
US-American Protestant Missionaries and Translation in China 1894-1911

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Abstract: In her article "US-American Protestant Missionaries and Translation in China 1894-1911" Mingyu Lu discusses impact of and surrounding atmosphere between Protestant missionaries and Chinese intellectuals in translating Western texts. During the national crisis in 1894-1911, Protestant missionaries and Chinese intellectuals co-translated a large number of Western texts and adjusted their translations with regard to content and objectives. While the missionaries and their Chinese co-translators held different views towards the mapping of learning specifically towards Western learning, Chinese learning, and Christian messages, the translations were of significant impact in the period discussed. Lu argues that under the appeal of national renewal, both Chinese and Protestant missionaries joined in constructing new learning and a new culture during which they went through a change of mentality to learning and culture. Lu's argumentation is a revision of the usual colonial perspective and she proposes that in the case of said translation of foreign texts the situation is more complicated than it could be assumed.

Mingyu LU

US-American Protestant Missionaries and Translation in China 1894-1911

The period of 1894-1911 is one of the most eventful and transitional periods in Chinese history during which seeking national salvation and introducing Western learning became one of its main themes. From the first Sino-Japanese War (1894-1895) to the Revolution of 1911, China experienced turmoil from both the inside and with powers outside of the country. The results of the Sino-Japanese War broke bureaucrats' dream of revitalizing China through Western military knowledge and technology and Christian missionaries took the opportunity and publicized Western learning and culture. Chinese reformists, on the other hand, advocated that China's "weakness" did not result from its backwardness in military knowledge and the sciences, but in ideology, institutions, and culture. Missionaries and Chinese scholars either translated or co-translated large numbers of Western books in the humanities and social sciences from English to Chinese and some Western scholars view this as a positive development in China's history: "the publications of Protestant missionaries, and especially, those issued by the Society for the Diffusion of Christian and Useful Knowledge, were largely instrumental in enlightening the Chinese minds" (Forsythe 53). However, as we will see this view is more complicated and nuanced.

Driven by the radical efforts of extricating China from Western control, people from the lower classes organized themselves and started the Boxer Rebellion (1897-1901): it ended in defeat and until Revolution of 1911 — when the Qing government was overturned and the first republic was established — the end of 267 years of the Manchu Qing dynasty and over 2000 years of imperial rule was declared. Although Chinese attempts of revitalizing the nation suffered failure and frustration again and again between 1894 and 1911, it has never stopped. On the contrary, it appeared that attempts were made in ever lesser intervals with ever expanding scale and impact and with radical and forceful intent. Such were the social-historical conditions for translation in 1894-1911 and in the following I discuss the impact of foreign translations executed and facilitated by US-American Protestant missionaries in the said period.

The impact of US-American Protestant missionaries began in the first half of the nineteenth century:

The example of American Protestant missions to China ... in their support for the gunboat diplomacy of the Opium Wars, offers a well-known and notorious example of collaboration with political and economic imperialism. Yet the high degree of cooperation among missionaries and other Westerners did not last, and so the example of early missions to China also illustrates the tenuous and shifting nature of such outright collaboration ... The opening of American Protestant missions to China during the 1830s was closely connected to a major change in the China trade. In 1834 the British formally abolished the East India Company's monopoly, and the leading role in the China trade now passed to the "private merchants" ... As propagandists and interpreters, the missionaries proved their value as spokespersons for imperialism, but they were acting more as agents of political and economic imperialism than as cultural imperialists in their own right. (Harris 315-16; on the history of Protestant missionaries in China see also Stanley; Williamson)

US-American Protestant missionaries obtained more extensive privileges since following the first Opium War (1839-1842) to come to China to build churches and convert, but besides proselytizing they engaged in various activities to introduce matters Western such as publishing newspapers and magazines, opening schools at various levels, translating books, conducting medical practices, doing charity works, and founding communities, libraries, and museums. Although these activities served the Protestant missionaries' goal of converting China into a Christian country, they catered to the population by relating to the China's main concern of the time: national renewal. Before the first Sino-Japanese war, China's plans focused on military and manufacturing reforms, while after the war emphasis was on ideological, cultural, and institutional reforms. Accordingly, Protestant missionaries turned their attention from the sciences to social sciences to meet the Chinese need and this shift of focus was also reflected in their translations of Western texts. Following the Sino-Japanese War, a large number of Western books in the humanities and social sciences poured into China. After the Sino-Japanese war, there was a sudden increase while in the ending phase after 1911 it saw a decrease. Before the Sino-Japanese war, co-translation was in practice most of the time: that is, Westerners translated the source text orally to Chinese and Chinese scholars put the text to written

words in Chinese. After the Sino-Japanese war, Chinese intellectuals took up translation themselves: this means that they changed from a passive to active role and from subordinate to dominant as more bilingual talents were cultivated through either studying abroad or learning English in missionary schools. However, after the Sino-Japanese war it was the Protestant missionaries who had been taking the lead in translating Western texts. For example, between 1897 and 1911 Western books published by the Christian Literature Society were 461 of which 238 were non-religious books, 85 non-religious books of some religious content, and 138 religious books (see Xin <<http://xinfajia.net/8695.html>>) and many books were published in pirated translations. Importantly, in 1898 there were reports of striking increases in the numbers of Chinese inquiring about instruction in Western subjects (see Forsythe 52).

Chinese scholarship produced some results on Protestant introduction of Western texts and on Chinese striving for national salvation. However, the two were studied separately. Their interrelation was rarely touched upon although Chinese exploration of national salvation had a considerable influence on Protestant translations. Translation objectives, guidelines, strategies, and foci were adapted to Chinese search of national salvation (Lu 242). and the relation between Protestant translators and Chinese collaborators were reoriented accordingly. So were the relations among writers, translators, and readers. Because of Protestant special identities as both missionaries and foreigners, their translations involved Christianity, Western learning, Chinese learning, national salvation, and nationalism. The study of their translations with respect to China's national salvation not only exposed the characteristics of the translations in 1894-1911, but also reflected the historical situation of the time.

My interest in the above processes is about how Christianity and Confucianism, Western learning and Chinese learning, nationalism and matters of national renewal were interrelated and how they were epitomized in translations. Why were Protestant missionaries rather than Catholic missionaries acting as catalysts? I submit that although Catholic missionaries outnumbered Protestant missionaries in the late Qing period, the latter were influenced by the Evangelical Awakening Movement and advocated converting China through social reforms and transformation. Unlike the former who held direct preaching as the guideline for activities in China, Protestants resorted to indirect ways to spread the gospel. They were the organizers and activists in various secular activities and social reforms and they had more contacts with Chinese bureaucrats, officials, intellectuals, and reformists of higher social status. Translation is a historical act. Therefore, in specific historical situations, translation was endowed with specific characters and functions. This was reflected in a series of factors in translation: writers, translators, readers, source texts, translations, translational objectives, principles and strategies, and specific ways of handling various issues concerning translation. Between 1894 and 1911, national salvation was one of the urgent pursuits for Chinese. How did Protestant translation respond to Chinese search for national salvation? What changes did Protestant translation of Western learning have under national salvation and what influence did Protestant translation have on new learning and new culture?

First, views of Protestants and Chinese on Western learning differed and changed under national salvation. For self-strengthening movement bureaucrats translation became important because "translation is the foundation for manufactures. Foreign manufacturing is derived from math, all the profound mysteries of which can be discovered through diagrams and explanations. It is simply because the languages are mutually incomprehensible that, even though every day we operate their machines, after all we do not understand the principles underlying their manufacture and operation" (Spence 147). As the active advocate in the Reform Movement of 1898, Qichao Liang suggested that "self-strengthening was the first and foremost pursuit and should be followed by translation of Western works" (279; unless indicated otherwise, all translations are mine) and for Protestant missionaries like John Fryer, "the fact that the Translation Department has been established and kept up so long by the Government argues well for the future prospects of China, as it shows that whatever may be the national pride in her antiquated literature, or whatever may be her attitude towards the diplomatists of foreign powers, or the missionaries of foreign religions, she recognized the fact that knowledge is confined to no nation or country. She is therefore willing to be taught even by the 'foreign barbarians' such useful things as she feels she is ignorant of ... the more the celestial mind

drinks at this fountain, the greater will become its thirst for further supplies" (Fryer qtd. in Spence 152).

During 自强运动 (Self-Strengthening Movement) reform ideas were not in the foreground in translations of texts in science and technology, but hid between the lines or concealed in notes or margins. However, after the Sino-Japanese War, reform was put in the highlight of the translations to attract readers: either the translated books themselves were systematic introductions of nation strengthening or ideas for reforms were elaborated and emphasized in translations. D.Z. Sheffield, in the preface of his translation *The State*, related his objective with the Qing government's ongoing New Reforms and constitution preparation and wrote that by translating he hoped China could learn from Western political institutions and systems so that Qing's political reforms would not be full of "defects, errors, and ignorance" (Sheffield qtd. in Xie 1). After the Sino-Japanese war, Japan was seen as a successful example of learning from the West to achieve national renewal. On the other hand, Protestants aimed to convert China into a Christian country through translating Western publications. Consequently, what concerned translational activity was affected and different features were formed under the objectives of national renewal. In regard to translation standards, faithfulness to the original was not adhered to by either the Protestant or the Chinese translators, nor was elegance of expression. What was mostly stressed was the rendering of the original's fundamental ideas. As far as the selection of source texts was concerned, both parties were not after classical works, but after practicality. For example, Protestants translated many textbooks or various parts of *the Encyclopedia Britannica* to meet the need of Chinese inquiry for basic Western knowledge. With regard to readership, Protestants targeted intellectuals, officials, and bureaucrats and not a public readership. This was in accord with their top-down proselytizing policy in China: they expected to influence people of higher social status and only through them to possibly influence the population.

The appeal of national renewal effected changes to the relations in the processes of translation not only in the relation between the Protestant translators and the Chinese coordinators/translators, but also with regard to Chinese readers. In the disguise of translation, the status of Protestant translators changed from missionaries to "experts" while Chinese readers changed from an equal standing to the status of students. As missionaries, Protestants were usually isolated from Chinese culture proper and as translators their identities as missionaries were concealed or less marked. Thus they were welcomed and respected for the knowledge they held, especially when such knowledge was believed capable of revitalizing China. Further, in the translated texts the Protestant translators were able to input notions of Christianity and the argument that Western prosperity came from Western learning and that Western learning originates in Christianity. On the other hand, the appeal of national renewal in translations changed Chinese readers' identity from the subjects to be preached to the subjects to be educated. Protestant missionaries found it hard to input Christianity by means of direct preaching for Chinese generally believed that traditional Confucianism was superior to Christianity and Christianity could not revive China. Where direct preaching was found to be difficult in attracting Chinese readers, indirect proselytizing such practiced in the translated texts could make a difference.

After the Sino-Japanese War, Western learning was widely accepted by the Chinese as superior to Chinese traditional learning and held by many as the recourse to China's revitalization and thus Chinese readers, especially reformists, were eager to grasp this by reading translations of Western works. Therefore, readers' status in translation was lowered to that of students whereas Protestant translators' status was raised close to teachers. Such unequal relations between translators and readers formed the authority of translators. Further, it was difficult for Chinese readers to detect religious contexts in the translated texts and even harder to filter them out if they found such. Although Chinese readers continued to be the subjects of preaching in both direct and indirect proselytizing practices, their attitudes varied considerably.

There were many reasons behind choosing team translation as the main method of translation, most of which explained why it was the common practice by missionaries in China's history of the translation of foreign texts. For example, in the twelfth century when Buddhist scriptural translations were in vogue, co-translation was the common practice and a complicated translation procedure was followed: translation teams were formed by members varying from Indian monks to Chinese Buddhists. In the sixteenth to the eighteenth century it were Jesuit and Protestant missionaries who organized translation teams including Chinese scholars. The reason for the inclusion of Chinese

translators was because the missionaries' knowledge of Chinese was insufficient, obviously, and without the assistance of the Chinese the translated text would not have had the elegance and expressiveness esteemed by Chinese intellectuals, let alone members of the imperial administration. On the other hand, differences between the two distant language families were also obstacles to Chinese intellectuals who had to depend on Westerners to interpret the meaning of source texts. Another reason for the team approach by the missionaries was that co-translation helped build the authority of the source text with regard to the readership in general. At the same time, some of the "strangeness" of the translated texts was received favorably because of the nationalists who were eager to reform China according to Western models. On the other hand, Chinese intellectuals gave the translated texts a touch of Chinese writing style and acculturative refinement, which reduced resistance by anti-foreign nationalists. The tension between the source text and the translation and between the foreign and native translators was somehow reduced by giving native narrators the credit as translators.

In most cases, the missionaries put their signatures before their Chinese co-translators, not only because they were usually the employers of the Chinese, but also because they were the decision makers in the processes of translation: they were the ones who selected and knew the original texts and who could make changes in the first round of translation from the source texts to the Chinese version. If Chinese coordinators did not know English or did not bother to refer to the source text, they would not notice the changes made by missionary translators. Further, between 1894 and 1911 faithfulness in translation was not emphasized as a perspective of translation. Casual translations were common with editing, revision, omission, changes, and fake translation prevalent during the time. In many cases, translations were assumed as writings or conversely, writings were disguised as translations. Signatures of translators were also unreliable and diverse with fake signatures or anonymity, as well as multi-signatures. The non-standard signature practice in late Qing translations often followed the long tradition of non-standard signature practice in Chinese writing.

Although, overall, Protestant missionaries translated Western texts in ways different from each other, there were certain common practices and strategies they employed. One was the tendency to criticize traditional Chinese thought which they considered "old" while introducing Western thought. The Protestant missionaries advocated that in order to introduce foreign thought to China to replace traditional notions with new ones the existing and deep-rooted ideological systems ought to be questioned or discarded so that new ones could have an opportunity to enter and to establish themselves in the existing system. Thereby, one feature of late Qing Protestant translations is that introductions went hand in hand with criticism, that is, Protestants tended to criticize defects in China while introducing Western remedies for it or they would mix critical opinion and introduction together to build argumentation. Usually, in the first part of a translation or in its introduction or preface, Protestant translators wrote about corruption or the backwardness of traditional ideology and attacked traditional doctrines. Often the argumentation for the superiority of Western thought was executed by contrasting China's or other countries' past with the advanced situation of the West. Interestingly, Chinese translators also tended to do this, but not equal in degree and extent.

Another feature of Protestant translations was the addition of Christianity in order to proselytize. Although it was Western thought and not Christianity per se desired by the Chinese, the missionaries often inserted or hid Christian ideas in their translations. For example, when introducing new knowledge about chemistry, they took the opportunity and referred it to the unpredictability of the world versus god's designs and this was a suggestion that Christianity carried more value for China's revitalization than Western thought in general or chemistry in particular. The Chinese, however, related their national renewal to Western thought in the sciences and technology and thus found it difficult and irrelevant to link China's strengthening with Christian religious belief. Another example is that near the end of the Sino-Japanese War, many missionaries entertained hopes for reform and defeat in the war was attributed to providence as a means to convince the Chinese that reform was imperative as a result of repentance as practiced in Christianity (see, e.g., Forsythe, *An American Missionary* 48). For the Chinese there appeared no convincing cause-effect logic that Christianity could help the Chinese to drive imperialist powers out and strengthen their nation. Thus it appears that while with regard to Western thought about science and technology the missionaries and Chinese

intellectuals shared consensus, when it came to consider the missionaries' objective to instill Christianity they diverged.

Translation strategies of the source texts' "domestication" and the maintaining of some of their foreign-ness were practiced by the missionaries, but in different ways and both strategies were affected by the Chinese search for revitalization. Generally speaking, the strategy of domestication was adopted by the missionaries in two ways: one was to modify Western thought by reducing its foreign-ness to fit with Chinese thought and the other was to modify Chinese thought by the reinterpretation of Chinese classics to discover similarities between the Western and the Chinese cultures. In response to the Chinese search of national renewal, both domestication and the texts' foreign-ness were used where the content was emphasized and the meaning was targeted so that new thought or different ideology could be conveyed. However, to ensure smooth reception, the strategy of domestication was used more often when the form and writing style mattered and the essence of the content and the notion of ideology advocated in the original would not suffer distortion or loss. For example, the "classical three character" style was adopted to introduce Christian messages in missionary translations (see Barnett and Fairbank 56)

A result of the missionaries' translations was that some missionaries managed to build their status as experts in China's reform movement. For example, Timothy Richard (1845-1919) acted as consultant (see Richard; on Richard see also Bohr; Scott) and missionary journalist Young John Allen (1836-1907) — after translating Western educational texts into Chinese and founding two schools in Shanghai — was asked by the Chinese government to write a proposal for China's national education reform (see Bennett). Between 1894 and 1911, the appeal of national renewal had an impact on what material was chosen for Protestant translations and how it was translated. It also influenced Chinese readers' reaction to Protestant translations. As the previous part illustrated, what was translated conformed the different national salvation plans in different historical phases. From military and science knowledge during the Self-Strengthening Movement to social sciences and institutional administration after the Sino-Japanese War and to cultural and ideological notions around the Revolution of 1911, various attempts at national salvation were made by Chinese via western learning. Accordingly, Protestants selected corresponding Western works to translate to Chinese. Different strategies were applied in their translations in dealing with western learning, traditional Chinese learning and Christianity.

The understanding of the impact of translation on Chinese culture required deeper knowledge of what was translated and what was the effect of Western thought on people and society. In the context of national renewal, it also involved how new thought and ideas of reforms introduced by the translations differed from traditional teachings, how branches of new learning differed from each other, and what significance new thought had over old. In China, scholars and institutions were regarded as independent and separate entities in education and the translation of foreign texts changed this division with the objective to construct a combined pedagogical system of "old" and "new." Therefore, innovation in education was no longer either institutional innovation or the teachers' task, but innovation for both scholars and institutions. It was the same with other reforms such as social relations (e.g., equality between men and women), customs, politics, economy, religion, international relations, etc. They were reforms meant for improving and in many instances changing traditional Chinese ideology aimed at the general population, too. The Protestant missionaries' knowledge of two cultures equipped them with knowledge of both the new and the old and with thinking modes of both the East and the West.

As for the Chinese, the impact of colonization by Western powers forced them to appeal to Western learning for national renewal. However, without the national crisis, they would not have been in such a haste to import Western thought and thus the Chinese attitude towards Western learning is perhaps best defined as "passively eager" between 1894 and 1911. As I explain above, the overt and/or covert proselytizing raised resistance while with regard to traditional Chinese thought and practices in pedagogy they tried to preserve as much as possible not only because of their bond to traditional ideology and Confucian doctrines, but also because of the fear that Western thought would have a destructive impact. Traditional Chinese culture was held superior to any other in the world passed down from ancestors as the unifying force uniting the nation as a whole and thereby should be honored and adhered. As long as the traditional teachings were not contradictory to the new Western

ideologies, thinking, and practices the structure of traditional Chinese thinking was to be followed and cherished. For example, Fu Yan — who was instrumental in the introduction of Western thinking to China — applied a binary way to divide Chinese thought into both the corrupted part and the beneficial part. He argued that patriarchy and monarchy, as well as Confucius's three cardinal principles and the five constant virtues for women should be abandoned, but that traditional Chinese ethics and morals had the potential to strengthen the nation in which benevolence and righteousness, faithfulness and justice, fairness, and the importance of honor and shame were important to adhere to and that these virtues and practices represent universal truth (see, e.g., Schwartz; Shen).

While the missionaries and the Chinese worked in agreement with regard to the relevance and importance of the translation of Western texts in that both were willing to introduce them to China, the Chinese expressed opposition towards the ideas of religion proclaimed as superior by the foreigners. Although the Chinese co-translators were not always successful in eliminating the input of ideas of religion in the translated texts, what they adhered to is the recognition of the value of the foreign texts and proceeded to filter out the said proselytizing. Further, the various strategies of tailoring and tampering with and in the process of translation by both parties created, nevertheless, a situation of team work where there was much give-and-take to mitigate between parties. At the same time, as Paul W. Harris suggests, a specific and powerful society — the 广学会 (SDUKC: Society for the Diffusion of Useful Knowledge) — imposed and succeeded in creating serious limitations on the foreigners' objectives to Westernize China: "The strategy behind the SDUKC might be called one of 'diffuse Westernization' because the message was broadcast widely but with an inevitably minimal and unpredictable impact on individual recipients. An 'intensive' strategy for China's Westernization, in contrast, would seek a promoting by maximal impact on a smaller audience" (322). What Harris suggests with regard to the difficulty of reaching the general Chinese population with the translation of foreign texts is also relevant to perhaps the most important segment of the population when the imperative of the missionaries is aimed at pedagogy, namely the youth: "Mission leaders recognized that too much Westernization would unfit young people for the native ministry, leaving them discontent with village life and out of sympathy with their own people. Yet this effort to maintain cultural bonds between pastors and their people also involved aggressive efforts to hold down salaries so that workers would be forced to maintain the life styles of their impoverished flocks" (Harris 332). What Harris connects here is what is obvious: the missionaries' objective was not only the importation of "superior" thought, but doing so in the context of maximum profit within colonization. Further, only a limited amount of foreign texts could be produced by the missionaries and most importantly — and despite the said co-operation in team work — they had little control over how it would be received by the general Chinese readership as Harris suggests. The publications of the Society for example — the translation of textbooks and excerpts from the *Encyclopaedia Britannica* — did influence some Chinese, but more as a source of information than of inspiration (see Harris 322). Although some Chinese officials acquired a relatively positive image of the West, they were not persuaded by reading foreign works to become more like Westerners. Instead, what the main result of the translated texts in the period discussed was that foreign texts are needed as long as they are useful for China.

Nevertheless, the appeal of national renewal and whatever is useful for this purpose imbued the foreign translations with the power to change society. Protestant translations between 1894 and 1911 were not merely introductions to knowledge, but representations of new learning and new social relations and systems. They joined in China's social reforms and new mapping of learning in Chinese culture. In the call for China's revitalization, various kinds of learning were subject to different treatments by the Chinese and the missionaries. For example, individuality was not as much advocated as democracy: those ideas which were urgent and relevant to China's strengthening were selected and well received in the specific social-historical situations, such as the concepts about parliament, constitution, republic, etc. In a word, the appeal to China's revitalization facilitated the mapping of learning and further initiated reforms in society. Western texts translated by Protestants was endowed with the mission of national renewal: thus — in the name of national revitalization — Western learning challenged traditional Chinese learning and brought about various social and ideological reforms in politics, education, diplomacy and custom, etc.

As designs for national renewal were not static, but changing with time, Protestant translations went through changes in content, roles, and status. After 1911, the Chinese gradually took up

translations independently, so that the Protestant missionaries' role as translators and their status as experts was replaced gradually by Chinese intellectuals who received Western education and were proficient in English. Following the above said, we can assume there was a division between Western learning and Chinese learning. In fact, I submit that the division only exists before they came to interact with each other. Once they are interrelated with one another, new learning will be formed and the former components (Western learning and Chinese learning) will cease to exist and will be recreated like substances in a chemical reaction. However, as might be the case in a chemical reaction, under some circumstances Western learning and Chinese learning could meet each other without interacting and/or while interacting. Such cases should be taken into consideration, but they should not be categorized as a process of forming something new. Opposite to new learning is old learning, which does not mean Chinese learning or traditional learning and can only be defined as a differentiation to distinguish new learning in its formative stage from the previous stage. Therefore, the words "old" or "new" carry neither a complimentary nor derogatory sense. It is the same with "new culture," "old culture," "Western culture" and "Chinese culture." New culture is formed whenever different cultures interplay and interrelate with one another. It is not a simple process as addition, but integration. Therefore, it is a dynamic, gradual process: neither the new nor the old ingredients remain the same. New learning is part of new culture and it reflects some characteristics and mechanics of new culture. That is, new culture can be studied from its more concrete constituent part — new learning. To narrow it further, translation could be seen as a process of new learning. When Protestant translators first introduced concepts like "president," "democracy," "constitution," "science," or "education" these terms went through a process of dynamic integration of foreign meaning with traditional meaning. From transliteration to annotation, the new terms in Protestant translations not only reveal the underlying conflicts and compromise between Western learning and culture and Chinese learning and culture, but also expose the mechanics and processes governing the process of integration of new learning or the formation of a new culture.

My argumentation is to interpret imperial and colonial processes not as usual with one side understood as the "bad" and the other as the "subservient," but to suggest that there could be more to the situation of colonialism — at least in the situation I am analyzing, namely the period of Chinese history and culture between 1895 and 1911. By no means an "apologist," my view is that in the Late Qing period both the Chinese and the Protestants missionaries joined in the construction of new learning and new culture and that under the aegis of national renewal between 1894 and 1911 the Chinese and the Protestant missionaries experienced a change of mentality towards learning and culture and reached an understanding of co-operation on equal terms. The construction of new learning and new culture was based on the interaction of the two groups because they depended on each other and intermingled with each other. Each side was involved in the process of the construction and contributed to it and this is illustrated by the historical event of the translation of foreign texts executed by Protestant missionaries and Chinese scholars. When they co-worked on a translation, their communication, decision-making, and response to each other reveal the underlying interaction of the two cultures in the process of learning from each other. The relationship of the Chinese with Western learning and culture went through a process from compromise to complementing on the whole. An extended process might be from resistance to compromise and then to complement and possibly go as far as replacement. Likewise, the Protestant mentality to Chinese learning experienced — I argue — a course from resistance to compromise and then complementarity. This process of constructing new learning and culture shows us in a concentrated form how different learning and cultures can coexist, intermingle, and even fuse into new learning and culture and this is a prime example of the said translational vision, national quest, and intercultural understanding.

In conclusion, during the national crisis of the period discussed, the Chinese mentality towards learning and culture experienced constant changes and conflicting formations. Each individual — and institutional formations — had different views and went through processes of change and conflict. The situation in China between 1895 and 1911 can be understood as evolving from a China centered to binary China and West centered process and formation. If each on its own, China centered versus West centered formations refer to the unbalanced and unequal situations where only one party — be it either China or the West — plays the dominant, decisive role while the other is oriented to it in a subordinate position. Binary centered, however, refers to a stage and formation in which both the

Chinese and the Western learning/cultures are equally valued and focused on: they carry equivalent weight and there is no favor or discrimination of one over the other. As I argue, the US-American Protestant translators' attitude to learning and culture could be described as evolving from Western centered to a binary centered approach and the same can be said with regard to the Chinese. I should like to point out, however, that what is missing from my discussion — and that is subject to further study — is the analysis between passively receiving and actively accepting, that is, whether the foreign learning/culture is regarded as a compromise or a complement by the other party. This aspect of process and formation as it would have played out in the period of Chinese history and culture between 1895 and 1911 awaits further study.

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