

**Foreigners in Areas of China Under
Communist Jurisdiction
Before 1949**

**Biographical Notes and a Comprehensive
Bibliography of the
*Yenan Hui***

by
Margaret Stanley

with an introduction by
Helen Foster Snow

edited by
Daniel H. Bays

Reference Series, Number Three
The Center for East Asian Studies
The University of Kansas

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Editor's Introduction

This work is both a labor of love by Margaret Stanley and a very practical research guide to a fascinating group of historical characters-- those foreigners who visited or lived in Communist-controlled areas of China before 1949. The nearly two hundred individuals included here were quite diverse, in nationality and motivations alike. Their importance can be seen by the familiarity of many of their names to scholars in the China field, and by their impressive bibliography as a group (Parts V and VI).

Margaret Stanley, assisted in her recollections by Helen Foster Snow and supplementing memory with hard work in libraries and in interviews, has given us a most useful tool, one which I believe will benefit many scholars working on China in the 1930s and 1940s. Some of the biographical notes which Stanley has been able to compile are extensive; for some individuals all we have is a name, but even for these Stanley has often been able to identify the group to which the person belonged.

The main entries in Part III are listed chronologically. The personal name index will allow the reader to track down particular individuals. Special thanks go to Helen Foster Snow for providing an introduction, and appreciation is also due the Center for East Asian Studies at the University of Kansas for facilitating and supporting publication.

Daniel H. Bays
The University of Kansas

I.

INTRODUCTION

A spectre haunts China. It is called "the Yen-an mystique." It also haunts the China scholars and experts, as well as such do-gooders as "the people called Quakers," of which Margaret Stanley is an example, praxis and gnosis. Her birthright goes back to ancestors in England who figured you might as well be hanged for a sheep as a lamb. She is a kind of idealist, like Florence Nightingale who on her own went to the Crimean War to establish proper nursing for the wounded and sick. Entirely in character, she went to Yen-an as a nurse in 1947 at the most dangerous time with the Friends Ambulance Unit, escaping by way of the hills when the tiny town was occupied by the anti-Communists later during the civil war.

On an icy cold January day in 1977 Margaret came to call at my house in Connecticut. There was plenty of "Yen-an mystique" to fill the room. We realized that we were the only two foreign women alive who had the authentic Yen-an experience, meaning living and working in the headquarters long enough to qualify. We felt responsible, which is why we had gone to such a place to start with. We decided to start "The Yen-an Hui," an unorganized circle of those with the common experience of visiting the Chinese Communist citadel and/or the areas under the same jurisdiction. We well knew the Chinese would never think of such an idea, but the record should be put together before all of these assorted persons were dead, as, in fact, was happening rapidly. I gave Margaret the list of travellers I had made earlier hoping the US-China People's Friendship Association would get research done on them as part of the Special Relationship. (Only a few

were written up, only special "friends of China," as the Chinese distinguish them, usually no explanations provided).

In 1986, I am the only woman alive, along with the only man, Dr. George Hatem, of the first eight travellers to Pao-an and Yen-an, I being the eighth in 1937. To be accurate, Edgar Snow was never a Yen-an visitor, except for passing through secretly, on his way to Pao-an, in the summer of 1936 to spend four months collecting material for his famous classic, Red Star Over China.

These first eight were, in sequence: Otto Braun, a German delegate of the Comintern, who had gone on the Long March from the south 1934-5, making enemies of Mao Tse-tung's group; second, in June, 1936, the American newspaperman, Edgar Snow, to interview the leaders for a book, accompanied by Dr. George Hatem, an American doctor from Shanghai. Fourth was a non-Communist activist of Quaker background, Miss Agnes Smedley, early in 1937, coming from Sian where she had been repudiated by the American Communist Party with wide publicity, and with serious harm to her psychiatric condition. She left in the same armed caravan with me in September, 1937. Next was Victor Keene, China correspondent of the New York Herald-Tribune (Edgar Snow had published articles with their magazine from his 1928 arrival in China), followed by Earl Leaf, of United Press, stationed in Tientsin. The 7th traveller was the first photographer, young Harry Dunham, mentioned by Jay Leyda of the University of Toronto in his book Voices of Film Experience (MacMillan, 1977). I made a mistake in my books calling him Harrison Forman, who was the second photographer. Years later, Harrison told me he was only a few days in Ho Lung's headquarters when Japan attacked on July 7, 1937. No one in the northwest that I could find

had ever heard of Dunham--so the name Forman was guessed at. Leyda himself told me he was not certain. Aaron Copland wrote some music in honor of young Harry Dunham, who died not long after. Recently, I received from Li Zhi in Peking a piece of music dedicated to me that he wrote--he figured as a Yenan child singer in 1937, in my book Inside Red China, spelled Liu Chih, son of a Sian banker.)

Except for Otto Braun, a German with no extra-territoriality, all were Americans who ventured into the Red areas, until the fall of 1937 when the first Britisher arrived--our New Zealand Rhodes scholar friend, James Bertram, the only one who wrote a book (entitled Unconquered, 1939) about the subject in that period except the Snows and Miss Smedley. Bertram was a prisoner of war until 1945 and is now a retired professor of English Literature in New Zealand, doing his memoirs.

Entirely on her own, Margaret decided not only to find the "Yenan Hui" people, but to do a bibliography of all their books. She then bought most of these with her own money and sent them to An Wei in Sian for the "Yenan Hui" library, making sure the Chinese did not forget. She also put together a set for the Edgar Snow Memorial Fund at the University of Missouri in Kansas City. Meantime, Margaret religiously studied these books and became an authority on the subject.

What is the "Yenan mystique?" You can only find out by studying Margaret's list of books by those who tried to learn first-hand. In 1986, a Yale professor called at my house, using that old term, as he had been offered a grant to study it as part of his general field of comparative systems of "modernization" in the third world. The sine qua non is Mao Tse-tung's autobiography in Snow's book Red Star Over China. As soon as I

had typed this up on my husband's return in 1936, I realized this was exactly what was most needed to understand the China syndrome. I felt it imperative to make my own independent trip in 1937, and I did interview thirty-four people in the four months. I could not get my book of autobiographies published until 1952 when Stanford University Press put out Red Dust (their title from a T'ang poem), not reprinted until 1972 by Greenwood Publishers as The Chinese Communists. A full-length autobiography of a former Korean member of the Chinese Communist Party as told to me was published in 1941 by John Day entitled Song of Ariran. This was the firm owned by Pearl S. Buck's husband, Richard Walsh, who instantly saw the unique value of the new information, as she did, calling it "a grand book." This Korean had a unique perspective on the nature of revolution in China. He told me that the top Chinese Communists were about 80% revolutionized. Agnes Smedley informed me in 1946 that Ariran was the best book she had ever read, the most moving. It has always been banned in both North and South Korea, but just in the 1980's a whole new surge of intense interest in the "mystique" Kim San represented came over middle way Koreans, including Protestants, and three different translations were published in Korean (not in Korea, of course.) In Japan, Ariran has been kept in print and is in a series of the one hundred greatest world classics. They, most of all, have a real interest in the "mystique" of revolution in China and Korea.

In all, I collected in my four Yen-an months material for the above three big books, plus my Yen-an Notebooks, 1961, plus unique information (from Liu Shao-ch'i) in my The Chinese Labor Movement (John Day, 1945) and Women in Modern China (Mouton, the Hague, 1967).

In the 1930's "the Yen-an mystique" for foreigners was something like being a de Toqueville and interviewing George Washington at Valley Forge, noticing the bloody footprints on the snow. That was the "pure and noble time," as Timothy Tung refers to our 1930's era in China, from the December 9th student uprising of 1935, which I reported on for the China Weekly Review, not using my name usually.

This was the eve of World War II and the beginning of the civil war in Spain. Japan was poised to take over North China as they had Manchuria in 1931, quietly, with no resistance from the immense vegetable mass. It was accepted ancient wisdom that no revolution was possible in China and that no Chinese could actually be changed even if he did wear foreign clothes and speak good English. The upper and middle type of Chinese especially had no confidence in anyone called a "Communist." People like Hu Shih used to say the students had to be paid by Moscow if they got stirred up. (He said that at a faculty meeting in 1935 at Peita, lowering my never high opinion of such Chinese.) The Kuomintang always referred to the Red armies as "Red bandits," and nothing existed in black print to indicate they were otherwise.

It was up to a foreigner with extra-territoriality and access to the press to find out first-hand some real facts about the movement in the remote interior referred to as "Red." The only real Communist we knew then was David (Huang Ching, or Yu Ch'i-wei), who also had no idea what the Mao Tse-tung armies were actually like. In February 1936 he agreed to go to Tientsin to ask a newly arrived secret top Communist authority if he would authorize such a trip for Edgar Snow, which David did. (This was Liu Shao-Ch'i of the Central Committee, but we did not know this until 1957.) At

this time, the December 9th student leaders secretly joined the communist Party, such as Huang Hua, Miss K'ung P'u-sheng of the Y.W.C.A. and others.

By 1937 the Old Bolsheviks in Moscow were executing each other for vague crimes like being a "Trotskyist," or "working with the Nazis." Confusion was compounded among the "Marxists," none of whom seemed to have the least ideology concerning the China syndrome.

My husband was correspondent for the London Daily Herald, the Labour Party paper, and we also read Left Book Club choices. Nowhere was there any blue print for nations like China to have a role in history, to bridge the way to "modernization" of any kind.

Edgar Snow's book was published first in England at the end of 1937. In America the Communist Party banned the Random House edition from their bookstores, to our astonishment. This fact explains much about what was later known as the "Yenan" idea, meaning Mao Tse-tung's various theses on what was to be done, etc. In 1938, a German named Heinz (or Hans) Shippe, an agent of Karl Radek (arrested in Moscow not long after), called on us in Shanghai to threaten my husband: "Your book is harmful. You and your book must be destroyed." Turning to me, he added, "and the same is true for you if you write anything." Using the name "Asiaticus," Shippe attacked Ed's book in Amerasia and other journals, which was to indirectly attack Mao Tse-tung and his "Yenan mystique," so to speak. Shippe even went to Yanan to attack the Snow book; Mao Tse-tung was furious and ordered him to leave town immediately.

What was called "Maoism" after the 1949 victory of his revolution is misinterpreted by various elements all over the world. It was not a child of his brain, like Minerva from the head of Zeus. It was more like Topsy,

who "just growed" any way she could, as Harriet Beecher Stowe put it in Uncle Tom's Cabin. As such it was made of the authentic raw materials of truth and fact as the objective situation developed, or failed to develop, not of the dying orthodoxies of "Marxist" religious thinking. Marxism had become a strange kind of secular religion by World War II, which it failed to explain for lack of more advanced ideology. In my opinion, Mao desperately tried to study and apply "Marxist-Leninism" all during his life before the period of the 1960 break with the Soviets, and even during the Cultural Revolution of 1966-76. However, at certain points he had to think for himself to avoid defeat and to figure out how to meet new situations. The Soviet Marxists have never understood China and Mao Tse-tung at any time, nor have they understood the "American mystique" much better as shown by their total incomprehension of Edgar Snow as a phenomenon. All this has become very dangerous in the nuclear age. So far as I know, my immense research has never been translated into Russian, and possibly not Edgar Snow's either to any extent.

In 1938, Edgar Snow and Rewi Alley and I figured out a new project in China, the producer cooperative, at a time when everything else was paralyzed, a dead stop. These industrial cooperatives were successful and even became famous in English dictionaries under the Chinese designation of "gung ho," meaning "work together" or "cooperative." Part of the "Yenan mystique" was this "Indusco" idea, which Mao supported as soon as he was told of it by Edgar Snow. In 1944 Mao issued a new directive that industrial production should be by the method of cooperatives. The "Indusco" units had actually been functioning in Yen-an and even in Pao-an from early in 1939 when Rewi Alley went there to start them. The Snows

raised money for this in the Philippines from wealthy overseas Chinese. Indusco spread all over the Red areas, city and village, until 1958 when they were merged into "communes." At that point, Mao took one of his sharp turns and the "commune" stage lasted until after his death in 1976.

Margaret Stanley was a founding member of my revived committee of 1981 called American Committee for Industrial Cooperatives, concerned not only with China but the world picture. In 1986, she went to China for five months to help Rewi Alley and the revived industrial cooperative movement there. This dated to 1983, and was linked to a new International Committee for Industrial Cooperatives organized by Hugh Deane, Chairman of the New York chapter of the U.S. China People's Friendship Association, which had earlier carried out a campaign to raise funds for industrial cooperatives in China.

It is no accident that an American woman of high ethics like Margaret Stanley should be the one to research and establish a library on the "Yenan Hui" and also to support the "gung ho" producer cooperative idea. We are both inspired by the "truth-ethic," praxis and gnosis.

It is not my purpose here to write a dissertation. I am trying to place Margaret Stanley in her setting and to point out that her contribution to the understanding of China has a special value, which is being revived the more we see of the dangerous and uncivilized activities in the Third World during this new age of nuclear insanity and the suicide of Western civilization. Re-studying the communist syndrome in China is now imperative, especially in contrast to the terrorism and fanatical kamikaze antics of the lost and expendable youth, with no ideology, and certainly opposite to the Mao Tse-tung thought and action, which was not

anarchism or individual terrorism, but the "mass line" at all times, even when young.

It is amazing how few foreigners ever tried to break through the lines around Mao Tse-tung's areas, and even more so how few stayed in China after 1949 or arrived to participate. There are many reasons for this and those who did stay had to become Sinicized to some extent. I returned to China for visits in 1972-3 and 1978. Margaret Stanley returned several times and has written up the original experience. I was lucky to spend two months in 1972-3 while the Cultural Revolution was still operative and also the Yen-an mystique. I wrote up two books but neither was published. One called "Mao Country" was on Hunan and Mao's background there, where I visited places no foreigner ever was before, so I was told.

A Note on Resources

In 1983 Leonora Stettner and Lord Oram of England visited China to make a study of the cooperative movement, both having been connected with the International Cooperative Alliance, headquartered in Switzerland. Their Review of International Cooperation (undated) carried an article "Cooperative Socialism in China," by Stettner and Oram. This was reprinted (with permission) in The Gung Ho Papers, 1985, compiled by Helen Foster Snow and Margaret Stanley. Order from the latter at 3425 Oakland Street, Ames, Iowa, 50010, price \$15.00. This was followed by a booklet by Leonora Stettner, "Chinese Cooperatives," 65 pages, published in 1984 by the Plunkett Foundation for Cooperative Studies, 31 St. Giles, Oxford OX1 3LF, United Kingdom, priced around 3 pounds. The ICA is connected with the

United Nations. The American representative is Wallace Campbell, Suite
230, 1573 "I" (eye) Street, Washington, D.C.

Helen Foster Snow
Madison, Connecticut
June, 1986

II.

Foreword by Margaret Stanley

THE YENAN HUI

The Yen-an Hui is a term designating those foreign persons who travelled to Pao-an, Yen-an, or any areas under Chinese Communist jurisdiction before 1949, in which year Mao's government established the People's Republic of China in Beijing. It is a "circle" rather than an organization, to which any descendant, heir, assign, or biographer, is eligible for the purpose of carrying on this historical line.

The original list of visitors was compiled by Helen Foster Snow. Supplements have been added and revisions made by Margaret H. Stanley, who has also collected the Yen-an Hui books at her own expense (except for a \$500.00 contribution by the Edgar Snow Memorial Fund). One set of books is in the Edgar Snow Memorial at the University of Missouri and another set is in the Yen-an Hui collection in Sian, where An Wei is Curator and Translator.

The Yen-an Hui was founded on January 3, 1977, by Helen Snow and Margaret Stanley, for the purpose of preserving the unique experiences of pre-1949 visitors to areas controlled by Chinese Communists. It was the intent to collect writings and to make contact with as many as possible of those eligible for the Yen-an Hui. The founders felt a responsibility, as the two American women who have lived in Yen-an and who are still active in China research and writing.

Co-Founder and Historian: Helen Foster Snow, first wife of Edgar Snow (divorced 1949) was the eighth person to break through the blockade against the Communist region. She remained in Yen-an from May to September, 1937,

collecting, during those four months, material published in four books and parts of others. Her autobiography, My China Years, published in 1984, has a section on the Yen-an experience. She also has unpublished books, copyrighted, which contain materials gathered on her trip to Yen-an. In 1981 she revived the American Committee for Industrial Cooperatives, of which she had been the last vice chairman when the original one closed in 1952. The present organization's purpose is to encourage industrial cooperatives for any emerging country. Her books contain information on the founding of industrial cooperatives in Yen-an, Pao-an (now Chih Tan) and other areas of North Shensi in 1939 when Rewi Alley visited these regions for this purpose. In 1972-3 Helen Snow returned to China and wrote two as yet unpublished books about this trip. She took a documentary television crew to China in 1978, which filmed in Sian, Yen-an, and Pao-an (Chih Tan).

Co-Founder and Secretary: Margaret H. Stanley, in China 1946-1948, a nurse in the Friends Ambulance (Service) Unit first in Honan; then in Yen-an and environs from February 1947 to April 1948. She flew from Nanking in a Marshall Mission convoy to work with six FAU (FSU) colleagues in the International Peace Hospital No. I, of Yen-an. They joined the hospital personnel in walking out of Yen-an in March 1947, to relocate in villages west and east of the Yellow River. She has returned to China, each time visiting Yen-an, in 1972, 1978, 1981, and 1983. She spent the first five months of 1986 working for Gung Ho Cooperatives in Beijing.

Curator and Translator: An Wei, of the Chinese People's Association for Friendship With Foreign countries (Youxie), Shensi Branch, in Sian, Shensi, is curator for the Yen-an Hui collection there, which is to be used for research purposes under his supervision. He was guide and interpreter for

Helen Snow upon her return to China in 1978 and has translated her writings into Chinese. He was also guide and interpreter for Margaret Stanley and the American Friends Service Committee delegation of which she was a member when they visited Yen-an in 1972.

From September 1985 to September 1986 An Wei was a visiting Scholar-in-Residence at Trinity College in Hartford, Connecticut, participating in two major projects:

1. lecturing on past and present aspects of China to students and faculty at Trinity College, the Hartford College for Women, and other educational and community institutions.
2. researching Helen Foster Snow's life and work by means of personal interviews with her in nearby Madison, Connecticut. She gave him access to manuscripts, some of her unpublished writings relating to her and Edgar Snow and the Chinese Revolution and times he will use for an exhibition in Xian in 1987 on the occasion of the 80th birthday of Helen Foster Snow. He worked to complete the chronicle of Helen Snow's life and took photos and taped talks with her in anticipation of continuing to write about her and also translating her books.

III.

A. Chronological list of those eligible for the Yen-an Hui by virtue of having visited areas under Communist jurisdiction before World War II. Mao's government was head-quartered in Pao-an in 1935-1936, after the Long March. It moved to Yen-an in January 1937.

1. Otto Braun was a German Comintern delegate and the only Westerner on the Long March from Kiangsi to Shensi, 1934-1935. He lived in the Yen-an region until 1939 when he was picked up by the only Russian plane known to have landed there before or during World War II. "Li-Teh", as he was known in China, died in East Berlin in 1974. His book, Chinesische Aufzeichnungen 1932-1939, was published in Germany in 1973. It was published in English as A Comintern Agent in China 1932-1939, in 1982.
2. Edgar Snow, American newspaperman, was the first person to break through the blockade, in 1936. His book resulting from that scoop, Red Star Over China, became a great classic. It deals with Pao-an, not Yen-an, which was not captured by Communist forces until the end of 1936, after he had left Pao-an (October, 1936), having spent the four months after June in the Pao-an region. He made return visits to China in 1960, 1964, and 1970, and published eleven books. His trip to Yen-an in 1939 was the last by any foreign journalist until the summer of 1944 (1). Since his death in 1972 at his home in Switzerland, an Edgar Snow memorial has been established at the University of Missouri, Kansas City, Missouri.

3. George Hatem (Ma Hai-teh), American physician, was the first foreign volunteer to join the Red armies. He travelled with Edgar Snow to Pao-an in 1936, remaining in China until the present, where he lives with his Chinese wife and family. He has spent most of his adult life in medical service to China.
4. Agnes Smedley, American writer, was the first woman among foreigners to arrive in Yen-an, where she stayed from early 1937 until September. She died in England in 1950. Feminists are reviving her books as of the 1970s. A collection of her work is in the archives of Arizona State University in Tempe, Arizona.
5. Victor Keen, American correspondent of the New York Herald-Tribune, got past border sentries, from Sian to Yen-an, where he spent more than a week in the spring of 1937.
6. Earl Leaf, American correspondent for the United Press, spent a few days in Yen-an in the spring of 1937. (d. 1977).
7. Harry Dunham was the first American photographer to get to the Red areas, arriving just a few days before Helen Snow, in April 1937. Perhaps he got only to army front lines around Yun-yang. (See Jay Leyda's book, Section VI.)
8. Helen Foster Snow (Nym Wales), American writer, then wife of Edgar Snow, left Peking in April 1937 for Yen-an by way of Sian. After spending the summer in Yen-an, writing thirty-four short biographies and interviewing Communist leaders and Fourth Front and Second Front Army personnel who had not yet arrived from their Long Marches at the time Edgar Snow missed them in 1936, she left Yen-an on foot in September, 1937, with Agnes Smedley and armed

Communist companions, to Sian. She took the first photographs of many Yen-an leaders, some of whom are leaders in present-day China. Her writings about Yen-an are unique and more numerous than those of any other who has been in Yen-an.

9. Kempton Fitch escorted Helen Snow from Sian to Sanyuan in the spring of 1937 and took off the cap of the Red sentry at their headquarters there, so in this way he was in the "Yen-an area", the ninth person. He was an American resident of China, the son of George A. Fitch, head of the YMCA in China at that time.

In June 1937, a group of Americans with a Swedish driver spent three days in Yen-an (See following, nos. 10-14):

10. Effie Hill (Karl Ephraim Hill), son of a Swedish missionary family, a driver-mechanic, had travelled widely in Mongolia and northwest China, and spoke several of the languages of the area. It was he who helped Helen Snow get to Yen-an in the spring of 1937.
11. T. A. Bisson, scholar and author, on the editorial board of Amerasia magazine. (d. 1980).
12. Owen Lattimore, writer and traveller in Asia, on the editorial board of Amerasia magazine. Stanley interviewed Lattimore Sept. 24, 1984 in Cambridge.
13. Philip Jaffe, editor and manager of Amerasia magazine. (d. 1979).
14. Mrs. Agnes Jaffe, a teacher. Wife of Philip Jaffe. Living in New York City.
15. Harrison Forman, American photographer, got to Ho Lung's headquarters, where he visited on July 8, 1937. In 1944 he was

with the Dixie Mission in Yen-an and did a book on that trip. He took the third movies ever made of the Chinese Communists. Dunham's were the second (visitor no. 7); Edgar Snow's, the first. (2) Back in China in the 1970s, he took still photos during the month he spent there. (d. 1978).

16. James Bertram, a Rhodes scholar who went to China in 1936, was the first Britisher to get to Yen-an, where he spent a month in 1937. He had met Edgar Snow while Studying Chinese at Yenching University in Peking, and became a special correspondent for the London Daily Herald. In September 1937 he and Edgar Snow left Peking to find Edgar's wife, Helen, who had been marooned in Yen-an due to the war situation and difficult travelling conditions. They all met in Sian at the end of September at which time Bertram went to Yen-an and then on to the war zone to report on it in his book, Unconquered. He has published other books, taught, and is now living in New Zealand.
17. Anna Wang (Dr. Anneliese Martens) was in Yen-an in 1937 at the same time as Agnes Smedley. She was born near Danzig in 1907; received the Ph.D. in 1931; in 1935 married Wang Ping Nan who was studying in Berlin, and returned to China with him in 1936. There she was secretary to Madame Sun Yat Sen in the work of the China Welfare Institute from 1938-1955, after which she returned to Germany. Her book, Ich Kämpfte für Mao: eine deutsche Frau erlebt die chinesische Revolution, was published in Hamburg in 1964. (Personal correspondence between author and Dr. Martens, 1986)

18. Evans F. Carlson, Colonel in the United States Marine Corps, was in Shanghai with Edgar Snow during battles there at the end of 1937 (3). He read the manuscript of Red Star Over China, which fascinated him and led him to make his own trip to the Red armies where he met General Chu Teh and others around Christmas of 1937. In 1938 he went to Yen-an from Hankow. During World War II "Carlson's Raiders" were a famous Marine unit with "Gung Ho" as its motto. Carlson had taken the term "Gung Ho", meaning "work together" from the Chinese Industrial Cooperative logo. He had learned about the Chinese Industrial Co-ops (Gung Ho) from its founders, Helen F. Snow, Edgar Snow, Rewi Alley, and others in 1938. He was the first outside military observer to see and study the Red Army, there as an official observer for the United States Navy to learn about Japanese methods of combatting guerrilla warfare. He accompanied Eighth Route Army guerrillas behind Japanese lines. President Franklin Roosevelt and Carlson had personal correspondence from 1936-1944. In 1947, Carlson died from effects of war wounds and stress.

The Frances Roots Good-Will Group, February 1938 (See following, nos. 19-23):

19. Frances Roots, daughter of American Protestant Episcopal Bishop Logan Roots of Hankow, led a group to take "comforts" to the Red armies in the Shansi mountain areas, representing N.P.R.C. (Northwest Partisan Relief Committee). She and her husband returned to China in 1972 at the invitation of Chou En-lai to play the first duo-piano concert in Peking. The music she composes is

influenced by her childhood years in China. She never got to Yen-an, but to the Shansi front which was part of the big Yen-an complex.

20. Deaconess Judy Clark.

21. John Foster, missionary-teacher, who worked in Liao-hsien, Shansi (now Zuoquan) in a Church of the Brethren Hospital for the China Defense League and the Chinese Red Cross from September 12, 1938 to February 9, 1939 (personal communications with author).

Retired from teaching in Minnesota, he and his wife have returned to teach at Shanghai Teachers' College in the 1980s, renewing contacts with their colleagues from the 1930s.

22. Charley Higgins, American missionary.

23. Ilona Ralf Sues was also with the group led by Frances Roots. A native of Poland, she worked on opium control at the League of Nations before going to China in 1936.

The Good-Will Group met General Chu Teh and others and all returned to Hankow from the Shansi front except Sues and Higgins who had Chu Teh's permission to go to Yen-an, which they did. Miss Sues went back home to Poland and has since died.

24. Dr. Jettmar of the League of Nations, an Austrian epidemiologist, worked in Yen-an until 1938 or 1939 in anti-epidemic research.

25. Anna Louise Strong, American author of about thirty books, daughter of an American Congregational minister of a famous old Connecticut family of Puritans. She had arrived in Hankow in December 1937 and spent ten days in January of 1938 with the Red Army, in the Wutaishan area, leaving in early February. In 1946

she went to Yen-an where she stayed for a few months, and interviewed Mao. She died in Peking at about 80 years of age.

26. Dr. Norman Bethune, Canadian thoracic surgeon in China 1938-1939, after having spent some time in Spain where he took medical care to the wounded, developing improved treatment on the battlefield. He departed for China on January 2, 1938; was in Yen-an where he talked with Mao Tse-tung; then went to the Chin Ch'a Chi Border Region where he worked on the battlefield. On Nov. 12, 1939, at 49 years of age, he died from septicemia contracted while performing surgery on septic wounds (4). It was before the availability of antibiotics. His death in Hopei and his work have been memorialized by establishing him as a prime example of international friendship--one who gave his life for China. Mao Tse-tung wrote a memorial at the time of his death, and more recently, the Bethune Memorial Hospital was built in Shihchiachuang.
27. Dr. Richard Brown, Canadian medical missionary, followed Carlson's route to Wutaishan when he took medical supplies from Hankow to Chin Ch'a Chi, where Bethune was medical advisor under Nieh Jung-chen (5). He spent three months in the spring and summer of 1938 with Communist partisans, giving medical care; then he returned to Hankow.
28. Jean Ewen, Canadian nurse, whose book published in 1981, China Nurse, describes the China of her experiences, worked with Dr. Bethune in 1938-1939. Born in Scotland, she grew up in western Canada; studied to become a nurse in Winnipeg, and went to

Shantung with Catholic missionaries in 1932, returning home to Canada in 1939. She now lives in Victoria, British Columbia.

29. Dr. Frederic Kisch took over as head of Wutaishan hospital, after Betheun. (From China Defense League Newsletter, H. K., Feb. 15, 1940, article by Ma Hai-teh).

30. Jack Belden, American writer, was first in Chinese Communist territory in 1939, in New Fourth Army area. In 1947 he went to headquarters of the Shansi-Hopei-Shantung-Honan Border Region to learn from the people, students, guerrillas, why the Communists were having such great successes in China, with a view to the human, philosophic, political, and military lessons to be learned.

A 1943 report of the China Defense League of Madame Sun Yat Sen lists seven physicians who worked in guerrilla China before 1944: (See following, nos. 31-36, and no. 3, George Hatem):

31. Dr. Atal Dwarkanath Kotnis, of India. Kotnis joined the Chinese Communists but died while working to treat the wounded in 1942 (6). A memorial to him was included in the Bethune Memorial at Shihchiachuang, where his relatives and colleagues from India gathered for the event in August 1978. (M. Stanley interviewed attenders 1978).

32. B.K. Basu, from India. Chief surgeon of the International Peace Hospital in Yen-an in the early 1940s. The author met Dr. and Mrs. Basu in Shihchiachuang in 1978, on the occasion of the Kotnis memorial.

33. M. Frey, Austrian.

34. Hans Mueller, German, who continued to live in China.

35. Andrei I. Orlov, Russian.

36. Eva Sandberg, Swedish.

From China Defense League Newsletter of June 15, 1940, Indian National Congress Medical Mission to China under auspices of National Red Cross Society of China:

37. Dr. Atal (this may be Dr. Kotnis, no. 31).

38. Dr. Mukherji.

39. Dr. Cholkar.

40. Dr. Kotnis (this may be Dr. Kotnis, no. 31).

Harrison Salisbury's book, China: One Hundred Years of Revolution (7)

lists the following Russians in Yen-an (See following, nos. 41-45, and no. 35 above):

41. Pyotr Vladimirov, arrived in Yen-an May 11, 1942 as the Comintern link.

42. Igor Uyzhin, Tass Correspondent from 1939 to 1942.

43. Leonid Dolmotov ("Li Wen"), radio operator, 1939 to 1942.

44. Boris Aleyev, translator.

Andrei I. Orlov, no. 35 above, military surgeon and physician to Jiang Qing (8)

45. Nikolai Rimmar, radio operator.

46. J. Clayton Miller, an American student at Yen-ching University in Peking, spent three weeks in the spring of 1938 with guerrilla forces in Hopei (9).

47. George E. Taylor (U.S. citizen of British background) of Yen-ching University faculty, went to Wutaishan in the summer of 1938. He

- was living in Seattle at the time M. Stanley interviewed him in 1983.
48. Michael Lindsay (British) of Yenching University faculty, went with Taylor to Wutaishan in the summer of 1938 and with Ralph Lapwood to Chin-Ch'a-Chi in the summer of 1939. He and his family make their home in the U.S.A. in the 1980s.
49. "Asiaticus", also known as Hans Shippe (10), was a German Marxist, or ex-Communist, or Comintern agent, according to Edgar Snow. He was in Shanghai in 1937 and 1938; in Yen-an 1939, and behind Japanese lines in central China with Communist guerrillas of the New Fourth Army in spring of 1939 and summer of 1941. He was killed in November 1941 in Shantung in a battle. (11) Articles he wrote were published in Amerasia magazine (12) and Pacific Affairs magazine (13). He attacked Ed Snow's Red Star Over China (14) which angered Mao, who then ordered him out of Yen-an.
50. Rewi Alley was born in Springfield, New Zealand on December 2, 1897. He graduated from the Christchurch Boy's High School and went into farming in Southland before joining the New Zealand army and going to fight in France, where he was wounded twice and in 1919 invalided back to New Zealand. He became a sheep farmer in Taranaki Province, leaving that in 1926 to work his way to China, arriving in Shanghai in the spring of 1927. He lived there for eleven years during which time he was able to spend some of his time working for the famine relief canal construction in Inner Mongolia and for the reconstruction work on the Yangtze after the flood of 1931. He became Chief Factory Inspector for workers'

safety in Shanghai and worked in that position until going to set up the movement for Industrial Cooperatives called Gung Ho. He travelled over much of unoccupied China on this task, especially from 1938 to 1943, after which he was discharged from his position in the Kuomintang Executive Yuan for being "reactionary". He then spent the next few years on technical training of youngsters in preparation for the total liberation of China, finally locating at Sandan in Gansu. In 1952 he was one of the representatives from New Zealand at the Asian and Pacific peace conference in Peking, and after 1953, when the Sandan school was moved to Lanchow, he spent much time going to various conferences in different parts of the world as a representative of the Asian Pacific Peace Liaison Committee. He also went on lecture tours to New Zealand and Australia in 1960, 1967, and in 1973. Since coming to Peking, however, his main task has been writing books and articles trying to bring some understandig abroad of China's struggles. He is "Dean" of the long-term foreign residents in China. (Personal interviews with M. Stanley 1986).

51. George Hogg, a nephew of Muriel Lester, British pacifist, a co-worker and teacher with Rewi Alley in the Chinese Industrial Cooperatives, and in the Bailie School in Sandan. He travelled extensively in the northwest, teaching and writing. In 1945 he died of tetanus in Sandan, where he is buried.
52. Haldore Hanson arrived in the East in 1934 and was on the Associated Press staff in Peking about 1937, where he knew the Snows. Shewmaker writes that "he was the fourth and last

Westerner to make an extensive investigation of the Communist regions during the days of KMT-CCP cordiality". (15) Carlson met Hanson in July 1938 at Fuping in western Hopei. In March 1938 Hanson left Peking on a bicycle for a short tour of the partisan areas; then in the summer of 1938 he spent about two and a half months with the Eighth Route Army in Hopei, Shansi, and Shensi, and talked with Mao in Yen-an. He returned to the U.S.A. in 1939. Now he lives in Mexico. His book, Humane Endeavour, tells his story.

53. John R. Caton, was in Yen-an in April of 1939. An American teacher in Fenyang, Shansi, he volunteered to accompany some Chinese travellers who needed a neutral escort to Sian, going through guerrilla-held territory via Yen-an both going and returning to Fenyang, skirting Japanese-held areas. He was in Yen-an for five days on the return trip, guest of the Eighth Route Army, and was greeted by General Lin Piao and Ma Hai-teh among others (16)
54. George A. Fitch spent three days in Yen-an in the summer of 1939. A Presbyterian minister, and known supporter of Chiang, he talked with Mao and Chou. He was proud of his son's assistance to Helen Snow. (See visitor no. 9).
- See no. 34. Hans Mueller, German physician, "had been in the guerrilla regions since 1939" (17). He and George Hatem and Rewi Alley hold a New Year reunion annually.
55. Ralph Lapwood and
56. Nancy Lapwood, British missionaries in China.

Nancy grew up in China in a medical missionary family; taught 12 years in Tientsin, living altogether in China for 35 years.

Ralph spent 20 years in China, first teaching math in Shanghai in 1932; then at Yenching in Beijing beginning in 1937. In 1939 he left Beijing with Michael Lindsay to travel by foot to Liberated Areas of Shansi-Chahar-Hopei Border Region, 1000 miles in 3 months in 8th Route Army guerrilla areas. In west China he worked for the Chinese Industrial Cooperatives and after marrying Nancy in Chengtu in 1940, they travelled the roads of west China on work for the C.I.C. and also teaching, until 1945. Then they went on furlough to England, where they lived in Cambridge. In 1948 Ralph returned to teach at Yenching where the family joined him in 1949, and stayed until 1952. Then back home to Cambridge. In 1984 Nancy and Ralph visited China and while in Beijing, Ralph died and was buried there. (Personal interview of author with Nancy Lapwood in her home in Cambridge September 24, 1984).

57. Andrew T. Roy, American teacher and
58. Dr. Robert Brown, American physician, and
59. Joy Homer, American correspondent for the Interdenominational Church Committee for China Relief, went in a party of three to Yen-an in the spring of 1939. Joy Homer wrote Dawn Watch In China, which tells of her travels and impressions (published 1941).
60. Maud Russell. See a report of her visit to Yen-an in 1939 in the publication, Far East Reporter (18) published by herself in New York since 1952. She has driven back and forth across the U.S.A., speaking and showing films about China, for many years.

61. Roman Karmen, Russian film-maker in Yen-an 1940-1941 (19).
62. Stanton Lautenschlager. From 1940 to the summer of 1944 there is only one verifiable instance of a Westerner who legally entered the Shan-Kan-Ning area, a trip probably made with consent of Nationalist authorities. He was a Presbyterian missionary, born in Canada and educated in the U.S.A., who went to China in 1920 to teach. From November 10 to 18, 1940, he was in Communist areas, including Yen-an, where he talked with Chu Teh and others. Chu Teh invited him to establish a parish. (20).

After Lautenschlager's visit, no foreigner traversed KMT territory to Shan-Kan-Ning until the summer of 1944. That makes him the last of the old China hands of the days before Pearl Harbor. Due to fortuitous circumstances, a few did enter the Chin Ch'a-Chi area from Japanese occupied territory after 1940--though none were journalists.

B. Chronological list of those eligible for the Yen-an Hui by virtue of having visited Yen-an areas after Pearl Harbor and before 1949:

See no. 48. Michael Lindsay and his Chinese wife, Hsiao-Li, escaped with Claire and William Band, British colleagues at Yen-ching University, from Peking, into the hills where they found the partisans after hearing the news of the Japanese bombing of Pearl Harbor. From December 1941 onwards, they were under the protection of the Eighth Route Army. Michael Lindsay stayed longer than any other transient in the Red areas, as a radio/communications technician. He wrote of his experiences from 1940 to 1945 in his book, The Unknown War-North China 1937-1947. It is illustrated with rare photographs which combine well with the story to give vivid impressions of that era and area of China. (Personal interview with M. Stanley, Peking 1983).

63. Claire Band and her husband,

64. William Band, British colleagues of Michael Lindsay at Yen-ching University, where they had been doing research in physics and mathematics. In 1939, escaped with the Lindsays from Peking into the hills. The Bands published a book in 1947, Dragon Fangs: Two Years with Chinese Guerrillas. They were in Yen-an for three months. In January 1944 they left Yen-an for Chungking.

65. Peter Vladimirov, a Russian, Tass correspondent and Comintern agent assigned to the Chinese Communist area in Yen-an 1942-1945. His book, The Vladimirov Diaries Yen-an, China: 1942-1945, was published in 1975 in New York by Doubleday Co.

66. G. Martel Hall, former manager of National City Bank of Peking, the last American to escape from the Japanese across the partisan areas, left Peking May 21, 1942, and arrived in Chungking on January 26, 1943, going through the Chin Ch'a-Chi Border Region.
67. Carl Brondgeest escaped from Peking in 1942 through the Chin Ch'a-Chi region and joined the Dutch navy (21).
68. Lt. George Uhlmann escaped from Peking through the border regions to Chungking in the spring of 1942 in the company of:
69. Lt. D'Anjoy. Both French officers, they went to join the Free French (22).
70. Gustav Soderbom, Swedish trader, who had lived in China and Inner Mongolia for years, left Peking April 19, 1943, arriving in Yenan on July 3. He remained until August 3, then went on to Sian (23).
71. Daniel De Lille, French, travelled in the Red areas in 1943. (24)
- The 1944-1945 Press Party to the Northwest, leaving Chungking May 17, 1944, included the following (See following: nos. 72-76, plus no. 15, Harrison Forman) (25):
72. Gunther Stein, reporter for the Associated Press. He was originally German, but naturalized a British citizen. See his book The Challenge of Red China.
73. Israel Epstein ("Eppy"), journalist and author, born in Poland in 1915. Apart from some years in the U.S.A. and travels in other countries, he has spent his life in China, old and new. Some of this is touched on in the book Living in China. His other books, The People's War and From Opium War to Liberation, have been translated into several languages. He has written extensively for

both general and progressive publications in the U.S., Britain, India and elsewhere as well as for English language periodicals in China. A naturalized Chinese citizen, he is Editor-In-Chief of China Reconstructs, a monthly magazine published in Peking, where he was worked since its first issue in 1952. (Personal interview with M. Stanley, Peking 1986).

74. Maurice Votaw, American employee of the Ministry of Information.
75. Father Cormac Shanahan, reporter for Catholic publications.
76. N. Protsenko, of Tass News. A Russian, he was in Yen-an in July of 1944.

Later, the following (nos. 77 and 78) were given permission to travel to Yen-an (26):

77. Brooks Atkinson of the New York Times (d. 1984).
78. Theodore H. White, Time-Life reporter and author (d. 1986).
79. General Patrick Hurley, to Yen-an from Chungking, November 7, 1944 (27).
80. Rexford Stead, China specialist with the U.S. State Department.
81. Colonel de Pass, U.S. Military attache, visited Yen-an (28).

On July 22, 1944, a United States Army Air Force C-47 cargo plane piloted by Captain Robert Champion, flew to Yen-an from Chungking, carrying the first contingent of the U.S. Army Observer Group (29) (USAOG), sent from the Headquarters, China-Burma-India Theater of War to establish contact (liaison) with the Chinese Communists. Personnel of this first contingent of the "Dixie Mission" follow:

82. Colonel David D. Barrett, General Staff Corps. An American with long years of experience in China and excellent command of the language.
83. Mr. John S. Service, Second Secretary of the U.S. Embassy, attached to the Staff of the Commanding General, China-Burma-India Theater of War (General Stilwell). He had long years of experience in China and a fine command of Chinese, which made him an excellent choice to do analytical reporting.
84. Major Melvin A. Casberg, Medical Corps.
85. Major Ray Cromley, U.S. Army Air Corps.
86. Captain John C. Colling, Infantry.
87. Captain Charles G. Stelle, U.S. Army Air Corps.
88. Captain Paul C. Domke, Signal corps. Now living in Hawaii.
89. First Lieutenant Henry S. Whittlesey, Infantry. He was killed on an observation trip to the front, and in his honor, a hall in Yen-an was named after him. It is still called "Whittlesey Hall."
90. Staff Sergeant Anton H. Remeneh, Signal Corps.

A second contingent of the Observer Group arriving in Yen-an on August 7, 1944 included the following personnel:

91. Mr. Raymond P. Ludden, Second Secretary of the U.S. Embassy, attached to the staff of the Commanding General, CBI (30).
93. Lieutenant Colonel Reginald E. Foss, U.S. Army Air Corps.
93. Major Wilbur J. Peterkin, Infantry, in command of USAOG Yen-an after Barrett left (31).
94. Major Charles E. Dole, U.S. Army Air Corps.
95. Captain Brooke Dolan, Infantry.

96. Lieutenant Simon H. Hitch, U.S. Navy.
97. First Lieutenant Louis M. Jones, U.S. Army Air Corps.
98. Sergeant Walter Gress, Signal Corps.
99. Technician Fourth Class George I. Nakamura, Detached Enlisted Men's List.
100. John K. Emmerson (32).
101. Koji Ariyoshi, American-Japanese (d. 1976 in Hawaii) Office of War Information (33).
102. Brigadier General Malcolm F. Lindsey.
103. John Paton Davies (34) was in Yen-an for 16 days.
No. 78, Theodore White of Time magazine.

After April 1946 a three-man Yen-an Liaison Group remained:

104. Major Clifford A. Young.
105. Colonel Ivan D. Yeaton.
No. 86, Captain John Colling.
106. Colonel John K. Sells in the fall of 1946 replaced Young as Chief of the Liaison Group. On March 8, 1947 the Group withdrew but Sells remained until the next week.
107. Wilma Fairbank (American) visited Kalgan.
108. John K. Fairbank (American): "In June 1946 I accompanied my wife, who was then cultural attache of the American Embassy in Nanking, on a trip to the Chinese Communist temporary capital at Kalgan (Chang-chia-k'ou)" (35).
109. Foster Hailey (American), correspondent, author of Half of One World, had conversations with Mao in Yen-an on November 10, 1946. He also had discussions with Chu Teh (36)

Friends Ambulance (Service) Unit members who transported (37) medical supplies to or worked in Communist-controlled areas of China:

110. In January of 1946 W. A. Reynolds (British) led a truck convoy taking medical supplies from Chungking to Yen-an for the International Peace Hospitals--the first overland medical supplies to enter Chinese Communist territory since 1940. FAU trucks also delivered medical supplies to the Communist Headquarters at Hantan. M. Stanley interviewed Reynolds Sept. 21, 1984 at his home near Birmingham.
111. In May 1946, Dr. R. B. McClure, a former Canadian medical missionary, led a small survey party into Communist territory north of Chengchow, where he found his old hospital at Huaiking in ruins. (See footnote 37). (Personal interview 1985 in Beijing).
112. Bronson Clark, American, went to Yen-an by plane in November 1946 to finalize negotiations with Chou En-lai and others for a medical team of the Friends Ambulance (Service) Unit to work in the International Peace Hospital of Yen-an. He and Foster Hailey met there (38). (Personal correspondence by author with Clark).

Medical Team-19 of the Friends Ambulance (Service) Unit was invited to help staff the International Peace Hospital I of Yen-an as a result of negotiations between FAU member Bronson Clark and Chou En-lai. The Marshall Mission planes flew MT-19 to Yen-an in December 1946 and again on March 1, 1947, along with plane loads of medical supplies. They worked in the area to 1949. (Following are members of Medical Team-19, nos. 113-121):

113. Douglas Clifford, New Zealand physician.

114. John Dodds, Canadian laboratory technician.
115. Peter Early, British physician.
116. Elizabeth Hughes, British Nurse.
117. Eric Hughes, British X-ray technician and anesthetist.
118. Frank Miles, American medical mechanic.
119. Margaret Stanley, American Nurse.
120. Joan Kennedy, American Nurse.
121. Kay H. Beach, American agriculturist, worked at an Agricultural Experiment Station near Shihchiachuang 1947-1949. He was to have been a member of MT-19 but was sick with hepatitis in Nanking when they were flown to Yen-an. When recovered, he went on foot northward into Hopei.

Crews of all planes flying the Marshall Mission flights, etc., into Yen-an, as well as miscellaneous passengers. Following are a few names. (Others remain to be found in further research):

122. Ed Rector, Flying Tiger pilot, flew Marshall Mission plane 1946-1947, from Nanking to Yen-an.
123. Tillman Durdin, journalist of the New York Times, March 1947.
124. John Roderick, Associated Press correspondent, March 1947.
125. F. McCracken Fisher, head of the Office of War Information in Chungking, flew to Yen-an while the Dixie Mission was there (39).
126. Oliver Hinsdell, flyer rescued and taken to Yen-an in 1944 after his plane was downed within Eighth Route Army territory.
127. William Hinton, American, went to China where he worked with UNRRA. He met Mao in Chungking in 1945. He worked and lived in villages of North China, entering Liberated Areas in July of 1947.

In Hantan he taught at Northern University (40). Now he lives in Pennsylvania though he returns to China occasionally. He has written Fanshen, Iron Oxen, and Shenfan and has been a popular speaker across the U.S.A.

128. Joan Hinton went to China soon after her brother, Bill. There she married his college roommate Sid Engst, and has remained.
129. Sid Engst went to China as a dairy specialist with UNRRA in March 1946. The cows had not come, so after working for a time on an UNRRA famine survey in Hunan, he quit UNRRA. In Peking, Huang Hua helped him to go to Yen-an in October, 1946 by air. From Yen-an, Sid and others went to northern Shensi to start dairying, at the time of the evacuation of Yen-an in March, 1947. He and the Kuang Hua Nung Hsia (Bright China Farm), the first state farm in China, moved into the countryside where they stored things in caves and then pulled dirt down over the cave entrances to hide equipment they could not take with them. The military situation caused moves north and west of Yen-an to the summer of 1947. The cattle originally came from overseas in 1941-2, to Yen Hsi-shan. They had been captured from him by Japanese, and from them by the Eighth Route Army and thence to Yen-an. Sid reviewed agriculture in the Border Regions including Shansi and Hopei and located in Shihchiachuang. In 1947-1948 he met the Crooks, and Bill Hinton, in Hopei. In March of 1948, he went to Shansi to work in a farm tools factory northeast of Yen-an (Wei Ya Pu). He married Joan Hinton in Yen-an in the spring of 1949. In September of 1949 they went to north Shensi and the cows returned from their pastures

east of the Yellow River. In 1953 they went to the Sian area to a dairy farm. In 1955 the dairy farm joined the state farm. In 1966 they moved to the Peking area and Sid worked at polishing films while Joan worked with the Chinese Association of Cultural Relations with Foreign Countries. In 1972 they went to the Red Star Commune, back to dairying and development of agricultural machines. Since 1982 they have been working to mechanize dairy equipment on the Experimental Farm near Peking. (Personal interview with M. Stanley, 1986).

130. Bombardier Lt. Curtis Bush, with crew, bailed out over North China; he was found and protected by Communists there. He visited Helen Snow at her home, years later, and gave her his treasured souvenir--the mirror used to signal for help by a downed flyer. He reported "cooperatives of all kinds, ranging from a two-man outfit to others where hundreds share the profits" (reported by Helen Snow to author).

131. David Crook and

132. Isabel Crook (41)

Isabel was born of Canadian missionary parents in Chengtu, Szechuan in 1915. She had her college education in Canada, receiving her M.A. from the University of Toronto. She returned to China in 1938 and did anthropological and sociological field work in Szechuan until 1942.

David was born in London, England, in 1910, where he attended Cheltenham College. He emigrated to the U.S.A. in 1929 and worked in a New York raw hide concern for 2 1/2 years before working his

way through Columbia College, where he was active in student movements. He returned to England after graduation in 1935; then enlisted in the International Brigade and fought in Spain. In 1938 he came to China where he and Isabel met. They were married in England in 1942. There, Isabel worked in a munitions factory and later enlisted in the Canadian army. David joined the Royal Air Force and served for three years in the Far East.

After demobilization in 1946, Isabel did graduate work in anthropology at the London School of Economics and David studied Chinese at the School of Oriental Studies. They returned to China in 1947 to study land reform in the Liberated Areas. In 1948 they were invited to join the staff of the Foreign Language Training class in a village near Shihchiachuang. This later became the Foreign Languages Institute, where they have taught ever since. They, along with other foreign members of the Institute staff, took part in the Cultural Revolution, both being framed by followers of Lin Piao and the Gang of Four and kept in custody for several years. They were eventually cleared and released through the intervention of Premier Chou En-lai and have been working at the Foreign Languages Institute ever since.

David has contributed articles to various publications in Britain, North America, and Hong Kong. He and Isabel together have written two books on land reform and people's communes which have been published in England. A third, Ten Mile Inn: Mass Movement in a Chinese Village was published in the U.S.A. (Personal interview of both with M. Stanley, Peking 1986).

133. Howard D. Sollenberger, Director of UNRRA Brethren Tractor project 1946-1947. In Peking at Liberation in 1949, he left China in 1950. In Tai Hang Border Area of Shansi doing work for the Brethren Service Committee. Travelled extensively in Shansi in contact with Eighth Route Army headquarters in the Tai Hang Mountains.
134. Dr. Jensen, UNRRA, flew to Yen-an in February 1947.
135. Bill Berges travelled in the area of Shihchiachuang in 1948.
136. Marion Menzies, Canadian, travelled near Shihchiachuang in 1948 as a representative of World Student Services.
137. Lewis Hoskins, of the Friends Service Unit, led teams in 1948 and 1949 on foot and by cart from FSU headquarters in Chengchow, Honan, along the Yellow River and to Shihchiachuang to negotiate with Tung Pi-wu at CLARA offices, about the continuation of Friends Unit work in Liberated areas. (42) (Personal interview with M. Stanley 1978).
138. Mark Shaw, FSU member of team led by Lewis Hoskins. He returned to teach in China in 1983. (Personal interview with M. Stanley 1984).
139. Charles Cadbury, British member of FSU, was a member of the team which trekked from Chengchow to CLARA headquarters in Shihchiachuang led by Lewis Hoskins, May-June and August-September, 1948. (Personal interview with M. Stanley in Birmingham, 1984).
- See no. 118. Frank Miles returned to Communist areas on Lewis Hoskins' team of 1949. (Personal interview 1977).

Among the many FSU medical and community development personnel in Chengchow and Chungmou, Honan, some continued to work during times of takeover by Nationalist and then by Communist forces, 1948-1950. The following four (nos. 140-143) were members of FSU teams in Honan province:

140. Delf Fransham (interview in Birmingham, 1984).

141. Peter Mason (interview in Birmingham, 1984).

142. Will Foye.

143. Dr. Charles MacDonald.

144. Mary Dewar was in Communist areas from July of 1948 to March 1951, working as a nurse in Taiku, Shansi, a missionary of the American Board of Commissioners of Foreign Missions. (43). (Personal correspondence 1985).

145. C. A. Curwen, now a professor at the School of Oriental and African Studies, University of London. (Interview in London, 1984).

C. Appendix: From a letter from Philip Thomforde, August 1984:

International staff in the Liberated Area - 1946-1948

Wei Tsai Yu: (Including UNRRA, CLARA, CNRRA staff)

Con Caster, Australian, in charge of the unit.
Jimmy Grant, U.S., in charge from the Shanghai side, a visitor.
Dr. Marcy Ditmanson, WHO, from the USA.
Kay Beach, Friends Ambulance (Service) Unit, USA.
Ralph Stone, USA, WHO.
Dr. Egon Pederson, Danish, WHO, and Legrette Pederson.
Winifred Hemingway, USA, UNRRA, Field Distribution Officer
in charge of Lin Ching office.
Dr. Leo Eloesser, USA, WHO.
Marion Menzies, Canadian, WHO.
Ruth Ingram, USA, WHO.
Dan Ludwick, USA, Brethren Service Unit.
Claude Barlow, USA, Brethren Service Unit.
Ray Hoff, USA, Brethren Service Unit.
William Hinton, USA, UNRRA.
Rolf Illsley, USA, UNRRA Farm Machinery Repair Unit.
Jimmy Prior, UK, UNRRA Farm Machinery Repair Unit.
Eric Manning, UK, UNRRA Farm Machinery Repair Unit.
Dr. Robitscher, Czechoslovakia, WHO.
Bobby Grandon, Field Distribution Officer (White Russian).
Vaghiz Sulliman, Field Distribution Officer (Turkish).
Alex Skortsoff, Field Distribution Officer (White Russian).
Andy Zlokossoff, Field Distribution Officer.
Mark Korostovitch, Radio Operator (White Russian).
George Barbier, Field D.O. (White Russian).
Vladimir Ostrouhoff, Field D.O. (White Russian).
David Kosmin, Field D.O. (White Russian).
Philip R. Thomforde, USA, UNRRA, - Regional Agricultural Rehabilitation
Officer, Shantung, based in Chefoo.

London Mission Hospital at Tsang Chen:

Dr. Sypher, Miss Moss, Dr. Millage, Miss Stickland

Others:

Philip Thomforde brought in with him on a mission to Wei Tsai Yu in Oct. 1947, David and Isabel Crook; David acted as a driver from Tientsin to Wei Tsai Yu. Jack Dodds, Canadian, FAU-FSU, visited, looking for a downed American flyer in Liberated Area.

Of special interest: Chefoo: Philip Thomforde. Ralph Soelzer, USA, Brethren Service Unit, who accompanied the cattle boat to Chefoo from Shanghai. Dr. Rolf Becker, Germany, WHO. Mary Thompson, Australian, UNRRA, visitor to Chefoo. The White Russians were Field Distribution Officers, or drivers, or mechanics, about whom specific information is not known.

IV.

Footnotes to list of names.

1. Shewmaker, K.E., Americans and Chinese Communists, 1927-1945, A Persuading Encounter, p. 125.
2. Leyda, Jay, Dianying, p. 150.
3. Carlson, Evans F., Twins Stars of China, p. 34.
4. Allan and Gordon, The Scalpel, The Sword.
5. Shewmaker, American and Chinese Communists, 1927-1945, p. 92.
6. Shen Xiangong, Lu Jishan and Zhang Changman, An Indian Freedom Fighter In China, A Tribute to Dr. D. S. Kotnis.
7. Harrison Salisbury, China: One Hundred Years of Revolution. p. 174
8. Ross Terrill, The White-Boned Demon, p. 173.
9. Kenneth E. Shewmaker, Americans and Chinese Communists, 1927-1945.
10. Shewmaker, pp. 115-116.
11. Wang Huo, China Reconstructs, December 1979, pp. 16-19.
12. Amerasia magazine June and August 1939 and February, March, May, September, and October, 1941.
13. Pacific Affairs, Vol. XI, No. 11, June 1938, pp. 237-252.
14. Edgar Snow, Random Notes On Red China 1936-1945, pp. 20-22.
15. Shewmaker, p. 106.
16. Personal correspondence between author and John Caton, 1984.
17. Shewmaker, p. 93.
18. Maud Russell, Far East Reporter, December 1983.
19. Ross Terrill, The White-Boned Demon, p. 165.
20. Shewmaker, p. 129.

21. Shewmaker, p. 135.
22. Shewmaker, p. 137.
23. Shewmaker, p. 135.
24. Shewmaker, pp. 137-138.
25. Shewmaker, pp. 161-162.
26. Shewmaker, p. 162.
27. Lindsay, Michael, "The U.S. and the Chinese Communists 1937-1945", Asia Quarterly, March, 1971, p. 233.
28. Lindsay, Michael, "The U. S. and the Chinese Communists 1937-1945", p. 245.
29. Barrett, David D., Dixie Mission.
30. Lindsay, Michael, "The U.S. and the Chinese Communists 1937-1945", p. 224.
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