

Troubling American Women

Narratives of Gender and Nation in Hong Kong

Stacilee Ford



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
www.hkupress.org

© Hong Kong University Press 2011

ISBN 978-988-8083-11-4

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 permission in writing from the publisher.

British Library Cataloguing-in-Publication Data

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

10 9 8 7 6 5 4 3 2 1

Printed and bound by Condor Production Ltd. in Hong Kong, China

Contents

List of figures	ix
Acknowledgments	xi
Introduction	<i>Women, Nation, and the Cross-Cultural Encounter</i> 1
Chapter 1	“American Girls” in Three Acts <i>Encounters in Nineteenth-Century Macao and Hong Kong</i> 17
Chapter 2	“I’m in the Middle of a War, I’m in the Middle of a Life” <i>Women, War, and National Identity</i> 57
Chapter 3	“A Second Voice of America” <i>Women’s Performances of Nation in Cold War Hong Kong</i> 103
Chapter 4	Home for the Handover <i>Muted Exceptionalisms in Transnational Times</i> 141
Conclusion	179
Notes	183
Bibliography	215
Index	235

Figures

- 1.1 Henrietta Shuck, portrait 37
- 2.1 Gwen Dew's photograph of the Japanese "peace mission" 72
- 2.2 Gwen Dew returns to the US after internment in Stanley Camp 78
- 2.3 Book cover: Emily Hahn's *Hong Kong Holiday* 81
- 2.4 Graduation photo of Eleanor Thom Wai Chun 92
- 4.1 Betty Wei, present day 150
- 4.2 Teresa Norton, 1990s portrait 161
- 4.3 Teresa Norton, *Back to the Wall* publicity shot 161
- 4.4 Crystal Kwok, present day 168

Introduction

Women, Nation, and the Cross-Cultural Encounter

A nation's reputation depends upon the general character of its women, for they form at least half, if not more, of the population. In this respect America stands high, for the American woman is lively, open-hearted and ingenuous; she is also fearless, independent, and is almost without restraint. She is easily accessible to high and low ... To a stranger, and especially to an Oriental, she is a puzzle ... The American women are in some respects dissimilar to the women of other nations ... They can converse on any subject with ease and resource, showing that they have a good all-round education ... The persistence with which they stick to their opinions is remarkable ... There is one fault I find with American women, if it can be so called, and that is their inquisitiveness; I know that this is a common fault with all women, but it is most conspicuous in the Americans ...

Wu Ting-fang, *America through the Spectacles of an Oriental Diplomat*, 1914

This book analyzes narratives written by several European American, Chinese American, and “Americanized” Chinese women who lived in Hong Kong and Macao for substantial periods of time during the nineteenth and twentieth centuries. Their narratives constitute an archive of memoirs, diaries, letters, journalistic essays, fiction, interviews, and film. The study highlights the diverse ways in which the cross-cultural encounter led women to re-envision their sense of national identity. It pays particular attention to links between national, gender, and ethnic identities, cultural myths and ideologies, and historical context. It is, however, the Chinese man quoted above rather than an American woman who sets the stage for this study of performances of American womanhood and Americanness in Asia. Although American women had been living in China for nearly a century

before he published his views in 1914, Wu Ting-fang's words underscore the centrality of gender to the project of nation building on both sides of the Sino-American encounter. He reminds us of some of the ways in which women are marked, individually and as a cohort, as bearers of culture and keepers of tradition. He also reminds us that American women who went abroad often encountered those who had already formed opinions about them.

Wu's story illustrates the deep historical connections between many generations and nations and his experiences speak to larger themes of cultural encounter that recur throughout this study of women's narratives. Born in the British colony of Singapore, Wu qualified as a barrister in England and moved to colonial Hong Kong, where, under his Cantonese name, Ng Choy, he distinguished himself among the local legal and business elite before going to China. As a "foreigner" in the US at the dawn of the twentieth century, Wu, by virtue of his background and wealth, would have been spared much of the American prejudice against the Chinese during the exclusion era, although it is likely that he would have been familiar with and sensitized to anti-Chinese sentiment in Hong Kong, the US, and elsewhere in the West.¹ His transnational ties and cross-border movements are a reminder of the importance of paying attention to multiple meanings of Chineseness and they place Wu squarely in the flow of people, products, and ideas that scholars have come to identify with the Chinese diaspora.

It is ironic, then, that Wu, whose life countered stereotypes of "Chinese coolies" and of other orientalist tropes circulating in the West, was, to a certain extent, complicit in constructing stereotypes of American women in the East. In the passage above, Wu is, for the most part, complimentary of American women, describing them as "fearless," "open-hearted," "independent," and of "pure and high character." Yet he also asserts that American women "stick to their opinions" to a "remarkable" extent, and he flips the script on Western notions of Chinese inscrutability by declaring American women "a puzzle." While they may be worthy of praise in many respects; for Wu, American women are "almost without restraint" and too curious (a fault Wu playfully asserts that all women share, albeit to differing degrees). At a time when women on both sides of the Pacific were claiming an expanded role in public life, Wu's words subtly schooled them about the impressions they left on others.

For me, Wu's words generate a mixed reaction. On one hand, I have seen (and on occasion been) "that woman" of whom Wu speaks. She "codes American" in her speech, body language, and manner in ways that are recognizable if not always easy to articulate. (The phrase "she's just so American" usually suffices.) She is confident in her expressions of righteous indignation about a range of issues, but unaware of the reaction she generates among others. Despite her laudable attempts to point out the injustices around her (great and small), she is, seemingly, unreflective about her own assumptions, notions of nationality, biases, or privileges. She appears at academic seminars or conferences, in classrooms and boardrooms, and in a range of social settings including on the sidelines of children's sporting events, at dinner parties, in church, or on the MTR (the Mass Transit Railway, Hong Kong's subway).

Whether "holding forth" in a moralistic manner, asking questions that make others slightly uncomfortable, or manifesting a star-spangled sense of entitlement, she is well meaning but, as a young colleague of mine aptly notes, "high maintenance." Although she comes in a variety of shapes and colors, the Caucasian model seems to be the one most often associated with the aforementioned behaviors. Some women who have witnessed others manifesting such behavior tell me they guard against it. A visiting professor at a university in Hong Kong says she learned early on to avoid any type of verbal confrontation with her colleagues, particularly men, because she feared being labeled a "trouble-making American woman."

While certain American women are characterized as "trouble-making," or they exhibit behaviors that are "troubling" to others, the use of the term "troubling" in the book's title is a double entendre. The second meaning refers to the ways in which I hope this study will trouble, challenge, or complicate conventional views of American womanhood and Americanness that often circulate in Hong Kong history and society. In thinking about "troubling" in this way, it is clear that there are times when generalizations made about "American women" aren't about "real" American women at all. They are, perhaps, about American women in popular culture, or about stereotypes of Americans in various non-American contexts, or even about the person making the generalizations. During nearly two decades of living in Hong Kong and teaching US history, women's history, and American studies at the University of Hong Kong, I have heard a variety of Wu-like pronouncements from a range of sources.

For instance, at parties or other gatherings it is not uncommon to hear jokes that trade on gender and national identity in describing the best/worst women to marry. American women usually place dead last in those punch lines. In both Chinese- and English-language newspaper editorials there are subtle (and not-so-subtle) barbs about Hilary Clinton's lack of deference to male leaders, her tendency to ask too many questions, and her proclivity for lecturing rather than listening.

Many of my students, particularly those who are Hong Kong-born Chinese or from the Chinese mainland, express a certain admiration for a particular style they associate with the "American woman." She is seen as "trendy," "sporty," or "casual" in her dress and sure of herself in her approach to life. But she is often negatively characterized as "outspoken," "aggressive," and "too independent." Even those students who are savvy about the potential impact of Hollywood on their impressions (*Friends*, *Desperate Housewives*, and *Sex and the City* seemed to be particularly influential during the period of this study) still believe that they know a fair amount about "real American women." After all, they assure me, Hong Kong is a bustling commercial and cultural crossroads where they have frequent opportunities to observe and mingle with American women as tourists, exchange students, or friends and relatives who have become "Americanized" to various degrees as a result of travel, education, or emigration. Most have the impression that Americans in general are more willing to "speak up" and "be more direct" in professional and social settings. Many tell me that they have noticed that American women, if given the slightest opportunity, "speak their minds" while Chinese women are less inclined to do so.

A former chair of the American Chamber of Commerce (Am Cham) says that during his tenure he came to believe that women generally, and American women particularly, often "have a much tougher time of it" in Hong Kong than their male compatriots because they, more often than men, are expected to "tone down their Americanness" and conform to a strong societal preference for "harmony" over direct confrontation. He has no illusions that US society is free of gender bias, but he asserts that in Hong Kong there is a heightened suspicion of American and other Western women who are considered to be more assertive or outspoken. He speculates that Hong Kong Chinese women are as attuned as their Western counterparts to sexism in the workplace, but they are less likely to voice

their concerns, or feel compelled to “educate” their male colleagues. There are, of course, many different reactions to the nuances of gender and national identity in Hong Kong. Some Americans find the “harmony first” ethos a pleasant change from life in the US. Men seem to adjust more easily to local norms and some will sheepishly (or smugly) admit that one of the “perks” of working in Hong Kong is that they feel less pressure to be “politically correct” about gender politics than they did “back home.”

Similar impressions circulate in other parts of the region as well. Recently, at a conference in Singapore, I spoke with a woman from Korea who had just earned her doctorate in the US. She told me of her father’s disappointment that she had not learned to “act more American” as a result of her time away. His experience in the corporate world had convinced him that “if an American woman is heading up the negotiating team, the negotiations are over.” Despite his aversion to such one-sided negotiations, he nonetheless wished that a little more assertiveness had rubbed off on his daughter while she was in the US. A friend who supervises accounts for clients throughout the region is bemused by the way she is seen as a “rabid feminist” in Asia although she picks her battles with care. When she speaks out against sexist behaviors exhibited by her colleagues she is often chided for acting like “one of those American women” trying to “change the world, one man at a time.”² A Japanese friend who is familiar with my research wonders if I can explain why it is that so many of the American women she knows – in Hong Kong, Japan, and the US – seem keen to “teach her” something, even when she is merely engaging them in casual conversation.

Chinese American women in Hong Kong may bear a particular burden of representation in terms of both gender and national identity. My Caucasian features often ensure that the slightest attempt to speak Chinese will be rewarded with some affirmation, or at least amused condescension. However, most of my American-born Chinese (ABC) friends, colleagues, and students are looked upon with a degree of semi-comprehending contempt if they are not fully bilingual. They can “pass” more easily in certain Hong Kong settings than I do, but they are also subject to a certain type of scrutiny and critique that I am spared.

My consciousness has been formed not only by my experiences as an “American abroad” but, ironically, by decades of reading and research suggesting the dangers inherent in making generalizations about any group of

people or nation. The academic fields of American studies and US history have been transformed in recent years by calls to jettison the national in favor of more transnational and comparative conceptual frameworks. When I have the opportunity to do so, I respond to queries and generalizations like the aforementioned by noting the exceptions to the rule and the perniciousness of stereotypes. After all, for every “trouble-making American woman” out there, there are plenty who do not fit the stereotype. What about American men and non-American women who manifest “troubling” attitudes as well? While there are, unquestionably, American women who do indeed, in the words of my friend, “take the teaching tone” with others, there are plenty who do not.

In fact, as noted already, many American women I know speak of their ongoing effort to mask their “Americanness” and modify certain types of nationally coded behaviors, expressions, and gestures in Hong Kong. Long-term Hong Kong residents with both US passports and Hong Kong permanent identity cards are quite sensitive to the ways in which newcomers “act so American.” These Hong Kong belongers may still identify as “American” from time to time, but their sense of national identity is, generally speaking, qualitatively different and more “elastic,” to use Carolyn Smith’s phrase, than that of more recent arrivals.³ Issues of identity and cultural belonging are even more complex for ethnically Chinese Hong Kong-born women who have obtained US passports. While they may “code American” in the eyes of other Hong Kongers, or see themselves as “Americanized” to a certain extent, they find that often, they are not accepted as “insiders” by those who were born and raised in the US.

It is, of course, important to keep impressions and anecdotes in perspective. Not only are notions of national identity constructed, contingent, and fluid, they are often not even recognizable as distinct entities in particular situations. Readers with the slightest exposure to Hong Kong society will rightly note that American women living in Hong Kong today are often generically identified as foreigners or Westerners rather than considered to be “from” a particular place. Yet there are moments when national identity is, indeed, relevant. I am interested in those moments, and in their historical antecedents. To that end, this study looks at some of the ways American women, and self-identified “Americanized” women who lived in Hong Kong and Macao (as a prelude to Hong Kong) in various historical periods, thought about and talked about national identity, and a range of

other subjects. It is my hope that readers from various nations and cultures will place their own narratives and opinions in conversation with those considered here. I also wish to underscore that this is not a history of American women in Hong Kong. Although the study proceeds along a chronological path, it focuses on selected women's experiences at particular points in time in order to see the way notions of national identity evolve, shift, or disappear as historical events inform individual circumstances and narratives.

One final caveat: I am aware that while American women are, at times, painted in stereotypical hues in Hong Kong, we are also, as a cohort, well accepted and, for the most part, undeniably privileged. We live in a dynamic society that offers us a rich menu of culinary, cultural, and educational opportunities. Many if not most of us enjoy greater economic security than we did before coming to Asia despite the uncertainty that dogs us all in these volatile times. We witness dramatic and miniscule changes in the cityscape that hosts an endless flow of people, products, and construction projects. As the twenty-first century swings into its second decade we have a front-row seat from which to observe economic, cultural, and political shifts in China and unrestrained access to information, technology, and entertainment. The 95 percent of Hong Kong residents who are Chinese exhibit a laudable tolerance for non-Chinese "foreigners" from many places, although white Westerners enjoy greater privilege and face less discrimination than dark-skinned foreign nationals from both Western and non-Western countries. However, as the narratives considered hereafter illustrate, privilege may be a double-edged sword, and as Judith Blau and Eric Brown have argued, following W.E.B. DuBois's lead, "Privilege constricts perceptions and social conscience."⁴ To that I would add that gender intersects with privilege in highly individual ways. It is, then, important in a study such as this to ask if and how privilege has constricted the perceptions and social consciences of American women living in Hong Kong. The same question can be asked of men and other Westerners but that is the subject of another study.

Framing the Encounter: Modes of Interdisciplinary Inquiry

This project has been an exercise in transnational American studies or what some have called the study of America in the world. In order to place

women's narratives in conversation across various historical eras and temporal sites, I have drawn on scholarship and theoretical perspectives from women's history, US cultural history, post-national/transnational American studies, Asian American studies, and Hong Kong history/studies. In addition, works in postcolonial and transnational feminist studies, diaspora studies, whiteness studies, and narrative research (including travel narratives) have been useful. While I understand and sympathize with those who resist using the word "America" when speaking only of the US, in the narratives, the terms "America" and "US" are, for the most part, conflated. As such, they will, at times, be used interchangeably.

My own subject position as a US American citizen with permanent resident status in Hong Kong has informed my impressions of the works discussed here. Both my experiences and my research in transnational feminist and post-national American studies have heightened my awareness of subject position in textual analysis. As narrative researcher Molly Andrews has noted, "Oftentimes, one is so immersed in one's own culture and day-to-day life that it is difficult to discern the pull of national narrative, unless and until one steps outside of one's home environment."⁵ I would add that stepping outside of one's home environment is no guarantee of enhanced discernment. While I believe it is possible to be both aware of and reflective about one's subject position and various identities, all readings are imperfect. I make no pretenses to complete objectivity. I have however, tried to read women's stories in a critical yet compassionate manner.

This study connects to a larger conversation about the way myths and notions of American identity and US culture circulate within or are deployed outside of the US. In recent years, works in American studies, gender and sexuality studies, ethnic studies, cultural studies, postcolonial studies, travel studies, and diaspora studies have repeatedly interrogated and challenged both the notion of American exceptionalism (the idea that there was/is something unique, special, or even divinely sanctioned about the origin and history of the US), and the very idea of the nation itself.⁶ To use Benedict Anderson's well-worn phrase, nations are imagined communities, constructed rather than natural entities.⁷ Nonetheless, it is, I believe, important to observe and analyze the myriad ways in which stories about the nation and national identity have been and continue to be imagined, re-imagined, contested, or borrowed. Additionally, where

possible, I am keen to explore how such stories intersect with and inform (or are informed by) other axes of identity and alliances.

Let me be clear. I am not taking a stand for or against American exceptionalism. I am interested in exploring and historicizing exceptionalism as a rhetorical device and as perceived historical reality. To that end, I concur with Stephen Brooks who argues that in general

Americans simply assume that their story is the one that truly matters in the world. Their insularity is not borne of arrogance so much as from a naïve faith in the centrality of their experience to human history. Even before America became the world's foremost economic and military power, and long before it became the cultural powerhouse of the world, Americans had incorporated this sense of destiny into their national psyche. This is the thread that connects John Winthrop's "shining city on a hill" to the doctrine of Manifest Destiny and to the statements of every recent president expressing the belief that America has been chosen by God and history to shine a light upon the world. Those who dismiss such rhetoric as merely political and vulgarly offensive miss the point.⁸

As we read women's narratives of cross-cultural encounter, paying attention to the stories they tell about themselves, their nation, and their lives in a "foreign" environment, we see that they often take a "teaching tone" in their works, manifesting what I call the "the pedagogical impulse." In some cases the impulse blends with and amplifies certain types of exceptionalist rhetoric. This is not particularly surprising. After all, it is common to hear that one is never more "American" (or Japanese, or British, or ...) than when one leaves home. Yet such is not always the case. There are also moments of retreat from stereotypical notions of nation and well-worn performances of national identity. At times it is possible to see reconfigurations of national identity and new manifestations of exceptionalism that reflect other loyalties and affiliations.⁹ To that end the pedagogical impulse may be deployed in multiple settings addressing various audiences. In these narratives we find that not only do American women often take a teaching tone with "the foreign other," they may also do so with the "folks back home," or with less-experienced expatriates in need of a little mentoring.

I hope to show that in Hong Kong, as in many places, notions of nation, while slippery and multiply contested, have always and still do matter.

Performances of national identity have informed a range of micro and macro cross-cultural interactions. They continue to do so today. One could even argue that Hong Kong society fashioned its own quasi-national identity, including certain exceptionalist narratives about what makes Hong Kong unique, in part, from the various shards of other national, and exceptionalist, ideologies.¹⁰

Two areas that have been touched on briefly in the study merit more attention than they receive here. First, the experiences of Chinese American women and “Americanized” Hong Kong/Mainland Chinese women in Hong Kong are integral to broadening an understanding of American national identity in non-US contexts. The narratives discussed here are a select few of many that deserve more systematic and sustained scholarly attention. Chinese American women have, at times, been concurrently insiders and outsiders in both Hong Kong and the US in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries. They negotiated this liminal position in diverse ways depending on situational and individual circumstances.¹¹ I acknowledge the gendered dimensions of this liminality as well as how it shifted or disappeared in particular moments of Hong Kong’s history but much more remains to be said. In significant ways, Chinese American women’s experiences rupture and redefine stereotypes of both American and Chinese womanhood in Hong Kong.

A second area that I have only been able to explore in the briefest of terms is the diffuse but important discussion of Americanization in Asia, particularly in the twentieth century. The last two chapters shed some light on selected types of “American influence” within Hong Kong but the subject warrants greater disciplinary and interdisciplinary consideration. Here I hope to show that processes of Americanization are not as homogenous as they are often imagined to be. Americanization was one of many discourses of national culture circulating in the Hong Kong public sphere. In the post-World War II period, Hong Kong people took their cultural cues from Japan, Korea, Europe, or the Chinese mainland as well as from the US.

That being said, I believe it is necessary to pay attention to the “bits of America” that helped to shape, for better and for worse depending on one’s viewpoint, Hong Kong society.¹² It is also important to see influences larger and more powerful than “bits.” The rhetoric of American exceptionalism and the reach of American power were and are still evident. Yet in

twenty-first-century Hong Kong, as in many places in the region, Chinese exceptionalism is the ascendant discourse. As Ian Tyrell notes:

The United States has not been the only nation claiming exceptional status. Exceptionalism has been part of modernity's proliferation of distinctiveness within the construction of comparable nation-state structures and nationalist beliefs across the developing world in the nineteenth century. This fact makes it desirable to treat exceptionalism as an intellectual process rather than as a description of historical reality.¹³

Women's stories illustrate the complex relationships between national, gender, and other aspects of identity. The texts considered here are quirky, partial, and often marked by women's doubly marginalized perspectives: as women in a setting where men constituted the majority of the population (at least until late in the twentieth century), and as Americans in a predominantly Chinese colony of the British Empire. However, certain types of privilege inflected marginalization. As such, many American women, like their male compatriots, expressed contradictory attitudes about various matters. One thematic thread that runs throughout all of the time periods is a critique of British attitudes. Yet even as they spoke out against British colonialism, many American women colluded with the colonial project. Additionally, differences in racial and ethnic identities meant that white Americans often expressed concern about issues that were of little or no concern to Americans of Chinese or Asian descent, and vice versa. Women's narratives reflect a dynamic and often dialogical negotiation between various nodes of identity and poles of reaction: colonial/anti-colonial, racist/anti-racist, liberal/reactionary, and elite/egalitarian.

As Molly Andrews affirms in her work on the importance of narratives of national identity: "Stories matter; they do things."¹⁴ The women's stories considered here matter because they shed light on how the cross-cultural encounter influenced women's efforts to defend, trouble, and at times reconfigure myths of gender, nation, and empire. At some points, they reveal the American woman as a student of what others think about her, the US and its leaders, policies, power, and culture. Her reactions vary from the defensive to the blasé. The stories are also a collection of witty and rather profound observations about many topics, and of the changes that come with stepping outside of one's comfort zone and into the

contact zone.¹⁵ In their recounting of the quotidian and the cataclysmic, they testify to the veracity of Patrick Gun Cuninghame's declaration that identity is "a narrated, multiple, negotiated construct dependent on external markers and signs, and above all on the presence of 'others,' who both mirror and delimit private-individual and public-collective boundaries."¹⁶ In most cases, it is not possible to know how others reacted to the texts discussed here, although it would be most enlightening. It is, however, possible to view selected aspects of the cross-cultural encounter and draw reasonable conclusions about the impact many of these narratives would have had in a range of contexts.

Changed by the Encounter: Narratives of Gender and Nation in Two Centuries

The timeframe of this study is deliberately broad in order to explore difference and continuity across historical eras. Most of the book focuses on the twentieth century, particularly the years just prior to, during, and after World War II. The postwar period was a turning point for American citizens in Hong Kong in terms of critical mass and the deepening of US influence and neocolonialism. Americanization in Hong Kong was one of many themes discussed in media coverage of Hong Kong's reversion to Chinese sovereignty in 1997. While individual women drew varying conclusions from their cross-cultural encounters, three common themes emerge.

First, women's narratives call attention to gendered forms of American national identity. Although notions of nation varied across time, and each woman's sense of self reflected a specific set of circumstances, all assumed certain "burdens of nation" in Asia. Many turned homeward to expound on what they had learned from their cultural encounters. As I have noted already, the women here all manifest a certain "pedagogical impulse" in their communications with others in Hong Kong and/or with "the folks back home." The narratives are about "teaching" (to return to my Japanese friend's description) either to the Chinese, to other groups of Westerners in Asia, or to those who remained in the US. Second, while some narratives reinforce traditional notions of national identity, others draw on metaphors of nation to formulate new and more international, transnational, or global perspectives. Finally, women's stories reveal the extent to which

conceptions of national womanhood – Chinese, American, and British among others – could be deployed for a range of purposes, by the women themselves and by others. Men and women often made assumptions and held forth about gender and nation as and when it seemed beneficial to do so.

American women began coming to Hong Kong and China in the early 1800s. Chapter 1, “‘American Girls’ in Three Acts: Encounters in Nineteenth-Century Macao and Hong Kong,” considers diverse models of American womanhood present in nineteenth-century China trade communities. In the twentieth century, women in many places embraced “modernity,” seeking independence and professional recognition in fields where they were not always welcome. In Hong Kong, interaction between Chinese and Western women increased through shared interests in travel, education, and social reform. Both groups found their lives changed by war. Chapter 2, “‘I’m in the Middle of a War, I’m in the Middle of a Life’: Women, War, and National Identity,” focuses on the way World War II, as well as the Civil War in China, facilitated greater professional opportunities and a public forum for women, particularly those who chose to remain single or who married later in life.

During the Cold War, American women were deployed as foot soldiers of Americanism in Hong Kong, countering “Ugly American” stereotypes and providing support for the growing American presence in the region. Chapter 3, “A Second Voice of America: Women’s Performances of Nation in Cold War Hong Kong,” considers postwar models of American and “Americanized” womanhood in the context of the expansion of American military, economic, political, and cultural influence in Hong Kong and throughout Asia. At the end of the twentieth century, Hong Kong’s rapid rise as an Asian Tiger led to economic prosperity, yet anxiety about the 1997 resumption of PRC sovereignty ran high, generating both a wave of outmigration and the further consolidation of a Hong Kong identity. In this period, American women reflected on the changes around them staking their claims, in diverse ways, to a place in post-1997 Hong Kong. Chapter 4, “Home for the Handover: Muted Exceptionalisms in Transnational Times,” considers gender, national identity, and the pedagogical impulse in the years prior to and immediately following Hong Kong’s reversion to Chinese sovereignty.

Hong Kong as a "Place of Flow"

Hong Kong is an ideal location for this transnational American studies project because, as Elizabeth Sinn notes, it always has been and continues to be both an "in between place" and "a place of flow."¹⁷ Women's narratives chronicle changes in Hong Kong and in the US, as well as the ascension of each to global prominence. Hong Kong's position at the margins of three empires (Britain and China initially and the US by the mid-twentieth century) and its own complex negotiations with identity – micro and macro – render it a fascinating and highly relevant locale from which to consider the national self in global context. Additionally, recent scholarship on various non-Chinese communities in Hong Kong has shed light on multiple connections between the Chinese majority and groups of "outsiders" who came to work and settle in the region. As Caroline Knowles and Douglas Harper note in their unique sociological survey of these groups, "We lack up-close portraits of how migrants actually live in landscapes of new belonging ... Migration is as much about dwelling in the routines of travel, as travel in the routines of dwelling. Dwelling embeds connectivity and mobilities, too."¹⁸

I would add that it is essential to consider "dwelling" in a range of historical periods. Hong Kong history is, in many respects, transnational history. Individual Americans and more diffuse processes of Americanization have been part of the mix in a place that was an early exemplar of globalization. Their stories add credence to John Carroll's assertion that Hong Kong should be considered "as its own cultural-historical place" where a clear "sense of Hong Kong identity characterized the local Chinese bourgeoisie well before 1949," although the social worlds of Chinese and British elites were separate.¹⁹ Carroll calls for "more than theoretical criticisms or defenses of Orientalism, subaltern studies, and Postcolonialism" and "more local histories that both engage and challenge these approaches." The women's narratives discussed here are, I believe, an important source of such histories.²⁰

The use of the words "local" and "expat" in Hong Kong nomenclature signals the lingering legacy of the colonial past. As Jason Wordie has noted, such terms are, at times, rather lazy or evasive ways of saying "white" and "Chinese," often excluding and ignoring all the other groups that do not fit within the binary categorization. Originally used to define

terms of service in government or business enterprises, “expat” and “local” were nothing more than categorizations signifying passages of accommodation, allowances, and other types of compensation. Wordie reminds us, “there were always plenty of Europeans on local terms.”²¹ Today, the terms often connote status, race, and power, masking more complex cleavages and fissures.

Where does national identity fit in these types of divisions and classifications? How do those who have been born and raised in Hong Kong but who have spent a significant amount of time in the US see themselves? Peter Hays Gries asserts, “National identity is both dependent upon interactions with other nations, and constituted in part by the stories we tell about our national pasts. Like all forms of identity, national identity does not arise in isolation, but develops and changes in encounters with other groups.” Although Gries is talking about Chinese national identity I believe his point is relevant to the American example as well.²² In the lives of individuals who live in Hong Kong, narratives of nation inform, clash, or mesh with narratives of race, region, language, religion, and culture. Hong Kong is a fascinating place for thinking about the construction and reconstruction of various types of national identities over time. Here the emphasis is on the ways in which certain aspects of “Americanness” circulated and were appropriated for a variety of purposes in Hong Kong. Hopefully, this case study will inspire other approaches, interpretations, and considerations of national identity in a range of settings within and beyond Hong Kong.

Conclusion

The narratives considered in this study prove that there is no such thing as a “typical American woman.” Yet there are threads of connection. All of the texts enrich our understanding of the ways in which notions of gender and national identity are shaped, in part, by the cross-cultural encounter, albeit in highly individual ways. In addition, each story within this diverse archive attests to *both* the plasticity and the rigidity of American national identity across time and place. In Macao, young Harriet Low’s defensive rhetoric seems rooted, to a certain extent, in her own insecurities. Yet, by the end of her stay, she confidently declares that “the Americans have much to learn,” and she wishes they would be more cognizant of the ways others perceive them both at home and abroad. Henrietta Shuck, a missionary wife in 1840s Macao and Hong Kong, identifies more strongly with her religious than her national identity but even she finds herself bristling at British barbs regarding American slavery. In the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, prostitutes from the US were stripped of citizenship rights and rendered invisible by government officials in Washington, Shanghai, and Hong Kong even as the sobriquet “American Girl” bequeathed a certain exceptionalist cachet on them and on other non-Americans who appropriated a Yankee identity in various China trade and gold rush societies.

If nineteenth-century American women like Low and Shuck were defensive about their nascent national identity, things had changed a century later. Gwen Dew and Emily Hahn bear witness to the rise of American influence in Asia as well as to the trauma of war. Eleanor Thom draws on her own hybridized upbringing and education to create a blueprint for a girls’ school in southern China that aims to integrate the best of American education with Chinese culture. In the postwar/Cold War period, ideologies

of nation bolster allegiances, particularly pro- and anti-Communist loyalties. Yet Hong Kong's fluid demographic and economic realities often rupture rather than reinforce certainties about nation, ideology, political affiliation, and gender. The Hong Kong American Women's Association declares itself to be a "second voice of America" in this era, but the label is equally applicable to a generation of ethnically Chinese women who travel or study in the US and then return to Hong Kong transformed by their encounters on the other side of the Pacific. As Woo Mo-Han's memoir illustrates, sometimes women change and "Americanize" in ways that surprise and/or displease parents and family members.

The second half of the book hints at the complex but undeniable relationship between real and imagined American women as popular culture supersized a growing American presence in the region. "Americanization" was embraced by some, and excoriated by others. In Hong Kong, it was one of many discourses of modernity and, as we have seen, it could, literally, be chopped into "bits" and used for diverse purposes by individual women themselves, by organizations such as the AWA, or by cultural producers who marketed images of "Americanized women" as ideals or foils in Hong Kong films.

The women who appear throughout the preceding pages occasionally refer to US hard power as exercised through diplomatic and military might. However, they have much more to say about soft power, most often exercised in Hong Kong through education, social events, press coverage, and popular culture. Their views shed light on anxieties and challenges within Hong Kong society in various historical periods. Even those women who came to Asia for similar reasons (such as missionary work) had very different experiences depending on who they were as individuals, when they were in Hong Kong, and how they viewed themselves within the communities they inhabited. Henrietta Shuck was on the cusp of an American missionary migration bringing Christianity and "American values" to China and Asia. Her letters home offer a glimpse into the earliest days of colonial Hong Kong and they reveal her attitudes about Christianity, Chinese society, and the cultural encounter. Her views differ dramatically from those expressed by missionaries such as Gladis DePree and Ruth Epp a century later. Read in chronological order, the narratives offer a certain historical perspective on a range of issues including the development of the China trade, the mission movement, the circulation of people and

products via migration, American experiences under British colonial rule, domestic and transnational women's movements, US involvement in wars and political conflicts in Asia, the growth of Hong Kong in the postwar era, the rise of American neocolonialism throughout the twentieth century, and the shift in perceptions of the US in Greater China (and vice versa) as a result of globalization and economic turmoil.

Many of the narratives engage the issue of gender imbalance and its impact on Macao and Hong Kong. Harriett Low, Henrietta Shuck, "American Girls" Belle Emerson and Eva Saunders, Emily Hahn, Eleanor Wai-Chun Thom, and Gwen Dew lived in a world where men greatly outnumbered women. Betty Wei, whose generation saw the demographic shift to a more gender-balanced population, nonetheless reminds her readers that Hong Kong has always been, and to a large extent still is, a "masculine society." Even Crystal Kwok, whose film flips the script on stereotypes of nation, gender, and various sub-ethnic groups within the Chinese diaspora, daring women to embrace their sexual desires, playfully reminds them that doing so will not eradicate generations of gender socialization, cultural expectations, colonial mentalities, or the objectification of women as consumers and commodities in a highly competitive, capitalist and misogynistic marketplace.¹ The transition to Chinese sovereignty has, in fact, changed very little in terms of the gender politics that have marked so much of Hong Kong's past. That this is so seems particularly ironic given the fact that the new regime once vigorously maintained that "women hold up half of the sky."

For me, the most significant point of connection between all of these narratives is their didactic style or what has been called here the pedagogical impulse. The complex interaction of the aforementioned factors — a shift in one's sense of national belonging or "Americanness," a particular historical circumstance, a reaction to gender inequality, a desire to be useful while feeling rather marginal albeit privileged — often leads these American and "Americanized" women to narrate their experiences as a series of teaching moments. These "lessons," at times, take on an exceptionalist tone. However, the utterances are, ultimately, glimpses of the ways in which women are changed by their cross-cultural encounters. They reflect individual subjectivities, and shifting notions of self and nation. Not infrequently, the pedagogical impulse is turned back on other

Americans and/or Westerners within their circles, or even on “the folks back home.”

While there is little evidence of how women’s pedagogical utterances were received by others, in recounting their stories, many seem to have found a greater sense of purpose in a place where their numbers were few, where they were often seen as aliens or outsiders, and where many felt they needed to justify their presence or prove that they were not, to use the AWA phrase, “all chit chat and mahjong.” Women invoked the pedagogical impulse, and at times the rhetoric of American (and later Hong Kong or Chinese) exceptionalism, not only because of their cultural conditioning in American ideals and national myths, but also in order to overcome insecurity, cope with culture shock, or craft a space of “usefulness” in a setting where they were not, at least initially, particularly welcome. Eavesdropping on their cultural encounters is, perhaps, an opportunity for us to think in new ways about our own.

Notes

Introduction

- 1 Thanks to John Carroll and Jason Wordie for information about Wu. See also Linda Pomerantz-Zhang, *Wu Tingfang (1842–1922): Reform and Modernization in Modern Chinese History* (Hong Kong: Hong Kong University Press, 1992).
- 2 Interview with “Amy,” February, 2009, Singapore, and “Enid,” September, 2007, Seoul.
- 3 Carolyn D. Smith, *The Absentee American: Repatriates’ Perspectives on America and Its Place in the Contemporary World* (New York: Praeger, 1991).
- 4 Judith R. Blau and Eric S. Brown, “DuBois and Diasporic Identity: The *Veil* and the Unveiling Project,” in Keri E. Eyll Smith and Patricia Leavy, eds., *Hybrid Identities: Theoretical and Empirical Examinations* (Leiden: Brill, 2008).
- 5 Molly Andrews, *Shaping History: Narratives of Political Change* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2007), 77.
- 6 There is a rich body of work on American exceptionalism in many disciplines including American literature, politics and international relations, history, sociology, psychology, and economics, as well as in the interdisciplinary fields of American studies, cultural studies, media studies, ethnic studies, and gender studies. Journalistic surveys and “best sellers” that promote exceptionalist views of US history and identity seem to be in vogue again as this book goes to press. In American studies, many scholars have sought to complicate or move beyond notions of exceptionalism (and many are often unfairly characterized as being “anti-American” for doing so). In the field of American studies, this intellectual tradition is sometimes called “post-nationalist” and some of its proponents are often referred to as “New Americanists” (there are differences between the two but there is some overlap in perspective as well). John Carlos Rowe, Donald Pease, Amy Kaplan, and Lisa Lowe (who addresses Asian American as well as

- New Americanist tropes) have written particularly influential works in this vein. Although the debates are not new, they have taken on a particular intensity in the post-2001 era. There is also interesting work contextualizing exceptionalism in a more comparative and transnational frame. See the publications and collaborative projects of Richard Horwitz, Jane Desmond, and Rob Kroes for examples of this type of scholarship. The bibliography lists specific works by the aforementioned authors and others as well. I have tried to offer a sampling from a range of fields and ideological perspectives. During the final stages of copyediting I read an excellent collection on the current debates vis-à-vis exceptionalism and American studies. I was not able to incorporate its insights into this introduction but it is essential reading for anybody interested in the topic. See Brian T. Edwards and Dilip Parameshwar Gaonkar, eds., *Globalizing American Studies* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2010). See particularly the introduction by Edwards and Gaonkar.
- 7 Benedict Anderson, *Imagined Communities: Reflections on the Origin and Spread of Nationalism* (London: Verso, 1983).
 - 8 Stephen Brooks, *As Others See Us: The Causes and Consequences of Foreign Perceptions of America* (Toronto: Broadview Press, 2006), 25–26.
 - 9 The doctoral thesis on which this study builds argued that one could see a gendered form of exceptionalism, which I called “maternal exceptionalism” at the time, in many, if not most of the narratives. See Stacilee Ford Hosford, *Gendered Exceptionalism: American Women in Hong Kong and Macao, 1830–2000*, Ph.D. Thesis, The University of Hong Kong, 2002. In the process of revising the thesis I have added new narratives and seen other themes emerge but exceptionalism is still a key factor in many of the texts and is an important element in the discussion of national identity. Some scholars have argued that interrogating exceptionalism is problematic because it often serves to breathe new life into a nationalistic and ethnocentric trope. However, in Hong Kong where Chinese, as well as American exceptionalism(s) are resurgent, it is ever more important to understand how various types of the trope are in conversation with other discourses in the public sphere.
 - 10 Chu Yingchi coined the term “quasi nation” in reference to Hong Kong cinema. I find it helpful in thinking about Hong Kong identity and the ways in which it is both similar to and different from conventional definitions of nation and national identities. See Chu Yingchi, *Hong Kong Cinema: Coloniser, Motherland and Self* (London: RoutledgeCurzon, 2003).
 - 11 See Lisa Lowe, *Immigrant Acts: On Asian American Cultural Politics* (Durham: Duke University Press, 1996) and Mae Ngai, *Impossible Subjects: Illegal Aliens and the Making of Modern America* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2004).

- 12 Beng Huat Chua uses the phrase in his work on Americanization and cultural studies. He speaks of growing up with “bits of American Culture” in Southeast Asia and he links his micro narrative to the larger macro context. See Beng Huat Chua, “Growing Up with Bits of American Culture,” paper presented at the International Conference on “American Popular Culture in Asia,” Asia Research Institute, National University of Singapore, February 19–20, 2009.
- 13 Ian Tyrell, “American Exceptionalism and Uneven Global Integration: Resistance to the Global Society,” in Bruce Mazlish, Nayan Chanda, and Kenneth Weisbrode, eds., *The Paradox of a Global USA* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 2007), 66.
- 14 Andrews, *Shaping History*, 12.
- 15 Mary Louise Pratt, *Imperial Eyes: Travel Writing and Transculturation* (London: Routledge, 1992).
- 16 Patrick Gun Cuninghame, “Hybridity, Transnationalism, and Identity in the US-Mexican Borderlands,” in Smith and Leavy, *Hybrid Identities*, 19.
- 17 Elizabeth Sinn, “Lessons in Openness: Creating a Space of Flow in Hong Kong,” in Helen F. Siu and Agnes S. Ku, eds., *Hong Kong Mobile: Making a Global Population* (Hong Kong: Hong Kong University Press, 2008), 13–43.
- 18 Caroline Knowles and Douglas Harper, *Hong Kong: Migrant Lives, Landscapes, and Journeys* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2009), 7.
- 19 John M. Carroll, *Edge of Empires: Chinese Elites and British Colonials in Hong Kong* (Hong Kong: Hong Kong University Press, 2005), 4–5.
- 20 Carroll, *Edge of Empires*, 9.
- 21 Interview with Hong Kong historian Jason Wordie, June 14, 2010. Wordie offered several helpful suggestions in the final stages of revising this introduction and the early chapters of the book.
- 22 Peter Hays Gries, *China’s New Nationalism: Pride, Politics, and Diplomacy* (Berkeley: University of California Press 2004), 135.

Chapter 1

- 1 Anne McClintock, *Imperial Leather: Race, Gender and Sexuality in the Colonial Context* (New York: Routledge, 1995), 6.
- 2 Paul A. Van Dyke, *The Canton Trade: Life and Enterprise on the China Coast, 1700–1845* (Hong Kong: Hong Kong University Press, 2007), 161.
- 3 Examples include Van Dyke (above); Jacques M. Downs, *The Golden Ghetto: The American Commercial Community at Canton and the Shaping of American China Policy, 1784–1844* (Bethlehem: Lehigh University Press, 1997); John Rogers Haddad, *The Romance of China: Excursions to China in*

- U.S. Culture: 1776–1876* (New York: Columbia University Press, 2008); and Philippa Levine, ed., *Gender and Empire* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2004).
- 4 Foster Stockwell, *Westerners in China: A History of Exploration and Trade, Ancient Times through the Present* (Jefferson, North Carolina: McFarland & Company, 2003), 89–90.
- 5 Stockwell, *Westerners in China*, 89–90.
- 6 Gary Y. Okihiro, *The Columbia Guide to Asian American History* (New York: Columbia University Press, 2001), 90–91.
- 7 Yen-p'ing Hao, *The Commercial Revolution in Nineteenth-Century China: The Rise of Sino-Western Mercantile Capitalism* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1986), 27–28.
- 8 Gary Okihiro, *Margins and Mainstreams: Asians in American History and Culture* (Seattle: University of Washington Press, 1994), 24.
- 9 K. Scott Wong, "The Transformation of Culture: Three Chinese Views of America," in Lucy Maddox, ed., *Locating American Studies: The Evolution of a Discipline* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1999), 413.
- 10 Amasa Delano, *A Narrative of Voyages and Travels in the Northern and Southern Hemispheres, Comprising Three Voyages around the World* (Boston: E.G. House, 1818), 541.
- 11 Susannah Hoe, *The Private Life of Old Hong Kong: Western Women in the British Colony, 1841–1941* (Hong Kong: Oxford University Press, 1991), 139.
- 12 See Nan P. Hodges and Arthur W. Hummel, eds., *Lights and Shadows of a Macao Life: The Journal of Harriett Low, Travelling Spinster*, 2 vols., 1829–1834 (Woodville, WA: The History Bank, 2002); and Rosemarie W.N. Lamas, *Everything in Style: Harriett Low's Macau* (Hong Kong: Hong Kong University Press/Instituto Cultural do Governo da R.A.E. de Macau, 2006). Hodges claims that the Low women were the first American women to live in China but it is difficult to substantiate such a claim. See Lamas, *Everything in Style*, 2.
- 13 Hodges and Hummel, *Lights and Shadows*, Vol. 1, 3.
- 14 James C. Thomson, Jr., Peter W. Stanley, and John Curtis Perry, *Sentimental Imperialists: The American Experience in East Asia* (New York: Harper & Row, 1981), 5.
- 15 Hodges and Hummel, *Lights and Shadows*, Vol. 1, "Introduction."
- 16 Katharine Hillard, ed., *My Mother's Journal: A Young Lady's Diary of Five Years Spent in Manila, Macao, and The Cape of Good Hope* (Boston: George H. Ellis, 1900), Introduction.
- 17 Damian Shaw, "Harriett Low: An American Spinster at the Cape, 12 January to 4 May 1834," *South African Historical Journal* 62.2 (2010): 288, 299.

- 18 Jacques M. Downs, *The Golden Ghetto*.
- 19 Downs, *Golden Ghetto*, 49.
- 20 Downs, *Golden Ghetto*, 49.
- 21 Low in Hilliard, October 1829. Unless otherwise indicated, all diary entries and letters are from the Hilliard edition of Low's papers. Later editions of the diary fill in some of the omissions in the Hilliard version but in terms of utterances related to gender and national identity, the differences are not significant.
- 22 Low, December 14, 1832.
- 23 Low, September 12, 1829.
- 24 Low, November 9, 1829.
- 25 Shaw makes a similar point about Low's reaction to British formality and Dutch informality in Macao. See Shaw, "Harriett Low," 296.
- 26 Low, October 11, 1829.
- 27 Low, March 11, 1832.
- 28 Low, March 6, 1830.
- 29 Pamela Neville-Sington, "Introduction," in Frances Trollope, *Domestic Manners of the Americans* (London: Penguin, 1997), vii–viii. Originally published in 1832.
- 30 Neville-Sington, "Introduction," viii.
- 31 Trollope, *Domestic Manners*, 7.
- 32 Trollope, *Domestic Manners*, 60.
- 33 Trollope, *Domestic Manners*, 69, 71, 171.
- 34 Trollope, *Domestic Manners*, 123.
- 35 Twain as quoted in Neville-Sington, "Introduction," xxxvi.
- 36 Low, September 1, 1832.
- 37 Trollope, *Domestic Manners*, 275.
- 38 Low, in Hodges and Hummel, *Lights and Shadows*, Vol. 1, Preface.
- 39 See Shaw, "Harriett Low," 296. Shaw also writes of Low's attitudes towards the Dutch in the Cape of Good Hope, comparing their informality to similar American attitudes but also speaking critically of what she believed was a Dutch tendency to overimbibe.
- 40 Low, February 17, 1832.
- 41 Low, February 17, 1832.
- 42 Low, February 17, 1832.
- 43 Hoe, *Private Life*, 12.
- 44 Low, November 18, 1829.
- 45 Low, November 6, 1830.

- 46 This excerpt from Low's diary appears in Donald Pittis and Susan J. Henders, *Macao: Mysterious Decay and Romance* (Hong Kong: Oxford University Press, 1997), 157–158.
- 47 Low, September 4, 1831.
- 48 Low, June 17, 1832.
- 49 Low, January 28, 1833.
- 50 See works on the history of American women in this period by scholars such as Mary Beth Norton, Linda Kerber, Deborah Gray White, and Laurel Thatcher Ulrich. Linda Kerber coined the term "Republican Mother" in her book *Women of the Republic: Intellect and Ideology in Revolutionary America* (Williamsburg/Chapel Hill: Institute of Early American History and Culture/The University of North Carolina Press, 1980).
- 51 Low, August 13, 1832.
- 52 Rebecca Kinsman to her family in Salem, December 12, 1844, in *The Essex Institute Historical Collections* (hereafter *Essex Institute*), Vol. 86 (1950): 324. Kimberly Alexander sees Kinsman and her husband as significant models of companionate marriage in early American culture. She also argues that the marriage defied conventional notions of gender. She writes: "These letters and diaries reveal Nathaniel as a sensitive, romantic figure, who was ill at ease in the public sphere of business and who sought solace in the private sphere of family. Rebecca, on the other hand, was the stronger partner, supervising a household of Chinese servants, arranging travel, and even organizing a reception for visiting plenipotentiary Caleb Cushing in 1844 for the signing of the first trade treaty between China and America." See Kimberly Sayre Alexander, "Demure Quakeress': Rebecca Chase Kinsman in China, 1843–1847," in *In Our Own Words: New England Diaries, 1600 to the Present*, Vol. 2, 2006, 104.
- 53 Rebecca Kinsman, "Life in Macao in the 1840's: Letters of Rebecca Chase Kinsman to her family in Salem," *Essex Institute*, Vol. 86 (1950): 19.
- 54 Kinsman, "Life in Macao," 19.
- 55 Rebecca Kinsman to Salem family, November 4, 1843, *Essex Institute*, Vol. 86 (1950): 22.
- 56 Rebecca Kinsman to Salem family, December 7, 1843, *Essex Institute*, Vol. 86 (1950): 35–36.
- 57 Alexander, "Demure Quakeress," 108.
- 58 Rebecca Kinsman to Salem family, November 4, 1843. See Rebecca Kinsman, "The Daily Life of Mrs. Nathaniel Kinsman in Macao, China," *Essex Institute*, July 4, 1845, Vol. 87 (1951): 138.
- 59 Hodges and Hummel, *Lights and Shadows*, 513.
- 60 Damian Shaw, "'Were It Worth Knowing': What Rebecca Kinsman Can and

- Cannot Say about the Chinese in Macao,” *Studies in Travel Writing* 14.3 (2010): 247.
- 61 Shaw, “Were It Worth Knowing,” 250.
- 62 Low, April 19, 1834. See Hodges and Hummel, *Lights and Shadows*, 732–733.
- 63 Shaw’s analysis of Low is thoughtful, textured, and critical of Low’s attitudes toward slavery and people of African descent as well as the Chinese. While he notes that there were others who shared Low’s views, he makes the case that by the early 1830s many in Britain and America had taken strong stands against slavery. Shaw deftly illuminates the ways in which Low deploys science, reason, and biblical passages to support her notions of racial superiority. See Shaw, “Harriett Low,” 296–299.
- 64 Low, August 26, 1832.
- 65 Low, November 13, 1832.
- 66 Low, September 21, 1833 (Hodges/Hummel, *Lights and Shadows*, 789).
- 67 Low, November 12, 1833.
- 68 Low, November 16, 1833.
- 69 Hilliard, Vol. 1, Preface.
- 70 Harold R. Isaacs, *Scratches on Our Minds: American Images of China and India* (New York: The John Day Company, 1958), 67–68.
- 71 Nicholas R. Clifford, *Spoilt Children of Empire: Westerners in Shanghai and the Chinese Revolution of the 1920s* (Hanover: Middlebury College Press, 1991), 52.
- 72 See Susan Thorne, “Missionary-Imperial Feminism,” in Mary Taylor Huber and Nancy C. Lutkehaus, eds., *Gendered Missions: Women and Men in Missionary Discourse and Practice* (Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 1999). See also Ann Laura Stoler’s work on women, gender and empire as well as her edited volume *Haunted by Empire: Geographies of Intimacy in North American History* (Durham: Duke University Press, 2006).
- 73 Amy Kaplan, “Manifest Domesticity,” in *American Literature: A Journal of Literary History, Criticism, and Bibliography* 70, no. 3 (September 1998): 581–606.
- 74 Amy Kaplan, in Kaplan and Donald E. Pease, eds., *Cultures of US Imperialism* (Durham: Duke University Press), 126.
- 75 J.B. Jeter, *Memoir of Mrs. Henrietta Shuck, The First American Female Missionary to China* (Boston: Gould, Kendall & Lincoln, 1846). For other examples of this phenomenon see Dana L. Robert, *American Women in Mission: A Social History of Their Thought and Practice* (Macon: Mercer University Press, 1997), particularly “Chapter 1: The Missionary Wife.” In her discussion of women’s mission ideology, Robert relies on missionary

journals, diaries, and memoirs. Several of the examples she uses are edited by men.

- 76 Jeter, *Memoir*, 14.
- 77 Jeter, *Memoir*, Preface.
- 78 See Beth Branyon, *Miss Henrietta: Lady of Many Firsts* (Franklin, Tennessee: Providence House Publishers, 1996), 8, 9.
- 79 Jeter, *Memoir*, 22.
- 80 Branyon, *Miss Henrietta*, 11.
- 81 Jane Hunter, *The Gospel of Gentility: American Women Missionaries in Turn-of-the-Century China* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1984), 32.
- 82 Jeter, *Memoir*, 36. [Emphasis in the original text.]
- 83 Henrietta Shuck as quoted in Jeter, *Memoir*, 44.
- 84 Rebecca Kinsman to her sister Annie, May 22, 1846, *Essex Institute*, 87 (1951): 396.
- 85 Shuck to Mrs. Keeling, November 29, 1836 as cited in Jeter, *Memoir*.
- 86 Robert, *American Women in Mission*, 37.
- 87 Jeter, *Memoir*, 122.
- 88 Robert, *American Women in Mission*, 3–4.
- 89 In this period the name of the paper was *The Friend of China and Hongkong Gazette* as it originally incorporated the *Gazette*. Christopher Munn writes that the paper began in 1842 as “a joint merchant-missionary-government enterprise. With its bombastic and jocular style, the *Friend* embodied the buoyant spirit of early Hong Kong.” See Munn, *Anglo China: Chinese People and British Rule in Hong Kong, 1941–1880* (Hong Kong: Echoes Series, Hong Kong University Press, 2009), 36.
- 90 There is some debate about this. Carl Smith asserts that the Shucks opened the first Christian Church in Hong Kong. However, it is clear that there were other denominational groups meeting in Hong Kong as well and the first Anglican Church opened in 1841. At the very least one can say that the Shucks opened the first structure under American auspices.
- 91 See “Jehu Lewis Shuck,” in *Memorials of Protestant Missionaries to the Chinese* (Taipei: Ch’eng-Wen Publishing Company, 1967).
- 92 Jeter, *Memoir*, 145.
- 93 Shuck to her father, Reverend Hall, May 2, 1842. As quoted in Jeter, *Memoir*, 178–182.
- 94 Shuck in Jeter, *Memoir*, 146.
- 95 Shuck in Jeter, *Memoir*, 183.
- 96 William Maxwell Wood, *Fankwei; or the San Jacinto in the Seas of India, China and Japan* (New York: Harper & Brothers, 1859), 16–17.

- 97 Letter from Rebecca Kinsman to her sister in Salem, July 30, 1845, *Esser Institute*, Vol. 87 (1951): 143.
- 98 Michael H. Hunt, *The Making of a Special Relationship: The United States and China to 1914* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1983), 22–23.
- 99 Danny S.L. Paa. “Hong Kong, China, and the United States,” in James C. Hsiung, ed., *Hong Kong the Super Paradox: Life after Return to China* (New York: St. Martin’s Press, 2000), 203.
- 100 Hunt, *The Making of a Special Relationship*, 16–17.
- 101 Norman Miners, *Hong Kong under Imperial Rule, 1912–1941* (Hong Kong: Oxford University Press, 1987), 191.
- 102 Hoe, *Private Life*, 144.
- 103 Maria Jaschok and Suzanne Miers, *Women and Chinese Patriarchy: Submission, Servitude and Escape* (Hong Kong: Hong Kong University Press, 1994), 21.
- 104 John Carroll, *A Concise History of Hong Kong* (Hong Kong: Hong Kong University Press, 2007), 36.
- 105 Kumari Jayawardena, *The White Woman’s Other Burden: Western Women and South Asia during British Rule* (New York: Routledge, 1995).
- 106 Helen Edith Legge, *James Legge: Missionary and Scholar* (London: Religious Tract Society, 1905), 122–123.
- 107 Helen Legge, *James Legge*, 122.
- 108 Kinsman to her father, Macao, August 3, 1844, as cited in Alexander, “Demure Quakeress,” 111.
- 109 Henry James Lethbridge, “Introduction,” in Albert Smith, *To China and Back: Being a Diary Kept, Out and Home* (Egyptian Hall, 1959). See HKU Press reprint of the 1850 original.
- 110 Hoe, *Private Life*, 87.
- 111 Hoe, *Private Life*, 47.
- 112 Jeter, *Memoir*, 189.
- 113 Shuck in Jeter, *Memoir*, 199.
- 114 Shuck to her sister, Isabella, June 14, 1842. See Jeter, 186.
- 115 Shuck in Jeter, *Memoir*, 205. [Emphasis in the original.]
- 116 Marjorie King, “American Women’s Open Door to Chinese Women: Which Way Does It Open?” in *Women’s Studies International Forum*, Vol. 13, No. 4 (1990): 369–379. See particularly 375 and 376.
- 117 Shuck in Jeter, *Memoir*, 167–168.
- 118 Henrietta Hall Shuck, *Scenes in China: Or, Sketches of the Country, Religion, and Customs, of the Chinese by the Late Mrs. Henrietta Shuck, Missionary in China* (Philadelphia: American Baptist Publication Society, 1852), 163–165.

- 119 Shuck, *Scenes in China*, 172.
- 120 Shuck, *Scenes in China*, 168.
- 121 Mary Suzanne Schriber, *Writing Home: American Women Abroad, 1830–1920* (Charlottesville: University of Virginia Press, 1997), 85.
- 122 Schriber, *Writing Home*, 73–74.
- 123 Jeter, *Memoir*, 210. [Emphasis in original.]
- 124 Jeter, *Memoir*, 210.
- 125 Jeter, *Memoir*, 231.
- 126 In addition to her writings there is an institutional remembrance of Shuck's life. A school in Hong Kong, The Henrietta Secondary School in North Point, is named after her.
- 127 Jeter, *Memoir*, 231–231. On Jehu Shuck's life after Henrietta's death see Alan Neely's article, "Jehu Lewis and Henrietta Hall Shuck," in *Biographical Dictionary of Chinese Christianity* (<http://www.bcdonline.net/en/stories/s/shuck-jehu-lewis.php>).
- 128 Carl T. Smith, "The Protestant Church and the Improvement of Women's Status in 19th Century China," *Ching Feng*, 20.2 (1977): 109.
- 129 Smith, "The Protestant Church," 114.
- 130 Smith, "The Protestant Church," 111–112.
- 131 Smith, "The Protestant Church," 114.
- 132 Patricia Chiu Pok-kwan, "'A Position of Usefulness': Gendering History of Girls' Education in Colonial Hong Kong (1850s–1990s)," *History of Education* 37.6 (2008): 789–805.
- 133 Ann Laura Stoler, ed., *Haunted by Empire: Geographies of Intimacy in North American History* (Durham: Duke University Press, 2006), 5.
- 134 Eileen P. Scully, "Taking the Low Road to Sino-American Relations: 'Open Door' Expansionists and the Two China Markets," *Journal of American History*, June (1995): 62–83.
- 135 Eileen P. Scully, "Prostitution as Privilege: The 'American Girl' of Treaty-Port Shanghai, 1860–1937," *International History Review* XX (1998): 855.
- 136 Scully, "Prostitution as Privilege," 856.
- 137 For an early example of the stereotype in Hollywood see the 1928 silent film *Sadie Thompson* starring Gloria Swanson. The film was based on the short story "Rain" by W. Somerset Maugham and on the 1923 play by John Cotton and Clemence Randolph. Representations of the "sexually available American girl/woman" are discussed in more detail in Chapter 3.
- 138 Ida Pfeiffer, *A Woman's Journey around the World* (1850) as cited in Michael Wise, *Travelers' Tales of Old Hong Kong and the South China Coast* (London: In Print, 1996), 46.
- 139 Pfeiffer, *A Woman's Journey*, 46.

- 140 Carroll, *A Concise History*, 18–19.
- 141 Jason Wordie, “A History of Sex Workers in Hong Kong,” lecture given at the Helena May, Hong Kong, April 29, 2010.
- 142 Solomon Bard, *Traders of Hong Kong: Some Foreign Merchant Houses, 1841–1899* (Hong Kong: Urban Council, 1993), 80.
- 143 Bard, *Traders*, 81.
- 144 Norman Miners, *Hong Kong under Imperial Rule, 1912–1941* (Hong Kong: Oxford University Press, 1987), 191.
- 145 Hoe, *Private Life*, 144.
- 146 Miners, *Hong Kong under Imperial Rule*, 191. In 1867 the existing ordinance was replaced by a new one modeled on the Contagious Diseases Act in Britain. Miners notes that the new ordinance left current conditions relatively unchanged except that there was an expansion of police authority over prostitutes. He writes: “Brothels were confined to certain designated localities with separate districts for those catering for European and Chinese clients, and penalties were imposed for keeping a brothel outside these areas or an unlicensed brothel within them” (192). In fact, most of the Chinese women were unwilling to be examined by a European doctor so the medical examinations were imposed on prostitutes catering to European men. As such, Miners writes, “The control system achieved its main objective, which was not the protection of women from exploitation but, as it was commonly expressed in Hong Kong, ‘the provision of clean Chinese women for the use of the British soldiers and the sailors of the Royal Navy’” (193). From the late nineteenth century until the mid-1930s, which saw the end of licensed prostitution in Hong Kong, moral reformers in Britain and in Hong Kong exerted pressure on colonial authorities to repeal the Contagious Diseases Ordinance but there was strong resistance from both colonial officials and the local population. When the ordinance was repealed in 1890 the official edict did little to alter circumstances. Although prostitutes were no longer compelled to undergo examinations, many did so voluntarily. In 1894, Hong Kong could no longer resist pressure from moral reformers in Britain. Certain types of official oversight were discontinued but a system of “sly brothels” sprang up where officially licensed establishments had once existed (193–205). The subject of Western prostitutes in this larger history is often given short shrift. They were not regulated as closely as Chinese women and reformers were either embarrassed or unconcerned about their presence in China trade communities.
- 147 Scully, “Prostitution as Privilege,” 859.
- 148 Susanna Hoe, *Chinese Footprints: Exploring Women’s History in China, Hong Kong and Macau* (Hong Kong: Roundhouse Publications (Asia) Ltd., 1996), 193.

- 149 “A Montly Line of Steamships to China – Departure of J. Ross Browne,” *The New York Times*, 3 August 1868.
- 150 Jason Wordie, “Working girls’ Set the Scene in the Line of Duty,” *South China Morning Post*, June 18, 2000, and Paul Gillingham, *At the Peak: Hong Kong between the Wars* (Hong Kong: Macmillian Publishers Ltd., 1983), 113.
- 151 *Hong Kong Daily Press*, January 10, 1891.
- 152 Scully, “Prostitution as Privilege,” 861.
- 153 Susanna Hoe, “Queen’s Women: Western Prostitutes in Hong Kong, 1841–1931,” paper presented at IAHA Conference, June 1991, 35.
- 154 Scully, “Prostitution as Privilege,” 859. Scully notes that American prostitutes were present in Shanghai from the 1860s although they were not usually identified as sex workers (860). She also notes that the numbers of American prostitutes may be inflated because “many Western prostitutes tried to pass themselves off as American citizens and had little difficulty in doing so: at a time when passports were not generally required, and Americans arriving in China required no documents, US consuls did not rigorously authenticate documents such as birth, marriage, or naturalization certificates that purportedly proved US citizenship” (862). On the topic of prostitution and regulation in Hong Kong see also Henry Lethbridge, *Hong Kong: Stability and Change* (Hong Kong: Oxford University Press, 1978), 198, and Miners, *Hong Kong under Imperial Rule*.
- 155 Hoe, “Queen’s Women,” 8.
- 156 Hoe, “Queen’s Women,” 7.
- 157 *Hong Kong Telegraph*, as cited in Gillingham, *At the Peak*, 112.
- 158 Scully, “Prostitution as Privilege,” 855–883.
- 159 This point is made most clearly in Eileen P. Scully, *Bargaining with the State from Afar: American Citizenship in Treaty Port China, 1844–1942* (New York: Columbia University Press, 2001). Much of what is known about prostitutes is filtered through others’ impressions of them. However, there are ways to locate them in Hong Kong history. Court and consular records, newspaper clippings, and anecdotes written about individual women in other accounts of Hong Kong in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries can be woven together to gain a sense, albeit limited, of what their lives were like. Scully’s work is a model of this type of research.
- 160 Sucheta Mazumdar, “General Introduction: A Woman-Centered Perspective on Asian American History,” in Asian Women United of California, eds., *Making Waves: An Anthology of Writings by and about Asian American Women* (Boston: Beacon Press, 1989), 3.
- 161 Andrew Coe, *Eagles and Dragons: A History of Americans in China and the Origins of the American Club in Hong Kong* (Hong Kong: The American Club, 1997), 61.

- 162 Scully, *Bargaining with the State*, 96. Scully writes, “Some [prostitutes] came to the business directly from the United States by way of established procurement rings linking leading American cities (such as Chicago and San Francisco) with the Asian prostitution market.”
- 163 Carl Smith, Personal File: European Prostitutes in Hong Kong.
- 164 See Pierce Evans to Hattie DeWolfe, 18 December 1874, enclosed in US Hong Kong Consul (Mosby) to State Department (Hay), 26 February 1881, No. 114, “Despatches from United States Consuls in Hong Kong, 1844–1906.” National Archives Records Administration (NARA) Microfilm. RG059/M108, Reel No. 13. Other documents including the certification of marriage between DeWolfe and Evans in New Bedford are in the same file. Sincere thanks to Eileen Scully who (literally) led me to this material, particularly Evans’s extraordinary letter. For specific references to DeWolfe and Kate Jessop see Scully’s appended listing at the conclusion of “Prostitution as Privilege.”
- 165 Scully, *Bargaining with the State*, 96.
- 166 Scully, “Prostitution as Privilege,” 859.
- 167 Smith, European Prostitutes.
- 168 Scully, “Prostitution as Privilege,” 861.
- 169 Carl Smith, “The Ladies of Lyndhurst Terrace,” talk given to the Royal Asiatic Society, January 19, 1990, notes.
- 170 See Colonial Office Files 129/472, 356–382.
- 171 Hoe, “Queen’s Women,” 11.
- 172 Hunt, *The Making of a Special Relationship*, 302.
- 173 Scully, “Prostitution as Privilege,” 867.
- 174 Douglas Kerr and Julia Kuehn, “Introduction,” in Kerr and Kuehn, eds., *A Century of Travels in China: Critical Essays on Travel Writing from the 1840s to the 1940s* (Hong Kong: Hong Kong University Press, 2007), 4.
- 175 Shaw, “Harriett Low,” 301.

Chapter 2

- 1 Emily Hahn, *China to Me: A Partial Autobiography* (Philadelphia: Blakiston, 1944), 25.
- 2 See Katherine Kinney, “Women, War, and the Pacific,” in John Carlos Rowe, ed., *Post-Nationalist American Studies* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2000), 86.
- 3 Gerald Horne, *Race War! White Supremacy and the Japanese Attack on the British Empire* (New York: New York University Press, 2004).

- 4 Hahn published her first essay with *The New Yorker* at age twenty-four. Her last piece for the magazine was a poem written decades earlier but published in 1996 when she was ninety-one.
- 5 On Hahn, see Ken Cuthbertson's biography, *Nobody Said Not to Go: The Life, Loves, and Adventures of Emily Hahn* (Boston: Faber and Faber, 1998). Hahn wrote fifty-two books but those that deal most directly with the Hong Kong years are her memoirs. See Emily Hahn, *Times and Places* (New York: Thomas Y. Crowell Company, 1937/1970); Emily Hahn, *China to Me: A Partial Autobiography* (New York: e-reads, 1944, 1999); *Hong Kong Holiday* (New York: Doubleday & Company, Inc., 1946); Hahn's novel of Hong Kong, *Miss Jill* (New York: Doubleday & Company, 1947), and her biography of the Soong family, *The Soong Sisters* (New York: e-reads edition 1941/2003). On Gwen Dew see the memoir of her time in Hong Kong, *Prisoner of the Japs* (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1943). Three volumes published posthumously cover much of the same ground but provide some new information. See Gwen Dew Buchanan, *My God, a Woman! Facts, Not Fiction from a Female Who Always Wanted to Be First*, 2 vols. (Parkersburg, West Virginia: Marian S. Concannon/Eastern Printing Co., 2007) and Gwen Dew Buchanan, *MacArthur's Japan* (Parkersburg, West Virginia: Marian S. Concannon, 2007). Sincere thanks to Frank Passic at the Albion, Michigan Historical Society, who led me to the later works and to wonderful photos of Dew. Passic's biographical sketch of Dew is an excellent resource and a good read. See Frank Passic, Albion Historical Society Archive, "Around the World with Gwen Dew," 1999, www.albionmich.com/history/histor_notebook/S_Dew.shtml.
- 6 Mari Yoshihara, *Embracing the East: White Women and American Orientalism* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2003), 7.
- 7 See Yoshihara's chapter on Smedley in *Embracing the East*. There are many reasons that Smedley did not enjoy the same popularity as Buck, including Smedley's more radical political views. Her story is told elsewhere but more remains to be said about Smedley's sense of national identity and different use of the pedagogical impulse. However, because her time in Hong Kong was limited, I have not discussed her in detail here.
- 8 Pearl S. Buck as quoted in Nora Stirling, *Pearl Buck: A Woman in Conflict* (New York: New Century Publishers, Inc., 1983), 182. Stirling notes (on page 183) that at a luncheon in 1931 Buck "exploded with exasperation at the 'selfish, ignorant, self-indulgent American women of wealth and privilege.'"
- 9 Agnes Smedley, "Madame Chiang Kai-shek and Hsiao Hung," in *Battle Hymn of China (1940–41)* 523–524, as reprinted in *Portraits of Chinese Women in Revolution* (New York: The Feminist Press, 1976), 100–101.
- 10 Helen Foster Snow, *My China Years* (New York: William Morrow and Company, 184), 48.

- 11 Snow, *My China Years*, 48.
- 12 Snow, *My China Years*, 149.
- 13 Kathleen E. Barker, *Change and Continuity: A History of St. Stephen's Girls' College, Hong Kong, 1906–1996* (Hong Kong: St. Stephen's Girls College, 1996), 55.
- 14 Frank Ching, *The Li Dynasty: Hong Kong Aristocrats* (Hong Kong: Oxford University Press, 1999), 101–102.
- 15 Agnes Smedley, *Battle Hymn of China* (London: Victor Gollancz Ltd., 1944), 354.
- 16 See “The Outbreak of War in China to 1941,” in *Xianggang bainian (A Hundred Years of Hong Kong)*, as cited in David Faure, ed., *A Documentary History of Hong Kong* (Hong Kong: Hong Kong University Press, 1997), 211.
- 17 Leila J. Rupp, *Worlds of Women: The Making of an International Women's Movement* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1997), 229.
- 18 Hahn as quoted in Horne, *Race War*, 34.
- 19 Hong Kong Census data (1940), Hong Kong Collection, Hong Kong University. Due to their marginal status, the Eurasian population was not always accurately accounted for in population statistics. For more on the Eurasian experience in Hong Kong see Vicki Lee, *Being Eurasian: Memoires across Racial Divides* (Hong Kong: Hong Kong University Press, 2004), and John Carroll, *A Concise History of Hong Kong* (Hong Kong: Hong Kong University Press, 2007), 44.
- 20 Hahn, *China to Me*, 206.
- 21 Hahn, *China to Me*.
- 22 Dew, *Prisoner*, 210.
- 23 Compare Hahn, *Hong Kong Holiday*, chapters 1–4 with *Times and Places*, 284.
- 24 Hahn, *China to Me*, 10.
- 25 Hahn, *Hong Kong Holiday*, 14.
- 26 Robert L. Gandt, *Season of Storms: The Siege of Hongkong 1941* (Hong Kong: South China Morning Post, 1982), 21.
- 27 Hahn, *Times and Places* (1937), 7.
- 28 Janice R. MacKinnon and Stephen R. MacKinnon, *Agnes Smedley: The Life and Times of an American Radical* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1988), 229–230.
- 29 Hoe, *The Private Life of Old Hong Kong*, 277. There are those who believe that Hahn collaborated with the Japanese and that she and Boxer made enemies as a result.
- 30 Cuthbertson, *Nobody Told Me Not to Go*, 1.
- 31 Hahn, *Hong Kong Holiday*, 1–11.

- 32 Hahn, *Hong Kong Holiday*, 16.
- 33 Hahn, *Hong Kong Holiday*, 185.
- 34 John Dower, *War without Mercy: Race & Power in the Pacific War* (New York: Pantheon Books, 1986).
- 35 Hahn, *Hong Kong Holiday*, 41.
- 36 Hahn, *Hong Kong Holiday*, 43.
- 37 Hahn, *Hong Kong Holiday*, 42.
- 38 Hahn, *Hong Kong Holiday*, 42.
- 39 Hahn, *Hong Kong Holiday*, 43–46.
- 40 Hahn, *Hong Kong Holiday*, 47.
- 41 Hahn, *No Hurry to Get Home* (Originally published as *Times and Places*), 283–284.
- 42 Hahn, *Hong Kong Holiday*, 246.
- 43 Hahn, *Hong Kong Holiday*, 251.
- 44 Hahn, *Hong Kong Holiday*, 259.
- 45 Hahn, *Hong Kong Holiday*, 221.
- 46 Agnes Keith, *Three Came Home* (Kota Kinabalu: Natural History Publications, 1998), 251.
- 47 Keith, *Three Came Home*, 256–257.
- 48 Frank Passic “Around the World with Gwen Dew.”
- 49 *Detroit Free Press*, May 27, 1922.
- 50 Passic, “Around the World with Gwen Dew.”
- 51 Dew, *Prisoner*, 199.
- 52 Dew, *Prisoner*, 6.
- 53 Dew, *Prisoner*, 22–23.
- 54 Dew, *Prisoner*, 59.
- 55 Dew, *Prisoner*, 58.
- 56 Dew, *Prisoner*, 157.
- 57 Passic, “Around the World with Gwen Dew.”
- 58 Dew, *Prisoner*, 260.
- 59 Dew, *Prisoner*, 259.
- 60 Dew, *Prisoner*, 72.
- 61 Wenzell Brown, *Hong Kong Aftermath* (New York: Smith & Durrell, Inc., 1943), 147.
- 62 Dew, *Prisoner*, 83.
- 63 Dew, *Prisoner*, 83.
- 64 Dew, *Prisoner*, 83.
- 65 Dew, *Prisoner*, 91.

- 66 Horne, *Race War*, 93.
- 67 Dew, *Prisoner*, 123.
- 68 Dew, *Prisoner*, 145.
- 69 Dew, *Prisoner*, 104.
- 70 Dew, *Prisoner*, Foreword.
- 71 Dew, *Prisoner*, 112.
- 72 See Keith, *Three Came Home*, as well as Bernice Archer, *The Internment of Western Civilians under the Japanese 1941–1945: A Patchwork of Internment* (Hong Kong: Hong Kong University Press, 2008. Original RoutledgeCurzon edition, 2004), and Theresa Kaminski, *Prisoners in Paradise: American Women in the Wartime South Pacific* (Lawrence: University of Kansas Press, 2000). Archer notes that Hong Kong’s tropical climate spared internees from extreme weather and the need for warm clothing during the winter. Not only were men, women, and children interned together at Stanley (although women were in the minority) interviews and memoirs indicate that Japanese officials were less involved in the daily operation of Stanley Camp. (See Archer, *Internment*, 68, 134.)
- 73 Dew, *Prisoner*, 231.
- 74 Jean Gittins, *Stanley: Behind Barbed Wire* (Hong Kong: Hong Kong University Press, 1982), 32.
- 75 Horne, *Race War*, 85.
- 76 Norman Briggs, *Taken in Hong Kong: December 8, 1941*. Compiled by Carol Briggs Waite. (Baltimore: Publish America, 2006).
- 77 Dew, *Prisoner*, 232.
- 78 Dew, *Prisoner*, 243.
- 79 Historian Jason Wordie affirms what many internment memoirs assert, that the Americans were “hugely resented due to their relative affluence and general refusal to share what they had.” (Interview with Jason Wordie, June 28, 2010.)
- 80 Wordie notes that part of the reason for gender segregation was “to prevent unwanted pregnancies and the consequent strain on medical and dietary resources that more children would bring. Over 50 were born in camp, and towards the end there were a number of abortions performed simply because of the food situation. Also, as women were still menstruating, the dietary conditions were clearly not that bad.” (Interview with Jason Wordie, June 28, 2010.)
- 81 Archer, *Internment*.
- 82 Waterford, Van, *Prisoners of the Japanese in World War II: Statistical History, Personal Narratives and Memorials Concerning POW’s in Camps and on Hellships, Civilian Internees, Asian Slave Laborers and Others*

- Captured in the Pacific Theatre* (London: McFarland & Company, Inc., 1994), 233.
- 83 In the introduction to her study Archer notes the importance of looking at the way the period in which internment narratives were published shaped their presentation and viewpoint.
- 84 Dew, *Prisoner*, Foreword.
- 85 Dew, *Prisoner*, Foreword.
- 86 Dew, *Prisoner*, 186.
- 87 Dew, *Prisoner*, 186.
- 88 Dew, *Prisoner*, 186.
- 89 Dew, *Prisoner*, 187.
- 90 Hahn, *Hong Kong Holiday*, 66.
- 91 Hahn, *Hong Kong Holiday*, 67.
- 92 Hahn, *Hong Kong Holiday*, 52–53.
- 93 Dew, *Prisoner*, 86.
- 94 Gwen Priestwood, *Through Japanese Barbed Wire* (New York: D. Appleton-Century Company, 1943), 35.
- 95 Irene Cheng, *Intercultural Reminiscences* (Hong Kong: David C. Lam Center for East-West Studies, Hong Kong Baptist University, 1997), 260. Cheng offers her impressions of colonial attitudes and racism against the Chinese in Hong Kong, including her experiences living as a member of the only Eurasian family on the Peak. For a more academic discussion of the Peak Ordinance and the way it underpinned racial exclusion against Eurasians and the Chinese, as well as a discussion of the Ordinance in its various forms, see John Carroll, *Edge of Empires: Chinese Elites and British Colonials in Hong Kong* (Hong Kong: Hong Kong University Press Echoes Series, 2007), 90–97. Original edition published by Harvard University Press in 2005.
- 96 Cheng, *Intercultural Reminiscences*, 260.
- 97 Priestwood, *Through Japanese Barbed Wire*, 31.
- 98 Dew, *Prisoner*, 115.
- 99 Priestwood, *Through Japanese Barbed Wire*, 52.
- 100 Passic, Albion Historical Society Online Archive.
- 101 Dew, *MacArthur's Japan*, “Democracy Is What?”
- 102 Dew, *MacArthur's Japan*, “Democracy Is What?”
- 103 Dew, *MacArthur's Japan*, “Democracy Is What?”
- 104 Dew, *MacArthur's Japan*, “The Little King.”
- 105 Dew, *MacArthur's Japan*, “The Sins of Our Fathers.”
- 106 Dew, *MacArthur's Japan*, “The Sins of Our Fathers.”
- 107 Dew, *MacArthur's Japan*, “On Our Side.”

- 108 Dew, *MacArthur's Japan*, "Mr. and Mrs. Moto."
- 109 Dew, *MacArthur's Japan*, "On Our Side."
- 110 Cuthbertson, *Nobody Told Me Not to Go*, 9.
- 111 Hahn, *Times and Places*, 285.
- 112 Another example of this viewpoint is Helen Foster Snow's discussion of her return to the US in 1941. She writes: "I think back to December of 1940 and the President liner coing out of the Whangpoo River for Honolulu and San Francisco. A thin, pale, sickly American female weighing about one hundred pounds huddles at the rail, freezing in her old fur coat. The tide is retreating, running out, Japanese warships own the harbor and Japanese planes are already poised for Pearl Harbor the next year ... We have 'lost China.' I have lost nearly ten years so it seems, as I realize none of my own work has been finished. Yes, I look like a dowdy missionary who has given up material things for higher purposes. ... In the winter of 1940, I remember the healthy, self-confident, all-American Girl Scout ingénue of 1931 whom Edgar Snow made fun of in the Chocolate Shop. I remember how hard she worked at any job, how much effort she put into being liked and attractive, how diplomatic, careful, and constructive she was, how often an unpaid civic or social worker. This girl gave up material things and never counted the cost. What did she receive in exchange? In 1931, I intended maximum development of the individual in all ways, but I was torn away from my goals by the typhoons of history. The individual was sacrificed for the common good. Or was I? I liked the principle of individual development. I didn't lose my sense of humor, though this was rare for those who lived in the East. I could still smile with Benjamin Franklin: She lived much and suffered much, most of which never happened – the rest of which happened to other people." See Snow, *My China Years*, 34.
- 113 Hahn, *No Hurry to Get Home*, 291.
- 114 Hahn, *No Hurry to Get Home*, 293.
- 115 Hahn, *China to Me*, 197.
- 116 K. Scott Wong, *Americans First: Chinese Americans and the Second World War* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 2005), 11.
- 117 See K. Scott Wong, "Cultural Defenders and Brokers: Chinese Responses to the Anti-Chinese Movement," in Wong and Sucheng Chan, eds., *Claiming America: Constructing Chinese American Identities during the Exclusion Era* (Philadelphia: Temple University Press, 1998), particularly 4–8. Wong speaks of individuals whose perspectives were a "blend of sinocentric attitudes and an appreciation for American civic ideals" (4). Although Thom comes later and is born in the US, I believe the characterization is applicable.
- 118 See Mae M. Ngai, *Impossible Subjects: Illegal Aliens and the Making of Modern America* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2004).

- 119 See Elizabeth Sinn, “Lessons in Openness: Creating a Space of Flow in Hong Kong,” in Helen F. Siu and Agnes S. Ku, eds., *Hong Kong Mobile: Making a Global Population* (Hong Kong: Hong Kong University Press, 2008), 13–43.
- 120 Thanks to Peter Cunich who has preserved important documents and information on Eleanor Thom in his alumni files located in the Department of History and in the University Archives, University of Hong Kong. Dr. Cunich was kind enough to introduce me to Thom’s story and to Dr. Thom’s nephew, Anthony Lo, who graciously shared his recollections of Dr. Thom during a phone conversation and e-mail exchange in the fall of 2005. There is some uncertainty about Thom’s wartime work in Chongqing. It is not clear whether she worked for the American Consulate or the British Ministry of Information. See Peter Cunich, Eleanor Thom Tribute, HKU Files, “Eleanor Thom.”
- 121 Eleanor Oi Ngan Thom, “The Teaching of the Young Child,” *The Education Journal: Official Organ of the Hong Kong University Education Society*, no. 5 (November 1930): 44.
- 122 Peter Cunich, Eleanor Thom File.
- 123 Telephone conversation with Canossian Sisters Rosana Cesanti and Susanna Yu of the Canossian Order, Hong Kong, Fall 2005.
- 124 See Thom’s obituary in the *South China Morning Post*, June 18, 2003. This information was taken from interviews with Dr. Peter Cunich, Department of History, HKU and Canossian Sisters Susanna Yu and Rosana Cesanti.
- 125 As noted above and in the introduction to this study, the phrase “in-between place” is Elizabeth Sinn’s.
- 126 Eleanor Wai Chun Thom, *A Plan for the Organization and Administration of a Proposed Private Secondary School for Girls in Canton* (New York: Teacher’s College, Columbia University, 1946), 1. (Hereafter cited as Thom Thesis.)
- 127 Thom Thesis, 4.
- 128 Thom Thesis, 4.
- 129 Thom Thesis, 6.
- 130 Thom Thesis, 6.
- 131 Thom Thesis, 8.
- 132 Geetanjali Singh, “(Other) Feminisms- (Other) Values,” in *Hecate: An Interdisciplinary Journal of Women’s Liberation*, Vol. 29, no. 2 (2003): 6. Singh’s work is an important intervention into the conversation about transnational feminisms and the impact of US feminism in various settings in Asia as well as the impact of Asian feminisms on US scholars and activists.

- 133 See Nancy Wolloch, *Women and the American Experience: A Concise History* (New York: McGraw Hill, 2001), 311–312.
- 134 Thom Thesis, 5.
- 135 Thom Thesis, 10.
- 136 Thom Thesis, 10.
- 137 Thom Thesis, 11.
- 138 Thom Thesis, 15.
- 139 Thom Thesis, 21.
- 140 Thom Thesis, 27.
- 141 Thom Thesis, 42–43.
- 142 Thom Thesis, 44–45.
- 143 Thom Thesis, 56.
- 144 Thom Thesis, 136.
- 145 Stanley S.K. Kwan, *The Dragon and the Crown: Hong Kong Memoirs* (Hong Kong: Royal Asiatic Society Series, Hong Kong University Press, 2009,) 23.
- 146 Hahn, *Hong Kong Holiday*, 99–100.

Chapter 3

- 1 Andrew J. Whitfield, *Hong Kong, Empire and the Anglo-American Alliance at War, 1941–45* (Hong Kong: Hong Kong University Press, 2001), 220.
- 2 See Cindy Yik-Yi Chu, *The Maryknoll Sisters in Hong Kong, 1921–1969: In Love with the Chinese* (New York: Palgrave/Macmillan, 2004), and Chu, *The Diaries of the Maryknoll Sisters in Hong Kong, 1921–1966* (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2007). There are, of course, non-American Maryknolls but many of the Chinese people the Maryknolls worked with identified them as American. Several Maryknolls were interned in Stanley and they provided invaluable service to the Hong Kong community via social service, education, and enterprise. Chu’s work is a deep case study that I cite here rather than integrate into this book as she has devoted significant attention to doing interviews of her own and she provides a separate and more detailed look at a group of women who are an important community in their own right.
- 3 See Donald E. Pease, *The New American Exceptionalism* (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 2009), 7. Pease argues that American exceptionalism was, until the end of the Cold War, the “encompassing state of fantasy” that “had regulated US citizens’ relationship to the political order for the preceding half century.” Pease’s use of the term “state fantasy” does not refer to a mystification but to the dominant structure of desire out of which U.S. citizens imagined their national identity.” (1) For Pease,

- who references Jacqueline Rose's work on fantasy, the term should not be associated with delusion but as a key trope that organizes particular ideals about nation and national identity.
- 4 Chua, who is a cultural studies scholar at the National University of Singapore, writes of his own encounters with American culture as a young man growing up in Southeast Asia. He makes the point that it is difficult to know exactly how "bits of American Culture" inflect one's overall sense of identity, but there is a relationship between self-concept and processes of Americanization in the postwar/Cold War period. Chua points to the importance of American consumer products, Hollywood films, and American music as significant parts of his past that helped to inform his worldview. See Beng Huat Chua, "Growing Up with Bits of American Culture," paper presented at the International Conference on "American Popular Culture in Asia," Asia Research Institute, National University of Singapore, February 19–20, 2009.
 - 5 See Dennison Nash, *A Community in Limbo: An Anthropological Study of an American Community Abroad* (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1970), Preface.
 - 6 Christina Klein, *Cold War Orientalism: Asia in the Middlebrow Imagination, 1945–1961* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2003), 102.
 - 7 Klein, *Cold War Orientalism*, 105.
 - 8 James Michener, "The New Mem-sahibs," in *The Voice of Asia* (New York: Random House, 1951), 288–291.
 - 9 Michener, "The New Mem-sahibs," 292.
 - 10 Harlan Cleveland, Gerard J. Mangone, and John Clarke Adams, eds., *The Overseas Americans* (New York: Arno Press, 1980, original 1959), 22.
 - 11 *The Overseas Americans*, 23.
 - 12 *The Overseas Americans*, 4.
 - 13 *The Overseas Americans*, 4.
 - 14 *The Overseas Americans*, 6.
 - 15 *The Overseas Americans*, 52.
 - 16 *The Overseas Americans*, 52.
 - 17 *The Overseas Americans*, 52.
 - 18 *The Overseas Americans*, 52.
 - 19 *The Overseas Americans*, 50–51.
 - 20 Helen F. Siu and Agnes S. Ku, "Taking Stock of a Migrant Population: Who Is a Hong Konger?" in Siu and Ku, eds., *Hong Kong Mobile: Making a Global Population* (Hong Kong: Hong Kong University Press, 2008), 84.
 - 21 Ronald Skeldon, "Hong Kong in an International Migration System," in Ming K. Chan and Gerard A. Postiglione, eds., *The Hong Kong Reader: Passage to Chinese Sovereignty* (London: M.E. Sharpe, 1996), 134.

- 22 James Hayes, *Friends and Teachers: Hong Kong and Its People, 1953–87* (Hong Kong: Hong Kong University Press), 10.
- 23 Nancy Bernkopf Tucker, *Taiwan, Hong Kong, and the United States, 1945–1992: Uncertain Friendships* (New York: Twayne, 1994), 215, 226.
- 24 Tucker, *Taiwan*, 226.
- 25 See Andrew Coe, *Eagles and Dragons: A History of Americans in China and the Origins of the American Club in Hong Kong* (Hong Kong: The American Club, 1997), 10.
- 26 Tucker, *Taiwan*, 215.
- 27 Tucker, *Taiwan*, 215.
- 28 In the editorial pages of the English-language press there was a lively debate about whether or not HKIS was entitled to a loan from the Hong Kong government. See HKIS Clip File Archives, Hong Kong International School, Tai Tam, Hong Kong.
- 29 Coe, *Eagles and Dragons*, 186.
- 30 See the essays on Hong Kong in this period in Andrea Riemenschmitter and Deborah L. Madsen, eds., *Diasporic Histories: Cultural Archives of Chinese Transnationalism* (Hong Kong: Hong Kong University Press, 2009).
- 31 “The Founding of the American Women’s Association,” *AWA Handbook* (Hong Kong: AWA, 1998).
- 32 *AWA Annual Report and Accounts 1957–1958*, Preface.
- 33 *AWA Annual Report and Accounts 1958–1959*, 1.
- 34 *AWA Annual Report and Accounts 1960–1961*.
- 35 Gretchen K. Kelsch, “Introduction,” in *AWA Annual Report* (Hong Kong: AWA, 1961–1962). At the beginning of each annual report there is a president’s message. Although charter members formulated the AWA mission statement, the respective presidents seem to have had significant influence in terms of shaping organizational goals and communicating them to members and to the general public.
- 36 *AWA Annual Report 1960–1961*, 4.
- 37 Clippings of the coverage of the “Maid of Cotton” visit are in the AWA Scrapbooks. The event received substantial coverage both in the Chinese and English-language presses. See *AWA Annual Report and Accounts 1958–1959* (Hong Kong: AWA, 1959), 1 and 5. The Maid of Cotton’s visit was an annual event that continued into the 1960s. She was treated as a celebrity and was considered to be a role model for young women in Hong Kong. As such, she made public appearances at local schools and social events.
- 38 *South China Morning Post (SCMP)*, June 1, 1969.
- 39 *Hong Kong Star*, July 15, 1969.
- 40 *AWA Annual Report and Accounts 1957–1958*, 10.

- 41 Coe, *Eagles and Dragons*, 176.
- 42 See “Introduction,” in Stacilee Ford Hosford, *Gendered Exceptionalisms: American Women in Hong Kong and Macao, 1830–2000* (PhD Thesis, The University of Hong Kong, 2002).
- 43 Richard Mason, *The World of Suzie Wong* (London: Collins, 1957), Film, 1960; James Clavell, *Noble House* (New York: Delacorte Press, 1961), TV Miniseries, 1988. On gender, American orientalism and the Cold War see Gina Marchetti, *Romance and the Yellow Peril: Race, Sex and Discursive Strategies in Hollywood Fiction* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1993) and Christina Klein, *Cold War Orientalism*. In an earlier draft of this chapter I discussed how these novels/films portray white women as repressed foils to more “exotic” Chinese women. The orientalist trope is inversed and white women are seen as guardians and spoilers.
- 44 See *Eagles and Dragons*, 184.
- 45 *AWA Annual Report 1959–1960*, 10.
- 46 *SCMP*, October 10, 1972.
- 47 *SCMP*, October 13, 1972.
- 48 Zelda Cawthorne, “Libbers Are Getting Bolder,” *Hong Kong Standard*, September 29, 1974.
- 49 Cawthorne, *Standard*, September 29, 1974.
- 50 Cawthorne, *Standard*, September 29, 1974.
- 51 *Gweilo* is the Cantonese slang for white-skinned foreigner. See Cawthorne, *Standard*, September 29, 1974.
- 52 Cawthorne, *Standard*, September 29, 1974.
- 53 *AmCham Monthly*, April 1975, 12–13.
- 54 *AWA Annual Report 1975–1976*, 4.
- 55 Loretta Lee, *Domestic Servants Survey, The American Chamber of Commerce in Hong Kong* (Hong Kong: American Chamber of Commerce), September 1977.
- 56 See interview with DePree titled, “This Housewife Writes Novels,” in *The Hong Kong Star*, March 22, 1971.
- 57 Gladis DePree, *The Spring Wind* (New York: Harper & Row, 1970), “A Note to the Reader.”
- 58 DePree, *The Spring Wind*, “A Note to the Reader.”
- 59 *The Hong Kong Star*, March 22, 1971.
- 60 DePree, *The Spring Wind*, 9.
- 61 DePree, *The Spring Wind*, 11.
- 62 DePree, *The Spring Wind*, 19.
- 63 DePree, *The Spring Wind*, 48.

- 64 DePree, *The Spring Wind*, 26.
- 65 DePree, *The Spring Wind*, 27.
- 66 DePree, *The Spring Wind*, 28.
- 67 DePree, *The Spring Wind*, 51.
- 68 DePree, *The Spring Wind*, 17.
- 69 DePree, *The Spring Wind*, 83.
- 70 DePree, *The Spring Wind*, 107.
- 71 *Hong Kong Star*, March 22, 1971.
- 72 DePree, *The Spring Wind*, 53.
- 73 DePree, *The Spring Wind*, 59.
- 74 Stanley S.K. Kwan, and Nicole Kwan, *The Dragon and the Crown: Hong Kong Memoirs* (Hong Kong: Royal Asiatic Society Hong Kong Studies Series, Hong Kong University Press, 2009), 96–97.
- 75 Kwan, *The Dragon and the Crown*, 98–99.
- 76 Tucker, *Taiwan*, 228.
- 77 Elaine Yee-lin Ho, “Women on the Edges of Hong Kong Modernity: The Films of Ann Hui,” in Esther Yau, ed., *At Full Speed: Hong Kong Cinema in a Borderless World* (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 2001), 177.
- 78 Benjamin K.P. Leung, *Perspectives on Hong Kong Society* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1996), 65.
- 79 Charles Bright and Michael Geyer, “Where in the World is America? The History of the United States in the Global Age,” in Thomas Bender, ed., *Rethinking American History in a Global Age* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2002), 72.
- 80 Rob Kroes, “American Empire and Cultural Imperialism: A View from the Receiving End,” in Bender, *Rethinking American History in a Global Age*, 300.
- 81 See Chu Yingchi, *Hong Kong Cinema: Coloniser, Motherland and Self* (London: RoutledgeCurzon, 2003).
- 82 United States National Security Council, “U.S. Policy on Hong Kong,” July 17, 1957, 7. (Hereafter NSC 5717).
- 83 NSC 5717, July 17, 1957, 7.
- 84 NSC 5717, July 17, 1957, 7.
- 85 Michael Hunt, *The American Ascendancy: How the United States Gained & Wielded Global Dominance* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2007), 181.
- 86 Although several scholars such as Stephen Teo, Law Kar, and Elaine Ho acknowledge Chang’s ties with the USIS, it remains unclear what, if any, influence such ties had on her work.

- 87 Poshek Fu, “Modernity, Cold War and Hong Kong Mandarin Cinema,” in *The Cathay Story* (Hong Kong: Hong Kong Film Archive, 2009), 28.
- 88 Fu, “Modernity, Cold War,” 25.
- 89 Fu, “Modernity, Cold War,” 31. Fu also writes about the ideological and artistic influences of studio moguls Loke Wan Tho and General Manager Robert Chung.
- 90 Fu, “Modernity, Cold War,” 29.
- 91 Fu, “Modernity, Cold War,” 31.
- 92 Hunt, *American Ascendancy*, 181.
- 93 Adeline Yen Mah, *Falling Leaves: The Memoir of an Unwanted Chinese Daughter* (London: Penguin Books, 1997), 95.
- 94 Yen Mah, *Falling Leaves*, 141.
- 95 Yen Mah, *Falling Leaves*, 150.
- 96 Gerald Seagal, *The Fate of Hong Kong* (London: Simon & Schuster, 1993), 122–123.
- 97 Aihwa Ong, *Flexible Citizenship: The Cultural Logics of Transnationality* (Durham: Duke University Press, 1999).
- 98 American Chamber of Commerce, *Returning to Hong Kong: The Hong Kong Employment Guide for Graduates of Overseas Universities* (Hong Kong: American Chamber of Commerce, 1995), 75.
- 99 Woo Mo-Han, *A Hong Kong Story before 1997* (Cremorne, Australia: Jeff Toghill, 1997), 1.
- 100 Woo, *A Hong Kong Story*, 28.
- 101 Woo, *A Hong Kong Story*, 33.
- 102 Woo, *A Hong Kong Story*, 33.
- 103 Woo, *A Hong Kong Story*, 33–34.
- 104 Woo, *A Hong Kong Story*, 33–34.
- 105 Woo, *A Hong Kong Story*, 36–37.
- 106 Woo, *A Hong Kong Story*, 51.
- 107 Woo, *A Hong Kong Story*, 57.
- 108 Woo, *A Hong Kong Story*, 65.
- 109 Woo, *A Hong Kong Story*, 66.
- 110 Woo, *A Hong Kong Story*, 70.
- 111 Woo, *A Hong Kong Story*, 94.
- 112 Woo, *A Hong Kong Story*, 120–124.
- 113 Peter Moss, *No Babylon: A Hong Kong Scrapbook* (New York: iUniverse, Inc., 2006), 66.
- 114 NSC 5717, Annex C, “Geographic Considerations,” 19.

Chapter 4

- 1 The number of US citizens living in Hong Kong more than doubled in the years between 1992 and 1997. They outnumbered British foreign nationals by the mid-1990s and constituted the second largest non-Chinese population in Hong Kong. The largest was the predominantly female population from the Philippines, most of whom were employed as domestic helpers or in the hospitality industry.
- 2 Nancy Bernkopf Tucker, *Taiwan, Hong Kong, and the United States, 1945–1992: Uncertain Friendships* (New York: Twayne Publishers, 1994), 221.
- 3 These stores are no longer in business as larger supermarket chains such as Park N Shop, Wellcome/Olivers, Seibu’s “Great” Food halls, and City Super offer the same and more to a broader cross-section of consumers interested in a wide range of products including but not limited to foods connected with American/Western/European or Japanese products or cuisines.
- 4 See work by Laikwan Pang, Law Kar, Esther Yau, Gina Marchetti, and Stephen Teo on various aspects of the film industry in the years leading up to and since the handover. For overviews and anthologies that address a range of issues related to the handover as well as the political economy of Hong Kong/Mainland/US film, see Esther C. M. Yau, ed., *At Full Speed: Hong Kong Cinema in a Borderless World* (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 2001); Poshek Fu and David Desser, eds., *The Cinema of Hong Kong: History, Arts, Identity* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2000); and Gina Marchetti, *From Tian’anmen to Times Square: Transnational China and the Chinese Diaspora on Global Screens, 1989–1997* (Philadelphia: Temple University Press, 2006).
- 5 There are many works on women’s movements in Hong Kong and events leading up to 1997. In addition to those mentioned previously, a few that discuss Western and Chinese interactions on matters related to gender and women’s issues are: Veronica Pearson and Benjamin K.P. Leung, eds., *Women in Hong Kong* (Hong Kong: Oxford University Press, 1995); Eliza W.Y. Lee, ed., *Gender and Change in Hong Kong: Globalization, Postcolonialism, and Chinese Patriarchy* (Hong Kong: Hong Kong University Press, 2003); and Helen F. Siu, ed., *Merchants’ Daughters: Women, Commerce, and Regional Culture in South China* (Hong Kong: Hong Kong University Press, 2010).
- 6 Mayfair Mei-Hui Yang, ed., *Spaces of Their Own: Women’s Public Sphere in Transnational China* (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1999), “Introduction,” 15. The 1995 UN Conference on Women held in Beijing energized Hong Kong women’s groups (although there was disagreement about the level of influence pro/anti-China factions should exercise). Activists rallied around rural women living in Hong Kong’s New Territories and the movement to challenge laws prohibiting women from inheriting

- family property. In the mid-1990s Hong Kong adopted the United Nations CEDAW treaty (the Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Discrimination Against Women), something both China and Britain had done years earlier. Additionally, several women were elected to the most prominent governing body in Hong Kong, the Legislative Council. Some, such as Anna Wu, Emily Lau, and Christine Loh were early advocates of gender equality.
- 7 Nancy Madrid, “The Year of Living Dangerously,” *AWARE* (December 1994), 27.
- 8 A typical example is the article in the *AWARE* Profile section by Marti Mattia, “A ‘Mom at Home’ in Hong Kong,” *AWARE* (December 1992): 30–31.
- 9 Interview with Betty Wei, Hong Kong, December 2001.
- 10 Betty Wei, *South China Morning Post*, July 22, 1979.
- 11 Wei, *SCMP*, November 16, 1980.
- 12 Wei, *SCMP*, March 8, 1981.
- 13 Wei, *SCMP*, March 8, 1981.
- 14 Wei, *SCMP*, September 27, 1981.
- 15 Wei, *SCMP*, September 27, 1981.
- 16 Wei, *SCMP*, September 27, 1981.
- 17 Wei, *Eastern Express*, January 24, 1995.
- 18 Wei, *Eastern Express*, February 14, 1995.
- 19 Wei, *Eastern Express*, February 14, 1995.
- 20 Interview with Betty Wei, Hong Kong, December 2001.
- 21 Wei, *Eastern Express*, January 17, 1995.
- 22 Wei, *Eastern Express*, January 17, 1995.
- 23 Betty Wei and Elizabeth Li, *Culture Shock Hong Kong! A Guide to Customs and Etiquette* (Singapore: Times Books International, 1995), 53.
- 24 Wei and Li, 69.
- 25 Wei and Li, 74–75.
- 26 Wei and Li, 135.
- 27 Wei and Li, 66.
- 28 Wei and Li, 78.
- 29 Wei and Li, 196.
- 30 Cathy Tsang-Feign, *Self-Help for Foreigners: How to Keep Your Life, Family and Career Intact While Living Abroad* (Hong Kong: Asia 2000), 1993.
- 31 Tsang-Feign, *Self Help for Foreigners*, 162–163.
- 32 Tsang-Feign, *Self Help for Foreigners*, 165–166.
- 33 Larry Wang, *The New Gold Mountain: The Success of Chinese Americans*

- in Greater China ... and What You Need to Know to Get There* (Hong Kong: Andiremar Publications, 1998), Introduction.
- 34 Wang, *The New Gold Mountain*, 53.
- 35 Wang, *The New Gold Mountain*, 215.
- 36 Wang, *The New Gold Mountain*, 215.
- 37 Wang, *The New Gold Mountain*, 215.
- 38 Wang, *The New Gold Mountain*, 215.
- 39 Huping Ling, *Surviving on the Gold Mountain: A History of Chinese American Women and Their Lives* (New York: SUNY Press, 1998), 11.
- 40 Phoebe Eng, *Warrior Lessons: An Asian American Woman's Journey into Power* (New York: Simon & Schuster, 1999), Introduction.
- 41 Eng, *Warrior Lessons*, Introduction.
- 42 Carolyn D. Smith, "World Citizens and Rubber-Band Nationality," in Smith, ed., *Strangers at Home: Essays on the Effects of Living Overseas and Coming "Home" to a Strange Land* (New York: Aletheia Press, 1996), 193.
- 43 Smith, *Strangers at Home*, 195.
- 44 Ruth Epp, *Countdown Collage: Hong Kong in Transition* (Bathurst: Crawford House Publishing, 1997), 1.
- 45 Epp, *Countdown Collage*, 2.
- 46 Epp, *Countdown Collage*, 2.
- 47 Epp, *Countdown Collage*, 17.
- 48 Janet W. Salaff, *Working Daughters of Hong Kong: Filial Piety or Power in the Family?* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1981).
- 49 Epp, *Countdown Collage*, 20.
- 50 Epp, *Countdown Collage*, 26.
- 51 Epp, *Countdown Collage*, 48.
- 52 Epp, *Countdown Collage*, 2.
- 53 Epp, *Countdown Collage*, 57.
- 54 Epp, *Countdown Collage*, 77.
- 55 Epp, *Countdown Collage*, 109–110.
- 56 Epp, *Countdown Collage*, 116.
- 57 Epp, *Countdown Collage*, 118.
- 58 Epp, *Countdown Collage*, 252.
- 59 Teresa Norton, "Tea for Tung and Tung for Tea," in Norton, *Mixed Nuts* (Hong Kong: Pure Solutions), 50–51.
- 60 Norton, "Home for the Handover," *Mixed Nuts*, 126–127.
- 61 Norton, "Home for the Handover," 126–127.
- 62 Norton, "Home for the Handover," 126–127.

- 63 Norton, “Home for the Handover,” 126–127.
- 64 Norton, “Reality Check on the Global Village,” *Mixed Nuts*, 13.
- 65 Norton, “No News Is Bad News,” *Mixed Nuts*, 58.
- 66 Norton, “The Kindness of Strangers,” *Mixed Nuts*, 61.
- 67 The description of the play as typifying the handover period and the script of the play itself are found in the volume edited by Mike Ingham and Xu Xi, *City Stage: Hong Kong Playwriting in English* (Hong Kong: Hong Kong University Press, 2005), 94–106.
- 68 See Nicole Constable, *Maid to Order in Hong Kong: Stories of Migrant Workers*, 2nd ed. (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 2007) and Isabel Taylor Escoda, *Hong Kong Postscript: Radio, Press and Fictional Reflections on Life in Hong Kong* (Hong Kong: Media Mark, 1994).
- 69 Norton, “Working My Way Back to You, Babe,” *Mixed Nuts*, 87.
- 70 One of several criticisms of white, middle-class women involved in the second-wave women’s movement was that they relied on women’s labor, often provided by women of color (who did not have the same access to education and economic mobility that their employers had) but did not acknowledge how they themselves were implicated in hierarchies of oppression. In Hong Kong, women’s groups and gender activists have pressured the Hong Kong government to be more sensitive to both racism and sexism and to the ways in which the two are intertwined in a marketplace that relies heavily on women’s labor but does little to guarantee their rights.
- 71 Shu-mei Shih, “Gender and a Geopolitics of Desire: The Seduction of Mainland Women in Taiwan and Hong Kong Media,” in Yang, ed., *Spaces of Their Own*, 297.
- 72 Stacilee Ford, *Mabel Chueng Yuen-Ting’s An Autumn’s Tale* (Hong Kong: Hong Kong University Press, 2007).
- 73 Conversation with Crystal Kwok, July 4, 2010. See also Patricia Brett Erens, “*The Mistress* and Female Sexuality,” in Esther M. K. Cheung, Gina Marchetti, and Tan See-kam, eds., *Hong Kong Screenscapes: From the New Wave to the Digital Frontier* (Hong Kong University Press, 2011), 239–251.
- 74 Karin Luisa Badt, “Mistress of Mistresses: A Poolside Talk with Director Crystal Kwok,” Spring 2006.
- 75 Badt, Interview with Crystal Kwok.
- 76 *South China Morning Post*, March 7, 2007.
- 77 “William,” HKU student reflection excerpt, HIST 2016 (November 2009). Student names have been changed to protect anonymity.
- 78 “Anna,” HKU student reflection excerpt, HIST 2016 (November 2009).
- 79 “Brad,” HKU student reflection excerpt, HIST 2016 (November 2009).

- 80 “Wei-Ming,” student reflection excerpt, HKU, HIST 2016 (November 2009).
81 “Connie,” HKU student reflection excerpt, HIST 2016 (November 2009).
82 “Carmen,” HKU student reflection excerpt, HIST 2016 (November 2009).
83 “Mei,” HKU student reflection excerpt, HIST 2016 (November 2009).
84 “Jason,” HKU student reflection excerpt, HIST 2016 (November 2009).

Conclusion

- 1 A nice accompaniment to Kwok’s film is the literary work of Xu Xi, whose stories about Hong Kong at the end of the twentieth and the beginning of the twenty-first century engage many of the themes and issues discussed in this study via fiction and personal essay. I have written about her 1990s novels elsewhere. See Staci Ford, “Claiming the Space: Fictionalizing Feminism in Xu Xi’s 1990s Hong Kong Novels,” *Lilith: A Feminist History Journal*, No. 14 (2005): 52–64. Her most recent novel, which was published just as this book went to press, is an excellent but certainly not the only example of mining women’s experiences to illuminate various aspects of Hong Kong history, society, and culture in a transnational context. See Xu Xi, *Habit of a Foreign Sky: A Novel* (Hong Kong: Haven Books, 2010).

Index

- 1997 handover, 141–42, 159, 163–64, 173
- Academy for Performing Arts, 160
- Air Hostess*, 129, 131,
- Albion Historical Society, 72
- Alexander, Kimberly, 29
- American Baptist Publication Society, 42
- American Chamber of Commerce (Hong Kong), 4, 118
- American Civil War, 48
- American Club, 115, 118
- American Colonization Society, Virginia, 34
- American Consulate (US Consulate), 38, 51, 54, 110–11
- “American girl” stereotype, 1–7, 17, 46, 48, 59–60, 86, 124, 126
sobriquet for prostitute, 50, 53, 179
- American orientalism, 58
- American Revolution, 27
- American studies, 3, 6–7, 14, 173
- American Tobacco Company, 49
- American traders/merchant houses in early Hong Kong, 38, 48
- American Women’s Association (AWA), 103, 104, 109–17, 138, 142–43, 180, 182
annual reports, 112–15
Chinese American women within, 113
gendered exceptionalism/maternal exceptionalism, 112, 115
pedagogical impulse within, 109
“second voice of America,” 112
Servicemen’s Guides, 114–15
- Americanization in Hong Kong, 10, 111, 141–42
and Hong Kong women, 6
and Mainland Chinese women, 10
neocolonialism, 12, 101, 127, 141, 149, 164, 181
popular culture and, 125, 180
- Anderson, Benedict, 8
- Andrews, Molly, 8, 11
- Apcar, A.G., 50
- Archer, Bernice, 76, 78
- Argyle Street Prison Camp, 77
- astronauts, 134, 169
- Australia, 18, 53
- Back to the Wall*, 161–62
- Baptist Church, Queen’s Road, 36
- Baptist mission, 34
- Bard, Solomon, 48
- Behind the Rising Sun*, 84
see also Gwen Dew
- Behrenhausen, Diane, 116–17
see also AWA
- Bennett, Sarah Jane, 50
- Benson, Stella, 50, 58
- “big frogism,” 106, 109, 150
- “big ladies,” 49–50

- see also* prostitutes
 Bird, Isabella, 23
 “bits of America/American culture,” 10, 105, 127, 133, 184n12, 203n4
 in Hong Kong cultural texts, 124–26, 141, 155
 see also Beng Huat Chua
 Bowen Path, 163
 Boxer, Charles, 65, 68, 87–88
 “brain drain,” 176
 British East India Company, 26, 33
 Brown, Wenzell, 74
 Buchanan, James, 87
 see also Gwen Dew
 Buck, Pearl S., 58, 59, 73, 87
 Burdick, Eugene and William Lederer, 105
 see also *The Ugly American*

 Canadian citizens in Hong Kong, 79
 Canossian Institute (Sacred Heart Canossian College), 90
 Canossian Mission, Caine Road, 90
 Canossian Sisters, 91, 101
 Canton, 18–20, 22, 29, 39, 47
 Cantopop, 127
 Carroll, John, 14, 39, 48
 Cathay Organization/Motion Pictures and General Investment (MP & GI), 129
 Cathay Studio films, 104, 132
 Cawthorne, Zelda, 116
 Chan, Jackie, 169
 Chang, Eileen (Zhang Ailing), 128
 Chang, Grace (Ge Lan), 128–29, 131–32, 138
 Cheng, Irene, 83
 Cheung, Yuen-ting, 168
 China Defence League, 62
China to Me, 57, 64–65, 81
 see also Emily Hahn
 China trade, 13, 18–19, 32, 180
 Chinese American women, 5, 10–11, 67–68, 89, 100, 113, 145, 149, 153, 176
 Chinese Americans, 57, 90, 151–52
 Chinese Civil War (20th Century), 93
 Chinese Diaspora, 8, 68–69, 92, 101, 128–32, 142, 181
 Chinese Exclusion Acts, 90
 Chinese Revolution of 1911, 58, 61–62
 Chinese University of Hong Kong, 111
 Chinese Women’s Association, 62
 Chiu, Patricia, 46
 Chongqing, 57–58, 65–66, 91
 Christianity and Chinese culture, 45, 59
 in Hong Kong, 44–45
 Chu Tin Lung, 138
 see also Woo Mo Han
 Chu Yingchi, 10, 127, 172
 Chua, Beng Huat, 105
 civil religion (US), 31
 civil rights movement (US), 163
 Civil War (US), 48
 Clinton, Hilary, 4
 Cold War Hong Kong, 13, 101, 103–4, 107, 111
 colonialism, 11, 57, 156
 Confucius, educational theory of, 93
 Constable, Nicole, 166
 contact zone, 12
 see also Mary Louise Pratt
Countdown Collage, 158
 see also Ruth Epp
 Counts, George, 93
 C.R. Lee, Mrs., 72
Culture Shock! Hong Kong, 148–50
 Cummings, Constance, 23
 Cuthbertson, Ken, 87

 Dean, Theodesia, 41
 Delano, Amasa, 19
 Delano family, 21
 DePree, Gladis, 104, 119–23, 158, 180
 see also *The Spring Wind*
Desperate Housewives, 4

- Detroit News*, 58, 71
- Dew, Gwen, 57–59, 61, 64, 70–82, 84–87, 89, 100, 179, 181
- Dew, Louise E., 70
- Dewey, John, 93
- DeWolfe, Hattie (aka Allie/Alice Windsor), 52–53
 see also Pierce Evans
- Domestic Manners of the Americans*, 24–25
 see also Frances Trollope
- Dower, John, 66
- Downs, Jacques, 22
- DuBois, W.E.B., 7
- Eastern Express*, 146, 160
- Emerson, Belle, 46–47, 51, 54, 181
- Empress of China*, 18
- Eng, Phoebe, 153
- Epp, Ruth, 155–60, 165, 180
 and pedagogical impulse, 158
- Equal Rights Amendment, 96
- Escoda, Isabel, 166
- Ethnic studies, 8
- Eurasians, 63, 68, 148
- Evans, Pierce, 52
 see also Hattie DeWolfe
- Exceptionalism
 American exceptionalism, defined, 8–9, 104, 109, 183n6
 during Cold War, 104, 106, 203n3
 as rhetorical device, 9–10, 112, 172, 181–82
 American women as exemplars of/ maternal exceptionalism, 60, 71, 75, 89, 114–15, 184n9
 Chinese exceptionalism, 11, 143, 155, 171, 182
 Hong Kong exceptionalism, 104, 139, 172–82
 in HKU student narratives, 172–77
 Western exceptionalism, 39
- exclusion era, 54
- extraterritoriality, 54
- Falling Leaves*
 see also Adeline Yen Mah
- feminism, 8, 95–96, 117, 124, 144, 149
- Fenwick Pier, 114, 115
- Financial Crisis of 2008, 172
- flexible citizenship, 134
 see also Aihwa Ong
- Ford Foundation, 110
- Friend of China*, 36
- Friends*, 4
- Fu, Poshek, 129, 132
- gender, 26, 48–50, 60, 63, 78–79, 110, 143, 181
- globalization, history of, 127
- globalization of sex work, 51
- Golden Harvest Studios, 169
- Government House, 111
- Greater East Asia Co-Prosperty Sphere, 100
- Greene, Graham, 105
- Hahn, Emily “Mickey,” 57–59, 61–66, 70, 74, 79–82, 84, 87–88, 100, 179, 181
China to Me, 57, 65, 81
Hong Kong Holiday, 65, 81
- Hall, Basil, 24
 see also Harriett Low
- Hall, Reverend (father of Henrietta Shuck), 34
- Henrietta School, The, 44
- Hilliard, John, 31
- Hilton Hotel (Hong Kong), 111, 116
- Hirohito, Emperor, 85
- Hiroshima, 86
 see also Gwen Dew
- Ho, Elaine, 126
- Hoe, Susanna, 20, 26, 40, 50
- Hollywood

- and Hong Kong film/popular culture, 125, 129, 142
- Hong Kong
- history as transnational history, 14, 172
 - identity as quasi-national identity, 127, 172, 184n10
 - as “in-between place” and “place of flow,” 14, 93, 125
 - see also* Elizabeth Sinn
- Hong Kong and Shanghai Bank, 39
- Hong Kong Council of Women, 118
- Hong Kong Daily Press, The*, 47
- Hong Kong Holiday*, 57, 64–66, 68–69, 81, 101
- see also* Emily Hahn
- Hong Kong International School, 111
- Hong Kong Standard*, 116
- Hong Kong Star*, 114
- A Hong Kong Story before 1997*, 104, 134–38
- see also* Woo Mo Han, Catherine
- Hong Kong Telegraph*, 53
- Hong Kong youth culture, 126
- Honolulu, 51, 67–68
- “horizon of expectation,” 29
- Horne, Gerald, 57, 75
- Ho-Tung, Sir Robert, 83
- Hunt, Michael, 39, 54, 128, 132
- imagined community, 8
- see also* Benedict Anderson
- Indian community in Hong Kong, 83, 148
- International Feminists’ League of Hong Kong (IFL), 116–17
- Jayawardena, Kumari, 39
- Jewish community in Hong Kong, 148
- Joint Declaration, 134
- Japanese-American relations, 76, 85
- Japanese occupation in China, 93
- Japanese occupation of Hong Kong, 57, 62–63, 89, 91
- Jessop, Kate, 53
- Jeter, J.B., 33–44
- Judson, Adoniram, 33
- Judson, Ann, 33, 44–45
- June Bride*, 129, 131–32
- Kai Tak Airport, 71
- Kaminski, Teresa, 76
- Kaplan, Amy, 33
- Keith, Agnes, 69–70, 76
- Kerber, Linda, 27
- Kinare, Alan, 136–37
- see also* Woo Mo Han
- Kings College, 100
- Kinsman, Nathaniel, 28
- Kinsman, Rebecca, 28–29, 35, 38, 40, 42
- Klein, Christina, 105, 115
- Korean War, 103, 115
- Kowloon, 73, 135, 138
- Kroes, Rob, 127
- Kwan, Stanley S.K., 99, 124–25
- Kwok, Crystal, 167–72, 181
- see also* *The Mistress*
- Ladies Benevolent Society (Hong Kong), 50
- Lambie, Roxanne, 87
- Lan Kwai Fong, 170
- L. Dunbar & Co., 49
- Lee, Loretta, “Domestic Servants Surveys” (AmCham), 118
- Legge, Helen Edith, 40
- Legge, James, 40
- Lethbridge, Henry J., 40
- Leung, Benjamin, 126
- Leung Man Wah, 91
- see also* Eleanor Thom
- Li, Jet, 169
- Los Angeles, 51
- Low, Harriett, 17, 20–31, 35, 39, 41–42, 47, 54–55, 63, 74–75, 77, 100, 123–24, 162, 177, 179, 181

- Low, William H., 21
 Luce Foundation, 110
 Lugard Scholarship, 90
 Lyndhurst Terrace, 54
- Ma Tau Chung Prison Camp, 77
 Macao, 13, 17–36, 38–39, 47, 53, 179
 MacArthur, General Douglass, 85
MacArthur's Japan, 84, 86–87
 see also Gwen Dew
 Malaysia, 105
Mambo Girl, 129–31
 manifest domesticity, 33
 see also Amy Kaplan
 Manila, 52
 Marchetti, Gina, 115
 Marco Polo, 87–88
 Market Republic, 141
 Martin, Jean, 82
 Martineau, Harriet, *Society in America*, 26
 Maryknoll Sisters, 103, 118
 May Fourth Period, 58, 96
 McClintock, Anne, 18
 medicine, Chinese vs. Western, 29
Memoir of Mrs. Henrietta Shuck, The First American Female Missionary to China, 33
 see also Henrietta Shuck
 Michener, James, “The New Mem-sahibs,” 105
 Mid-Levels, 170
 Middle Kwai Chung Village (Tsuen Wan), 156–57, 160
 migration melodramas, 167
 Miners, Norman, 49
 missionaries (Western), 31–21, 80, 124, 159
 Baptists, 37–38
 Catholics in Macao, 31
 Chinese responses to, 32
 and education/women’s rights, 45–46
 gender difference within
 missionary encounters/
 communities, 32, 35
 history of missionary work in Asia, 31–32
 and opium, 32
 Protestants, 17, 31, 40, 45
Mistress, The, 167–72
Mixed Nuts, 160
 see also Teresa Norton
 M.J. Connell & Co, 49
Mother's Journal, The, 43
 see also Henrietta Shuck
 “Mrs. Elegant,” 74–76
 MTR (Mass Transit Railway), 3
mui-tsai, 36
 Muzumo, Lieutenant, 72
- Naked Earth*, 128
 see also Eileen Chang
 narrative studies, 8
 national consciousness, 155
 national day, 175
 National Security Council report (1957)
 on Hong Kong, 127
 New England, 18
New Gold Mountain, The, 151
 New Women
 in China, 94, 96
 in the US, 94
 New Women’s Movement Association (Hong Kong), 62
New Yorker, The, 58, 64,
North-China Daily News, 64
 Norton, Teresa, 155–56, 160–67
- Obama, Barack, 172
 “offshore America,” 126–27
 Okihiro, Gary, 19
 Olyphant & Company, 19
 Ong, Aihwa, 134
 opium trade, 22, 32, 38, 49
 orientalism, 14

- Overseas Americans, The*, 106, 107, 109, 118
- Passic, Frank, 72, 78
 see also Albion Historical Society
- Peak Ordinance, 83
- Pearl Harbor, 73
- Pease, Donald, 104
- pedagogical impulse, 70, 181–82
 and AWA, 109
 and Betty Wei, 147
 definition of, 5–6, 9, 12
 and Gladis DePree, 119, 123
 and Grace Chang's films, 132
 and Gwen Dew, 57, 75, 79, 85–86
 and Eleanor Thom, 57, 93, 101
 and Emily Hahn, 57, 88–89
 and Harriett Low, 23
 and Henrietta Shuck, 34, 38, 44
 and missionary narratives, 31
 and pre-1997 period, 143
 and Ruth Epp, 155, 158
 in student narratives, 172–77
 and Teresa Norton, 155, 164
- Peninsula Hotel, 133
- Perkins, Frances, 96
- Pfeiffer, Ida, 48
- Plan for the Organization and Administration of a Proposed Private Secondary School for Girls in Canton, China*, A 92
 see also Eleanor Thom
- Portuguese in Macao, 22, 38
 in Hong Kong, 68, 148
- postcolonialism, 8, 14, 107
- Pratt, Mary Louise, 12
 see also contact zone
- Priestwood, Gwen, 82–84
- Prisoner of the Japs*, 71, 79, 84–86
 see also Gwen Dew
- Progressive Education Movement (US), 95
- prostitutes/sex workers, 46–55, 179, 181, 193n146, 194n154
 American, 46, 47, 50–51, 53–54
- Qing restrictions on women, 19–20, 27
- Quiet American, The*, 105
 see also Graham Greene
- radio in Hong Kong, 137–38, 160
- Red Star over China*, 61
 see also Edgar Snow
- Republican Motherhood, 27
 see also Linda Kerber
- Repulse Bay Hotel, 74, 82–83
- Rice Sprout Song*, 128
 see also Eileen Chang
- Robert, Dana, 35–36
- Roberts, Issacher, 36
- Roosevelt, Eleanor, 96
- Roosevelt, Franklin Delano, 73
- Roosevelt Foundation, 135–36
- rubber-band nationality, 6, 155
 see also Carolyn Smith
- Rupp, Leila J., 62
- Russell & Company, 19, 21
- Russell Family, 21
- Saigon, 52
- Salaff, Janet, 157
- Salem, Massachusetts, 21, 28
- San Francisco, 51, 52, 163, 171
- Saunders, Eva, 50–51, 181
- Scenes in China: Or, Sketches of the Country, Religion, and Customs, of the Chinese*, 42
 see also Henrietta Shuck
- Schriber, Mary Suzanne, 42–43
- Scully, Eileen, 47, 49–51, 53
- Self-Help for Foreigners*, 150–52
- Selwyn-Clarke, Selwyn, 80, 82, 101
- September 11th, 2001, 172
- Sex and the City*, 4

- Sham Shui Po Prison Camp, 77
- Shanghai, 51–54, 58, 64
 compared to Hong Kong, 61
 Emily Hahn in, 65
 International Settlement in, 84
- Shaw, Damian, 21, 29, 55,
 on travel and “fracturing of
 national identity,” 30, 70
- Shih, Shu-mei, 168
- Shuck, Eliza, 45
- Shuck, Henrietta, 17, 33–48, 54–55, 74,
 100, 123–24, 158, 179–81
- Shuck, Jehu Lewis, 34, 35, 37, 45
- Simpson, Wallace Warfield, 59
- Singapore, 52, 105
- Singh, Geetanjali, 95
- Sinn, Elizabeth, 14, 90
- Sino-American relations, 17, 19
- slavery (US), 41, 179
- Smedley, Agnes, 58, 59, 61–62
- Smith, Carl, 45, 53,
- Smith, Carolyn, 6, 155
- Snow, Edgar, 61
- Snow, Helen Foster, 58–61, 64
- Soong Ching-ling (Madam Sun Yat-
 sen), 62
- Soong sisters, 59, 65
- South China Morning Post*, 73, 113, 116,
 143–46, 160–61, 171
- Southern Baptist Convention Domestic/
 Foreign Boards, 45
- Special Administrative Region (SAR),
 164
- Spring Wind, The*, 104, 119–23, 138
 see also Gladis DePree
- Standard Oil Company, 49, 60
- Stanley Ho Sports Ground, 163
- Stanley Internment Camp, 58, 65, 73,
 75–77
- Star, The* (Hong Kong), 119
- Stoller, Ann Laura, 46
- Supreme Allied Command Pacific
 (SACP), 85
- Tada, Colonel, 72
- Taft, Secretary William Howard, 53
- Tai Pan*, 115
- Teacher’s College, Columbia University,
 90–93
- Thom Wai Chun, Eleanor, 57–58, 68,
 89–93, 100, 179, 181
 as “cultural defender/broker,” 90,
 93, 100
 on education for Chinese girls/
 women, 92, 94–97, 99
 pedagogical impulse within
 dissertation, 93, 100
 on Western feminism and postwar
 backlash against change,
 94–97
- Thoreau, Henry David, 19
- Three Came Home*, 69–70
 see also Agnes Keith
- Tiananmen, 134
- T’ien Hsia*, 64
- Times and Places*, 65
- Treaty of Nanking, 38
- Treaty of Wangxia, 39
- Trollope, Frances, 24–25
- Tsang-Feign, Cathy, 150
- Tucker, Nancy Bernkopf, 110, 111, 125
- Tung Chee Hwa, 162
- Ugly American, The*, 105
 see also Eugene Burdick and
 William Lederer
- United Press (UPI), 71
- University of Hong Kong, The, 3, 61,
 90–91, 110, 143, 172–77
- University Women’s Club (Hong Kong),
 118
- USA & Company, 141
- US education, 59
- US Department of State, 71
- US Educational Policy Commission, 93,
 97–98

- US embargo on Mainland Chinese goods, 110
- US Government, 76
- US Immigration Act (1965), 134
- US Information Service (USIS) and Hong Kong cultural production, 127–29, 132
- US Navy Seventh Fleet, 115
- US Office of Strategic Services, 84
- “Usefulness” in foreign communities, 31, 34, 37–39, 47, 123, 182
- Utley, Freda, 58
- Vagina Monologues, The*, 171
- Van Dyke, Paul, 18,
- Victoria, 53, 83
- Victoria Peak, 80
- Victorian womanhood, 17, 27, 47
- Vietnam War, 103, 115
- Virginia Baptist Seminary, 34
- Vittachi, Nuri, 162, 165
- voluntary submission women, 50
see also prostitutes
- Wan Chai, 53, 115
- Wang, Larry, 151
- War Memorial Hospital (Matilda), 80
- Warrior Lessons*, 153–155
- Web, Florence, 73
- Wei, Betty Peh-T’I, 143–51, 160, 181
- Wellington Street, 53
- West, Rebecca, 66
- Wetmore & Company, 28
- whiteness/white privilege and colonial privilege, 8, 11, 14, 18, 22, 39, 75, 115
and national identity, 58–59, 68–69, 71, 74–76
- Wolloch, Nancy, 96
- women in Hong Kong
Chinese women, 62
European women, 48
- Women’s Concern Association, 62
- women’s history, 32
- Women’s Military Disaster Association, 62
- women’s movements in Hong Kong, 142, 181, 209n5, n6
- Wong, K. Scott, 89–90
- Woo, Mo Han, 104, 133, 134–37, 155, 180
- Wordie, Jason, 14–15, 48, 81
- World of Suzie Wong, The*, 115
- World War II, 62–65, 69, 72–75, 83, 95, 109, 135
- “Wriston Report on the US Foreign Service” (1954), 107
- Wyndham Street, 54
- Yang, Mayfair Mei-hui, 142
- Yen Mah, Adeline, *Falling Leaves*, 133
- Yokohama, 54, 73, 84
- Yoshihara, Mari, 58–59
- YMCA, 60
- YWCA (Hong Kong), 62, 118
- Zau, Sinmay, 64–65, 87
- Zung, Frankie, 69