1829 described them, saying, "They are dressed in a short loose green jacket and trousers, the custom of their country, which is very convenient and allows the utmost freedom of motion."¹⁴ A picture used in their pamphlet also depicted them in Chinese clothing with Qing style braids around their bodies.

Gradually, though, their images became Americanized. An 1850 brochure stated, "They have adopted the American style of dress, and speak the English language tolerably distinctly. They are very talkative; and when they first came to this country, would both speak at once, but now only one speaks at a time."¹⁵ Chang and Eng purposely catered their public image to Western audiences. In the pamphlet they created, Chang and Eng showed themselves in a new style with "Western haircuts and stylish

¹⁴ "A Full History of the Siamese United Twins: with Their Likeness" in *The Universal Pamphleteer*, 1829, as quoted in Wallace and Wallace, *The Two*, 84.

¹⁵ Hon. J. N. Morehead, *Lives, Adventures, Anecdotes, Amusements, and Domestic Habits of the Siamese Twins: One of the Greatest Wonders of the Present Time, Being Two Perfectly Formed Persons, Whose Bodies, by A Singular Caprice of Nature, Are United Together as One* (Raleigh: E. E. Barclay, 1850). 17.

tuxedos.”¹⁶ Yet, their consciousness of being Chinese seemed to remain part of their identity. Though they adopted American styles in many things, they kept their long braid in the Qing Dynasty style, which represents a strong indication of their Chinese identity. In the nineteenth century, Chinese men’s long braids carried significance in reflecting their national pride. According to a British journal, Chang and Eng cut their long hair in later life and became completely American men, “Dressed, as they are, in the ordinary American fashion, with the hair cut short, and talking English, as they do, with the American accent, they retain little or nothing of the appearance of Eastern subjects; except their black hair and their features.”¹⁷

Holly E. Martin, a professor of ethnic U.S. literature, argues that Chang and Eng’s efforts in adapting to American society indicate that the twins “sought normalcy in their life styles.”¹⁸ Despite being deformed, ethnic, and labeled as abnormal, the twin’s behavior, integrating into the social life of whites and taking on a Westernized public image, signifies that the twins had a strong sense of “seeing themselves as normal.” She also contends that Chang and Eng’s marriage to the Scottish sisters, their nuclear families, and the possession of slaves indicate that no matter how different the twins looked, they carried on normal lives as southern Americans.¹⁹ However, Martin’s argument is somewhat lacking because it does not take into account their whole lives, which reveal that they did not consider themselves inferior or subjugated. Instead, they were intelligent

¹⁶ Tchen, “New York Before Chinatown,” 182.

¹⁷ “A Lecture on the Siamese and Other Viable United Twins,” in *British Medical Journal*, February 13, 1869, as quoted in Wallace and Wallace, *The Two*, 266.

¹⁸ Holly E. Martin, “Chang and Eng Bunker, ‘The Original Siamese Twins’: Living, Dying, and Continuing under the Spectator’s Gaze,” *The Journal of American Culture* 34, no. 4 (December 2011), 372.

¹⁹ Martin, “Chang and Eng Bunker,” 372-373.

self-strategists and self-made men. Chang and Eng not only successfully managed their business, but also developed a unique style on stage that was humorous, wise, and sophisticated. Their acquaintance with Abraham Lincoln and many European celebrities substantiated their social status.

Martin's opinion holds more credence, however, when one probes deeper into her concept of "normality." For immigrants to peruse a sense of normality in the United States, they had to construct an American identity. This process involved efforts to integrate into local society, a deep attachment to and compassion for the adopted home, and recognition of the local culture. Many examples demonstrate Chang and Eng's desire to differentiate themselves from common immigrants by trying to enter a higher social class.

Chang and Eng became ardent political activists, which was uncommon among Chinese immigrants in the nineteenth century. Apart from providing services to the South in the Civil War, the twins demonstrated a keen interest in local elections and avidly read newspapers. They belonged to the Whig Party, which was popular in North Carolina for its advocacy of protective tariffs and slavery. Whig Party members came predominantly from the higher social classes, which made it unusual for immigrants to be Whigs. Authors of the twins' biography, Irving and Amy Wallace argue that "the twins' support of the party indicated their strong desire to identify with the majority of native Americans."²⁰ However, it is also likely that they favored the Whig Party's policies, which benefitted southern slaveholders. After the Whig Party dissolved, the anti-

²⁰ Wallace and Wallace, *The Two*, 186-187.

foreigner Know-Nothing Party wanted to bar naturalized citizens from public office. As naturalized citizens, Chang and Eng fervently opposed the Know-Nothings.

The recent discovery of a rifle shows that the twins' participated in hunting games and shooting competitions. Chang and Eng's great-grandson donated their 0.41 caliber rifle with Christopher Wren Bunker's initials on the top to the University of North Carolina's Wilson Special Collections Libraries.²¹ Chang gave the gun as a gift to his son, Christopher, who served in the Confederate army. A gun expert speculates that this gun was for long range shooting in hunting matches, which agrees with evidence indicating Chang and Eng were good marksmen and interested in hunting game. The 1836 pamphlet indicated, "The twins are very expert, in the use of a gun, and take great pleasure in hunting squirrels and birds; in the western and southern states they had a good deal of sport, and in the state of Alabama they were lucky enough to kill a very large deer."²² Also, the *Southerner* reported that the twins "attended the local shooting matches, where turkey or beef was the reward for the best marksman."²³ Chang and Eng's active social lives demonstrate their wealth, their higher social status compared to most Chinese immigrants, and their efforts to integrate into the social mainstream with local white planters.

After finishing their performance in San Francisco, Chang and Eng abandoned their plan of continuing to Siam because they read the news that the southern states

²¹ Chang and Eng's great-grandson, Vance Haynes, is a professor of archaeology at the University of Arizona.

²² Hale, *A Few Particulars Concerning Chang-Eng*, 7.

²³ Domonique Baldwin, et al., "Chang Bunker's Rifle," The Chang and Eng Bunker Project: UNC researching and performing the lives of the Bunker twins, <http://changandeng.web.unc.edu/2012/11/29/chang-bunkers-rifle/> (accessed October 30, 2013).

planned to secede from the Union and war was imminent. They preferred protecting their adopted home, their children, wives, land, slaves, and properties to traveling to their native homeland half way around the world. As a close friend described, they allied themselves “strongly with the South, with whose people and institutions they had become so thoroughly identified...they took sides with their own section, with their neighbors and friends, in defense of what they believed to be their right”²⁴

Hong Neck Woo and Marshall Tsao as Nationalists

The examination of Hong Neck Woo’s participation in a Chinese nationalist protest reveals his hybrid identity. In the American Civil War, Woo showed his loyalty to his adopted country and his dedication to its nation-building by fighting for the Union. After returning to China, Woo also played an important role in protests against the unequal treatment of the Chinese in Shanghai’s international settlement.

Shanghai became a treaty port after the First Opium War (1840-1842) or the First Anglo-Chinese War. Shanghai’s location on the Yangzi River Delta on China’s east coast provided a desirable geographic position that facilitated development of trade and an international settlement. The Treaty of Nanjing, the result of the Opium War imposed by the British to China, forced China to open five ports, including Shanghai, for all British citizens.²⁵ Great Britain and France also forced China to sign a treaty that opened trade to more countries after the Second Opium War (1856 to 1860). Further, the Tianjin Treaty

²⁴ Wallace and Wallace, *The Two*, 232, 237.

²⁵ The Treaty of Nanjing was signed in 1842. It was the first unequal treaty signed with foreign countries in Chinese history. This treaty also resulted in the cession of Hong Kong as well as a 21,000,000 Silver Yuan indemnity to Great Britain. “Silver Yuan” had been the traditional Chinese currency since the sixteenth century.

signed in 1858 and Beijing Treaty signed in 1860 gave more rights to the foreigners, such as the creation of an American embassy and French and Russian Catholic missions in Shanghai, as well as the free right to purchase land and establish enclaves in the country's interior and in treaty ports.

In 1868, a regulation imposed on Shanghai Huangpu Park stirred up a dispute in Chinese society. Originally called Public Garden, Huangpu Park was also known as Recreation Ground and Bund Garden. The British consulate built the park in the 1860s and opened it to visitors in 1868. It occupied a significant location in Shanghai on Nanjing Road, which was the most prosperous and modernized part of the Bund. The park held symbolic importance for both foreigners and the Chinese people.²⁶ The park's primary function was to provide a recreational outlet for foreigners; thus, when the Chinese began frequenting the park, the foreigners complained. In 1885, the imperialists put up a wooden sign that read, "Dogs and Chinese not admitted" to ban them from entering.²⁷

Chinese nationalists viewed this as enormously humiliating to their country's dignity. Kuomintang leader, Sun Yet-sun, referred to this issue in a speech he made in Japan to stimulate an awareness of Chinese nationalism. The issue gained symbolic importance in the nationalists' language that criticized Western imperialism in China during that era. In 1907, Li Weiqing, a Shanghai literati, wrote in his book, *Shanghai Journal*, that:

²⁶ Robert A. Bickers and Jeffrey N. Wasserstrom, "Shanghai's 'Dogs and Chinese Not Admitted,' Sign: Legend, History and Contemporary Symbol," *The China Quarterly* 142 (June 1995), 445.

²⁷ Zhou Zuoren, "Gong Yuan Zhi Gan Qing" [the Compassion for the Park], in *Zhou Zuoren Ri Ji* [The Diaries of Zhou Zuoren] (Zheng Zhou: Da Xiang Chu Ban She [Da Xiang Press], 1996), 395.

People from either eastern or western countries can have entertainment in the public [park]; even the people from India, a colonized country, can enter the park freely. Only Chinese people are not allowed. It is indeed a discrimination. Even slaves and animals have higher statues than [the] Chinese... The western power is rampant in this world. We should spare no efforts to rescue our national dignity!²⁸

Guo Moruo, a famous Chinese writer, also said, “a few parks in Shanghai forbid dogs and Chinese entering. In fact, sometimes dogs are allowed, while people are not. Unless people become dogs too.”²⁹ In saying “become dogs,” his wife explained that Guo meant they wore Western clothes, became “pretend-Oriental-Westerner[s],” to get permission to enter.³⁰

Hong Neck Woo became involved in this issue in April 1881 after the guard at the park gate prevented Woo’s Chinese friend, Tang Maozhi, from entering. Tang was a comprador in Jardine Matheson, a British bank engaged in the opium and tea trade with China.³¹ Like Woo, he had experience living overseas. Tang went to San Francisco in 1849 and founded the Yeong Wo Benevolent Association in 1852. The local Chinese Americans elected him chairman of the Chinese American Association of Commerce because of his contributions to protect the local Chinese people’s rights against Chinese exclusion. He returned to China in 1861.³² Feeling assaulted after his rejection at the Huangpu Park gate, Tang questioned the Municipal Committee. Not satisfied with the

²⁸ Li Weiqing, *Shanghai Xiangtu Zhi* [Shanghai Records] (Shanghai: Shanghai Guji Chu Ban She [Shanghai Ancient Books Publishing House], 1989), 72. Translated by author. This thesis follows the original order of putting Chinese names as surnames before first names.

²⁹ Guo Moruo, “Yueshi [Eclips],” *Chuangzao Zhoubao* [Chuangzao Weekly], no.17, (September 2, 1923), 12.

³⁰ Bickers and Wasserstrom, “Shanghai’s ‘Dogs and Chinese Not Admitted,’” 453.

³¹ In China, a comprador was the hired manager in hong, companies, and banks owned by foreigners.

³² “Fu Mei Taojin Weiju Huaren Lingxiu, Guanchang Shou Cuo Chengjiu Gongshang Ju Zi [The Chinese leader in the gold rush, the great businessmen after frustration in the politics],” *Nan Fang Dushi Bao* [Nanfang Metropolis Daily], May 14, 2009.

Municipal Committee's response that "the committee would not recognize any right of using the park for Chinese," Tang echoed a report published on April 29, 1881, by *Shen Bao*, an influential Chinese newspaper in Shanghai, stating, "Select decent Chinese, [and] let them hold a certificate when visiting the garden. [That] is a better idea than only favoring the Westerners."³³

Tang joined with Hong Neck Woo and six other people in writing to the Municipal Committee, requesting a conditional opening for the Chinese:

First, all the well-behaved Chinese visitors should show the certificate, which is issued by the Municipal Committee. Letters from privileged people, Chinese or foreign, or the letters from the residence committee of certain communities could also be the certificate. Second, those renowned or well-respected Chinese who hold the certificates or letters could enter the park on two or three days (Saturday and Sunday) out of every week. Third, since the park is small, the grassland in front of the Bund should also open for recreation as a part of the park. Chinese and foreigners should have the same rights to use it and could play or rest on the grassy area. If we could do this, the current sense of unfairness would disappear.³⁴

In 1885 Woo and Tang wrote to the Municipal Committee again, stating that they were taxpayers and also residents of the international settlement, "It is unacceptable that Chinese and foreigners are receiving different treatment. We hope the Municipal Committee could figure out some ways to clear this repugnant conflict." They considered this a racial issue:

³³ "Shu Ben Bao Gong Bu Ju Fuxin Hou [Write after the Municipal Committee's reply]," *Shen Bao* [Shanghai Paper], April 29, 1881. Translated by author.

³⁴ Tang Maozhi et. al., Tang Maozhi Deng Ba Ren Zhi Gongbu Ju Mishu Han [letter to the secretary of Municipal Committee], *Shanghai Ying Mei Zujie Gongbu Ju 1885 Nian Nian Bao* [Shanghai British and American Settlement Municipal Committee 1885's Annual Journal], as quoted in Xiong Yuezhi, "Wai Zheng Quanyi Yu Nei Xing Gong De—Shanghai Waitan Gongyuan Qishi Huaren Shehui Fanying De Lishi Jiedu [Fighting for rights and self-reflecting on social morality—The historical interpretation of the social reactions to the discrimination toward Chinese in Shanghai Bund Park]," *Xue Shu Yue Kan* [Academic Monthly] 39, no. 10 (October 2007), 133.

It is unconvincing and improper that, as either expedient or international etiquette, the Municipal Committee refuses to allow Chinese into the park just because of their race. It is completely absurd. For example, the Japanese and the Koreans as our neighbors could enter the public entertainment freely. However, because of the appearance, we Chinese are in trouble and are barred from entering the park.³⁵

Despite their efforts, Tang and Woo did not reach their goal of curbing the restrictions.

Huangpu Park's regulations still clearly prohibited Chinese visitors, stating, "Except the Westerners' servants, all other Chinese are not allowed to enter the park. Children without the Westerners' company are not allowed to enter."³⁶

Tang and Woo did not withdraw despite their frustration. They wrote to Gong Zhaoyuan, Shanghai's superintendent, to ask for his help in requesting the Municipal Committee's mediation:

We would like to appreciate the beauty of the park's view, for its land belongs to China, and the construction fees were from the taxes paid by the Chinese. However, the Chinese cannot even put their feet in this park. An injustice like this would humiliate a person on a small scale, would hurt a country's dignity at large. We ask here, now that they have renamed the park "Public Garden," what place are they giving our Chinese!³⁷

Tang and Woo's struggle was successful, to some extent. With help from Gong, the Municipal Committee accepted Tang and Woo's suggestion by issuing visiting certificates for the Chinese, each of which remained valid for one week. Through 1889, the committee had issued 183 certificates, but only 700 Chinese visited the park

³⁵ Tang Maozhi et al., letter to the Secretary of Municipal Committee. Translated by author.

³⁶ "Regulations of Shanghai Municipal Police," 1903, as quoted in Shi Meiding, *Shanghai Zu Jie Zhi* [Journal of Shanghai International Settlement] (Shanghai: Shanghai Shehui Ke Xue Yuan Chubanshe [Shanghai Academy of Social Science Press], 2001), 703.

³⁷ Lizhai Qin, "Shanghai Gongyuan Zhi [Records of Shanghai's Parks]," in *Shanghai Guide* (Shanghai: Guoguang Publishing House, 1934), 326. Translated by author.

throughout the whole year.³⁸ The Municipal Committee stopped issuing certificates and placed tighter restrictions on Chinese entry after 1890, partly because some Chinese fabricated the certificates, and partly because having too many Chinese in the park deterred foreigners from visiting:

The Chinese customs may not harm the garden, but the foreigners frequently complained about the differences between Chinese and Western ideas...the performance of a band under the spotlight attracted too many Chinese, and the late coming foreigners could not find a place to stand.³⁹

Tang, Woo, and the others who joined them made significant contributions on the issue of their exclusion from the park, symbolized by the sign, “Dogs and Chinese not admitted.” Their fight was essential to protecting their compatriots’ equal rights to use the public infrastructure. Also, their activities aroused their and their fellow countrymen’s awareness of nationalism. They introduced new Western ideas, such as taxpayer and residents’ rights into the nationalist debates, which rarely appeared prior to this time. The nationalist movement influenced by Chinese people with transnational experiences also infused new concepts of civil rights into the thoughts of Chinese citizens along with a sense of agency they learned from observing different cultures.

The difference of the vocabularies used by Woo’s group from that of Chinese nationalists who did not have transnational experiences deserves comparison. Chinese

³⁸ Xiong Yuezhi, “Wai Zheng Quanyi Yu Nei Xing Gong De—Shanghai Waitan Gongyuan Qishi Huaren Shehui Fanying De Lishi Jiedu [Fighting for Rights and Self-reflecting on Social Morality—The Historical Interpretation of the Social Reactions to the Discrimination Toward Chinese in Shanghai Bund Park],” *Xue Shu Yue Kan* [Academic Monthly] 39, no. 10 (October 2007), 133.

³⁹ “Shanghai Shi Gonggong Yule Chang Suo Weiyuanhui Baogao—Zhi Yangjingbang Yi Bei Zujie Gongbu Ju [The Report from Shanghai Public Entertainment Committee—to the Municipal Committee Beyond the North Pidgin River],” *Shanghai Ying Mei Zujie Gongbu Ju 1890 Nian Nian Bao* [Shanghai British and American Settlement Municipal Committee’s Annual Journal of 1890], as quoted in Xiong, “Fighting for rights and self-reflecting on social morality,” 134. Translated by author.

literati and nationalists frequently spoke in terms of national dignity, discrimination, and Western power, whereas Woo and Tang's group put forward terms such as race and equal rights. Evidently, their experiences living in the United States, where these issues commonly arose, profoundly influenced their consciousness. While their rhetoric centered on concepts central to equality and liberty, the Chinese nationalists' arguments sounded more sensational and emphasized their identity as Chinese.

This differences between Woo's group and native Chinese nationalists in their time demonstrate that in transnationalism, the trans-migrants' cross-cultural backgrounds enabled them to transfer different ideas and concepts to their land of origin, facilitating the cultural communication and exchange between the East and the West that happened in the nineteenth century. The terminology that they introduced to China greatly broadened the horizon of Chinese activists regarding the protection of equal rights, both domestically and internationally.

The dedication of Tang and Woo's group challenges the belief that Chinese people who had transnational experiences were less devoted and patriotic to their homeland than the native Chinese. Political scientist Lucian W. Pye argues that this misconception centered on "a serious misunderstanding about the realities of Chinese life in the enclaves."⁴⁰ Shanghai was a highly developed and sophisticated city by the early twentieth century, and in the interwar years became the most cosmopolitan city in all of Asia, not only measured in international trade but also in artistic and cultural significance.⁴¹ Supporting Gregor Bention's opinion that Chinese businessmen and

⁴⁰ Lucian W. Pye, "How China's Nationalism was Shanghaied," *The Australian Journal of Chinese Affairs* 29 (January 1993), 115.

⁴¹ Pye, "How China's Nationalism was Shanghaied," 117.

industrialists created a new civilization on the coast in early twentieth-century China, Pye contends that the accomplishments of Shanghai “almost entirely” came from “hard-working, creative, talented middle-class Chinese.” He criticizes the belief that treaty ports grew solely from foreign efforts. However, Pye also asserted that “successful entrepreneurs and industrialists generally developed an apolitical mentality.”⁴² Pye acknowledges the economic contributions of the Chinese middle-class in early twentieth-century Shanghai but denies their devotion to politics, claiming that businessmen concentrated their attentions on their enterprise.

An examination of the background of the members in Tang and Woo’s group supports Pye’s argument that the middle-class worked hard to develop China but refutes his assertion that they remained apolitical. Five out of eight people were either entrepreneurs, industrialists, or both. Besides Tang Maozhi, the comprador in the British bank Jardine Matheson, and Hong Neck Woo, former American soldier and current Christian missionary in China, the other six people were Tan Tongxing, Chen Yongnan, Li Chiu-bing, Tang Tingshu, Yan Yongjing, and Chen Huiting.⁴³ Tan Tongxing owned the Tongxing Construction Company and became a famous land agent in Shanghai. Li Chiu-bing served as the comprador of Gaoyi Bank. He once donated lands and \$10,700 in Silver Yuan to Hong Neck Woo’s hospital. The brother of Tang Maozhi, Tang Tingshu played an important role in developing the Chinese national capital and worked at Jarfdine Matheson as a comprador. He also traded extensively in real estate, opium, rice,

⁴² Pye, “How China’s Nationalism was Shanghaied,” 121.

⁴³ Unfortunately, Chen Yongnan’s information is untraceable. This list reflects the order in which these people signed their names on the letter to the Municipal Committee.

salt, tea, and silk.⁴⁴ Yan Yongjing was the interpreter for the British settlement in Shanghai and the Tongshi in the Municipal Committee.⁴⁵ Additionally, he supervised Saint John's College in Shanghai. Tinghui Chen was the director of the board of China Merchants' Steamship Navigation Company and the manager of Shanghai Huaxing insurance company.⁴⁶ The important role that this group of Chinese entrepreneurs and industrialists played in protecting the rights of the Chinese in Shanghai's international settlement demonstrated that their contribution went beyond China's economic development to include a voice in the country's politics and civil rights effort.

Although the effort of the group proved critical, its terminology and methods deserve closer examination. Initially, Tang became irritated because he was rejected at the park gate as a member of the upper class in Shanghai. He agreed with the proposal to resolve the problem by limiting park access to select, decent Chinese who held a certificate, as *Shen Bao* reported. Clearly, Tang merely cared about the dignity and equal rights of elite class and might have withdrawn his objection if the Municipal Committee had agreed with this suggestion. Further, in Woo and Tang's letter to the Municipal Committee in 1885 they showed their attitude as privileged class members by suggesting that "all the well-behaved Chinese visitors" could enter the park by showing either the certificate or "letters from privileged people, Chinese or foreign," and that the "well-

⁴⁴ Jingyu Wang, *Tang Tingyu Yan Jiu* [Study on Tang Tingyu] (Beijing: Zhongguo Shehui Ke Xue Chu Ban She [China Social Science Press], 1983), 1-3.

⁴⁵ Tongshi's work included interpretation, supervision, assistance and guidance in commerce and trade. Yi Zhou, "Lun Jin Dai Zhong Wai Jiao Wang Zhong De Shanghai Tongshi Qun Ti [Discussion on the Group of Tongshi in Shanghai in the Modern History of East-West Communication]," *Sichuan Da Xue Xue Bao* [Journal of Sichuan University] no.2 (2007), 47.

⁴⁶ Yuezhi Xiong, "Shanghai Xiangshan Ren Yu Xiangshan Wenhua [Shanghai Xiangshan People and Xiangshan culture]," *Shehui Ke Xue* [Social Science], no.9 (2006), 149.

respected Chinese” could use the park more frequently. Most of the members in Woo and Tang’s group were upper-class and had experience travelling abroad. Hence, though they spoke of insults to national dignity, their nationalist activities appear directed more toward guarding the rights of the advantaged class than protecting against an insult to national dignity.

Woo’s example supports Esther Grace Long’s theory that nationalism intersects with various other aspects of social identity, including “gender, class, ethnicity, regional or local orientation, religion, generation, political affiliation, etc., to produce an even more complex field of nationalisms.”⁴⁷ Hence, it is not surprising that Woo’s group differentiated their nationalist efforts from that of the masses. More importantly, Woo’s nationalist activities embodied his identity as a returned immigrant by promoting new concepts on personal rights, even if narrowly applied, with a comparatively detached attitude towards patriotic sensationalism.

On the other hand, Tsao employed a different method to demonstrate his Chineseness, one that involved implementing his educational ideas at the Buffington Institute in China. As indicated in Chapter Two, Tsao underscored the importance of perpetuating Chinese language, requiring that all the classes be taught in Chinese. He also reiterated the fundamental importance of traditional Chinese culture, rather than pursuing Western knowledge as the remedy for existing Chinese educational deficiencies. Having received a medical degree from a university in Tennessee, Tsao’s preference for Chinese culture over Western knowledge reveals his strong identification as Chinese.

⁴⁷ Esther Grace Long, “*Identity in Evangelical Ukraine: Negotiating Regionalism, Nationalism, and Transnationalism*” (PhD diss., University of Kentucky, 2005), 26-27.

Woo and Tsao's Attitudes as Westerners

Coincidentally, Yan Yongjing, one of the members of Woo's group, was the brother-in-law of Marshall Tsao, demonstrating the close ties and networks that existed among people who had traveled transnationally. Woo and Tsao, both of who fought in the American Civil War albeit on different sides, did not meet each other in the United States but became acquainted after returning to China. Tsao married the little sister of Yan Yongjing in 1873. Yan Yongjing's son wrote in his diary about his uncle, Tsao, "Our only aunt married a preacher of the Southern Methodist Church...He is stalwart, cheerful and optimistic...he joined the Confederate army in the Civil War. This reminds me a good friend and college of my father, Rev. Woo...he was in the Union army."⁴⁸

Although Woo, Tsao, and Yan had a strong consciousness of being Chinese and participated in the nationalist protest together, part of their identities remained as Westerners. Their experiences living in the United States shaped their distinct cultural perceptions. As missionaries, they evidenced Asian attitudes, but they considered Chinese religion and morality inferior to Christianity and that of the West. Developing and advancing their missions frequently provided the motivation behind their improvement of the medical services and education for the Chinese people.

Woo encountered frustrations during the first several years after he returned to China. First, he faced a language barrier, taking eight months to regain his native tongue after nine years of living in the United States nearly robbed him of any facility with the Chinese language. Second, the ignorance of the Chinese people deeply bothered him. For

⁴⁸ Degui Cai, *Qinghua Zhi Fu Cao Yunxiang* [The Father of Tsing Hua Univeristy—Tsao Yunxiang] (Xian: Shanxi Shifan Da Xue Chu Ban She [Shanxi Normal University Press], 2011), 47-48.

example, he heard that a non-Christian woman drank the mysterious water that oozed from the base of the idol's seat in a famous temple to cure her barrenness. When he visited that temple the next day, he found out that a pipe ran underground and connected the jar with a supplying vessel in the next room. Thus, the mysterious water that supposedly cured all kinds of diseases was nothing but ordinary well water. This experience caused Woo to realize "the dense ignorance of my countrymen and the wickedness of heathenism."⁴⁹

The primary purpose of Woo's efforts to establish hospitals, schools, and institutional homes was to promote Christianity in China, more than his nationalist devotion to his country. His benevolence acted as his strategy to approach lay people. Some of his letters to *The Spirits of Mission*, a periodical of the Episcopal Church, revealed his thoughts. While working at the St. Luke's Hospital, he reported that one of his patients, Mr. Lee, became highly "active and works faithfully ever since his full recovery." Encouraged by Lee's case, Woo made plans to open a dispensary to reach more patients. Woo explained:

By so doing, we will have two good advantages: first we can make friends with those who come to us from different localities of this city and the country; second, our preaching of the precious Gospel of CHRIST can reach to the ears of women as well as men, and besides, give the chance to the young men to see more humanity and kind manners toward the sick and needy. I have cured several opium smokers the last year, some of them were business men. If I start a dispensary this year, no doubt there will be many more such cases come for help...Indeed, this is very encouraging, and a good beginning to me in this new field of Church work."⁵⁰

⁴⁹ *Autobiography of Rev. H. N. Woo*, 1915, Record Group 64, Archives of the Episcopal Church, Austin, Texas, 21-22.

⁵⁰ "Letter From The Rev. Hong Neok Woo," *The Spirits of Mission* 49, 1884, 243.

Woo drew the conclusion that he would convert more Chinese people by setting up a dispensary because he knew that they were pragmatic and hard to convert without providing them some benefit. Therefore, offering medical care could be the best way to approach converting them. He even asserted that the spread of Christianity would not be realized in China without developing more hospitals.⁵¹

Yan Yongjing had the same mindset as Woo in his missionary work. In 1866 during his tenure as the pastor of the Church of Our Saviour, he told Song Yaoru, the father-in-law of Chinese nationalist and revolutionary Sun Yat-sen, while pointing at his Qing style braid:

You have to do as the Chinese do. You'd better allow your braid to grow if you want to do the mission in China. Your mission is to convert the Chinese and save our countrymen. If you do not have the braid and do not dress in Chinese style, they consider you as a "fake foreigner" and try to avoid you. If so, how can you expect them to accept the Gospel?⁵²

Yan's attitude was mixed and ambivalent. On the one hand, he considered himself Chinese with a nationalist ambition to save his countrymen; on the other, he detached himself from the Chinese as an outsider. Dressing in the Chinese style merely served as a method of his mission.

Marshall Tsao similarly demonstrated dual identities. Proud to be an American southerner, Tsao spoke casual English with a strong southern accent, having learned English from his master in Tennessee. Song Yaoru had learned Standard English at a college in Boston. Song usually corrected Tsao's grammar and pronunciation when Tsao

⁵¹ Yihua Xu, "Wu Hong Yu Yu Zhong Guo Sheng Gong Hui [Hong Neok Woo and Chinese Episcopal Church]," *Fu Dan Xue Bao [The Journal of Fu Dan University]*, no. 2 (1997), 42.

⁵² Lifu Xie and Guang Feng, *Song Shi Jia Zu [The Song Family]* (Beijing: Shehui Ke Xue Wenxian Chu Ban She [Archives of Social Science Press], 1996), 22. Translated by author.

taught him the Shanghai dialect. Offended, Tsao scolded Song, saying, “You, you are such a presumptuous person...Why do you bother me with your Yankee English? You were not even born when I started speaking English!”⁵³ However, when Tsao went back to New York in the 1890s, he arrived wearing a Chinese tunic suit.⁵⁴ When an American teased him by saying “Hey John!”, Tsao rolled up his sleeves and exclaimed, “Take back your words! Otherwise, we can take this outside!”

* * *

Transnationalism and national identity are inherently interconnected. Transnationalism forges the immigrants’ hybrid identity that integrates the cultural features of their adopted country with the immigrants’ self-identification with their homeland through global economic, political, and cultural networks. The hybrid identity perpetuates the impact of the migrants’ transnationalism by globalizing parts of their identities—the ideas, religions, and cultures from the different countries where they lived or frequently visited. These transnational practices led to dual or multiple identities as immigrants’ experiences caused them to continually review and re-identify themselves through a broader lens.

Chang and Eng’s self-identification changed noticeably in different periods of their career. They considered themselves Chinese and remained emotionally tied to their homeland in the early years, but their social lives in the later years reveal that they made

⁵³ Guang Chen and Si Ye, *Song Shi Jia Zu Quan Zhuan* [Bibliography of the Song Family] (Beijing: Zhongguo Wen Shi Chu Ban She [China Literary History Press], 1999), 19.

⁵⁴ The Chinese tunic suit is also known as Zhongshan suit. It contains strong connotations of politics and nationalism in the new National Republic of China.

efforts to live as upper-class whites. Woo joined the nationalist protest for the equal rights of Chinese in Shanghai's international settlements; yet, he showed a detached attitude towards the Chinese and Chinese culture as a Christian missionary. In addition, his nationalism reflected a class bias. Showing his attachment to both countries, Tsao remained proud of speaking English with a southern accent in China, but wore a Chinese tunic suit when he returned to the United States.

Understanding immigrants' hybrid identities that have shaped transnationalism also helps to explain other transnational activities beyond the discussion of this chapter. For example, some immigrants celebrate festivals that mark traditions from different nations or choose foods of various styles in different circumstances. Immigrants in the Chinese community have established a large number of English and Chinese language schools in the United States to perpetuate both cultures. These transnational ethnic cultures reflect the close connections with their hybrid identities.

Conclusion

The influence of the Cheng and Eng Bunker, Hong Neck Woo, and Marshall Tsao did not stop with the Civil War, the Chinese nationalist protest, or their missionary work but continued on for many years, further highlighting the impact of transnationalism. When the Civil War ended, the Confederate currency collapsed. Chang and Eng, who had made money during the war by granting loans, suddenly found the money they received in payment was worthless. Their forfeiture in human property represented an even greater loss. After the abolition of slavery, Chang and Eng liberated their thirty-three slaves and reemployed them as paid labors. The twins' poor financial status forced them to return to show business at the age of fifty-four. In January 17, 1874, Eng and Chang died at home in tandem. The death of the twins did not remove them from public life, however, as American society's arguments regarding their identity continued. Their bodies were anatomized for the post mortem analysis, mostly to investigate the composition of the flesh ligament that united them, the cause of their death, as well as to determine the possibility of future surgeries to separate conjoined twins. Chang and Eng, therefore, also contributed to the study of the human body in medical history. Moreover, their story became integrated into U.S. culture and the English language. "Siamese twins," first used to describe Chang and Eng, became the English term used for all conjoined twins, although in recent years it has come to be considered derogatory.

Hong Neck Woo died on December 18, 1919. He played a crucial role in promoting Christianity in China throughout his life. The American Civil War and the

succeeding internal conflicts within the American Episcopal Church exhausted most of the church's energy and detracted from its missionary work in China. Therefore, Woo's efforts proved critically important to maintaining the church's internal solidarity, institutionalizing the missions, cultivating the local preachers, and reinforcing the Chinese missionaries' leading roles in the overseas missions to spread Christianity.

While studying at the University of Virginia in 1896, Tsao Yunxiang, one of Marshall Tsao's sons, received the sad news that his father had passed away. The next year, his mother also died. Tsao Yunxiang had no idea that he would never see his parents again when his father saw him off as he boarded the ship to the United States in October 1895. Tsao Yunxiang decided that finishing his degree was the best way to comfort his father's soul in heaven because he could not go back to attend the funeral. Tsao Yunxiang inherited his father's transnational spirit by adapting and incorporating what he learned in the United States to his later teachings at Tsing Hua University in Beijing during his tenure as the principal.

These individuals represent only a fraction of the Chinese soldiers in the Civil War, a great number of whose stories are yet unknown. More and more historians, especially Asian-American historians, are paying attention to this group of people and collecting more primary source material on their lives. Very few Chinese scholars are doing work in this area, which is unfortunate since their expertise can shed light on these soldiers' lives before they moved to the United States, their ties with the homeland while they lived abroad, and their lives after they returned to China. For example, stories of other Chinese soldiers' in the Civil War and their lives afterwards might reveal details on other significant issues, such as race, gender, class, and labor in the nineteenth-century

United States. Some of these immigrants met unequal treatment in the course of applying for pensions and jobs. Studies in this regard would give a more vivid picture of post-Civil War U.S. society as well as Asian Americans' efforts to fight against Chinese exclusion in the nineteenth and twentieth century. While records on Chinese men in United States are spotty, even fewer stories can be found of Chinese women trans-migrants' in the nineteenth century. Society restricted these women to the domestic sphere, limiting their movement; and for those who might have had transnational experiences, few written records exist in the form of letters or diaries since many of them were illiterate. Nevertheless, uncovering women's voices and the related gender issues are critical to viewing the broader picture of people's mobility during this time.

Chang and Eng, Hong Neck Woo, and Marshall Tsao as trans-migrants in the nineteenth century played important parts in both U.S. and Chinese history. They participated in the American Civil War as part of the foreign-born population that helped make the war a transnational event. Their devotions to either preserving liberty, human rights, and the Union, or guarding personal property and states' rights in the South played crucial roles in U.S. nation-building. Through their transnational practices, these four people also acted as agents for a two-way (or multi-way) cultural exchange. On one end, as highly strategic self-made men, Chang and Eng challenged the image of Asian Americans by their success in the nineteenth-century freak show business. They also impacted U.S. culture by the social and political implications of their deformed bodies on U.S. national identity. At the other end, Woo and Tsao promoted Christianity in China as the "heathen-turned-civilizing-agent." They played active roles in substantially

influencing their native land by incorporating Western knowledge into the Eastern knowledge base.

The four people discussed here took on hybrid identities forged by their transnational experiences. Chang and Eng made a huge effort to integrate into the upper-class lifestyle of southerners in the nineteenth-century United States, while employing their Asian American identity and physical deformity to make a profit. They identified themselves as Americans in later life and, at the same time, maintained emotional ties with their country of origin. Beginning in 1881, Woo participated in a Chinese nationalist protest against the “Chinese and dogs not admitted” policy at the Shanghai Public Park in the city’s international settlement. But his rhetoric revealed his class status and Westernized mindset, which differed from the native Chinese nationalists who had not lived overseas. Woo’s philanthropy in China also reflected his identity as a missionary, influenced by Western ideals, with a biased attitude towards Chinese culture. Tsao also shifted between his Chinese and American southerner’s identity in different circumstances.

By taking a transnational approach in analyzing the stories of these four Chinese men who took part in the American Civil War and later engaged in numerous transnational activities that had a lasting impact, this thesis paints a broader picture of people’s mobility and its effects on both their native and adopted lands in the nineteenth century. Even though Chinese soldiers represented a small number of the foreign-born soldiers fighting in the Civil War, their stories provide a window through which to observe the increasingly strong ties that developed between countries and the mobility of people in nineteenth century. Further, exploring their motivations and the connotations of

patriotism and nationalism through this transnational lens increases our understanding of the complex relationships of trans-migrants in a mobile world.

