

Carl Crow - A Tough Old China Hand

*The Life, Times, and Adventures of
an American in Shanghai*

Paul French



香港大學出版社

HONG KONG UNIVERSITY PRESS

Hong Kong University Press

14/F Hing Wai Centre

7 Tin Wan Praya Road

Aberdeen

Hong Kong

© Hong Kong University Press 2006

ISBN-13: 978-962-209-802-2

ISBN-10: 962-209-802-9

All rights reserved. No portion of this publication may be reproduced or transmitted in any form or by any means, electronic or mechanical, including photocopy, recording, or any information storage or retrieval system, without prior permission in writing from the publisher.

British Library Cataloguing-in-Publication Data

A catalogue record for this book is available from the British Library.

Secure On-line Ordering

<http://www.hkupress.org>

Printed and bound by Liang Yu Printing Factory Ltd., Hong Kong, China.



Hong Kong University Press is honoured that Xu Bing, whose art explores the complex themes of language across cultures, has written the Press's name in his Square Word Calligraphy. This signals our commitment to cross-cultural thinking and the distinctive nature of our English-language books published in China.

"At first glance, Square Word Calligraphy appears to be nothing more unusual than Chinese characters, but in fact it is a new way of rendering English words in the format of a square so they resemble Chinese characters. Chinese viewers expect to be able to read Square Word Calligraphy but cannot. Western viewers, however are surprised to find they can read it. Delight erupts when meaning is unexpectedly revealed."

— Britta Erickson, *The Art of Xu Bing*

Contents

Names and Spelling	vii
Acknowledgments	ix
Introduction: A Quarter Century in China	1
1 From the Mid-West to the China Coast	7
2 The China Press Man	17
3 Living at the End of the Wires	25
4 The Collapse of the Qing Dynasty and Opportunities Abound	35
5 Intrigue in Tokyo and World War	57
6 From Fruit Rancher to Spy	71
7 Sun Yat-sen and the Biography That Never Was	83
8 Four Hundred Million Customers and Bringing Billboards to China	89
9 Getting Friendly with Warlords	113
10 Rumblings in Shanghai	133
11 The Life of a China Coast Man	139
12 Fear in Shanghai, the Generalissimo and Three Stripes on the Arm	161
13 Back in the Newspaper Business	171
14 The New Republic and the Soong Dynasty	177

15	More Skirmishes and a City in Flux	185
16	Swallowing Like Whales, Nibbling Like Silkworms	193
17	Final Days in the City of the Dead	203
18	Business Over: The Escape from Shanghai	211
19	Through the Back Door into China.....	223
20	Tea with Madame Chiang and Whisky with Zhou En-lai	237
21	War Service and Being Proved Right	249
22	The Final Prolific Years	261
	Epilogue: Gone but Not Forgotten	269
	Notes	271
	Select Bibliography and Further Reading	297
	Appendix	301
	Index	303

INTRODUCTION

A Quarter Century in China



Strange Odors of Camphor Wood and Hot Peanut Oil

When Carl Crow stepped onto the shore of Shanghai's Bund in the summer of 1911, he stepped into a China that was on the cusp of a period of massive upheaval and change. Shanghai was also a city on the verge of becoming the most modern and Westernized city in Asia. As a guidebook to the city claimed:

High hats and low necks; long tails and short knickers; inebriates and slumming puritans. Wine, women and song. Whoopee! The throb of the jungle tom-tom; the symphony of lust; the music of a hundred orchestras; the shuffling of feet; the rhythm of abandon; the hot smoke of desire under the floodlights; it's all fun.¹

In August 1911 Shanghai was not quite yet the Paris of the East, the Whore of Asia or the Capital of the Tycoons. All that was to come later. When Crow arrived, Shanghai was a small settlement largely dominated by the British and their merchant trading firms. It was clustered along the banks of the Huang Pu

River and governed by the strange system of extraterritoriality that put foreigners beyond the reach of Chinese justice and subject to penalties only from their own courts and judges. The Shanghai Municipal Council (SMC) represented the 14 powers with an interest in the city and ran the International Settlement. Despite the SMC's motto, *Omnia Juncta in Uno* ("All Joined in One"), in reality the Council was dominated by the British in 1911. The French maintained their concession separately. At most, the International Settlement and Frenchtown covered 12 square miles with the Chinese-administered portion of the city covering a further eight. Shanghai was emerging as a modern metropolis and the dominant trading city of the Far East but the jazz, the art deco skyscrapers, the famous nightlife, the booming economy and even the majestic Bund that became so recognizable internationally in the 1930s were not yet in place.

Carl Crow came to Shanghai to help establish a new newspaper in the city but ended up staying a quarter of a century before being forced to leave as the Japanese launched their attack on Shanghai in 1937. Unlike most foreigners arriving in Shanghai at the time, he didn't come to build empire or out of any particular interest in China; he came as a young American keen to make his fortune, his name and a success of himself. He was willing to admit that when he first moved to China he found the "huge masses of humanity" somewhat terrifying yet strangely fascinating. He noted:



The Shanghai Bund 1913. When Crow arrived the Bund was still developing. The grand edifices that were to define the Shanghai waterfront were still to come.

I will never forget the first stroll I ever took in a Chinese city. It was the second day of my arrival in Shanghai and I started out alone to explore the place, wandering about on an aimless route. Soon I found myself on a crowded street with no English signs and no white faces – there was no one who even remotely resembled the people with whom I had lived from the time of my birth. It was a July day and many of the small tradesmen were sitting in front of their shops stripped to the waist, comfortably fanning their fat stomachs. Everywhere I looked there were people, people, people – strange people – all of whom seemed to be converging on me. The air was full of strange odors of camphor wood and hot peanut oil.²

Thirty years later, when he had returned to America, Crow was to remark that the smells of camphor and peanut oil would make him homesick for Shanghai, but in 1911 he had had his first encounter with China and the strange language, smells and street cries had all seemed overwhelmingly foreign. At that time, Crow was just another Shanghai sojourner, not yet an Old China Hand, and he didn't aim to be one; rather, he was worried about getting lost and never finding his hotel again. Crow also had to admit that in 1911 memories of the murderous Boxer Rebellion of 1900 were still quite fresh in the minds of foreigners arriving in China and he was not a little nervous at the adventure he had embarked upon.

Like other Americans before him and even more that followed, Crow arrived with the idea that China would be both a fascinating place to live in and somewhere to make money. The voyage to China had not been overly eventful. Westbound passages across the Pacific to Shanghai were usually regarded as rather dismal as most of the passengers were returning from home leave to jobs they didn't much care for on the China coast. He remembered that the ship stewards referred to the westbound voyage from the US as "bringing back the empties", while the eastbound voyage from China to the US was a far livelier affair with men and women embarking on home leave and feeling rich with the boat hosting "... many parties of the kind that used to be called 'carousals'."³ The crew preferred the eastward voyage, as the tips were better too.

Still, Crow got an early taste of what brought the ambitious, the curious and the desperate to Shanghai in those early years. Onboard he had met a Canadian of about the same age who had already been successful in running a chain of restaurants in Calgary which catered for the poor and was convinced that China was where a string of cheap restaurants could really make a fortune. Crow was later to write that many came with unrealistic dreams. It seems this fellow passenger was Crow's first encounter with the species as his plans failed due to his overestimating the potential market and he ended up penniless and

reduced to dealing opium to survive. As the ship slipped into the headwaters of the mighty Yangtze and ploughed up the muddy brown Huang Pu towards the Bund, he couldn't help wondering whether he too was embarking on an unrealistic dream of success in the Far East.

An Outbreak of Measles

Shanghai (which, rather unromantically, means "by the sea") was the major port of the Orient at a time when Hong Kong and Singapore remained somewhat drab and dreary backwaters. Young clerks sent out from England to the Far East dreaded a Hong Kong posting and were relieved if they were assigned to Shanghai. Hong Kong was a naval base and known for its pestilential climate; and Singapore was a steaming hot port with few attractions. Shanghai was different. Already the city's fame was starting to spread around the world as, alternatively, the Paris of the East or the Whore of the Orient depending on your viewpoint and tastes. In 1911 Shanghai was still a young and growing city. Until the early 1800s it had been no more than a small village 17 miles from the Yangtze River estuary. It was a flat, largely barren area prone to flooding. However, its strategic position afforded it the opportunity of commanding all trade entering the gateway of the Yangtze that flowed through China all the way to Sichuan and on to Tibet and offered the prospect of opening up the massive interior of China to foreign trade.

Opium and foreigners were crucial to Shanghai's emergence as a world city — Crow called them an "outbreak of measles." The First Opium War of 1839 changed the fortunes of the village of Shanghai forever. After the modern, well-equipped British Royal Navy made short work of the ancient battleships of the Qing dynasty, the various treaty ports granted to the British as part of the post-war settlement included Shanghai. Captain George Balfour arrived to take up the post of first resident British Consul with a translator, a surgeon and a clerk. Balfour selected the best location for the Royal Navy's anchorage and sited the new British Concession slightly north of the walled Chinese town. With control of Shanghai, the British had control of the Yangtze delta, the silk capital of Suzhou and the Grand Canal that linked Eastern China to Beijing. Shanghai was rapidly to become the main port of departure for Chinese goods to Europe and America, and also the major point at which goods, and people, from Europe and America flowed into China.

Before long, the British Concession was joined by an American Concession on the north side of Suzhou Creek (the two merged to become the International Settlement in 1863), while the French developed their own separate concession

further along the riverfront. Americans soon started arriving in Shanghai, initially as missionaries rather than businessmen. The waterfront began to develop and take shape, eventually emerging as the raised Bund with some of the most impressive and grand buildings in the Far East. Soon Shanghai's freebooting style of capitalism attracted the business community as well as numerous criminals, drifters, swindlers, refugees – and, also, Carl Crow.

By 1911 business in Shanghai was prospering and people were doing well which was more than could be said for the Manchu-run dynasty that governed China. The city was home to approximately one million people, less than 20,000 of whom were foreigners. The Opium Wars had shown the weakness of the Chinese military, and the restless and more libertarian southern China was increasingly slipping from their control. The imperial government, controlled by the Empress Dowager Ci Xi, had stubbornly resisted any Japanese Meiji-style reforms, suppressed the merchant class and refused to adapt Western technology to strengthen China. In 1851, the Taiping Rebellion had broken out led by Hong Xiuquan, a self-proclaimed mystic who believed he was the younger brother of Jesus. Though ahead of its time in many ways, the Taiping believed in Old Testament eye-for-an-eye violence: they left 20 to 30 million Chinese dead and were only prevented from seizing Shanghai by a hastily-convened mercenary force which defended the city. The Taiping Heavenly Kingdom was never finally created and died out in 1864, but the destabilizing influence that the Taiping represented continued to plague the Qing dynasty. At the turn of the century, the forces of the Boxer Rebellion had once again threatened the foreign community and the Qing dynasty.

As Crow's ship docked in Shanghai, the omens were not good. The Yangtze had just suffered the worst flood in living memory, creating a refugee problem and threatening to ruin the entire crop of the Yangtze delta for the year. He admitted that he found the city a dirty place in these years before Shanghai's great building boom when its skyscraper hotels, mansions and the magnificent Bund were to rise. Things were to change, but the shock for the newly-arrived Crow was real. Eventually he was to see the changes wrought by the new Nationalist government and switched his opinion to pondering how a people could maintain such high standards of cleanliness in the face of such poverty and overcrowding.

Carl Crow once described himself as one of the "tough Old China Hands" that lived in Shanghai. This was probably not quite true. Between the wars, the China Hands (or, as they were then often referred to, "Orientalists") of Shanghai were more likely to be confirmed imperialists and colonialists than friends of China or Dr. Sun Yat-sen's new Nationalist government that overthrew the Qing in 1911. They were often far from tough and mostly rarely ventured outside the

relative safety of Shanghai's International Settlement, protected, as they were, by the extraterritoriality laws. Crow repeatedly butted heads with the older generation of China Hands whose general belief was that the Middle Kingdom had gone to the dogs centuries before and that any new government was just a temporary aberration. The things to do, they said, were: maintain a watching brief on the leaders of the country; keep the wheels of commerce turning while preserving the rights and privileges of the Great Powers in China; and, most of all, continue to make money. During his time in China, Crow was accused of being too sympathetic to the Chinese, opposed to foreign interests, and overly anti-Japanese — and of the unforgivable sin of having “gone native”. These were all meant as insults, but Crow usually decided to accept them as compliments.

But all of this was in the future. For now, Crow was a Griffin — a newcomer to the China Coast. He didn't know what to expect: whether he would be successful and make money or sail home a bankrupt; and whether he would survive and thrive or find China too much and opt to scurry back to a regular pay cheque from a provincial American newspaper. It was all for the taking and, if nothing else, Crow was determined from the start that the experience — long, short or something in between — should be fun and educational. A quarter of a century later he was convinced that making that first trip had been the best decision he ever made. He never lost his fascination with China and the Chinese, declaring in 1937 that “I am as keenly interested in them [*the Chinese*] today as I was when I was thrilled by my first ricksha ride, a quarter of a century ago.”⁴ Throughout his China years, Crow always stuck to his early credo — to have fun. More than 30 years after stepping ashore in China for the first time, he wrote: “It is to be hoped that manufacturers had a lot of fun out of their ventures because they didn't make much money.”⁵

Crow was not typical of the foreigners who came to Shanghai in the first half of the twentieth century. He quickly developed a love of China and a sympathy for the Chinese, while most opted to stay aloof and belittle the country and its people out of a false sense of superiority. However, like all the other foreigners who lived on the China coast, Crow originally came from somewhere else.

6

From Fruit Rancher to Spy



After Japan, Crow decided not to return to Shanghai but to buy a fruit farm in California's Santa Clara Valley. For a Missourian who had enjoyed living in Texas, visited Mexico, the Philippines, Shanghai and Tokyo, married a Canadian in China and cruised around the world, the decision to farm fruit in California may not have been an obvious one. However, it was a decision he clearly felt comfortable with at the time. For the most part, the decision seems to have been based on the fact that Mildred was pregnant – his daughter Mildred Elizabeth "Betty" Crow was born on December 4, 1916.¹ He had arrived back from Europe in July 1915 to a New York he found "full of feverish and irritating energy"² and appears to have needed a break away from bustling and crowded cities.

Before heading to California, he visited old friends in Fort Worth and also stayed in Manhattan for a while quickly getting "into the swing of things"³ and working on a series of articles which dealt mostly with his experiences in China and the Far East. He had become something of a celebrity in correspondent circles and briefly became part of a roundtable of globe-trotting journalists and writers that met at the Judson, a hotel on Manhattan's Washington Square.⁴ Crow was actually temporarily living at the Judson as were many other authors, journalists and artists. In a profile of the roundtable published by the *New York World* newspaper, Crow was described in rather exaggerated terms as one of the major figures:

That smallish man with glasses and a ready laugh is Carl Crow. His Chinese name is Kai Low. Years spent in China on newspaper work and in Mexico and India have supplied him with many tales of peculiar experiences, particularly in China, where things are a bit different. His rooms upstairs are choked with swords and carved camphor wood boxes, while the latter are in turn filled with silks and hangings of various kinds. One of his cherished possessions is a magnificent ermine robe and muff worn by an Empress of the Celestial Empire who lived centuries before the Christian era began.⁵

Clearly one thing Crow had learned since he left for China was the art of self-promotion. By many standards he was still a China coast "Griffin" and had spent only a short time in Mexico and visited India only as a tourist as part of his round-the-world honeymoon. As for the "magnificent ermine robe and muff worn by an Empress of the Celestial Empire", clearly Crow was learning the first art of the China Hand — proclaim yourself to be one first and pretty soon no one will question your status. However, the Judson roundtable was real enough and also included A. Travers Ewell who had spent most of his life in Latin America and been awarded a gold medal by the Bolivian government for saving many lives when a dam burst; T. H. Marsoner, who had traveled throughout Cuba; and Vilhjalmur Steffanson, an anthropologist and Arctic explorer who had been on expeditions with Sir Ernest Shackleton.⁶ It included also the magazine writer, explorer and anthropologist Gregory Mason⁷ who actually once found pirate treasure in the Caribbean; Robert C. McElravey who had caught a gang of bank robbers in Missouri when he was 14; and University of Missouri graduate Homer Croy who had worked on the *Havana Post*.⁸ It was a mixed but fascinating bunch that Crow easily fell in with.

He was also starting to achieve some notoriety as an author. His *Handbook for China* had been published to acclaim in 1913 and updated and reprinted in 1915; and his study of the American occupation of the Philippines, *America and the Philippines*, had come out a year later to mixed reviews and stirred up some controversy both in Washington and Manila. The Philippines book was sub-titled an *Official Guide and Handbook*. He hadn't been overly impressed with the country or America's role in its history and development. He described the archipelago as a bureaucratic form of government, thinly disguised as a democracy — "Indeed, if every elective office ... were abolished tomorrow, the machinery of government would not be seriously hampered, and one can believe that it would go on ever more smoothly than at present."⁹ Crow also, controversially for the time, asserted that the American administration had failed lamentably in the Philippines, causing a rice shortage because the seeds had been

kept too long in storage and could not germinate; and the introduction of carabaos imported from China to replace those that had died from the viral disease rinderpest was a costly waste of time and tax payers' money as most of the animals died anyway and the government was out of pocket.

Even more controversially for many Americans and Filipinos was Crow's assertion that the Philippines national hero José Rizal had been a creation of US interests and that America's greatest success,

... was the artificial manufacture of a hero for the Filipino people. Among things the Filipino people lacked to make them a nation was a hero – a safe hero, the only safe ones, of course, being dead. Aguinaldo was considered “dangerous” as the leader of the recent insurrection. It was necessary to establish a hero whose fame would overshadow that of Aguinaldo, and thereby lessen that leader's ability to make future trouble.¹⁰

Crow finally concluded with the argument that Americans were not really that well-suited to British-Empire-style colonialism. He noted that early “mistakes and failures” in colonial rule had proved vastly amusing to the British, especially those connected with the British Colonial Service, who had offered advice with a typically patronizing air and pointed out how much more professionally things were being done in Hong Kong, Singapore, the Federated Malay States and other nearby places under London's control.

Eventually, Crow headed westwards to San Francisco and in 1916 while moving across country his third book, *Japan and America*, was published. The book had been written while in Japan, sent to America, and edited and printed while Crow had been slowly making his way to California from Tokyo.

Picking Fruit with Spies

By the start of the twentieth century nearly 14,000 acres of orchards and vineyards were under irrigation in the Santa Clara Valley. Crow's fruit ranch was 30 miles or so from San Francisco. He commuted into the big city for a drink with friends at the San Francisco Press Club in a small Ford he had bought. He lived on the farm with his wife and baby daughter Betty in the ranch house. Crow was essentially taking one of his retreats into a “simple life” that occasionally gripped him. The everyday chores of fruit-picking as well as doing small jobs around the ranch seemed to satisfy him after the last few hectic years. Of course, just as a trip to Shanghai had ended up with Crow witnessing the fall of a dynasty and meeting Sun Yat-sen and a job in Tokyo had ended with

a major scoop, so intrigue and excitement inevitably followed Crow to the Santa Clara Valley.

The peaceful life of a fruit farmer was rudely interrupted in 1917 with the announcement that America was eventually joining the war. Crow had been waiting for this moment and had long argued that America should join the British, French and other Allied nations against the Germans. He got into his Ford and drove to the recruiting station in San Francisco to offer his services. At 34 years old, he was not necessarily prime fighting material but the captain in charge was intrigued by Crow's experiences in China and Japan and thought him probably useful as a propagandist in military intelligence given his newspaper background. Crow remembered that he "... drove home in great elation, speculating on how my young daughter would like me in shoulder straps and wondering whether or not an intelligence officer would have to learn the manual of arms." Again Crow's sense of the poetic got the better of him for at the time Betty was still a babe in arms and probably not well versed in army ranks and insignia.

However, when Crow returned to see the recruiting captain he was told bluntly that he had been rejected as unfit for service. It turned out that Crow had previously entertained "one of the most notorious and cleverest German spies on the China Coast" at his ranch. This had led to Crow being branded as a German sympathizer. He was flabbergasted. It turned out that a young Canadian girl traveling on a British passport that he had hosted at the ranch was the spy. Crow never found out the true story till after the war when he became acquainted with the head of British intelligence in Shanghai who revealed all to him — and had indeed himself received a medal for unmasking the girl spy.¹¹

Crow had known the girl four or five years prior to the war in Shanghai where she had borrowed some phonographic records from him. At the beginning of the war she had been employed as a typist in the American consulate in Vladivostok and collected information of use to the Germans as well as stealing stationery that was used to forge official documents. She returned to Shanghai in some luxury on the German payroll, claiming she had won the lottery. There she spent her time seducing young naval officers and diplomats and then securing forged British and American passports for use by German spies. She was also implicated in a plot to blow up a British shipyard in Shanghai and to ferment unrest among British-Indian troops in the International Settlement, part of a wider plot that eventually developed into the Singapore Mutiny in 1915.

She had managed to slip away from Shanghai to Manila and then on to San Francisco. Immediately upon arrival in America she had taken a taxi to Crow's ranch where she volunteered to work for a while in exchange for a chance to enjoy the countryside. She told Crow she had contracted a fever in Manila and been ordered by her doctor to recuperate in California.

Only later as Crow heard the story over drinks at the Shanghai Club with his contact in British intelligence did he piece together her strange behavior in California. Crow had wondered why the girl took a lot of solitary morning walks and he had once seen her talking to a strange man, and she always seemed to have plenty of cash. She had also struck up a flirtation with another guest of Crow's who stayed at the farm – a friend who had just passed through Petrograd and Stockholm and had been in Latin America investigating Mexican nitrate supplies. All this, Crow's British intelligence friend informed him, would have been valuable information once America joined the war effort. The girl managed to seduce Crow's guest away for a lovers' tryst in San Francisco after which she disappeared, heading to New York by way of the Panama Canal. Crow had unwittingly helped her escape by chaperoning her to a meeting with the British Consul-General in San Francisco to get her passport validated for the canal trip.

Even more to Crow's alarm was the fact that he had probably been on the German payroll too as one of the lady-spy's best tricks was to tell her German controllers that she had recruited other people and then collect their salaries, pocketing them herself of course. Apparently she later ceased her covert activities and moved to New York where she was being watched by American intelligence, had married a businessman, had a baby and was last reported to Crow as "... a typical middle class housewife living in the Bronx who spent her days cooking, washing and scrubbing and was devoted to her husband and children."

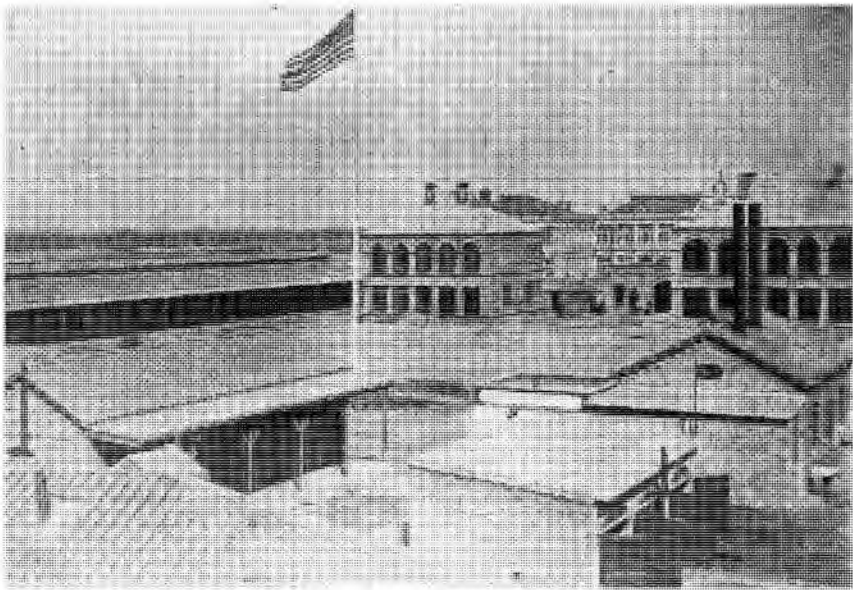
Crow's colleagues at the San Francisco Press Club tried to get the mess sorted out but army red tape meant Crow remained firmly rejected. With no reason given, Crow had to forget all his dreams of fighting against the Germans and returned to the cultivation of prunes and apricots.

However, as one door closed another opened. Crow was offered the job of Far Eastern (exclusive of Siberia) Representative and Chair of the Committee on Public Information (known as Compub), America's war-time propaganda organization, on a salary of \$600 Mexican a month. He was posted back to Shanghai to set up an office for Compub. He sold the farm, packed up his family and his bags and booked his passage once again to the China coast.

Useful at Last as a Jekyll and Hyde

Crow found that things had changed in Shanghai. The city was modernizing fast. The odorous Yangjing Creek on the border of the International Settlement and Frenchtown had been filled in and renamed Edward VII Avenue (and on the French side of the road Avenue Edouard VII) in the spirit of cleaning up one of the city's most malodorous creeks and *L'Entente Cordial*.¹² Tom Millard

had sold the *China Press* to Chinese interests in 1915 while Crow had been in Tokyo and had gone on to found *Millard's Review of the Far East* in the meantime with J. B. Powell on the editorial board. Crow's new employer, Compub, had been established initially as an organization devoted to popularizing the war at home in America and then spread its remit to include any country where America had interests. Crow noted that he was lucky to get the job as someone "... who had helped to establish the first American newspaper in China and while living in California had written a number of magazine articles about China which gave me a rather exaggerated reputation as an authority on the country..."¹³ — one of his rare admissions of "Griffinhood."



The American Legation in Peking around 1917/18.

Crow split his time between the American consulate in Shanghai and the American legation in Beijing. He was a propagandist and worked on a daily basis with legation and consular officials and earned their trust and access to many state secrets. His job, popularizing the war in China, was by his own admission "rather a large contract."¹⁴ Crow's belief that the Japanese were not retreating from their strategy of Twenty-One Demands but just waiting for an opportune moment to re-present them was shared by many American officials; and Crow noted that a great deal of the work of the American diplomatic

community in China was concerned with checking Japanese activities and seeking to prevent them from exploiting opportunities to once again advance the demands. The final victory over the Kaiser's armies in Europe was seen as the supreme task but in the Far East the job was to prevent China, with its potentially rich market for American goods, falling into Japanese hands and ensure that Allied gains in Europe were not offset by losses in Asia. This was a tricky position as Japan was officially an ally of America in the war against Germany but in China it was actively hampering the work of the Americans in every conceivable way.

Crow received daily news from London and Washington in Shanghai through his American Navy wireless. This news digest of events in Europe was translated and supplied to the Chinese newspapers as copy. The Japanese were also intercepting these messages through their listening post at Jinan and sending out an alternative version of events that minimized, distorted or ignored completely America's role in the fighting in order to create an atmosphere where American and Allied fighting power was seen as ineffectual compared to Japanese military strength. Many in China saw America as a firm ally at this period and it was crucial for the Japanese to break that faith in the Americans and portray the US as too weak and ineffectual to counter Japan in the Pacific. This campaign by the Japanese went so far as to report in the Tokyo newspapers American defeats in Europe that never actually occurred. Crow claimed that it was common knowledge that, though technically an ally, Japan wanted a German victory in Europe. For Tokyo, negotiating on the future of Asia with one power – Germany – was preferable to negotiating with a batch of victorious Great Powers with imperial and commercial interests in China. The military clique that held a high degree of political power in Japan at the time had not wanted to support the Allies at all but Japan had been forced to honor its obligations under the Anglo-Japanese Alliance with Britain signed in 1902. Despite the Alliance, there had been instances of the Union Jack being ripped down in Tokyo and trampled on by mobs supporting Germany, while the newspapers continued to extol Axis victories over the Allies.

The Japanese pro-German sentiment was not just political opportunism; many in Tokyo believed that Germany would support a special place for Japan in Asia. The support reflected the close ties between the two countries that had been developing for some time. The Japanese military was largely based on the Prussian model, down to the levels of uniforms and rank definitions, and Bismark had inspired the Japanese constitution. Crow himself noted that no German prisoners were as coddled as the Germans captured in Qingdao who were well housed and fed both there and in Japan and, according to Crow, were even provided with local prostitutes for their comfort.¹⁵

Crow set about trying to set up an effective propaganda machine, enlisting help from enthusiastic British amateurs who were already trying to disseminate news of the Allies' war victories and aims in China. With the help of the American Consul-General in Shanghai, Nelson Trusler Johnson,¹⁶ Crow established a local committee of Americans, many of whom were old friends from his *China Press* days. The French provided access to their wireless services, which complemented Crow's US Navy radio. Dispatches from British, American and French radio were translated into Chinese and circulated to the local press. Crow had to establish a dummy company and sell the dispatches to the local papers that would not accept them free, regarding free news as propaganda. Crow kept the charges low and did not chase up payment. As both commissioner of Compub and also the manager of the dummy Chinese-American (Chun Mei) News Agency, Crow started to live what he described as a "Dr Jekyll and Mr Hyde existence."¹⁷

By the time of the Armistice in November 1918, China had reason to believe that it had a just claim for the wrongs it had suffered to be righted – the Japanese seizure of Qingdao as well as the "unequal treaties" with the Great Powers that still rankled Chinese sensibilities. China had joined the Allied cause partly at American insistence and persuasion and Crow felt partly guilty for the sense of gloom and disappointment in China when it became clear that the Treaty of Versailles would right few wrongs. He had continued to co-ordinate the publishing of propaganda from America including, upon instructions from the State Department in Washington, having all President Woodrow Wilson's speeches translated into Chinese and circulated to the Chinese press which duly published them to an enthusiastic response.

Wilson's rhetoric of self-determination and the rights of weaker nations against the Great Powers had struck a chord with the public. Crow, when asked by the Chinese if Wilson was genuine and if China would see some redress for past wrongs, told Chinese acquaintances that their hopes were justified, as he believed this to be the position of the American legation and Wilson. However, it was not to be and both Crow and China were to be bitterly disappointed by the outcome of Versailles. Indeed the China question was not even discussed by the Great Powers, though Japan took control of the former German possessions in China and the Pacific, which Tokyo eventually fortified as part of its military campaign across the region. China had been betrayed long before the start of the conference as the British, French and Italians had previously made a deal with Japan, offering her Germany's Far East possessions in return for support in the European war.

Crow was not the only one disappointed by the cold-shouldering of China at Versailles. The May Fourth 1919 demonstrations that broke out across China mobilized millions of Chinese in outrage. Students, teachers, intellectuals and

merchants all took part in demonstrations against the wartime victor's marginalization of China. May Fourth became a symbolic day in the Chinese Nationalist calendar, a key date that marked the emergence of a new modern patriotism in China which stemmed from Great Power bullying, Western obstinacy, Japanese aggression and territorial slights.

As part of his Compub duties, Crow regularly had to travel to Beijing and mix with the city's diplomatic crowd – indeed he ultimately reported to the American Ambassador. Though he never lived there, Crow liked Beijing. He always got a thrill when he arrived in the ancient city by train at the Qianmen Station (where camels still gathered nearby at the end of the Silk Road), and then entered the Tartar City through the Water Gate that led into the Legation Quarter. However, he found diplomatic Beijing disagreeable. The obsession with rank and status rankled Crow's American libertarian soul and he found himself having to fulfil all manner of social obligations – "... whether I liked it or not I had to attend innumerable dinner parties and listen to stupid Peking gossip as detailed by fat old dowagers."¹⁸ Crow managed to escape as often as possible to the Peking Club where the city's foreign press corps gathered, but again the Beijing obsession with rank became a problem. The head of a British news agency and the longest-serving foreign journalist in the city, and therefore the doyen of the press corps, became angry that Crow had visited other journalists in town before him simply because they were old friends. Crow claimed the obsession went so far that the British journalist "... hated me up to the day of his death."¹⁹

Crow's work with Compub also brought him into contact with the Missouri News Colony again. Despite the world knowing about Japan's Twenty-One Demands, Tokyo's diplomats in China still kept pressing them on Beijing. Eventually China's Foreign Minister Dr. Lou Tseng-hsiang decided to urge the newspapers to report the incessant Japanese pressure on China. To do this, he had called up the editor of the *Peking Daily News*, Colony member Holly Tong, who immediately called J. B. Powell who arranged a meeting between himself, Tong and Dr. Paul Samuel Reinsch, the American Minister in Beijing and an experienced China Hand, to organize a public defence of China. Powell interviewed Reinsch who strongly urged Japan to cease its intimidating activities and then sent the story to Crow at Compub. Crow cabled the story to Washington and thereafter all the foreign journalists in China were ordered by their papers to investigate it. Eventually the Japanese backed down somewhat, at least in terms of overtly applying pressure. However, their behind the scenes maneuvering continued.

Inevitably Reinsch himself, and Compub, became increasingly compromised by Washington's foreign policy. Crow and Reinsch had hit it off immediately

despite the background gossip that Reinsch, whose family was of German extraction, was too pro-Berlin. As well as the general let-down at Versailles, Reinsch's position had been problematic since November 1917 when the US Secretary of State Robert Lansing signed an agreement with Baron Ishii, Japan's so-called "Ambassador of Good Will," agreeing to Tokyo's "special position" in Shandong and Manchuria. Washington never formally informed Reinsch that such a deal — the so-called Lansing-Ishii Pact — was about to happen. This had caused a storm even though most of the European powers had already signed similar deals with Tokyo — secretly.²⁰ The Lansing-Ishii Pact and the shunning of China at Versailles combined to force Reinsch, a supporter of parliamentary democracy for China, to resign in disgust in 1919 and take a post as an advisor to the Chinese government in Washington.

Before Compub was wound up, Crow was instructed to publish a collection of Wilson's speeches in Chinese. The book was duly assembled by Crow, translated into Chinese and published by the Commercial Press, the foremost Chinese book publisher of the day. It was an instant best-seller, as many Chinese blamed the Great Powers, rather than Wilson, for their Versailles betrayal, and ran into many reprints. Crow provided a foreword for the book and asked for any comments from Chinese readers to be sent directly to him in Shanghai. This was a decision he came to regret when thousands of communications came flooding into his office from all across China. At first all the letters were translated for him to reply to but soon the trickle became a flood and the best Crow's staff could do was open each envelope to see if it contained money for additional copies. The warlord general Feng Yu-hsiang,²¹ the so-called "Christian General," ordered 500 copies alone, one for each officer in his army. Eventually Crow received over 10,000 letters. He couldn't possibly translate them all and eventually his office staff sold them for scrap paper.

The book did so well that Crow paid a 15 percent author's royalty to his dummy news agency. By now the agency was making such a profit that he had to spend it all on more advertisements for the book and took full-page advertisements in most of the major Chinese language newspapers. Crow also came up with another use for the profits. In order to make sure that the real provincial leaders of China read the book, he first had to admit that nobody knew who they all were as there were no directories of local people of importance. In what may have been China's first direct marketing campaign, Crow mailed postcards to every American missionary throughout China explaining to them that he wanted to send a copy of the book to all local notables. The missionaries, who were better acquainted with the interior regions and the local dignitaries, then posted the cards back with the names and addresses of all the people in their localities who should receive a copy. The missionaries were so taken with

the project they established ad hoc committees to ensure they missed no one and also roped in their British colleagues to help add to their lists.

The postcard scheme was a roaring success and Crow ended up with a fantastic mailing list as well as identifying one or two Americans who were German sympathizers and replied admitting as much and refusing to take part. These he forwarded to Reinsch and they were summarily expelled from China. Crow then extended the scheme to the many local in-country representatives of America's largest oil and tobacco companies with similarly good results. Altogether, Crow got 25,000 names and addresses of local dignitaries across China and sent them each a copy of the Wilson book along with a letter asking them to recommend any friends who should also receive a copy. His list grew and grew.

As a supporter of the 1911 revolution and an admirer of Dr. Sun, and feeling frustrated at the betrayal of China at Versailles, by 1918 Crow felt himself becoming increasingly estranged from the mainstream position of the older China Hands in Shanghai. Majority opinion in the International Settlement was that if the Nationalist government gained strength then that very success would speed up the unity of China and eventually spell the end of Shanghai's special privileges. The bulk of the foreign press in Shanghai supported this view and painted grim pictures of foreigners being subject to Chinese law and ending up in Chinese prisons, or worse. The advances of the Nationalist government in starting to restructure and rebuild the country were mostly overlooked. Crow found himself rebelling against this downplaying of Nationalist progress while the Japanese were, to Crow's observation, increasingly interfering in Chinese affairs with apparently tacit foreign connivance. Slowly foreigners felt themselves more embattled. As Crow had observed of the days before the revolution of 1911, "We had been accustomed to barging around the country wherever we pleased, counting on the color of our skins in the place of a passport."²² Now, as Crow had found upon his return to China in 1917, a passport and a travel permit were required – restrictions many foreigners found irksome.

Whatever the changing circumstances, Crow was happy to be back in Shanghai and started to renew old contacts and explore new opportunities as the city recovered economically and became a booming commercial center. His wife Mildred was also getting in on the act by starting a company that sold Chinese handicrafts to American stores. By 1921 she was trading as Mildred Crow Inc. and opened a wholesale showroom for her Chinese decorative products named "The Jade Tree" that was followed by a retail store of the same name, making her an extremely entrepreneurial foreign wife by Shanghai standards.²³ Carl was casting around for business opportunities too but first he had another appointment with Dr. Sun.

10

Rumblings in Shanghai



A Man's Town

Crow's bachelor status had presumably been a point in his favor when he was first hired by the *China Press* to work in Shanghai. Most of the larger foreign companies in China in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries only employed single young men who invariably did not marry until completing several years' service. Crow noted that this tradition had had a lasting effect on the China coast's foreign society – "Even after a great many women came to China, the predominant influence of the bachelor remained and foreign society in China still retains a robust and boisterous masculine flavour ... Everything was run by the men and for the men."¹ Indeed until a greater number of European women started moving to Shanghai there were few socially acceptable options but to find a bride during a home leave, as marrying Chinese girls was still next to impossible and frowned upon by just about everyone on all sides and could lead to dismissal and social ostracism.

However, having married early on in his Shanghai life, Crow had not been able to enjoy the tradition of living in one of the bachelor messes that were run

by the older and larger hong. The *China Press* was not big enough to justify one. However, Crow regularly dined as a guest at several, including the most popular ones that were maintained by the crews of the volunteer municipal fire companies where Crow was often left the only diner after all the other residents had had to dash out to extinguish some flames somewhere. Crow liked this masculine life and, along with most other single men, had joined the Shanghai Volunteer Corps (SVC), being assigned to the Special Police for three years. Apart from being part of an ethos of civic service in the International Settlement, this also provided a social network of other bachelors.

In 1925 Crow separated from Mildred and they divorced. The split seems to have been amicable and Mildred took their daughter Betty with her. Mildred continued to run her Chinese handicrafts business and soon remarried Norris G. Wood, the Manager of Standard Oil's Hangzhou office.

Shortly after his divorce from Mildred, Carl also married for a second time – to Helen Marie Hanniger in Shanghai. Helen, an American, gets few mentions in his books or papers, though several of his later books were dedicated to her, including *Four Hundred Million Customers*. She features largely as a sensible block on Crow's sometimes more wild schemes, though remaining somewhat of a mystery. He saw Helen as more kind-hearted than him when it came to dealing with their servants at home and she always took responsibility for ensuring that the house was full of freshly-cut flowers. Most of the servants were Helen's choices. As was the way on the China coast, Crow's personal houseboy had left his service soon after Crow remarried. Most personal servants preferred to work for bachelors where life was considered easier or, if they had worked for married men, felt it easier not to continue with them when a new mistress entered the scene. Crow felt no lack of loyalty from the man as he had hired him after his former boss had got married and the man needed a new post.

Crow also appreciated Helen's ability to bring a certain order to his often-chaotic living arrangements, noting that "The usual helplessness of the unmarried man is increased by life on the China Coast where he has well-trained servants to anticipate his every want."² Certainly, when he had been a bachelor, Crow had not really bothered too much with his daily living arrangements, commenting that "... a cook employed in a foreign household for years can be as mysterious and unknown as the chef who makes canned soup imported from a distance of thousands of miles."³ Crow recalled that he once got into a taxicab in Shanghai and the driver took him straight home without asking for directions. Crow asked him how he knew where to go whereupon the cabbie informed him that he had once been his cook for four years.

Helen certainly seems to have been as adventurous as Mildred had been and enjoyed life in China. She accompanied Carl on trips around the country,

including a Christmas and New Year break to Chongqing as well as regular house-boating trips along the Jiangsu canals.

It appears that Helen, like Mildred, was a strong woman who had adapted to life in Shanghai and China. Crow claimed that many foreign women got hysterical at the slightest thing in China from mistaking firecrackers for gunshots (which, to be fair, Crow himself had done on his first week in the city), to being distrustful of rickshaw pullers and being unnecessarily worried about hygiene – “I have known personally of a half dozen American women who arrived in Shanghai to join their husbands and took the next boat back in a state of collapse.”⁵⁴ The Crows were popular party hosts and Helen was apparently known for shaking a mean cocktail.

Rumbles in Shanghai

1925 was a tense year for Shanghai. In January the six-foot-seven-inch tall witch's son, former wharf coolie and Shandong warlord Chang Tsung-chang – the “Dogmeat General” – had swept into Shanghai with an army of 60,000 men. As mentioned previously, Chang was one of China's most feared warlords. He also maintained a multi-cultural harem that, according to the *New York Times* correspondent Hallett Abend, consisted of “... nearly forty women and girls – Chinese, Korean, Japanese, two French girls, and one bedraggled female who said she was an American;”⁵⁵ while the historian Stella Dong notes that “... each of the foreign members of the seraglio was provided with a washbowl with the flag of her country painted on its side.”⁵⁶ Chang had rolled over the army of Jiangsu's Governor Chi Shi-yuan who had fled to Japan, though not before his soldiers tore up the town a little. In Shanghai, Chang's army faced off with that of the Jiangsu warlord Sun Chuang-fang, a situation that made for tensions and unease in the International Settlement and not a little looting and vandalism in the Chinese areas of the city. It seemed that the Shanghai underworld favored Chang who was a Green Gang member and an old friend of Pockmarked Huang. In October fighting broke out between Sun and Chang's forces and the northern warlord skulked back up north to the comfort of his harem. Sun, a bit of a social climber, was more favored by the foreign community and managed to actually unite the disparate Chinese parts of the city into one municipality. Sun, Huang and Du Yuesheng soon reached an accommodation and the opium business continued to be as profitable as before all the interruptions and disturbances.

Sun Yat-sen died on March 12, 1925. He had been terminally ill for some time and had long suffered digestive problems. He had been diagnosed with a malignant tumour on his liver in December 1924 and had repeatedly gone to

the Rockefeller Institute in Beijing for treatment. Since the announcement of Sun's terminal condition, the question of succession had remained tense. As well as the military leader Chiang Kai-shek, other contenders included: Wang Ching-wei,⁷ who was best known for having tried to assassinate the Imperial Prince Regent in 1910; Hu Han-min, who stood on the right of the Nationalist movement; and Liao Chung-kai,⁸ who represented the left wing. Unknown to most people, another candidate was also lurking in the wings — Du Yuesheng, the boss of Shanghai's Green Gang. It was a time of tumultuous change in many countries, with a power struggle going on in Russia between Trotsky and Stalin after Lenin's death that looked like becoming bloody. Many thought China's succession struggle might also turn ugly. Sun seemed to leave no instructions as to his successor himself though Chiang, who was at the Whampoa Academy near Guangzhou at the time, claimed Sun's last words were "Chiang Kai-shek."

Sun's death was a major event in China and half a million people filed past his body in Beijing as it lay in state before being conveyed to the Western Hills just outside the city to be placed in the Azure Cloud Temple. Though born a southerner, Sun's wish had been to be buried in Nanjing and plans were already afoot to build a mausoleum to house his body though it would take another five years to complete. J. B. Powell later recalled that a major row broke out at the time between Sun's family and his Soviet advisers who wanted him embalmed and put on permanent display in similar fashion to Lenin in Moscow. The family considered this macabre.

In the meantime, the power struggle continued. Most alarming to many of those in the know were the behind-the-scenes intrigues of the gangster Du who appeared to want to run the KMT through a proxy, given his well-known criminal activities and hopeless opium addiction. Du thought that either the fiery-tempered Chiang or Chang Ching-chang, usually known as Curio Chang in the English language press,⁹ would be the best proxy. Curio Chang was a crippled Zhejiang millionaire businessman with Green Gang connections who had been a long time devotee of Sun. He was a major "kingmaker" in the background of the KMT, and had amassed a fortune selling antiques and souvenirs to foreigners in China after working at the Chinese Legation in Paris, a job he got largely because his father had bought him an imperial title. He had set up a company dealing in gold, tea and silk and had also invested in bean curd factories, as well as having been one of Sun's major financial backers and also becoming a supporter of Chiang.

Wang Ching-wei, though lacking a regional power base, was the choice of Borodin, the Comintern's man in China. Wang and the principal rightist candidate Hu Han-min entered into a left-right struggle of their own that ultimately put both men out of the running. Hu was seen as tough and had studied

in Japan but was too overtly sectarian. This left the leftist Liao Chung-kai, who was liked by Hu despite their political differences and his being Madame Sun's favorite. After Wang dropped out, Borodin, who was wielding significant influence since his arrival in China on Moscow's orders in 1923, championed Liao's cause. Eventually warlord-induced confusion around Guangzhou led the KMT Central Committee to compromise and form a triumvirate National government leadership composed of Hu, Wang and Liao. It seemed the left wing of the KMT, and Borodin, had triumphed.

There was also the continuing and seemingly close threat from the ongoing warlord feuds across China to contend with. The leaders of Shanghai's foreign community on the SMC had resolutely and consistently opposed any warlord troops entering the International Settlement. In 1925, and again in 1927, the International Settlement police along with soldiers of the concessionary powers had to intern and disarm large numbers of warlord troops found in the city who had either deserted or were on food-foraging excursions. Though most of those interned were actually half-starved, ill-equipped and poorly-trained young men, their presence in the sanctuary of the Settlement alarmed many foreign residents. This alarm was heightened when the Council mobilized the British-dominated SVC, the international military division formed in 1854, headed by a British army regular and made up of about 1,000 volunteers complete with cavalry and artillery components. The SVC, of which Crow had briefly been a member when he first came to Shanghai, drew its membership from the various foreign communities, as well as White Russian and Jewish detachments, and mostly formed a sort of part-time army that drilled and paraded at various events. The warlords were also a distraction from the normal routine of life. Crow would skip his usual weekend golf game and head out to watch some of the clashes between the competing warlord armies on weekends around Shanghai once spending "... an hour crouched behind what was fortunately a high and long grave mound while bullets whistled over us. What a tame thing a golf foursome was by comparison!"¹⁰

In 1925 trouble had flared after a series of anti-foreign demonstrations and strikes led by the Communist Party and the left of the KMT. In May tensions between the Chinese and Japanese communities had spilled over when a Chinese worker was killed in a clash with the manager of the Japanese Naiaga Wata textile mill. A resultant demonstration by Chinese workers got out of hand and the police opened fire, killing 11 Chinese and wounding dozens more. The reaction was a massive demonstration on 30 May that eventually became known as the May Thirtieth Incident, when International Settlement police shot and fired into the crowds killing 12 people and wounding 50 others. This was the biggest clash in Shanghai between the Chinese and the Settlement powers since the May

Fourth 1919 protests. A new wave of demonstrations rumbled across China in reaction to the bloodshed in Shanghai, with further protests in the Settlement. In Guangzhou the international community based on Shamian Island was threatened, and there was a general strike in the British colony of Hong Kong that lasted into 1926. Meanwhile the power struggle in the KMT continued and, as chaos increased, Chiang Kai-shek and his backers resolved to get rid of the party's left wing and restore order.

Shanghai became a center of strike action led by the Communist-controlled General Federation of Labor. This militant group and the negative economic fall-out from the strikes annoyed Du and his Green Gang as well as Pockmarked Huang in Frenchtown as the Communists appeared to be cementing an alternative power base to the gangsters in Shanghai. In August Liao was assassinated in Guangzhou. A witch-hunt for the assassin followed and hidden forces appeared to be stoking up seemingly baseless accusations against Hu Han-min, despite the known friendship between Hu and Liao, that neutralized Hu's position. With Hu and Liao both out of the picture, Chiang, now 38, was free to make his bid for power. He did, eradicating or exiling many of his opponents in Guangzhou, including Wang Ching-wei (who fled to France). He installed Chiang loyalists in key positions in the troublesome southern city and formed the 30,000 strong National Revolutionary Army (NRA) out of his own loyal troops and men once loyal to his deposed enemies. Chiang had shown a decisiveness and ruthlessness in decision-making rare in Nationalist politics and was now in a position to finally realize Sun's dream of launching a Northern Expedition. After a costly (in terms of men's lives) but successful initial battle against the "Hakka General" at Shantou, Chiang's position was further bolstered. In early 1926 the NRA took Hainan Island from a local warlord and Chiang felt ready to march northwards.¹¹

However, Chinese politics between the wars was nothing if not Machiavellian. Du's friend and Chiang's patron Curio Chang was appointed Chairman of the KMT's Standing Committee in May 1926, due largely to back-room maneuverings by Chiang which secured to an extent the power of the right wing of the KMT and further sidelined the left. Chang took over for just long enough to arrange for Chiang to be elected as his replacement that July. With the highly secret help of his Soong family financial backers as well as the Shanghai Green Gang, Chiang had become China's leader. As modern Chinese history entered another crucial phase with the rise to power of Chiang Kai-shek, Crow was settling in to his new marriage and financial security as his advertising agency prospered, a life he found extremely congenial in Shanghai.

22

The Final Prolific Years



A War of Words

Throughout Crow's journalism and writing a constant theme was the successful industrialization of America and the wealthy society and thriving democracy that had been created. Though away from America for a significant portion of his life, Crow always remained a patriotic and enthusiastic American. He had started out before the First World War reporting on America's changing industrial and agricultural society from the heartlands; and while in China, he had always found time to promote America and its values, be it through working at Compub, preparing papers on China for the State Department, as a long-standing Chairman of the American Club in Shanghai, traveling up the Burma Road in 1939, and down the coast of Latin America in 1940 or at the OWI when war was declared once again.

In late 1943 he published many of his thoughts on the origins and uniqueness of the American experiment in a book *The Great American Customer*,¹ sub-titled *The Story of Invention, Mass Production and Our Prosperity*, which traced the development of manufacturing and marketing in the United States from independence to the production and sale of cameras by George Eastman. The first editions of the book published during the war were printed on rough paper

in order to conform to government regulations for conserving paper. Crow felt that the book could help remind war-weary Americans that their commercial history had provided them with both a freedom and a degree of luxury and comfort that had never been known anywhere else before and were worth fighting for. He had long believed that American methods of scientific management were responsible for many of the country's achievements, from its growing industrial base to its success on the athletics track, and in *The Great American Customer* he fleshed out this argument.²

By now living in Manhattan in a fifth-floor apartment on Washington Place, Crow remained an advocate of greater American support for China in the fight against Japan. In 1942, while still at the OWI, Crow had published *Japan's Dream of World Empire – The Tanaka Memorial*. This small book was essentially composed of the text of a memorial presented to the Emperor of Japan in July 1927 by the then Premier Baron Tanaka which outlined Japan's goals in Manchuria, and attempted to rationalize Japanese expansionism and the eventual conquest of all China. Crow added a foreword explaining the events leading up to the Tanaka Memorial and Tanaka's role as "the leader of the aggressive military party"³ or faction in Japan. Tanaka had supposedly prepared the document following a conference in Shenyang that had brought together all Japan's military officials in Manchuria and Mongolia. The memorial was published at the time, though the Japanese government denied its authenticity. By republishing it in 1942, Crow was hoping to show that Japan's intentions towards China had been clear at least 15 years earlier. He had some success as the book was widely commended and well reviewed in America. Maxwell Stewart, a left-wing journalist, writing in *The Nation* called the Memorial "Japan's *Mein Kampf*."⁴

He had plans to write additional books on American history including a biography of William Wheelwright, the son of a Lincolnshire master mariner who was born in Massachusetts and eventually founded the Pacific Steam Navigation Company, as well as a history of the American magazine. He also had more overtly propagandist works in the pipeline, such as a history of the resistance of ordinary Chinese in the face of Japanese aggression, including a book to be entitled *Sons of Han* and another to be called either *China, After Forty Centuries* or *China – Forty Centuries Young*. He was also planning to continue to try to raise American consciousness of China's plight with a range of articles that remained unfinished at the time of his death, including *China's Homeless Millions Find a Home* and *Can China Fight for a Hundred Years?* In addition, he was intending to continue his analysis of Japan with draft chapters of several books that were never published. These included a history of Japan for American readers of which he completed two chapters – "Foundations of

Japan" and "The Forty-Seven," as well as another projected book to be called *You Can't Make Friends with Japan*. Finally, Crow had been making notes and keeping accounts of the opium traffic in Japanese-occupied parts of China, a trade he had witnessed when traveling through Tianjin in mid-1930s when he had started collecting data.⁵

In 1944 he did publish *China Takes Her Place*, a book that sought to explain to the American people, with some reservations, how progressive the Chinese Nationalist government had been. It was propaganda in many senses. While many would agree with the London *Times* correspondent of the 1930s, Peter Fleming, that "to read a propagandist, a man with vested intellectual interests, is as dull as dining with a vegetarian,"⁶ Crow typically managed to remain eminently readable. In the book, which formed part of the OWI's effort to maintain support for Nationalist China against Japan and to engender American public support for that fight, he largely praised the Nationalists including Sun and Chiang. He backed the uneasy alliance between the KMT and the Communists in order to defeat the primary enemy – Japan. However, as the Second World War drew to a close in Europe and the American government started to prepare for a renewal of the Cold War with the Soviet Union, Crow realized that China would be one of the key battlefields. Chiang, Madame Chiang, Zhou En-lai and others had all told him as much personally.

Though he had worked hard to promote the KMT-Communist alliance publicly, personally he seems to have been more skeptical. He had discussed communism in China both with its leaders and its most vociferous opponents. He had witnessed the brutal suppression of the communist movement in Shanghai and other cities in the 1920s and during the Northern Expedition and had also handled the coins minted with the hammer and sickle that were produced by the short-lived soviet established in Jiangxi province by various communist groups driven out of other parts of China. He became interested in this historical phenomenon but was realistic enough in his understanding to judge that the Jiangxi Soviet was probably much more ad hoc than most of the English language press in China, then in the thrall (or the pay) of anti-communism, would have its readers believe. Most foreigners living in Shanghai in the inter-war years saw Communists, at least in Crow's view, "as White Russians bent on assassinating anyone with a top hat." The Jiangxi Soviet appeared to be independent of any other government in China and was reported to be confiscating private property and redistributing land to share-croppers. Later, during the war, many American officials felt they could do business with Mao and the Red Army as, from a distance, the communist policy of land distribution seemed far more progressive and reasonable to them than the continuing corruption of the Chongqing regime.

While admiring the bravery of the Communist forces in the war against Japan, Crow had felt that their role was overstated and that those, mostly Americans such as Edgar Snow, who had made their way to Yanan and come back to write laudatory books and articles were probably wrong. He felt that their descriptions of life, politics and the leaders in Yanan were “too perfectly perfect to be wholly convincing.”⁷ He also believed that the pro-Communist writers and those who criticized the government in Chongqing were providing gossip that the Washington cocktail circuit enjoyed but that this wasn’t necessarily going to bring China’s freedom from the yoke of Japanese aggression any closer.

Relations between the KMT and the Communists certainly weren’t improving. Writing in 1944, Crow considered that some sort of eventual showdown between the two forces was likely, though cautioning that “If a civil war is fought over these issues [*the position of the KMT and the Communists*] it will be quite different from any of those that have been fought in the past.”⁸ He was right: he never lived to see the final outcome, but he did make some predictions. He felt that China’s conduct and resolve during the war had earned the country the position of “spiritual leadership” in East Asia and declared that the only conclusion possible was that “Neither in its political nor industrial organization will China be like any other country ... China will be unique and independent in thought.”⁹

Crow also believed that, while China might fall to communism temporarily, it would eventually become a democracy; indeed he thought that China had for centuries been a democracy in everything but its form of government and that all China’s great thinkers – primarily Confucius and Mencius – had upheld the right of the common man to overthrow unjust rulers and revoke the Mandate of Heaven. He also saw various symbols of nascent democracy: the universal civil service examinations that had been open to anyone since the Han Dynasty (though abolished towards the end of the Qing Dynasty); what Crow believed to be the effective abolition of feudalism in the second century BC; the long-established tradition of semi-autonomous local or village government; and the teahouses of China that doubled as town-hall meeting venues for the discussion of anything and everything. Crow finished his last book dealing with China – *China Takes Her Place* – on an upbeat note:

China is confident of her future and so are most of the foreigners who, like myself, have witnessed the progress of the past thirty years. There may be troubled days ahead, but nothing can gainsay the fact that China is a continent and a civilization – a self-respecting and industrious people who are moving forward.¹⁰

A Final Battle Lost

By early 1945 it was clear that medical problems were impinging on Crow's work-rate. The Office of Strategic Services (OSS)¹¹ in New York wanted to meet with him to see his collection of photographs with reference to "our activities in the China Theater," but he never replied.¹² He had already shared his photographic archive with the military and the navy to see what use they could make of it. In April 1945 he wrote to his editor Frank MacGregor at Harper & Brothers that the publisher should go ahead and make revisions to his final book, *The City of Flint Grows Up*, that he had completed in early 1945. The book had been commissioned by his old advertising client Buick to tell the story of how the car-maker had switched from civilian to military production and was supporting the war effort. Sub-titled *The Success Story of an American Community*, Crow dedicated the book to "The men and women of Flint who provided the tools of war for the men who fought overseas."¹³ For his labors, Buick paid him the princely sum of US\$10,000 (in US\$200 weekly instalments).

Crow now knew that he had a growth on the upper part of his oesophagus that was probably cancerous; it had been causing him stomach trouble for some time. After completing the book on Flint, he had moved for a while to rest and finish a revision of *Four Hundred Million Customers* in Harrison, New York. He was heading back to Manhattan for a biopsy and expected to be "out of circulation for some time," whatever the result. In his letter to Frank MacGregor, he was characteristically matter-of-fact about the surgery and the seriousness of his condition.¹⁴ The last few years had been lonely ones – a widower who had never really fully recovered from Helen's death, working hard and living alone at Washington Place with only a black manservant who looked after him and prepared his meals.

The condition was indeed serious. Carl Crow died of cancer at his apartment in Washington Place on June 8, 1945. Such was his fame as a writer at the time that his obituary appeared prominently in the *New York Times*. He left two sisters – Roma Crow-Walters of Washington DC and Laura Crow-Beck of Webster Grove, Missouri. Both sisters had moved around, with Crow mentioning them variously living in Pittsburgh and St. Louis, but they had all kept in close touch by mail. He had also remained close to his aged mother who also died in 1945, aged 81, after a long illness. He had maintained constant contact by letter with her throughout his years in China and regularly sent gifts back to her in Missouri.

His body was interred at the Walter B. Cooke Funeral Home on West 72nd Street, Manhattan, for final internment at the Odd Fellows Cemetery on Main Street, Fredericktown, Missouri, where he was eventually buried next to his mother and father. His final instructions were that there should be no flowers

and all contributions should be sent to the American Society for the Control of Cancer. In his detailed last will and testament, he apportioned his belongings in a typically highly detailed way. Most of his money, property and copyrights were left to his two sisters. His nieces got an oriental rug apiece and his nephews a range of items, including his father's desk which he had somehow kept hold of, a globe, a Litchfield clock in a traditional papier-mâché case and a Howard watch; and his collection of books was divided up among his sisters, his nephew Thomas Walters and the Fredericktown Public Library. His papers were sent to the University of Missouri, along with a collection of his published works. His garden tools and his wine cellar were left to two friends. Finally, he donated US\$100 to the John Drew Fund of the Players' Club and US\$50 to the Ed McNamara Fund of the Players. Neither his first wife Mildred nor his daughter Betty was mentioned.

On the day Crow died, the war against Japan that he had foreseen and written about so passionately and extensively continued. The *New York Times* carried his obituary on Sunday June 10, along with news that between 150 and 200 American B29 Super Fortresses had bombed Kobe, Yokohama and Tokyo, hitting the Japan Aircraft Company's Tomioka plant near Yokohama and an army air depot close to Tokyo. American forces were advancing slowly in Okinawa and meeting stiff Japanese resistance, and American and Australian forces successfully landed on Labuan Island, near Brunei. Meanwhile, Chinese forces under General Chang Fah-kwei had captured the Sino-Indian border town of Chungching, forcing the Japanese army back into Indo-China to join the estimated 200,000 other Japanese troops trapped and defeated in South East Asia. The war in Europe was effectively over despite Russia's Marshal Zhukoff still refusing to declare Hitler officially dead without a body. Winston Churchill and Clement Atlee were hitting the stump across Britain contesting the historic 1945 general election, and debates over the formation of the United Nations continued slowly in San Francisco. At home, 65,000 people bet a total of \$776,408 and watched the colt Hoop Jnr. win the 71st Kentucky Derby in Louisville. In Shanghai it was a year since American bombers had first appeared in the skies over the city and by June 1945 the Japanese were starting to withdraw.

Crow had once written that he would like to be buried "... in the hills of Soochow, near the Nine Arch Bridge." He further elaborated: "I hope my Chinese friends will, on appropriate occasions, burn a modest lot of ghostly money and furniture over my grave. And if they want to, my foreign friends are welcome to use the gravestone as a place to open the bottles of beer which are always so welcome after a hike over the Hills of the Seven Brothers."¹⁵ At the time Crow died, Suzhou remained in the hands of the Japanese and a war was raging to free the country and the city of Shanghai. He never made it back

to a liberated Shanghai or a free and united China but he will always be intimately linked with that city and that country. As a fitting epitaph shortly after his death, when US soldiers arrived in Shanghai later in 1945, the American army's Armed Services Editions Division that issued books to troops overseas published a "cargo pocket" sized edition of *Four Hundred Million Customers* to be distributed to the GIs as a guide to explaining the city they had pitched up in. What better introduction to their new posting?

Notes

Introduction

- 1 *All About Shanghai and Environs: A Standard Guidebook, 1934-1935* (1935), Shanghai: University Press.
- 2 Carl Crow (1940) *Foreign Devils in the Flowery Kingdom*, New York: Harper & Brothers, p. 223.
- 3 Crow, *Foreign Devils in the Flowery Kingdom*, pp. 234-5.
- 4 Carl Crow (1937) *Four Hundred Million Customers*, New York: Harper & Brothers, p. 12.
- 5 Crow, *Four Hundred Million Customers*, p. 304.

Chapter 1

- 1 Carl Crow (1939) *He Opened the Door of Japan*, New York: Harper & Brothers, p. 3.
- 2 Carl Crow (1943) *The Chinese Are Like That*, Cleveland: World Publishing Company, p. 132.
- 3 Carl Crow (1943) *The Great American Customer*, New York: Harper & Brothers, p. 97.
- 4 Crow, *The Chinese Are Like That*, p. 86.
- 5 Crow, *The Chinese Are Like That*, pp. 186-7.
- 6 *Lead Belt News*, "Carl Crow writes editor of LB news," undated copy in the Crow Archive.
- 7 Walter Williams (1914) *The World's Journalism* and W. Williams and F. L. Martin, *The Practise of Journalism* (1917), both published by E. W. Stephens, Columbia, Missouri.
- 8 See S. L. Williams (1929) *Twenty Years of Education for Journalism: A History of the School of Journalism of the University of Missouri*, Columbia, Missouri: E. W. Stephens, p. 31.
- 9 Report from Kansas City Office of the FBI to the New York Office of the FBI concerning Crow's education, March 19, 1942.
- 10 Carl Crow (1916) *Japan and America*, New York: Robert M. McBride & Co., p. 5.
- 11 Crow's articles for the *Saturday Evening Post* included "The business of town building" (April 30, 1910); "Towns built to order" (July 2, 1910); "Cutting up the

big ranches" (August 6, 1910); "Team work in town building" (3 September, 1910); "Old farms for new" (October 8, 1910); "The fee system" (dealing with rising court costs, November 19, 1910); "Building a railroad" (December 10, 1910); and "Selling to cities" (March 4, 1911). Crow also contributed an article to *Pearson's Magazine*, "What the tenant farmer is doing to the South" (June 19, 1911).

- 12 Carl Crow (1940) *Foreign Devils in the Flowery Kingdom*, New York: Harper & Brothers, p. 224.
- 13 "Fort Worth editor to join staff of new Chinese daily", *Fort Worth Star-Telegram*, June 8, 1911.
- 14 "Man in the street", *Houston Chronicle*, undated, 1911.

Chapter 2

- 1 Carl Crow (1944) *China Takes Her Place*, New York: Harper & Brothers, p. 4.
- 2 Crow, *China Takes Her Place*, p. 4.
- 3 Crow, *China Takes Her Place*, p. 4.
- 4 Carl Crow (1940) *Foreign Devils in the Flowery Kingdom*, New York: Harper & Brothers, p. 224.
- 5 Stella Dong (2001) *Shanghai: The Rise and Fall of a Decadent City*, New York: Perennial, p. 176.
- 6 Peter Rand (1995) *China Hands: The Adventures and Ordeals of the American Journalists Who Joined Forces with the Great Chinese Revolution*, New York: Simon and Schuster, p. 24, quoted in Jonathan Mirsky (2002) "Getting the story in China: American reporters since 1972," *Harvard Asia Quarterly*, vol. VI, no. 1, winter.

Chapter 3

- 1 Carl Crow (1944) *China Takes Her Place*, New York: Harper & Brothers, p. 7.
- 2 P. Thompson and R. Macklin (2004) *The Man Who Died Twice: The Life and Adventures of Morrison of Peking*, Sydney: Allen & Unwin, pp. 248–9.
- 3 For a more detailed overview, see B. Goodman (2004) "Semi-colonialism, transnational networks and news flows in early republican Shanghai", *The China Review*, vol. 4, no. 1, spring.
- 4 John Keay (1997) *Last Post: The End of Empire in the Far East*, London: John Murray, p. 141.
- 5 Malcolm Rosholt (1994) *The Press Corps of Old Shanghai*, Rosholt, Wisconsin: Rosholt House, p. 9.
- 6 The building is now the offices of American International Assurance (AIA), the successor to American Asiatic Underwriters which originally shared the building with the *North-China Daily News* and other tenants.
- 7 Ralph Shaw (1973) *Sin City*, London: Everest Books, pp. 50–1.
- 8 Now the Ruijin Guest House and grounds at 118 Ruijin Number Two Road.

- 9 Later to become the Jingwen Flower Market on Shaanxi Road South and demolished for redevelopment in 2005.
- 10 Even those who worked for Nottingham found the pro-Japanese line excessive, including one Japanese-American, Bill Hosokawa, who worked on the paper in the early 1940s. See B. Hosokawa and T. Noel (1988) *Out of the Frying Pan: Reflections of a Japanese American*, Boulder: University of Colorado Press. In 1941, the paper officially became the English language mouthpiece for the Japanese in Shanghai, and was widely rumored to be financially supported by the Yokohama Specie Bank.
- 11 Shaw, *Sin City*, p. 50.
- 12 Technically, the *China Press* was originally funded by a bond issue supported by American and German financiers and planned a Chinese language issue too – at least according to the *Fort Worth Star-Telegram*, “Fort Worth editor to join staff at new Chinese daily,” June 8, 1911. However, if there were German investors, they appear never to have taken much interest in the paper and a Chinese language version never appeared.
- 13 After campaigning hard for President Wilson’s election in 1912, Crane (1858–1939) went on to serve as a member of the Root Commission to the Soviet Union, attended the Versailles Conference with Wilson in 1918 and organized the King-Crane Commission to the Middle East in 1919. Crane later helped finance the first explorations for oil in Saudi Arabia and Yemen, as well as serving as US Minister to China in 1920–21.
- 14 Crow started to file the first reports from China to UP in the autumn of 1911. UP had only been established in 1907 by E. W. Scripps. The work probably wasn’t too arduous as in the early years of the wire services in China it was common to transmit only a few words or sentences about the events of the day. Newspaper editors would then elaborate and expand on the stories they received. The downside was that wage rates were very low – between \$5 and \$20 per article in the mid-1920s, with no guarantees that all articles sent would be used. Crow was listed by UP as a “string correspondent.”
- 15 John Benjamin Powell (1945) *My Twenty-Five Years in China*, New York: Macmillan, p. 7.
- 16 Powell, *My Twenty-Five Years in China*, p. 11.
- 17 Sara Lockwood Williams (1929) *Twenty Years of Education for Journalism: A History of the School of Journalism of the University of Missouri Columbia*, Columbia, Missouri: E. W. Stephens, p. 146. Williams (1864–1935) created the School of Journalism in 1908 and served as Dean until 1930. He was named University President in 1930 and served until 1934, when he retired. Born and raised in Boonville, Missouri, he dreamed of being a printer. As a boy, he refused to write any of his homework, preferring to print everything.
- 18 Williams, *Twenty Years of Education for Journalism*, p. 146.
- 19 Francis H. Misselwitz (1941) *The Dragon Stirs: An Intimate Sketch-book of China’s Kuomintang Revolution, 1927–29*, New York: Harbinger House.
- 20 Hugo de Burgh (2003) “The journalist in China: looking to the past for inspiration,” *Media History*, vol. 9, no. 3, December, pp. 195–207.

- 21 De Burgh, "The journalist in China," pp. 195-207.
- 22 Also known as Dong Xiangguang.
- 23 Wu was awarded the Missouri Press Association Honor Medal in 1948. Also, in 1986, he published *A Historical Analysis of Selected Speeches of Generalissimo Chiang Kai-shek During the War of Resistance Against Japanese Aggression*, Oxford, Ohio: Ohio University Press.
- 24 British-American Tobacco (BAT) was the largest single advertiser in Shanghai and formed its own modern film studio which produced slides and promotional films for free distribution to cinemas. It was considered one of the most advanced and technically equipped film studios outside America at the time.
- 25 Williams, *Twenty Years of Education for Journalism*, p. 146.
- 26 *China Weekly Review*, special edition, October 10, 1928.
- 27 Hallett Abend (1943) *My Life in China 1926-1941*, New York: Harcourt, Brace & Co., p. 200.

Chapter 4

- 1 Carl Crow (1984) *Handbook for China*, Oxford: Oxford University Press, p. 222.
- 2 This became known as the "Double Ten" in the Nationalist calendar.
- 3 Carl Crow (1944) *China Takes Her Place*, New York: Harper & Brothers, p. 13.
- 4 Crow, *China Takes Her Place*, p. 14.
- 5 Wu Ting-fang (1914) *America Through the Spectacles of an Oriental Diplomat*, New York: Stokes; M. M. Dawson (1915) *The Ethics of Confucius*, introduction by Wu Ting-fang, New York: G. P. Putnam & Sons.
- 6 Hume quoted in J. Spence (1980) *To Change China: Western Advisers in China*, New York: Penguin, p. 168.
- 7 Crow, *China Takes Her Place*, p. 26.
- 8 Crow, *China Takes Her Place*, p. 31.
- 9 Quotation reprinted in *The China Weekly Review*, special new China edition, October 10, 1928.
- 10 Crow's relationship with Chen was short-lived as his popularity sank due to rising corruption and high taxation and he was soon ousted from his post in Shanghai. He went on to stage several uprisings, including the failed Second Revolution against Yuan Shih-kai in 1912 with Chiang Kai-shek and was then assassinated on Yuan's orders in 1916, a month before Yuan himself died.
- 11 Crow noted that Webb "got very handsomely paid" for this work: *China Takes Her Place*, p. 35.
- 12 Crow, *China Takes Her Place*, p. 36.
- 13 ——— p. 37.
- 14 ——— p. 37.
- 15 ——— p. 40.
- 16 The New Army was created in the wake of China's stunning defeat by the Japanese in 1895.

- 17 After Yuan's death, Duan fought a half-hearted power struggle and eventually retired in 1926 to concentrate on his Buddhist studies and mahjong skills.
- 18 David Bonavia (1995) *China's Warlords*, Oxford: Oxford University Press, p. 2.
- 19 Crow, *China Takes Her Place*, p. 47.
- 20 Crow, *China Takes Her Place*, p. 50.
- 21 ——— p. 48.
- 22 The Chinese term for the official headquarters or residence of a mandarin.
- 23 Carl Crow (1940) *Foreign Devils in the Flowery Kingdom*, New York: Harper & Brothers, p. 133.
- 24 Crow, *China Takes Her Place*, p. 96.
- 25 Foreign Office, FO228 3214, *Shanghai Intelligence 1918–20*, Meeting of December 12, 1918. This registration with the Japanese was later to cause many newspapers acute embarrassment as relations with Tokyo started to deteriorate.
- 26 Bronson Rea, G. (1935) *The Case for Manchoukuo*, New York: Appleton-Century.

Chapter 5

- 1 Quote from H. J. Lethbridge, Introduction, Carl Crow (1984) *Handbook for China*, Oxford: Oxford University Press. Lethbridge was formerly Professor of Sociology at the University of Hong Kong.
- 2 Sowerby was well known as having been a member of American millionaire Robert Sterling Clark's expedition to Northern China in 1908–09. Under Clark's leadership, an expedition of 36 men carried out zoological and ethnological research. The expedition came to an abrupt end, however, when Chinese bandits killed the party's Indian surveyor and interpreter, Hazrat Ali. Clark personally funded several major research trips around the world due to his being an heir to the Singer sewing machine fortune.
- 3 Carl Crow (1914) *America and the Philippines*, Garden City, New York: Doubleday, Page & Co.
- 4 "Writer plans to stay in city: Carl Crow visits Manila en route to New York", *Manila Times*, January 10, 1913.
- 5 At that time, a round-the-world cruise could actually work out cheaper than sailing from point to point.
- 6 Ray was never heard from again and no trace of his whereabouts was ever discovered. His wife, Mabel, eventually remarried. In the 1930s, Mabel and Ray's son George lived in Shanghai where he ran the passenger division of the Robert Dollar steamship line. Naturally they were close to Carl who treated George as a favored nephew.
- 7 "Philippines no burden says editor Carl Crow," *St. Louis Times*, November 3, 1913.
- 8 Living by the imperial palace and the Hie Shrine must have given Crow a fairly immediate sense of traditional Japan. The Hie Shrine (built in 1644–48) is located atop a little hill at the edge of Akasaka and is reached by a steep flight of stairs under a tunnel of orange torii. The shrine grounds are considered an oasis of tranquility in the middle of Tokyo.

- 9 Carl Crow (1916) *Japan and America*, New York: Robert M. McBride & Co, p. 46.
- 10 Sometimes called the *Japan Advertiser and Trans-Pacific*.
- 11 Carl Crow (1944) *China Takes Her Place*, New York: Harper & Brothers, p. 151. The study was eventually published as Carl Crow (1942) *Japan's Dream of World Empire – The Tanaka Memorial*, New York: Harper & Brothers.
- 12 Crow, *China Takes Her Place*, p. 153.
- 13 Crow, *Japan and America*, p. 4.
- 14 Carl Crow (1937) *I Speak for the Chinese*, New York: Harper & Brothers, pp. 2–3.
- 15 It was also the case that Japan had fought with the British and others to suppress the Boxers in 1900 and this clouded the thinking of many British diplomats and China Hands.
- 16 Crow, *Japan and America*, p. 299.
- 17 The Bank of Japan, later renamed the Bank of Tokyo.
- 18 Crow, *I Speak for the Chinese*, p. 7.
- 19 Crow, *I Speak for the Chinese*, p. 11.
- 20 Crow, *Japan's Dream of World Empire*.
- 21 Crow, *Japan and America*, p. 142.
- 22 Carl Crow (1943) *The Chinese Are Like That*, Cleveland: World Publishing Company p. 36.
- 23 Carl Crow (1939) *He Opened the Door of Japan*, New York: Harper & Brothers, p. 123.
- 24 Samuel George Blythe was a veteran correspondent with the *Saturday Evening Post* and stayed in London to cover the war after crossing Siberia with Crow. He later returned to China in 1917 to interview several prominent warlords.
- 25 Crow, *The Chinese Are Like That*, p. 216.
- 26 *Japan Advertiser*, July 19, 1945.
- 27 Which, of course, he would have: Hallett Abend (1943) *My Life in China 1926–1941*, New York: Harcourt, Brace & Co., p. 60.
- 28 Earl A. Selle (1948) *Donald of China*, New York: Harper & Brothers, pp. 153–69. Donald was famously tight-lipped about his experiences in China. Selle, a journalist, claimed that the details in his overtly pro-Donald biography were told to him by the man himself in 1946 on his deathbed.

Chapter 6

- 1 Crow did not write a great deal about his experiences or rationale for becoming a fruit farmer in California. Even if it was to settle briefly while his daughter was born, the choice of fruit farming in California is far from an obvious one and his agricultural skills are unknown. There are few references in his books, personal papers, diaries or later articles to this time. Most of the details of his time in Santa Clara are derived from an essay he wrote – “Silhouette: The Great War on the China Front” – which remained unpublished and is part of the Carl Crow Archive at Missouri University, folder 48A.

- 2 *Japan Advertiser*, July 19, 1915.
- 3 *Japan Advertiser*, July 19, 1915.
- 4 Actually at 53 Washington Square and adjacent to the Judson Memorial Church. The hotel had been established to provide income for the church.
- 5 "Dining where the adventurers eat in a South Washington Square hotel," *New York World*, September 21, 1915.
- 6 Steffanson also became known for existing largely on a "raw diet" of unprocessed foods, including raw meats, animal organs and fats. He advocated this dietary regime in three books: *Cancer: Disease of Civilization?*, *Not by Bread Alone* and *The Fat of the Land*. Steffanson stuck to this diet for much of his adult life, changing to a more refined and processed diet only after he married later in life. He is also famous for his wry quote: "False modesty is better than no modesty at all." He was later accused by McCarthy of being a Communist and a spy for Red China, along with Owen Lattimore.
- 7 Mason led a number of expeditions to South America, including the 1926 Mason-Spinden Expedition to search for Mayan ruins in Mexico. He was also the author of a briefly popular utopian novel published in 1956, *The Golden Archer: A Satirical Novel of 1975*, which imagines the threat of religious war following a stalemate in World War III.
- 8 Croy was credited as being a member of the first graduating class of the Missouri School of Journalism (though he never actually graduated and dropped out before the course finished). He later gained fame as a writer with books such as *Jesse James was My Neighbor* and *He Hanged Them High: An Account of the Fanatical Judge Who Hanged Eighty Eight Men*. He also wrote several books about the Hollywood film industry, including a biography of D. W. Griffith.
- 9 Carl Crow (1914) *America and the Philippines*, Garden City, New York: Doubleday, Page & Co.
- 10 Crow, *America and the Philippines*.
- 11 Crow never revealed the name of this man but it was most likely Harry Steptoe. For many years, Steptoe was head of the British Secret Intelligence Service in Shanghai attached to the British Consulate and, as well as its own shadowy activities, also undertook the role of collating reports from Special Branch in Shanghai as well as the reports of the British Colonial Police in Singapore and Hong Kong.
- 12 Now Yanan Road.
- 13 Crow, "Silhouette – The Great War on the China Front," Crow Archive, folder F48.
- 14 Crow, "Silhouette – The Great War on the China Front."
- 15 Carl Crow (1937) *I Speak for the Chinese*, New York: Harper & Brothers, p. 19.
- 16 Later to be promoted to American Ambassador to China.
- 17 Crow, "Silhouette – The Great War on the China Front."
- 18 Carl Crow (1940) *Foreign Devils in the Flowery Kingdom*, New York: Harper & Brothers, p. 219.
- 19 Crow, *Foreign Devils in the Flowery Kingdom*, p. 220.
- 20 The existence of these secret treaties signed between Japan, Britain, France, Belgium,

Russia and Italy only came to light after the 1917 Russian Revolution when the Bolsheviks made them public.

- 21 Also known as Feng Yuxiang (see also endnote 7, chapter 20).
- 22 Carl Crow (1944) *China Takes Her Place*, New York: Harper & Brothers, p. 117.
- 23 The author is indebted to Ellen Johnston Laing of the University of Michigan for information on Mildred Crow and her business ventures.

Chapter 7

- 1 Named after the seventeenth-century French author and now 7 Xianshan Road.
- 2 To be fair to Sun, this appears to have stopped after his marriage to Soong Ching-Ling.
- 3 Now Fuxing Park – originally laid out in 1909.
- 4 The house that is now the official Soong Qingling Residence and Museum at 1843 Huai Hai Middle Road.
- 5 Cohen eventually became a general in the Nationalist army as well as a property tycoon and arms-dealer. He moved to Hong Kong in 1937, surviving on a pension arranged for him by Madame Sun, and then was interned in the British colony by the Japanese. In 1945 he returned to Canada briefly, only to eventually settle in London's East End.
- 6 Carl Crow (1943) *The Chinese Are Like That*, Cleveland: World Publishing Company, pp. 196–7.
- 7 Carl Crow (1944) *China Takes Her Place*, New York: Harper & Brothers, p. 63.
- 8 Crow recalled his English conversations with Sun in his unpublished essay describing his meeting with Zhou En-lai later in 1938 – “The puzzle of Communism”, Crow Archive, folder 36A.
- 9 Regarded by the British as one of China's ablest soldiers, Chen gained his sobriquet after settling his forces in the Hakka area of southern China. He was originally from Guangdong and had been Vice-Governor of the province in 1911 until ousted in the 1913 Second Revolution. He was considered generally more enlightened than most warlords at the time.
- 10 Crow himself admitted to following developments in Italy and the rise of Mussolini with interest and an open mind at first before becoming an avowed anti-fascist.
- 11 Carl Crow (1940) *Foreign Devils in the Flowery Kingdom*, New York: Harper & Brothers, p. 123.
- 12 Crow, *China Takes Her Place*, p. 75. This friendship appears to have been based more on Crow's reading William's work rather than actually knowing him.
- 13 The ABMAC was an august body at the time, with Madame Chiang Kai-shek as honorary chairman and prominent supporters included Pearl Buck, Wendell Willkie, Fiorello LaGuardia and a number of film stars. In the period 1937–45, the ABMAC donated more than \$10 million in aid to China. The UCCRC was the largest and most important organization of its type at the time with an equally august roster of committee members.

Chapter 8

- 1 Jonathan Fenby (2003) *Generalissimo Chiang Kai-shek and the China He Lost*, London: Free Press, p. 31.
- 2 Gunther (1939) *Inside Asia*, London: Hamilton. See also Vincent Sheean (1934) *Personal History*, Garden City, New York: Doubleday, Doran and Co., Inc.
- 3 Sincere was opened in 1917, Wing On in 1918 and Sun Sun in 1926.
- 4 Or *Ka Loo Guanggao Gongsì* (Carl Crow Advertising Company) in modern pinyin.
- 5 Gibb, Livingston & Co. were general merchants in Shanghai and Hong Kong and eventually became part of the Inchcape Group. Jinkee Road is now Dianchi Road.
- 6 Carl Crow (1926) "Advertising and merchandising" in J. Arnold *China: A Commercial and Industrial Handbook*, US Department of Commerce Washington DC: Government Printing Office, p. 199.
- 7 Crow, "Advertising and merchandising," p. 200.
- 8 Crow, "Advertising and merchandising," p. 200.
- 9 Xie stayed on in Shanghai during the war and later re-emerged after 1949 to create art that supported Mao and his policies. In 1954 Xie and his nephew Xie Mulian were both assigned to the government-run Shanghai Picture Press. Xie was later moved to the Shanghai Painting Academy. He was forced to walk a thin political line and suffered public criticism. He did produce a number of socialist realist works, including "Warmly love Chairman Mao" as well as portraits of the imaginary revolutionary hero and everyman, Lei Feng. Even this did not protect him during the Cultural Revolution when he was personally attacked by Jiang Qing (Madame Mao). He died in Shanghai in 1976.
- 10 Pearl S. Buck (1944) *The Dragon Fish*, New York: The John Day Company.
- 11 Ralph Shaw (1973) *Sin City*, London: Everest Books, p. 52.
- 12 D. de Martel, and L. De Hoyer (1926) *Silhouettes of Peking*, Peking: China Booksellers Ltd.
- 13 Quoted in John Keay (1997) *Last Post: The End of Empire in the Far East*, London: John Murray, p. 61.
- 14 Carl Crow (1943) *The Chinese Are Like That*, Cleveland: World Publishing Company, p. 52.
- 15 Crow, *The Chinese Are Like That*, p. 52.
- 16 ——— p. 56.
- 17 Between the wars the cenotaph was one of the most imposing structures on the Bund.
- 18 Comment by Starr contained in "Letter from New York Office of the FBI to the Coordinator of Information, FBI," April 19, 1942.
- 19 Carl Van Doren (1885–1950) was an American author and teacher whose writings ranged through surveys of literature to novels, biography to criticism.
- 20 Carl Crow (1937) *Four Hundred Million Customers*, New York: Harper & Brothers, p. 304.
- 21 Alice Tisdale Hobart (1933) *Oil for the Lamps of China*, New York: Grosset & Dunlap.

Chapter 9

- 1 Also known as Feng Yuxiang, Fengtian is now Liaoning province.
- 2 Carl Crow (1944) *China Takes Her Place*, New York: Harper & Brothers, p. 46.
- 3 Though the warlords have largely been written out of official Chinese history, Feng appeared to undergo a partial rehabilitation in the early 1990s when the official *People's Daily* referred to him as a "patriotic general" – *Renmin Ribao*, February 21, 1993, p. 5.
- 4 Later to be denounced as a Trotskyite and purged by Stalin.
- 5 Or alternatively *dujun* or *junfa*.
- 6 Peter Fleming (2004) *One's Company – A Journey to China in 1933*, London: Pimlico, p. 131.
- 7 David Bonavia (1995) *China's Warlords*, Oxford: Oxford University Press, p. 6.
- 8 When talking about this period, Crow always referred to the bandit leader as Swen Miao, although he is more commonly known by the names Sun Mei-yao or Suen Mei-yao, or even Mao-yao.
- 9 Carl Crow (1943) *The Chinese Are Like That*, Cleveland: World Publishing Company, p. 313.
- 10 John Benjamin Powell, "The bandits' 'golden eggs' depart," *Asia*, December 1923.
- 11 Crow, *The Chinese Are Like That*, p. 314.
- 12 Crow, *The Chinese Are Like That*, p. 315.
- 13 Crow referred to Swen's organization as the Shantung People's Liberation Society while J. B. Powell called it the "People's Self Deliverance Army"; and in letters Swen wrote during the crisis he used the term "Self Governed Army for the Establishment of the Country". In yet another version, it was sometimes called the "National Reconstruction and Autonomy Army."
- 14 Lehrbas had been on the train accompanying J. B. Powell to see damming work on the Yellow River. An Idaho native, he had been a cadet in the First World War and went on to work for AP, reporting on the German invasion of Poland, and was MacArthur's personal aide-de-camp throughout the Second World War.
- 15 J. Gunther (1939) *Inside Asia*, London: Hamilton, p. 146.
- 16 Carl Crow (1943) *The Chinese Are Like That*, p. 117.
- 17 The full story is told in R. Bickers (2003) *Empire Made Me: An Englishman Adrift in Shanghai*, London: Penguin, pp. 189–91.
- 18 Sometimes spelt Paotzuku or Pao Tse Ku and now the Baodugu National Forest Park and mountain in Shandong.
- 19 John Benjamin Powell, *North China Herald*, May 19, 1923.
- 20 The Red Cross often used prominent people on missions such as this – although it also maintained a full-time staff in China. In 1923 the latter included a World War I veteran and US army language student (who had been born in the same year as Crow) called Joseph B. Stilwell who later was to become the well-known General Joseph "Vinegar Joe" Stilwell. He was based in Beijing as a Military Attaché but was active in constructing roads and providing famine relief in Shanxi and Shandong, as well as sending reports to the American legation on opium consumption in Shanxi.

- 21 Crow used the spelling Tsaochwang though Tsaochuang was also common.
- 22 Crow, *The Chinese Are Like That*, p. 319.
- 23 John Benjamin Powell (1945) *My Twenty-Five Years in China*, New York: Macmillan, p. 108.
- 24 A stamp collector sold one of Crow's Bandit Mail Stamps, which are extremely rare and sought after, on a small envelope for a sum in excess of US\$5,000 recently.
- 25 Norwood Francis Allman (1893–1987) prided himself on his consular record, having served at the US Legation in Beijing as well as at Antung in Manchuria, Tianjin, Jinan, Qingdao, Chongqing, and Shanghai. In a later twist of fate, Allman was to resign from the consular service and move into the newspaper business after a period as a successful lawyer in China. After being interned in Hong Kong during the war, he went on to be the Chief of Far East Section of America's Secret Intelligence Branch in the later war years before returning to Shanghai to become the editor and publisher of the *China Press* in 1948. He is also known for his book *Shanghai Lawyer* (1943) New York: McGraw-Hill.
- 26 Carl Crow, "The most interesting character I ever knew," Crow Archive, folder 107A.
- 27 Crow, "The most interesting character I ever knew."
- 28 Carl Crow (1940) *Foreign Devils in the Flowery Kingdom*, New York: Harper & Brothers, pp. 318–9.
- 29 Anderson sadly died prematurely of pneumonia in 1925 at the point when President Coolidge was reportedly considering appointing him Minister to Beijing.
- 30 *North China Herald*, June 16, 1923.
- 31 Crow, *Foreign Devils in the Flowery Kingdom*, pp. 324–5.
- 32 J. O. P. Bland (1921) *China, Japan and Korea*, London: Heinemann, p. 93.
- 33 Crow, *Foreign Devils in the Flowery Kingdom*, p. 246.
- 34 Maurice Tinkler, the subject of Robert Bickers' book *Empire Made Me*, met Crow at the Liuhe battlefield and later thought his version of events inaccurate. R. Bickers, *Empire Made Me*, London: Allen Lane, p. 225.
- 35 David Bonavia (1995) *China's Warlords*, Oxford: Oxford University Press, p. 33.
- 36 Crow, *Foreign Devils in the Flowery Kingdom*, pp. 225–6.

Chapter 10

- 1 Carl Crow (1940) *Foreign Devils in the Flowery Kingdom*, New York: Harper & Brothers, p. 286.
- 2 Carl Crow (1939) *He Opened the Door of Japan*, New York: Harper & Brothers, p. 124. In making this comment, Crow seems to have omitted the fact that he had already been married for over a decade. The subject of his divorce from Mildred was one Crow did not care to discuss.
- 3 Crow, *Foreign Devils in the Flowery Kingdom*, p. 275.
- 4 Crow, *Foreign Devils in the Flowery Kingdom*, p. 275.
- 5 Hallett Abend (1943) *My Life in China 1926–1941*, New York: Harcourt, Brace & Co., pp. 64–5.

- 6 Stella Dong (2001) *Shanghai: The Rise and Fall of a Decadent City*, New York: Perennial, p. 124. When Chang died, his concubines looted his safe and fled.
- 7 Also Wang Jingwei.
- 8 Also Liao Zhong-kai.
- 9 Also known as Zhang Jingjiang or Zhang Renjie, or, to the French Concession police, “Quasimodo” due to his spinal deformity.
- 10 Crow, *Foreign Devils in the Flowery Kingdom*, p. 246.
- 11 Chiang’s old adversary, Chen Chiung-ming, was never to bother him again and went into exile in Hong Kong, eventually dying of typhus in 1933.

Chapter 11

- 1 Connaught Road is now Kanding Road. Crow’s house at 883 is now demolished and a small supermarket stands in its place.
- 2 John Benjamin Powell (1945) *My Twenty-Five Years in China*, New York: Macmillan.
- 3 The Japanese tore down the statue of Parkes for scrap in 1941. Now a statue of Chen Yi, the first post-liberation Mayor of Shanghai, stands on the original plinth.
- 4 Carl Crow (1941) *Meet The South Americans*, New York: Harper & Brothers, p. 11.
- 5 Crow, *Meet The South Americans*, pp. 11–2.
- 6 Carl Crow (1943) *The Chinese Are Like That*, Cleveland: World Publishing Company, p. 99.
- 7 Crow, *The Chinese Are Like That*, p. 100.
- 8 ——— pp. 260–1.
- 9 ——— p. 283.
- 10 Crow, *Meet The South Americans*, p. 15.
- 11 *The China Journal*, vol XXIV, no. 5, May 1936.
- 12 The story is retold in *Meet The South Americans*, pp. 129–30.
- 13 Crow, *The Chinese Are Like That*, p. 39.
- 14 Crow, *The Chinese Are Like That*, p. 47.
- 15 The site of the British golf course is now the Shanghai Zoo on Hongqiao Road near Hami Road, quote from *Fortune* magazine, January 1935.
- 16 Crow, *The Chinese Are Like That*, p. 208.
- 17 Crow, *The Chinese Are Like That*, p. 25.
- 18 ——— p. 217.
- 19 ——— p. 270.
- 20 ——— p. 271.
- 21 Stella Dong (2001) *Shanghai: The Rise and Fall of a Decadent City*, New York: Perennial, pp. 202–3. According to Dong, “Light in the Head” was a famous beggar who would drive a nail into the top of his shaven head and then attach a lighted candle to it while the “Weeping Beggar Woman” would cry so copiously that she was always surrounded by a large crowd of onlookers.
- 22 Crow, *The Chinese Are Like That*, p. 275.
- 23 Interestingly, as well as Crow’s generally well-heeled American friends who

- considered rickshaws exploitative, the other group of foreigners who did not like using their services were the clique of Soviet advisers in Shanghai.
- 24 Emily Hahn (2000) *No Hurry to Get Home*, Emeryville, California: Seal Press, p. 221.
 - 25 Blood Alley was off what is now Jingling Road, while the Badlands area was adjacent to Jessfield Park and the old St. John's University, which is now the Zhongshan Park area. Blood Alley was officially Rue Chu Pao San, off Avenue Edward VII, ironically named after a noted local councillor and philanthropist – and close to the British non-conformist St. Joseph's Church.
 - 26 Carl Crow (1939) *He Opened the Door of Japan*, New York: Harper & Brothers, p. 20.
 - 27 Enid Saunders Candlin (1987) *The Breach in the Wall: A Memoir of Old China*, New York: Paragon House, p. 39.
 - 28 Carl Crow (1940) *Foreign Devils in the Flowery Kingdom*, New York: Harper & Brothers, p. 186.
 - 29 Now the corner of Fuzhou Road and Henan Middle Road and until late 2005 home to the Shanghai High People's Court.
 - 30 The Park Hotel remains in Nanjing West Road; the Moore Memorial Church is now a Protestant church renamed the Mo-En Church at 316 Xizhang Middle Road; the China United Apartments are now the Pacific Hotel at 104 Nanjing West Road; and the Green House is now a nightclub on the corner of 333 Tongren Road and Beijing Road.
 - 31 *Fortune* magazine, January 1935.
 - 32 Ralph Shaw (1973) *Sin City*, London: Everest Books, p. 141.
 - 33 So called after the bubbling well in the Jingan Temple along the street – now Nanjing West Road.
 - 34 Crow, *Meet the South Americans*, p. 57.
 - 35 Crow, *The Chinese Are Like That*, p. 34.
 - 36 Crow, *Foreign Devils in the Flowery Kingdom*, p. 261.
 - 37 Hahn, *No Hurry to Get Home*, p. 255.
 - 38 *Fortune* magazine, January 1935.
 - 39 Crow, *The Chinese Are Like That*, p. 89.
 - 40 Hardoon (1846–1931) was born in Baghdad to a Jewish family. He had worked for the Sassoons, another Baghdadi Jewish family. He married a Chinese woman named Luo "Lisa" Jialing (1864–1941). Property speculation along Nanking Road made him wealthy; he established the Hardoon Trading Company in 1901 and was the largest property owner on Nanking Road by 1916.
 - 41 *Chota peg* was China coast slang for any small drink and derived from Hindustani.
 - 42 The anonymous comments were part of a recommendation for Crow's employment by the American government in 1942. The name of the referee who made the remark has been deleted from the records, Letter from New York Office of the FBI to the Coordinator of Information, FBI, April 19, 1942.
 - 43 Crow, *The Chinese Are Like That*, p. 127.
 - 44 The Lyceum is still at the junction of Maoming Road and Changle Road and is now

a theatre again. Perhaps the most famous graduate from the amateur dramatics at the Lyceum was Margaret “Peggy” Hookham, the daughter of a British-American Tobacco executive in Shanghai. She eventually left to study ballet in London and became better known as Dame Margot Fonteyn.

- 45 Crow, *The Chinese Are Like That*, p. 146.
- 46 *Shanghai Municipal Gazette*, February 2, 1935.
- 47 Crow, *The Chinese Are Like That*, p. 91.

Chapter 12

- 1 Carl Crow (1944) *China Takes Her Place*, New York: Harper & Brothers, p. 80. Chiang, though, was born only 100 miles south of Shanghai in Zhejiang province.
- 2 Crow, *China Takes Her Place*, p. 83.
- 3 ——— p. 83.
- 4 Officially Mikhail Markovich Grunzeberg. He had taken the name of a Russian composer as a pseudonym to confuse the police.
- 5 Gould’s comments on Borodin were originally in a 1927 article for *The Trans-Pacific* newspaper and were quoted in J. Spence (1980) *To Change China: Western Advisers in China*, New York: Penguin, p. 188.
- 6 Crow, *China Takes Her Place*, p. 85.
- 7 The SMC building was located at the junction of Jiangxi and Fuzhou Roads. It was also home to both Special Branch and British Secret Intelligence in Shanghai.
- 8 For details of Fessenden and Du’s connections and agreement in 1927, see John Benjamin Powell (1945) *My Twenty-Five Years in China*, New York: Macmillan, p. 158.
- 9 John Keay (1997) *Last Post: The End of Empire in the Far East*, London: John Murray, p. 149.

Chapter 13

- 1 The *Shanghai Mercury* had been a much earlier newspaper that had for a time been taken under Japanese ownership and control before being absorbed by the *Shanghai Evening Post*.
- 2 Asiatic Underwriters Federal became American International Underwriters (AIU), and then AIG, the first foreign company to move back into its former HQ on the Bund in the 1990s.
- 3 *Fortune* magazine, January 1935.
- 4 Ezra was extremely rich and lived in considerable style in the Ezra mansion with Louis XV furniture throughout and a ballroom for 150 dancers, a music room that could seat 80 people, and 25 acres of garden. In 1926, Ezra wrote the book *Chinese Jews*.
- 5 *Israel’s Messenger* was published from 1904 to 1941 – first as a fortnightly, then a

- monthly. It was strongly Zionist but also reported on the Jewish community in Shanghai, Jewish communities in other parts of China and world events.
- 6 Ralph Shaw (1973) *Sin City*, London: Everest Books, p. 53.
 - 7 US Department of State, Document 893.91, June 5, 1919.
 - 8 Carl Crow "Advertising and merchandising" in J. Arnold *China: A Commercial and Industrial Handbook*, US Department of Commerce, Washington DC: Government Printing Office, p. 196.
 - 9 Also known as Chen Youren and Chen Yu-jen. He remained a leftist and eventually broke with the KMT and opposed Chiang Kai-shek.
 - 10 Hallett Abend (1943) *My Life in China 1926–1941*, New York: Harcourt, Brace & Co., p. 19.
 - 11 Starr was later interviewed in 1942 by the FBI as part of Crow's clearance to work for the government. Starr praised Crow as a "brilliant and capable individual" but said that he "had proved to be a rather poor businessman" while at the *Post*. Letter from New York Office of the FBI to the Coordinator of Information, FBI, April 19, 1942.
 - 12 Jinan had a large Japanese population and Tokyo responded violently to Chiang's capture of the city.
 - 13 Peking meaning "northern capital" and Peiping meaning "northern peace."

Chapter 14

- 1 Carl Crow (1944) *China Takes Her Place*, New York, Harper & Brothers, p. 118.
- 2 Crow, *China Takes Her Place*, p. 118.
- 3 ——— p. 149.
- 4 ——— p. 137.
- 5 ——— p. 139.
- 6 ——— p. 149.
- 7 Hallett Abend (1943) *My Life in China 1926–1941*, New York: Harcourt, Brace & Co., p. 117.
- 8 Jonathan Fenby (2003) "The extraordinary secret of Madame Chiang Kai-shek," *Guardian Newspapers*, April 11.
- 9 Mei-ling minored in philosophy and, upon her graduation in 1917, was named a Durant Scholar, Wellesley's highest academic honor.
- 10 American Lucy Randolph Mason (1882–1959), invariably known as "Miss Lucy," was the daughter of an Episcopal clergyman and scion of a distinguished southern family. She championed the cause of the YWCA and women's suffrage, the Union Labor League and the Virginia Equal Suffrage League. She worked later for the Congress of Industrial Organizations (CIO).
- 11 Crow, *China Takes Her Place*, p. 143.
- 12 S. Seagrave (1996) *The Soong Dynasty*, London: Corgi, pp. 136–7.
- 13 Crow, *China Takes Her Place*, p. 140.
- 14 Mao Fu-mei was the mother of Chiang Ching-kuo who succeeded Chiang Kai-shek

as President of Taiwan in 1978. After Chiang divorced her, Mao lived in Guangzhou and Shanghai. She was killed in a Japanese air raid on Chiang's home village in Zhejiang in 1939.

- 15 Seagrave, p.165.
- 16 Crow, *China Takes Her Place*, p. 136.
- 17 Crow, *China Takes Her Place*, p. 149.
- 18 Crow, *China Takes Her Place*, p. 150.

Chapter 15

- 1 Manchukuo means "Country of the Manchus" and is often referred to as Manchuguo in pinyin.
- 2 Also known as Wu Tiesheng and referred to as Wu Te-elen by Crow in his notes on the incident. Wu was a former police chief in Guangzhou. After 1937 he escaped to Hong Kong where he organized famously long poker games with Morris "Two Gun" Cohen and then moved on to Chongqing after the fall of Hong Kong.
- 3 Carl Crow (1937) *I Speak for the Chinese*, New York: Harper & Brothers, p. 55.
- 4 Arguably the Japanese ruse was even more transparent. W. H. Donald remembered that he phoned the mayor at 11:05 p.m. from his room in the Astor House Hotel to report shooting.
- 5 Crow, *I Speak for the Chinese*, p. 56.
- 6 Named after Bishop Boone who had founded the American Settlement in Shanghai.
- 7 Or alternatively the First Shanghai War – the Second being in 1937.
- 8 Casualty figures from D. A. Jordan (2001) *China's Trial by Fire: The Shanghai War of 1932*, Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press. Crow's estimates are from *I Speak for the Chinese*.
- 9 Soong was back in office within a month, having used his resignation as a tactic to get Chiang to see sense on his expenditure plans. The 1932 Shanghai War did Japan little good economically either as stock prices fell along with the value of the yen.
- 10 Though Du Yuesheng did organize some sniper squads to target Japanese-held areas. However, this was counterbalanced by the fact that the Green Gang pretty soon started co-operating with the Japanese to keep their illicit businesses running in Japanese-controlled Shanghai.
- 11 Crow, *I Speak for the Chinese*, p. 58.
- 12 Crow, *I Speak for the Chinese*, pp. 61–2.
- 13 ——— p. 62.
- 14 L. Lee Ou-fan (1999) *Shanghai Modern: The Flowering of New Urban Culture in China, 1930–45*, Cambridge, Massachusetts: Harvard University Press.

Chapter 16

- 1 Carl Crow (1944) *China Takes Her Place*, New York: Harper & Brothers, p. 163.
- 2 Then Ichang and now part of the area around the site of the Three Gorges Dam project.
- 3 Then Chinkiang.
- 4 Wuhu is in Anhui province. Now Kiukiang is Jiujiang and Anking is Anqing.
- 5 The Yangtze white dolphin is now almost extinct while the Yangtze alligator – *Alligator sinensis* – is thought to be extinct through a combination of pollution and slaughter for its hide.
- 6 Meyrick Hewlett (1943) *Forty Years in China*, London: Macmillan.
- 7 P. Thompson and R. Macklin (2004) *The Man Who Died Twice: The Life and Adventures of Morrison of Peking*, Sydney: Allen & Unwin, pp. 88–9.
- 8 Crow, *China Takes Her Place*, p. 170.
- 9 Jehol (also known as Rehe) no longer exists as a separate province in China. In 1955, Jehol was divided between Inner Mongolia and the provinces of Hebei and Liaoning.
- 10 Crow, *China Takes Her Place*, pp. 183–4. Kalgan being Zhangjiakou; Hepei being Hebei; Tientsin being Tianjin; and the Gulf of Pechili being the Bohai Gulf.
- 11 Korea at the time was a Japanese colony.
- 12 Crow Archive, folder 67.
- 13 Named after the masterless Samurai swordsman of Japan.
- 14 Crow, *China Takes Her Place*, p. 54.
- 15 The notes and draft chapters by Crow on the Japanese-sponsored opium trade are to be found in the Crow Archive at the University of Missouri.
- 16 Carl Crow (1943) *The Chinese Are Like That*, Cleveland, World Publishing Company, p. 246.
- 17 Crow, *The Chinese Are Like That*, pp. 246–7.
- 18 ——— p. 249.
- 19 Also known as Zhang Xueliang.
- 20 E. Hahn (1944) *China To Me*, New York: Doubleday, Doran & Co., p. 44.
- 21 Carl Crow (1937) *I Speak for the Chinese*, New York: Harper & Brothers, p. 75. Things did not turn out so well for Chang Hsueh-Liang who, after releasing Chiang, surrendered and was tried and sentenced for his part in the affair. He was pardoned but kept in custody until 1962 when he was taken to Taiwan where he became a committed Christian. He died in Hawaii in 2001 after having moved there in 1995. In 1991, in his first interview on his life, Chang said of the Xian Incident, “It was a rebellion and I had to take responsibility for it.”
- 22 Hahn, *China To Me*, p. 44.
- 23 The Young Marshall’s, and his wife’s, cure for drug addiction and hospital treatment were all arranged by Donald while he was his adviser.
- 24 Carl Crow (1937) *Four Hundred Million Customers*, New York: Harper & Brothers, p. 155.
- 25 Crow, *Four Hundred Million Customers*, p. 156.

Chapter 17

- 1 See the letter of January 15, 1937, to Crow in Crow Archive, folder 133. Another journalist, Hallett Abend of the *New York Times*, reported large Japanese troop build-ups in Korea and Manchuria and was chastised by the American Ambassador to China as being alarmist.
- 2 Carl Crow (1940) *Foreign Devils in the Flowery Kingdom*, New York: Harper & Brothers, p. 251.
- 3 Carl Crow (1943) *The Chinese Are Like That*, Cleveland: World Publishing Company, p. vii.
- 4 Christopher Isherwood and Wystan Hugh Auden (1938) *Journey to a War*, London: Faber & Faber.
- 5 Carl Crow (1944) *China Takes Her Place*, New York: Harper & Brothers, p. 192.
- 6 Crow, *China Takes Her Place*, p. 192.
- 7 “Chinese will wear down foe, believes Shanghai man, here,” *Seattle Daily Times*, September 16, 1937.
- 8 Crow, *China Takes Her Place*, p. 193.
- 9 “Chinese will wear down foe,” *Seattle Daily Times*.
- 10 Crow, *Foreign Devils in the Flowery Kingdom*, pp. 161–2.
- 11 Now Xizang Road.
- 12 Crow, *China Takes Her Place*, p. 198.
- 13 For the best and most thorough account of the events in Nanjing, see Iris Chang (1997) *The Rape of Nanking*, London: Penguin.
- 14 James Graham Ballard (1984) *Empire of the Sun*, London: Simon & Schuster.
- 15 Stella Dong (2001) *Shanghai: The Rise and Fall of a Decadent City*, New York: Perennial, p. 255.
- 16 Crow, *China Takes Her Place*, p. 193.
- 17 Crow, *Foreign Devils in the Flowery Kingdom*, p. 330.
- 18 “Chinese will wear down foe,” *Seattle Daily Times*.

Chapter 18

- 1 The grenade, wrapped in newspaper, hit Powell on the shoulder. He picked it up and was left holding the bomb with the firing-pin hanging half out while his bodyguard looked for the assailant. Powell replaced the grenade on the ground until a policeman came along, picked it up and walked off with it to the nearest station: John Benjamin Powell (1945) *My Twenty-Five Years in China*, New York: Macmillan.
- 2 Ralph Shaw (1973) *Sin City*, London: Everest Books, p. 127.
- 3 Bill Hosokawa notes that the Japanese found the *Shanghai Evening Post* particularly “irksome”: Bill Hosokawa and Tom Noel (1988) *Out of the Frying Pan: Reflections of a Japanese American*, Boulder: University of Colorado Press.
- 4 Carl Crow (1984) *Handbook for China*, Oxford: Oxford University Press, p. vii.

- 5 Comments contained in Starr's reference for Crow, Letter from New York Office of the FBI to the Coordinator of Information, FBI, April 19, 1942.
- 6 Gould got out safely in 1941 and then returned to Shanghai to resume publication of the *Shanghai Evening Post* in 1949. However, things didn't work out between the Communists and Gould and he left Shanghai again, working briefly on the *Denver Post* in America before his death.
- 7 Alcott got out of Shanghai safely with Gould in 1941 and worked briefly in radio in Cincinnati before moving to Los Angeles where his radio show "Today in Los Angeles" became a hit. He died in Pasadena in 1965.
- 8 This description of Allman is from R. Elegant, *Shanghai: Crucible of Modern China*, unpublished manuscript.
- 9 Carl Crow (1940) *Foreign Devils in the Flowery Kingdom*, New York: Harper & Brothers, p. 9.
- 10 Crow, *Foreign Devils in the Flowery Kingdom*, p. 332.
- 11 ——— p. 332.
- 12 ——— p. 335.
- 13 Bill Wells, Shanghai 1937, web posting: <http://www.lakeontariosailing.com/Shanghai.htm>
- 14 Crow, *Foreign Devils in the Flowery Kingdom*, p. 337.
- 15 Quentin was Teddy Roosevelt's grandson. His father, also Theodore, was the first Westerner to hunt and kill a panda on an expedition sponsored by Chicago's Field Museum. The specimen was subsequently stuffed and exhibited in Chicago. Quentin later returned to Shanghai and in 1948 was killed in a plane crash while flying to Hong Kong in heavy fog. Earle Looker was the author of the 1929 book *The White House Gang* that immortalized their adventures as boys.
- 16 Crow, *Foreign Devils in the Flowery Kingdom*, p. 337.
- 17 Crow, *Foreign Devils in the Flowery Kingdom*, p. 337.
- 18 "A moving incident in Japan's uncivilised conduct," *Sandalwood Herald* (undated copy in Crow Archive).
- 19 "Chinese will wear down foe, believes Shanghai man, here," *Seattle Daily Times*, September 16, 1937.
- 20 "Chinese will wear down foe," *Seattle Daily Times*.
- 21 Crow, *Foreign Devils in the Flowery Kingdom*, p. vii.
- 22 "Carl Crow, visiting Cape Cod, does first life on Confucius," *Cape Cod Colonial*, undated, 1937.
- 23 Crow, *Foreign Devils in the Flowery Kingdom*, p. viii.
- 24 Carl Crow (1937) *I Speak for the Chinese*, New York: Harper & Brothers, p. 78.
- 25 "Have the Japanese fooled themselves?," *Liberty*, August 10, 1938.
- 26 Crow, *I Speak for the Chinese*, p. 82.
- 27 Crow commented "I will say that after living several years in New England it was a relief to travel all about South America without seeing a single girl trying to look like Katherine Hepburn.": Carl Crow (1941) *Meet the South Americans*, New York: Harper & Brothers, p. 31.

- 28 Carl Crow (1943) *The Chinese Are Like That*, Cleveland: World Publishing Company, p. viii.
- 29 Carl Crow (1939) *He Opened the Door of Japan*, New York: Harper & Brothers, p. 33.
- 30 Crow, *He Opened the Door of Japan*, p. 44.
- 31 Crow, *Foreign Devils in the Flowery Kingdom*, p. 255.
- 32 Crow, *Foreign Devils in the Flowery Kingdom*, p. 235.
- 33 ——— p. 237.
- 34 Anna Chennault was the Chinese-born wife of General Claire Lee Chennault (1893–1958), the head of the Flying Tigers volunteer air force in China.
- 35 Crow, *Foreign Devils in the Flowery Kingdom*, p. 9.
- 36 Including “How Japan slams the door”, *Saturday Evening Post*, May 7, 1938.

Chapter 19

- 1 Carl Crow (1940) *Foreign Devils in the Flowery Kingdom*, New York: Harper & Brothers, p. 245.
- 2 Charles Fulton Oursler Senior (1893–1953) also wrote a number of murder mystery novels under the pseudonym Anthony Abbot, and a narrative life of Jesus Christ — *The Greatest Story Ever Told*. After editing *Liberty*, he moved on to be a senior editor at the *Reader's Digest*.
- 3 Quote from Crow, *On The Long Road Back to China*, Crow Archive, folder 39A.
- 4 Oursler's detailed instructions to Crow are contained in his office memo to Crow, “Article He is to do on his trip to China,” March 5, 1939, Crow Archive.
- 5 Carl Crow, *On the Long Road Back to China*.
- 6 Crow, *On the Long Road Back to China*. The Kialong is better known as the Jialing River.
- 7 A Chinese saying about Rangoon that Crow noted in his *Burma Road Diaries*, Crow Archive, folder 70A.
- 8 Carl Crow (1941) *Meet The South Americans*, New York: Harper & Brothers, p. 10.
- 9 Approximately US50 cents at the time.
- 10 Crow's experiences in and impressions of Rangoon are taken from *On the Road to Mandalay*, Crow Archive, folder 55A.
- 11 Carl Crow, *Burma Road Diaries*, Crow Archive, folder 70A.
- 12 Carl Crow (1944) *China Takes Her Place*, New York: Harper & Brothers, p. 225.
- 13 Crow, *China Takes Her Place*, p. 226.
- 14 Crow, *Burma Road Diaries*, Crow Archive, folder 56A.
- 15 The Lolos are better known today as China's Yi minority and are renowned for their high-bridged noses and Tibeto-Burman language. Lolo is now considered a somewhat derogatory term.
- 16 “Lolo chiefs interested in General Chiang,” *China Press*, August 18, 1936.
- 17 Then known as Chifon. It is now in China's Yunnan province.
- 18 Then known as Paoshan, now in Yunnan province.

- 19 Officially the *Sawbwa* of Manshih.
- 20 J. Stilwell (2003) *The Stilwell Papers*, Beijing: Foreign Languages Press, p. 199.
- 21 Crow, *China Takes Her Place*, p. 237.
- 22 Crow, *On the Long Road Back to China*.
- 23 Crow, *China Takes Her Place*, p. 238.

Chapter 20

- 1 Luce was a missionary's son and born in the treaty port of Tengchow (now Penglai).
- 2 The *Yuan* being the Nationalist's parliament for China.
- 3 Eugene F. Saxton was a long-serving editor with Harper & Brothers and enjoyed fame in the 1930s and 1940s with a string of popular books, including Crow's *Four Hundred Million Customers* and Betty Smith's *A Tree Grows In Brooklyn*. He was renowned for driving a hard bargain.
- 4 If he was (and he maintained till the end of his life that he wasn't), he never published them or released them to anyone.
- 5 Carl Crow, *Burma Road Diaries* Crow Archive, folder 60A.
- 6 Christopher Isherwood and Wystan Hugh Auden (1938) *Journey to a War*, London: Faber & Faber.
- 7 Feng Yu-hsiang (1882–1948) held various military positions under the Qing dynasty. His 1914 conversion to Methodism gained him the sobriquet the "Christian General." Between 1920 and 1926 he struggled with various warlords for control of Manchuria before supporting the KMT. He became Minister of War and Vice Chairman of the Executive *Yuan* at Nanjing in 1928. In 1930, he broke with Chiang and launched an unsuccessful military campaign against him. From 1931 he held various offices in the KMT government, but he never again wielded significant power. In 1947, while in the US on an official mission, he denounced Chiang's government. Feng died in a fire aboard a Russian ship while en route to Odessa. For more, see James E. Sheridan (1996) *Chinese Warlord: The career of Feng Yü-hsiang*, Stanford University, California: Stanford University Press.
- 8 In full, Willys Ruggles Peck (1882–1952) who served as an American diplomatic and consular official in China in 1906–26 and then again in 1931–40. He later became US Minister to Thailand in 1941–42.
- 9 The mysterious Irishman Crow encountered was probably John Macausland, an Oxford graduate who was originally from Cork. The six-foot Macausland broadcast on Nationalist radio in English, and did wear Chinese clothes and claimed to know 15,000 Chinese characters. He did also accept Chinese citizenship in 1941. Though undoubtedly a character, Ma, or Macausland, was perhaps not as mysterious as Crow remembered. According to Emily Hahn, in her memoir *China To Me*, Ma fell desperately in love with her but was eccentric, dirty and had rotten teeth.
- 10 Eskelund went on to write a number of books, several of which dealt with his later travels in Africa. He also published *The Red Mandarins: Travels in Red China* (1959), London: Alvin Redman.

- 11 Cassin (1887–1976) was a First World War veteran who went on to become a law professor at several prestigious French universities. During the Second World War he sided with the Resistance. With the liberation of France in 1945, he became President of the Council of the National School of Administration. He later went on to serve as the President of the Court of Arbitration at the Hague (1950–59) and was a member (1959–65) and President (1965–68) of the European Court of Human Rights in Strasbourg. In 1968, he was made a Nobel Peace Prize Laureate.
- 12 After working at the Chinese Embassy in Washington in the 1950s, Tong was later to move to Taiwan with the Generalissimo. In 1938, he published his decidedly flattering and one-sided biography of Chiang – *Chiang Kai-shek* (1938), London: Hurst and Blackett.
- 13 More formally known as James L. Shen and also a graduate of Yenching University in Beijing. He survived three summers of aerial bombing by the Japanese in Chongqing before moving with Chiang to Taiwan and later becoming the Taiwanese Ambassador in Washington.
- 14 Emily Hahn (1944) *China To Me: A Partial Autobiography*, Philadelphia: Blakiston, pp. 84 and 91.
- 15 Crow contributed at least one article to *China at War* entitled “Japanese lust for atrocities”, published in December 1937.
- 16 When meeting journalists, the couple’s usual routine was for Madame to enter first and then the Generalissimo to “stop by” for a while with Madame interpreting. Exactly the same scenario occurred to a number of journalists, including Hallett Abend and Emily Hahn, who were promised audiences with Madame and the possible sparing of some time by Chiang who would invariably join them as if by accident.
- 17 See Carl Crow, *Burma Road diaries*, Crow Archive, folder 64A.
- 18 Chennault quoted in Spence, J. (1980) *To Change China: Western Advisers in China*, New York: Penguin, p. 229. After the war, Chennault’s services were retained again by the Nationalist government to set up a civil airline for them.
- 19 T. V. Soong returned to China in 1944, becoming Prime Minister. However, he eventually fell out with the Generalissimo, became a private businessman and was reportedly for a while the richest man in the world.
- 20 Crow, *Burma Road Diaries*, Crow Archive, folder 64A.
- 21 Crow, *Burma Road Diaries*, Crow Archive, folder 70R.
- 22 ——— Crow Archive, folder 70A.
- 23 Carl Crow, *The Puzzle of Chinese Communism*, Crow Archive, Folder 36A.
- 24 Crow, *The Puzzle of Chinese Communism*.
- 25 Crow, *The Puzzle of Chinese Communism*.
- 26 Crow, *The Puzzle of Chinese Communism*.
- 27 Roy, an Indian Brahmin and Comintern operative, was sent to China in the dwindling days of Borodin’s influence. He argued that rural revolution was the way forward as opposed to Borodin’s emphasis on the industrial proletariat. Roy argued that the peasants should be armed, that revolution should come from below, and that soviets should be set up in the countryside.

- 28 Jonathan Mirsky (2002) "Getting the story in China: American reporters since 1972," *Harvard Asia Quarterly*, vol. VI, no.1, winter.
- 29 Crow, *The Puzzle of Chinese Communism*.
- 30 Crow, *The Puzzle of Chinese Communism*.
- 31 Mirsky, "Getting the story in China."
- 32 *The Puzzle of Chinese Communism*. Crow also later elaborated on this theme in a letter to the editor of the *Berkshire Evening Eagle* after he took exception to the report of a lecture given by Mrs. Carveth Wells (the wife of the explorer, author and radio personality of the time) in an address to the Pittsfield College Club. See Letter to the editor, "Chinese communism," *Berkshire Evening Eagle*, February 13, 1940.
- 33 Carl Crow (1941) *Meet The South Americans*, New York: Harper & Brothers, p. 167.
- 34 Crow, *The Puzzle of Chinese Communism*.
- 35 Crow, *The Puzzle of Chinese Communism*.
- 36 Crow, *Burma Road Diaries*, Crow Archive, folder 64A.
- 37 This second 'lifeline' to Chongqing was cut after the Fall of France and the Japanese occupation of Indo-China.
- 38 The Metropole Hotel in Hanoi still stands and has now been renovated by a French hotel chain, while the French Club building is now part of the Hanoi Young Pioneer Palace.
- 39 As the French translation of *The Chinese Are Like That* (which was called *My Friends the Chinese* when published in England) was titled.

Chapter 21

- 1 "At bowl of rice party," *Worcester Daily Telegram*, October 26, 1939.
- 2 Carl Crow (1941) *Meet The South Americans*, New York: Harper & Brothers, p. 1.
- 3 Crow, *Meet The South Americans*, p. 269. The *Daily Worker* was the newspaper of the American Communist Party at the time.
- 4 Lord Haw Haw was the nom-de-plume of William Joyce who had been a fascist before the war and close to the British Blackshirt leader Oswald Mosley before escaping internment and reaching Berlin. His broadcasts throughout the war were widely listened to across the UK, mostly with scorn, and he became the butt of many music hall comedians' jokes. After the war, the British hanged him as a traitor.
- 5 Crow, *Meet The South Americans*, p. 271.
- 6 Crow, *Meet The South Americans*, p. 284.
- 7 Carl Crow, letter to the Editor of the *New York Times*, September 1, 1941, Crow Archive, folder 187A.
- 8 Thomas (1892–1981) began a daily newscast on NBC in 1930. He had been the first reporter to enter Germany following the First World War, bringing back eye-witness accounts. During the Second World War, Thomas broadcast detailed accounts of the war's progress, often from a mobile truck just behind the front lines. His well-known catchphrase was "So long until tomorrow."

- 9 See Letter from Lowell Thomas to Carl Crow, September 10, 1941, Crow Archive, folder 187C. Also Letter from Carl Crow to Carl Van Doren, April 4, 1938 and Copy of Letter from Carl Crow to H. W. Fowler, Oxford University Press, March 10, 1938 – both contained in the Carl Van Doren Archive at Princeton University Library's Department of Rare Books and Special Collections.
- 10 Macfadden had three resorts at the time – the first being the former Jackson Sanatorium in Dansville, New York, which Macfadden had refurbished and renamed the Physical Culture Hotel; the Arrowhead Springs Hotel and Spa near Los Angeles; and the Hotel Deauville in Miami Beach.
- 11 Cosmotarianism taught that the way people got to heaven was to take good care of their physical health. It was a short-lived flop.
- 12 Crow did indeed provide affidavits for Polzer and his wife Annie to the American Consulate in Vienna. See letter from Viktor Polzer to Crow, August 1, 1941, Crow Archive, folder 149A.
- 13 Though a reply from Hoover thanking Crow for his information is contained in Crow's archive, the original letter detailing who exactly Crow thought was an enemy agent is not available.
- 14 Letter from J. Edgar Hoover, Director FBI, to Special Agent in Charge, New York FBI, March 19, 1942.
- 15 Frederick Vanderbilt Field (1905–2000) was an activist in the American communist movement. He was arrested during the McCarthy witch-hunts for refusing to name names. He was a direct descendant of Cornelius Vanderbilt, the early American tycoon, and his mother was Lila Vanderbilt Sloane Field, a wealthy heiress.
- 16 Owen Lattimore (1943) *America and Asia: Problems of Today's War and the Peace of Tomorrow*, California: Claremont Colleges.
- 17 Now Xinjiang Uygur Autonomous Region.
- 18 Lattimore and his wife eventually left America and moved to England where he was instrumental in establishing the Department of East Asian Studies at Leeds University.
- 19 See Carl Crow (1942) *Japan's Dream of World Empire – The Tanaka Memorial*, New York: Harper & Brothers.
- 20 Quoted in J. Simpson, "Seeing Red," *Antipode – Johns Hopkins Magazine*, September 2000.
- 21 Letter from Washington DC Office of the FBI to the Office for Emergency Management, May 14, 1942. The *Daily Worker* appeal was published on February 25, 1938.
- 22 Rewi Alley (1897–1987) was a New Zealand writer and social worker who went to China in 1927 and stayed there throughout the Long March, the Revolution, the periods of agricultural reform and the Cultural Revolution. He lived in China for 60 years, from 1927 to 1987.
- 23 In full, Inverchapel of Loch Eck, Archibald John Clark Kerr, 1st Baron (1882–1951) entered the diplomatic service in 1906 and became Ambassador to China in 1938. He was Ambassador to the USSR in 1942–46 and then special British envoy to

- Indonesia in an effort to end the Dutch-Indonesian conflict. He was made a baron in 1946 and served (1946–48) as Ambassador to the United States.
- 24 Ida Pruitt (1888–1985) was from a family of American missionaries and was raised in a small Chinese village. She lived in China for 50 years and was an early advocate for American diplomatic recognition of the People's Republic of China. She was the author of *A Daughter of Han: The Autobiography of a Chinese Working Woman* (1945) New Haven: Yale University Press.
 - 25 The Linebarger Papers are held at the Hitotsubashi University Library in Tokyo.
 - 26 Despite living the life of a Professor, Linebarger remained interested in psychological warfare and acted as an advisor to the British forces in Malaya during the "Emergency," as well as to the US Eighth Army during the Korean War. However, he refused to advise the US army during the Vietnam War as he considered American military involvement in Indo-China a mistake. To many, Linebarger was better known as the popular science fiction writer Cordwainer Smith. He died in 1966.
 - 27 Carl Crow (1943) "Japanning the Philippines," *The Nation*, vol. 157, issue 5, July 31, 1943.

Chapter 22

- 1 Carl Crow (1943) *The Great American Customer*, New York: Harper & Brothers.
- 2 Carl Crow, "America's first in athletics," *World's Work*, December 27, 1913.
- 3 Carl Crow (1942) *Japan's Dream of World Empire – The Tanaka Memorial*, New York: Harper & Brothers.
- 4 Maxwell Stewart, "Japan's Mein Kampf," *The Nation*, vol. 154, issue 0010, March 7, 1942. Tanaka (1863–1929) had been Minister of War in 1918–21 and 1923–24. He pushed an aggressive foreign policy and briefly intervened against Chiang Kai-shek's efforts to unify China. He was unable to ameliorate Japan's banking crisis and lost the support of the army when he sought to punish officers for the 1928 assassination of the Manchurian warlord Chang Tso-lin. The Tanaka Memorial is considered by many Japanese scholars to have been a forgery.
- 5 Details, notes and draft chapters of these works in preparation comprise part of the Crow Archive at Missouri University.
- 6 Peter Fleming (1936) *News From Tartary: A Journey from Peking to Kashmir*, London: Jonathan Cape.
- 7 Carl Crow (1944) *China Takes Her Place*, New York: Harper & Brothers, p. 250.
- 8 Crow, *China Takes Her Place*, p. 258.
- 9 ——— p. 262.
- 10 ——— p. 276.
- 11 The forerunner of the CIA established by order of President Roosevelt in 1942.
- 12 See letters from Winifred Halstead, Central Information Division, Pictorial Records Section, Office of Strategic Services to Crow, January 30, 1945; letter from Halstead to Crow, February 26, 1945 and letter from Major Duncan Lee, Office of Strategic Services, March 26, 1945. All of these are contained in the Crow Archive.

- 13 Carl Crow (1945) *The City of Flint Grows Up*, New York: Harper & Brothers.
- 14 Carl Crow, letter to editor regarding his illness, Crow Archive, folder 210A.
- 15 Carl Crow (1943) *The Chinese Are Like That*, Cleveland: World Publishing Company, p. 241.

Index

- Abend, Hallett, 33, 58, 69, 135, 213, 257, 292
- Advertising Club of Shanghai, 97
- Alcott, Carroll, 213, 289
- Ali, Hazrat, 275
- USS Alden*, 216
- Aldrich, Lucy, 120, 130
- Aldrich, Nelson, 120
- Aleksandrovskoe Military School, 98
- Allen, Major Robert, 120
- Alley, Rewi, 258, 259, 294
- Allman, Norwood, 124, 213, 281, 289
- America and the Philippines*, 58, 72
- American Asiatic Underwriters Federal, 171
- American Association of Schools and Departments of Journalism, 13
- American Bureau of Medical Aid to China, 88
- American Committee for Non-Participation in Japanese Aggression, 258
- American Communist Party, 222, 258, 293
- American Council Institute of Pacific Relations, 254
- American Geographical Society, 255
- American Information Committee, 247
- American Red Cross, 119, 121
- American Socialist Party, 87
- American Society for the Control of Cancer, 265
- American University Club, 153
- Anderson, Roy, 69, 125–8, 257, 281
- SS Argentina*, 249
- Arnhold and Company, 256
- Asia Realty Company, 171–2
- Associated Press, 31, 32, 68, 69, 238, 280
- Astor House Hotel, 30, 153, 286
- Atlantic Monthly*, 130
- Auden, WH, 191, 204
- USS Augusta*, 216
- Automobile Club of China, 175
- Babb, Glen, 32, 68
- Bai, Chongxi, 167
- Balfour, George, 4
- Ballard, JG, 210
- Bandit Mail Stamps, 123, 281
- Bank of China, 103
- Baoshan, 232
- BAT Motion Picture Studio, 33
- Baxter, Bruce, 126
- Beckjordan, Harold, 251
- Beidaihe, 269
- Bennett, Roy, 125
- du Berrier, Hilaire, 100
- Berube, Marcel, 120
- Blackburn, 9
- Blakeney Wilson, Louise, 33
- Bland, JOR, 129
- Blood Alley, 151, 283
- Blue Express*, 117, 127
- Blythe, Sam, 68, 276
- Bonavia, David, 49, 115, 130
- Book of the Month Club News*, 110
- Borodin, Fanny, 164
- Borodin, Michael, 136–7, 164–6, 244
- Boston Herald*, 110
- Bowman, Isiah, 255

- Boxer Rebellion, 3, 5, 31, 36, 37, 65, 129, 163, 197–8, 216
- British-American Tobacco (BAT), 92, 95, 274, 284
- British Broadcasting Company (BBC), 222
- British Secret Intelligence Service, 53, 74–5, 277
- Brock-Bird, Esther, 98
- Bronson-Rea, George, 54
- Browder, Earl, 222
- Bryant, Vaughn, 60
- Buck, Pearl S, 98, 257, 278
- Buick, 103, 265
- de Burgh, Hugo, 32
- Cai (General), 49
- Caldbeck, McGregor and Company, 157
- Canfield, Dorothy, 110
- Cantonese Nineteenth Route Army, 187
- Carl Crow Inc, 105–111, 139, 154, 171, 199, 222
- de Carle-Sowerby, Arthur, 85, 107, 275
- Carleton College, 12
- Cass, Lewis, 68
- Cassin, René, 239, 292
- Cathay Hotel, 90, 156, 205–6, 208
- Central News Agency of China, 32
- Central Opium Suppression Commission, 199
- Cercle Sportif Français, 99, 153
- Chaichack, Max, 253
- Chang, Chia-ngau, 232
- Chang Ching-chang (Curio Chang), 136, 138
- Chang, Ching-yao, 115
- Chang, Eva, 33
- Chang, General Fah-kwei, 266
- Chang Hsueh-liang (Young Marshall), 200–1, 242, 287
- Chang, Hsun (General)
- Chang, Samuel H, 212
- Chang, Tso-lin (Old Marshall), 114, 116, 175, 200, 295
- Chang Tsung-chang (Dogmeat General), 130–1, 135
- Chartered Bank, 90
- Chen, Chiung-ming (Hakka General), 86, 282
- Chen, Eugene, 173
- Chen, Frederick, 240
- Chen, Jianhong, 96
- Chen, Jieru (Jennie), 181–2
- Chen, Qimei, 45, 168
- Chen, Yunshang, 98
- Cheng, Charles, 121
- Cheng, Chi, 121
- Chennault, Anna, 222, 290
- Chennault, General Claire Lee, 241, 290, 292
- Chi, Shi-yuan, 135
- Chiang, Ching-kuo, 285
- Chiang, Kai-shek: in 1911, 45, 52; in Russia, 88; KMT leadership battle, 136–8; meeting with Crow in Nanjing, 177–80; in Sichuan, 195; kidnapping in Xi'an, 200–201, interview with Crow in Chongqing, 238–45
- The Chicago Tribune*, 12, 31
- Child Labour Commission (Shanghai), 180
- China Aeronautical Commission, 241
- China Air Defence Force, 184
- China at War*, 240, 292
- China Forum*, 30
- China Highways*, 175–6
- China in the Sun*, 172
- China Kennel Club, 144
- China Journal of Science and Arts*, 58
- China Mutual Progress Association, 168
- China Press*: ownership and establishment, 17–22; printing of, 22–3; employees, 30, 43; reporting on 1911, 35–9; reporting on Sun Yat-sen, 41, 51; pressure from warlords, 54; sale of the newspaper, 76, 172; raid on printing works, 212; forced closure of, 253; funding of, 273

- China Reconstructs*, 269
- China Takes Her Place*, 50, 60, 203, 263–4
- China United Apartments, 152, 283
- China Weekly Review*: establishment of, 21; contributors to, 32–3; 1929 kidnapping incident, 119; readership, 120, 213; suppression of, 212, 253
- The Chinese Are Like That*, 98, 104, 204, 220, 246
- Chinese Commercial Advertising Company, 107
- Chinese Imperial Railway Administration, 53
- Chinese Industrial Co-operatives (INDUSCO), 258, 260
- Chinese Labour Corps, 118
- Chinese Minister of Commerce, 53
- Chinese Ministry of Communications, 32
- Chinese Maritime Customs Service, 27
- Chinese Telegraph Administration, 28
- Chow, KC, 57, 93
- The Christian General, *see* Feng, Yuh-siang
- Christian Science Monitor*, 60, 172
- Christiana (Sweden), 69
- Chun Mei News Agency, 78, 107
- Chung Hsing Colliery, 122
- Chungching, 266
- Chungking Club, 239
- Chungking Today*, 172
- Churchill, Sir Winston, 179–80, 256, 266
- Ci Xi, Empress Dowager, 5, 24, 47
- The City of Flint Grows Up*, 265
- Clark Kerr, Sir Archibald, 258, 294
- Cochrane, Sir Archibald, 227
- Cohen, Morris “Two Guns”, 85, 278, 286
- Colgate toothpaste, 203
- Columbia-Missouri Herald*, 12–3
- Columbia Country Club (Shanghai), 153, 156, 215, 221
- Columbia University, 32, 174
- Commercial Press (Shanghai), 23, 80, 95, 188
- Committee for a Boycott Against Japanese Aggression, 258
- Committee on Public Information (Compub): offer of job with, 75; objectives of, 76; Crow’s role in, 79–80;
- Communist Party of China (CPC): First Congress, 90; strikes organized by, 137, 167; in Chongqing, 243–4
- Congress of Industrial Organizations (CIO), 285
- Constitutional Defence League (CDL), 86
- Cook, Thomas, 93, 151
- Cornell University, 126
- Cosmotarianism*, 252, 294
- Courier Post*, 21
- Cox, James, 213
- Crane, Charles, 29, 273
- Crosby, Bing, 250
- Crow, Carl: birth, early life and education, 7–13; working at *Fort Worth Star-Telegram*, 13, 16; in Mexico, 13–4; working on the *China Press*, 17, 19–21, 35; in Nanjing, 41, 46, 50–2, 200; on warlords, 49–50, 113–5, 130–1, 137; first marriage, 54–5; in the Philippines, 58; in Japan, 59–64, 67–8; on the Twenty One Demands, 64–7; in California, 73–5; working for the Committee on Public Information, 75–81; on Sun Yat-sen, 50–1, 83, 85–88; on Carl Crow Inc, 91–95, 101–5; on advertising in China, 94–7, 105–7, 111; working for the 1923 American Rescue Mission, 119–26, 129; on Chiang Kai-shek, 163, 165–6, 177–8, 241–2; on Madame Chiang, 179, 183–4, 240, 247; second marriage, 134–5; in the Shanghai Special Police, 166–7; working on the *Shanghai Evening Post*, 171–2, 174; launching *China Highways*, 175–6; on the New Life Movement, 182–4; on the First Shanghai War, 186–8; in Sichuan, 193,

- 195–6; in Chongqing, 196–7, 201–2, 234–9; on the Xian Incident, 200–1; on opium, 195, 198–9; on the Second Shanghai War, 203, 206–8; decision to leave Shanghai, 208–10; evacuation from Shanghai, 211, 214–8; on the Burma Road, 223–4, 228–34; in Rangoon, 225–7; on Zhou En-lai, 242–7; in Hanoi, 247–8; in South America, 249–51; working for the Office of War Information, 253–55; death, 264–66
- Crow, Dennis George, 269
- Crow, Elvira Jane, 7–8, 58, 252
- Crow, George, 58, 103, 269, 275
- Crow, George Washington, 7–8
- Crow, Helen, 134–5, 142, 151, 157, 175, 201, 211–14, 251
- Crow, Leslie Ray, 7–8, 269
- Crow, Lora, 7
- Crow, Mabel, 58, 275
- Crow, Mildred Elizabeth, 71–3, 134, 147, 266
- Crow, Mildred S., 54–5, 58–9, 81, 134, 266
- Crow, Olga, 269
- Crow, Roma, 7, 265
- Crowe, William, 9
- Croy, Homer, 72, 252, 277
- Cullen Bryant, William, 11
- HMS Cumberland*, 216
- Curio Chang, *see* Chang Ching-chang
- Curry, RA, 152
- Curtis, Cyrus H., 15
- Curtis, William E., 68
- Daily Telegraph* (London), 213
- Daily Telegraph* (Sydney), 38
- Daily Worker*, 250, 258, 293–4
- Davis, John, 126
- Dawson, MM, 40
- Dare to Die Brigade, 45
- Davis, Bette, 251
- Death and Glory Boys, 45
- Denver Post*, 172, 289
- Determined to Die Brigade, 45
- Dies Committee, 258
- Dietrich, Marlene, 130
- Dix, Dorothy, 172
- Dodwell and Company, 55
- Dogmeat General, *see* Chang Tsung-chang
- Dollar, Robert, 103
- Dollar Steamship Company, 103, 213–17, 275
- Domei News Agency, 33
- Donald, William Henry (Bill): background and experience, 38; reporting, 69; Xi'an Incident, 201; in Chongqing with Chiang Kai-shek, 238
- Dong, Stella, 135, 149
- Doo, D., 96
- Du, Yuesheng, 135–6, 168, 182–5, 190, 199, 238, 286
- Duan, Qirui, 48, 275
- Durdin, Peggy, 238
- Durdin, Tillman, 238
- Durham Light Infantry, 166
- East and West Association, 257
- Eastman, George, 261
- L'Echo de Chine*, 26
- Eigner, Julius, 238
- Einstein, Albert, 88
- Elias, Eddie, 120
- Elias, Fred, 120
- Eskelund, Karl, 238, 291
- Ewell, Travers, 72
- Ezra, Edward, 172, 284
- Famine and Flood Relief Movement, 53
- Far Eastern Review*, 54
- Fenby, Jonathan, 89, 179
- Feng, Yixiang, 119
- Feng, Yu-hsiang (Christian General), 80, 114, 175, 238, 291
- Fengtian Clique Army, 113–4
- Ferguson, Dr John C., 53–4
- Fessenden, Sterling, 168, 185, 189, 284
- Field, Frederick, 254
- Fiori, Captain, 168

- First Opium War, 4
 First Republican Convention, 46
 Flat River, Missouri, 11
 Fleischer, Benjamin, 29–30, 33
 Fleming, Peter, 115, 263
 Fonteyn, Dame Margot, 284
Four Hundred Million Customers, 58, 98,
 110–11, 134, 220, 222, 227, 250–1,
 265, 267
Foreign Devils In the Flowery Kingdom,
 98, 219–20
 Foreign Information Service Planning
 Board for the Far East, 253–4
 Foreign Information Service Publications
 Department, 253
Fort Worth Star-Telegram, 13, 159, 253
Fortune, 146, 152, 156, 171
 Fredericktown Public Library, 266
 French Club (Hanoi), 247, 293
 Friedman, Leon, 121
 Fudan University, 188
 Fulton-Oursler, Charles, 219, 223–4, 241,
 253, 290
 Fujian, 66, 164

 Gable, Clark, 250–1
 Gensburger, Emile, 120
 George V, King, 26
 George VI, King, 204
 General Federation of Labour, 138
 Gibb, Livingston & Company, 92
 Giles, William, 69
The Great American Customer, 10, 259,
 261–2
USS Gripsholm, 31
Gone With the Wind, 251
 Gould, Randall, 165, 172, 212–3, 289
 Gramada, G, *see* Sokolsky, G
 Guangdong, 49, 153, 184, 278
 Guizhou, 119

 Hahn, Emily, 93, 151, 156, 200, 210, 240
 Hakka General, *see* Chen, Chiung-ming
Hamptons, 14

 Han-Yeh Ping Company, 65–6, 166
 Hangzhou Lake, 147
 Hanniger, Helen Marie, *see* Crow, Helen
 Hanoi, 247–8
 Hanyang, 37
 Harbin, 68, 99–100, 198
 Hardoon, Silas, 119, 157, 221, 283
 Hardoon Trading Company, 283
 Harper & Brothers, 110, 238, 265
Harper's, 110, 242
 Harris, Frank, 15
 Harris, Townsend, 68, 220
 Haruko, Empress Dowager, 59
 Harvard University: 165; Division of
 Anthropology, 255
Havana Post, 72
He Opened the Door of Japan, 68, 220
 Hebei, 47, 117, 198
 Hedges, Frank, 60
 Hedin, Sven, 179
 Henan, 47, 165, 175, 202
 Hemingway, Ernest, 179
 Hepburn, Katherine, 221, 289
 Hewlett, Sir Meyrick, 119, 195
 Hideyoshi, Toyotomi, 61
 Highland, Missouri, 7, 11
 Holy Trinity Cathedral (Shanghai), 167
 Hong Kong and Shanghai Bank, 90, 151
 Hong Kong Foot, 154
 Hong Xiuquan, 5
 Hongkou, 100, 189, 191, 206, 236
 Hoover, Herbert, 88
 Hoover, J Edgar, 252–3, 256
 Hosokawa, Bill, 273, 288
 Horiguchi, Yoshinori, 33
 Horiguchi, Karen, 33
 Hotel du Lac (Kunming), 233, 247
 Hotel Metropole (Hanoi), 247
 House Un-American Activities Committee
 (HUAC), 257–8
Houston Chronicle, 16
 Horvat, General Dmitrii Leonidovich, 98
 Howard, Roy, 253
 Hsu, YC, 96

- Hu, Han-min, 136-8
 Hu, Zhongbiao, 96
 Huang, Jinrong, 84, 128, 167, 182
 Hubei, 37, 48, 94, 164, 214
 Hudec, Ladislaus, 152
 Hume, Edward, 42
 Hung, Dr Siji, 121

I Speak for the Chinese, 61-2, 64, 189, 219
Illustrated London News, 129
 Imperial Airways, 225
 Inner Mongolia, 64-5, 197, 287
 Institute of Pacific Relations, 254-5
 International Banking Corporation, 165
 International Press Congress, 13
 International Recreation Club, 187
 Isherwood, Christopher, 204, 238
 Ishii, Baron, 80
Israel's Messenger, 172, 284
 Issacs, Harold, 30

 Jacobsen, MC, 120
 Jardine Matheson, 92
Japan Advertiser, 30, 60, 67, 174
Japan and America, 62, 73
Japan Times, 172
Japan's Dream of World Empire, 262
 Jiangsu Province High Court, 20
 Jiangxi, 49, 164, 184, 263
 Jiangxi Soviet, 263
 Jinan, 53, 77, 175, 285
 Johns Hopkins University, 255, 259;
 School of International Relations, 255

 Kahn Foundation for Foreign Travel of
 American Teachers, 13
 Kang, Tung-yi, 121
 Kamimura, Admiral, 206
The Kansas City Star, 12
 Kaufmann, Freddy, 205
 Keay, John, 27, 168
 Kelly & Walsh, 57, 99
 Kiangwan Golf Course, 187

 Koo, KP, 121
 Kovalsky, VV, 191
 Kuang Hsu, Emperor, 47-8
Kuomintang (KMT): formation of, 47;
 banned, 48; power struggles, 136-8;
 links to Soviet Union, 164; Northern
 Expedition, 165-6; wartime alliance
 with communists, 236-8; KMT-CPC
 relations, 264
 Kung, HH, 84, 181-2, 238, 256-8

 LaGuardia, Fiorello, 278
 Lane Crawford Department Store, 151
 Lansing, Robert, 80
 Lansing-Ishii Pact, 80
 Lao, Hai-shing, 159
 Lashio, 228-32
 Lattimore, Eleanor, 255
 Lattimore, Owen, 254-9, 294
 Laval, Charlie, 54
Lead Belt News, 11
 Lee, Corinth Henry, 173-4
 Lee, Kan, 32
 Lee, Leo Ou-fan, 191
 Lee, Warren, 240
 Lehrbas, Lloyd, 117, 280
 Lester, Johnson and Morriss, 27
 Lethbridge, HJ, 212
 Lewis, Bill, 12
 Li, Hung-chang, 65
 Li, Yuan-hong, 39
 Liao, Chung-kai, 136-7
Liberty: Crow's pidgin English stories for,
 144; writing for, 220; assignment to
 Chongqing, 225, 241, 246-7
Life, 245
 Linebarger, Paul, 255, 259, 295
 London, Jack, 15
 Looker, Earle, 217
 Lord Haw Haw, 250, 293
 Lotos Club (New York), 252
 Lou, Dr Tseng-hsiang, 79
 Lu, David (Wu Chi-wei), 32
 Lu, Yung-hsiang, 114

- Luce, Henry, 88, 222, 237, 245, 258, 291
 Lundstrom, Oleg, 100
 Lunghwa Pagoda, 147
RMS Lusitania, 64
 Lyall, LA, 27
 Lyceum Theatre (Shanghai), 158
 Lyons, Harris, 249
- McCarthy, Senator Joseph, 256–9, 277, 294
 McCarthyism, 256, 258
 Macausland, John, *see* Ma, Ping-ho
 McClure, SS, 85
McClure's Magazine, 85
 McElravey, Robert, 72
 Macfadden, Bernarr, 252, 294
 MacGracken-Fisher, Francis, 253
 MacGregor, Frank, 265
 Ma, Cassia, 190
 Ma, Ping-ho, 238, 291
 Ma, Soo, 51, 85
 Macleay, Sir Ronald, 129
Manchester Guardian, 31
Manila Bulletin, 33, 125
 Manshih, 229, 232–3
 Manshih, King of, 232
 Mao Fu-mei, 181, 285–6
 Mao, Zedong, 165, 192, 200, 242, 279
 Marsoner, TH, 72
Master Kung: The Story of Confucius, 220
 Martin, Frank L, 60
 Mason, Gregory, 72
 Mason, Lucy, 180, 285
 Maximovitch, Archbishop John, 100
 May, Fay, 237
 May Fourth Movement, 138
 May Thirtieth Incident, 137, 163
 Mechers and Company, 159
Meet the South Americans, 220, 249, 251
 Mei, Lang-fang, 230
 Merton, Dr Paul, 125
 Metropolitan Land Company, 92, 103, 171
 Mildred Crow Inc, 81
- Millard, Thomas, 15–7, 21–2, 24, 30–5, 42, 52, 75–6, 83, 91, 171–2
 Millard Publishing Company, 21
Millard's Review of the Far East, 21, 76, 83
 Millington, FC, 107
 Mirsky, Jonathan, 22, 244
 Misselwitz, Henry Francis, 31, 33
 Missouri Press Association, 12
Missouri State Gazetteer and Business Directory, 7
 Missouri State Senate, 12
Missourian, 12
 Moore-McCormack Line, 249
 Moore, Frederick, 69
 Moore Memorial Church, 152, 283
 Morgenthau, Henry, 256f
 Morriss, Gordon, 27
 Morriss, Hailey, 27
 Morriss, HE, 27
 Morriss, Harry, 27
 Morrison, GE, 26, 196
 Moscow Academy of Arts, 99
 Mowrer, Edgar, 240
 Mulcahy, Pat, 144–5
 Musso, Guiseppe, 120, 125, 128–9
 Mussolini, Benito, 86, 125, 251, 278
- Nanyang Brothers Tobacco Company, 98
 Nan Yung College, 53
 Nanjing Teacher Training College, 121
 Nanjing University, 53
The Nation, 259, 262
 National Economic Council, 175
 National Military Academy, 162
 National Protection Movement, 49
 National Reconstruction Commission, 175
 National Revolutionary Army (NRA), 138, 167, 175
 New Life Movement, 183–4, 241–2
 New Model Army, 9
New York Post, 58, 111, 174, 253
New York Times, 31, 33, 58, 69, 135, 213, 238, 245, 251, 257, 265–6, 288

- New York Times Magazine*, 174
 New World Amusement Center, 208
 New York Advertising Club, 252
New York Herald, 30, 38, 201
New York Herald-Tribune, 28, 30–1
New York World, 71
The New Yorker, 15, 151
News of the World, 27
Newsweek, 110
 Ni, Kwei-tseng, 182
 Ningbo, 43, 105, 142
 Ningbo Varnish Poisoning, 39, 154, 155
North-China Daily News, 23, 26–7, 33, 63, 99–100, 126–7, 172–4, 253, 272
North-China Herald, 27
 Northfield, Minnesota, 12
 Nottingham, ES, 28, 273

 Obie, Y, 57, 93, 95
 Office of Strategic Services (OSS), 265
 Office of War Information (OWI), 253–5, 257–61
 Office of War Information Pacific Operations Section, 255
 Office of War Information South East Asia Section, 255
 Ogg, Oscar, 251
 The Old Marshall, *see* Chang, Tso-lin
Outlaws of the Marsh, 120

Pacific Affairs, 254–5, 257
 Pacific Mail Steam Ship Company, 171
 Pacific Steam Navigation Company, 262
 Palace Hotel (Shanghai), 208
USS Panay, 216
 Park Hotel (Shanghai), 152, 283
 Parker House Hotel (Boston), 251
 Parker, Nancy, 111
 Parkes, Sir Harry, 141, 282
 Parry, Duke, 60
Pearson's Magazine, 14–5
 Peck, WR, 238, 291
 Pegu Club (Rangoon), 226
Peking Daily News, 32, 79, 172

 Peking Hotel, 269
 Peking Institute of Art History, 255
Pennsylvania Gazette, 15
 Petrograd, 68, 75
Philadelphia Ledger, 174
 The Philosopher General, *see* Wu, Pei-fu
Philosophical Review, 126
 Pick, General Lewis, 229
 Ping Shang Coalmines, 65
 Pinger, Major Roland, 120–1
 Perry County (Missouri), 7
 Polzer, Viktor, 252, 294
 Pond's Vanishing Cream, 96
 Post-Mercury Company, 172
 Powell, John Benjamin (JB): as editor of *China Weekly Review*, 21, 30, 33, 76, 79, 107, 119, 136; work as a reporter, 31–2; as a hostage, 120–6, 280; arrest and torture, 21, 212, 288; political engagement, 22, 140; underground radio, 253
 Powell, Margaret, 33
 Press Congress of the World, 13
Press Wireless, 253
 Pruitt, Ida, 258–9, 295
 Pu Yi, Emperor, 36, 43, 48–9

 Qingdao, 10, 60, 64, 77–8, 155, 175, 204
Quincy Whig, 21

 Radek, Karl, 114
 Rand, Peter, 22
 Raven, Frank, 171
Reader's Digest, 249
 Record, JR, 253
 Reinsch, Paul, 69, 79–81, 127, 257
 Reuters, 19, 213
 Rizal, José, 73
 Rockefeller, John D Jr, 120
 Rockefeller, Nelson, 252
 Rockwell, Norman, 15
 Roosevelt, Eleanor, 241, 258
 Roosevelt, President FD, 179–80, 216, 256
 Roosevelt, Quentin, 217, 289

- Roosevelt, President Theodore, 162, 289
- Rosta News Agency, 164
- Rothman, Joseph, 120
- Rowlatt, Reginald, 120–1
- Roy, Mahendranath, 244
- Russian-Chinese Eastern Railroad, 100
- Russian Episcopate Shanghai, 100
- Russo-Japanese War, 31, 65, 161–2
- St. John's University, 283
- St Joseph's Church, 283
- The St Louis Post-Dispatch*, 12, 32
- Salisbury, Harrison, 245
- San Francisco Press Club, 73, 75
- Sandalwood Herald*, 218
- Sapajou, *see* Sapojnikoff, Georgii Avksentievich, 98–100, 110, 153
- Saphiere, Theo, 120
- Sapojnikoff, Georgii Avksentievich – *see* Sapajou
- Sassoon, Victor, 90, 283
- Saturday Evening Post*, 14, 68, 222
- Saxton, Eugene, 238, 291
- Schurman, Jacob, 120, 126, 257
- Scripps-Howard Publishing Company, 253
- Seattle Daily Times*, 218
- Selle, Earl, 69, 276
- Shanghai American Club, 41, 119, 150–4, 195, 211–2, 215, 221, 253, 261
- Shanghai Chamber of Commerce, 121
- Shanghai Civic Center, 183
- Shanghai Club, 99, 151–3, 157, 183, 214–5
- Shanghai Country Club, 153
- Shanghai Dollar Directory*, 93
- Shanghai Evening News*, 171
- Shanghai Evening Post*, 107, 119, 172–7, 212, 253
- Shanghai Express*, 130
- Shanghai Fine Arts College, 97
- Shanghai Gazette*, 173–4
- Shanghai Mercury*, 173, 284
- Shanghai Municipal Council (SMC), 2, 26, 91, 137, 151–2, 167–8, 180, 185–91, 205, 284
- Shanghai Municipal Gazette*, 159
- Shanghai Opium Commission, 125
- Shanghai Painting Academy, 279
- Shanghai Picture Press, 279
- Shanghai Race Club, 93, 144, 147
- Shanghai Rowing Club, 104
- Shanghai Society for the Prevention of Cruelty to Animals, 144
- Shanghai Special Area District Court, 20
- Shanghai Tiffin Club, 222
- Shanghai Times*, 26, 28, 173, 212
- Shanghai Volunteer Corps (SVC), 134, 137, 152
- Shantung People's Liberation Society, 116, 280
- Sharrock, James, 9
- Sharrock, Timothy, 9
- Shaw, Ralph, 27–8, 44, 69, 99, 153, 172, 212
- Shearer, Norma, 251
- Sheean, Vincent, 90
- Shen, Jimmy, 239–40
- Shiozawa, Admiral, 186–7
- Shwedagon Pagoda, 227
- Simmons, Captain, 250
- Simpson, Wallis (Duchess of Windsor), 93
- Sin Wan Pao (Xinwenbao)*, 53
- Shorrocks's Green, 9
- Shun Pao*, 121, 212–3
- Sincere Department Store, 209
- Sino-Japanese War (1894–95), 59, 65–6
- Slovo*, 99
- Smedley, Agnes, 30, 257–8
- Smith, Cordwainer, *see* Linebarger, P
- Smith, William, 121
- Snow, Edgar, 31, 168, 245, 257–8, 264
- Snow, Helen Foster, 258
- Social Science Research Council, 255
- Sokolsky, George, 127, 173–4
- Solomon, Lee, 120
- Soong, Ai-ling, 84, 165, 181

- Soong, Charlie, 38, 41, 47, 84–5
 Soong, Ching-ling (Madame Sun), 84–5, 137, 166, 180–81, 258, 278
 Soong, Mei-ling (Madame Chiang): marriage to Chiang Kai-shek, 168; first meeting with Crow, 178–81; the New Life Movement, 183, 247; actions during the Xian Incident, 201; meeting with Crow in Chongqing, 239–42; INDUSCO, 258
 Soong, Norman, 238
 Soong, Tzu-wen (TV), 85, 103, 164–8, 175, 181–2, 188, 197, 201, 238, 241, 258, 292
 Southwestern Transportation Company, 228
 Special Branch Shanghai, 277, 284
 Stalin, Josef, 63, 136, 200, 205, 242–3, 256
 Standard Oil, 92, 111, 126–7, 130, 134
 Starr, Cornelius Vander, 105, 171–2, 174, 177, 212–3, 253, 285
 Steffens, Lincoln, 85
 Steffanson, Vilhjalmur, 72, 277
 Stephens, Pembroke, 213
 Steptoe, Harry, 277
 Sterling-Clark, Robert, 275
 Stewart, Maxwell, 262
 Stilwell, General Joseph, 234, 257, 280
 Su, Tung-po, 148
 Sullivan, Ed, 2522
 Sun, Chuang-fang, 114, 135
 Sun, Yat-sen: Nationalist government 1911, 5, 28, 31, 38, 46; first meeting with Crow, 50; interviews with Crow, 83–5; death, 135–6
 Sun Sun Department Store, 90, 279
 Sun Yat-sen Mausoleum, 33
 Sutton, Frank, 113–4
 Suzhou University, 126
 Sweden, 68–9
 Sweetland, Reginald, 58
 Swen, Miao, 115, 129–31, 280
Systems and Technical World, 14
Ta Kung Pao, 31
 Taiping Rebellion, 5, 36, 43
 Tadaka, Lord, 59
 Tanaka, Major Ryukichi, 186, 262, 295
 Tanaka Memorial, 256, 262, 295
 Tang, Shao-yi, 41, 153
 Tarbell, Ida, 85
 Teheran Conference, 256
 Tehuantepec (Mexico), 14
 Temple, Shirley, 251
 Tewe, 96
 Thackery, TO, 58, 111, 253
Thanatopsis, 11
 Thomas, Lowell, 239, 251
 Tianjin, 32, 53, 94, 117, 129–30, 172, 197–9, 205, 236, 242, 263, 281
 Tibet, 4, 153, 194, 230
Time, 88, 237, 243
The Times (London), 69, 110, 263
The Times of India, 32
 Tinkler, Maurice, 281
 Tien, Chung-yu, 128
 Tisdale-Hobart, Alice, 111
 Tokyo Military Staff College, 162
 Tong FC, 31
 Tong, Hollington, 32, 79, 237–41
 Tong, YC, 28
 Trans-Siberian Express, 59, 65, 68, 98
The Travelers Handbook for China, 57, 72, 93, 212
 Trusler-Johnson, Nelson, 68, 78, 257
 Tubabao (Philippines), 100
 Twenty-One Demands, 48, 61–9, 76, 79, 166
 Union Labor League, 285
The Universal Instructor in All Arts and Sciences and Pennsylvania Gazette, 15
 United Advertising Company, 107
 United Board for Christian Higher Education in Asia, 237
 United China Relief, 258
 United Council for Civilian Relief in China, 88

- United Nations Relief and Works Agency (UNWRA), 100
- United Press (UP), 30, 54, 60, 63–4, 69, 157, 172, 253, 273
- United States Court for China, 20
- Unity League, 47
- University of Missouri, 12–3, 30, 72, 266; School of Journalism, 30, 125
- Van Doren, Carl, 110, 251, 279
- Van Norden*, 14
- Vaughn, Miles, 68
- Verea, Manuel, 121, 123
- Vertinsky, Alexander, 100
- Virginia Equal Suffrage League, 285
- Volstead Act, 127
- Von Sternberg, Josef, 130
- Vong, YC, 119
- Waichupo Hostel (Chongqing), 237
- Wang, BL, 93
- Wang, Ching-wei, 136, 138, 167
- Washington Post*, 60
- Webb, Charles Herbert, 19, 21, 45, 274
- Wellesley College, 180
- Wells, Bill, 216
- Wells, Carveth, 293
- Wen, ST, 126
- Wesleyan College for Women, 180
- Whampoa Academy, 136
- Wheelwright, William, 262
- White, TH, 243
- Whiteaway, Laidlaw and Co., 90
- Whitson, William, 130
- William, Maurice, 87–8
- Williams, Walter, 12–5, 31, 273
- Willkie, Wendell, 278
- Wilson, Tug, 212
- Winchell, Walter, 252
- Windsor, Duke of, 250
- Wing On Department Store, 90, 209, 279
- Wolfe, CC, 93
- Wood, Norris, 134
- Wood, Richard, 20, 28
- Wong, Anna-May, 130
- Wong, Hin, 32–3, 58
- Woo, Kya-tang, 32, 213
- Wu, Pei-fu (Philosopher General), 114
- Wu, The-chen, 186
- Wu, Ting-fang, 28, 31, 51
- Wuchang, 19, 36–9, 48
- Wuchang Garrison, 36, 38
- Xie, Mulian, 96, 98, 279
- Xie, Zhiguang, 97–8, 279
- Xikou (Zhejiang), 181
- XMHA Radio, 213
- Yale-in-China, 42
- Yang, KT, 96
- Yangshupu, 236
- Yarnell, Admiral Harry, 216
- Ye, Qianyu, 96
- Yin, Ju-kong, 198
- Yixiang, Feng, 119
- Yokohama Specie Bank, 65, 273
- Young, Loretta, 251
- Young Marshall, *see* Chang Hsueh-liang
- Yuan, Shih-kai, 47–50, 83, 113–4, 274–5
- Yunnan, 119, 127, 195, 208
- Yunnan Highways Bureau, 232–3
- Zhefang, 231
- Zhili, 47
- Zhili Clique, 201
- Zhou, En-lai: as Borodin's secretary, 164; in Shanghai, 167; role in the Xian Incident, 200–1; interview with Crow, 242–7
- Zia, TK, 96–7