

Notes

Introduction “The Great Blessings That Radio Will Engender in This Old and Populous Land”: American Expectations and Radio in China

1. “Program Starts at Eight O’clock: News, Music, Entertainment,” *China Press*, 23 January 1923, copy of article forwarded to Secretary of State Charles Hughes, 893.74/278, Record Group 59, Department of State Central Decimal Files 1910–29, United States National Archives at College Park, Maryland (hereinafter abbreviated as DSNA followed by the years covered in the collection cited – e.g., 1910–29, 1930–39, and so on); Carlton Benson, “From Teahouse to Radio: Storytelling and the Commercialization of Culture in 1930s Shanghai” (Ph.D. Diss., University of California at Berkeley, 1996), 78–82.
2. “Program Starts at Eight O’clock: News, Music, Entertainment.”
3. Irene Kuhn, *Assigned to Adventure* (Philadelphia: J.B. Lippincott Company, 1938), 312–14. In her memoir, Kuhn incorrectly identifies Delay’s station as China’s first broadcasting outlet.
4. C.H. Robertson, “10,000 Miles of Radio Lectures in China,” in *Radio Broadcast*, September 1923, 382–91, held at the Broadcast Pioneers Library of American Broadcasting, University of Maryland at College Park (hereinafter referred to as the Library of American Broadcasting). On Robertson and his work in China Shirley S. Garrett, *Social Reformers in Urban China: The Chinese Y.M.C.A., 1895–1926* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1970), 91, 131; Peter Chen-main Wang, “A Patriotic Christian Leader in Changing China – Yu Rizhang in the Turbulent 1920s,” in *Chinese Nationalism in Perspective: Historical and Recent Cases*, ed. C.X. George Wei and Xiaoyuan Liu (Westport, CT: Greenwood Press, 2001), 36
5. David Nye, *America as Second Creation: Technology and Narratives of New Beginnings* (Cambridge, MA: MIT Press, 2003), esp. 1–20, 289–92. See also Thomas P. Hughes, *American Genesis: A Century of Invention and Technological Enthusiasm* (New York: Viking Press, 1989); David Nye, *American Technological Sublime* (Cambridge, MA: MIT Press, 1994); Merritt Roe Smith, “Technological Determinism in American Culture,” in *Does Technology Drive History? The Dilemma of Technological Determinism*, ed. Merritt Roe Smith and Leo Marx (Cambridge, MA: MIT Press, 1994), 1–36.
6. Michael Adas, *Machines as the Measure of Men* (Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, 1989).
7. Adas, *Machines as the Measure of Men*, 408–9. For a more particular focus on the United States, see Michael Adas, *Dominance by Design: Technological Imperatives and America’s Civilizing Mission* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 2006).
8. Akira Iriye, *Across the Pacific: An Inner History of American East Asian Relations*, rev. ed. (Chicago: Imprint Publications, 1992), 18.
9. Michael Hunt, *Ideology and U.S. Foreign Policy* (New Haven, CT: Yale University Press), 15.

10. Arthur Power Dudden, *The American Pacific: From the Old China Trade to the Present* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1992), vii. Michael Hunt, *The Making of a Special Relationship: The United States and China to 1914* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1983), 312–13. Akira Iriye, *Across the Pacific*, xvi. Adas, *Dominance by Design*, 31, 430. See also Jonathan Spence, *To Change China: Western Advisors in China, 1620–1960*, revised ed. (New York: Penguin Books, 1980), 293. In part, this study addresses Walter LaFeber's call for greater attention to the role that technology played in US foreign affairs in his article "Technology and U.S. Foreign Relations," *Diplomatic History* 24, no. 1 (Winter 2000): 1–19.
11. *The Radio Decade*, RCA publication, 1930, pp. 7, 10, Series 134 (History of Radio Broadcasting) Box 537, George H. Clark Radioana Collection, Archives Center at the National Museum of American History at the Smithsonian Institution (hereinafter referred to as Clark Radioana Collection).
12. Harry Davis, "The Permanency of Broadcasting: How a Scientific Novelty Developed in Eighteen Months to a Necessary and Popular Service—Present Limitations and the Line of Future Extension," in *Wireless Age*, May 1922, pp. 26–8, in Series 134 (History of Radio Broadcasting), Box 533, Clark Radioana Collection.
13. "Address of President Coolidge at the Opening Meeting of the International Radiotelegraph Conference," Washington D.C., 4 October 1927, folder "Radio: Conferences—International—Washington (1927)—Addresses by Hoover, Coolidge, et. al., 1927, October and November," Box 492, Herbert Hoover Commerce Department Papers, Herbert Hoover Presidential Library, West Branch, Iowa (hereinafter referred to as Hoover Commerce Papers).
14. Statement by the Commission and argument by Swagar Sherley, Esquire, special counsel for the National Association of Broadcasters in connection with "Issue Raised by the International Short Wave Broadcasting Rule 42.03(a)," in Hearings before the Federal Communications Commission, 14, 15, and 17 July 1939, esp. pp. 5–6. A copy of this pamphlet is available at Library of American Broadcasting.
15. "World-Wide Peace Through Radio: An address by Major General J.G. Harbord, President-elect of RCA, Before the Illinois Manufacturers Association at the Twenty-Fifth Annual Dinner," published in *Manufacturers News*, December 1922, pp. 7–8, 12, copy filed in Series 95 (Articles on Radio Subjects), Box 392, Clark Radioana Collection.
16. Opening address by J.G. Harbord, President of the Radio Corporation of America, addresses delivered at a dinner tendered to the delegates of the international radiotelegraph conference by the Radio Corporation of America and the National Broadcasting Company at the Hotel Plaza, 15 October 1927, folder "Radio: Conferences—International—Washington (1927)—Addresses by Hoover, Coolidge, et. al., 1927, October and November," Box 492, Hoover Commerce Papers.
17. Quoted in Susan J. Douglas, *Inventing American Broadcasting* (Baltimore, MD: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1987), 306; for an analysis of the popular enthusiasm directed toward radio by the 1920s, see 292–314.
18. Martin P. Rice, "The Future of Radio Broadcasting," in *The Monogram* 1, no. 4 (January 1924): 7. This GE publication is available at the General Electric Papers, Schenectady Museum Archives, Schenectady, New York.

19. "Increase in foreign broadcasts forecast for NBC During 1936," NBC Daily News Report, 14 May 1936, Series 134 (History of Radio Broadcasting), Box 531, Clark Radioana Collection.
20. Interview of Boyd W. Bullock regarding General Electric's interest in short-wave broadcasting for "Backstage in Schenectady" series of shortwave programs, 7 January 1936, File 89–6 (General Electric), Box 365, RG 173, Federal Communications Commission, Office of the Director, General Correspondence, 1927–1946, United States National Archives at College Park, Maryland (hereinafter FCC Records 1927–46).
21. Emily Rosenberg, *Spreading the American Dream: American Economic and Cultural Expansion, 1890–1945* (New York: Hill and Wang, 1982), esp. 89, 92, 94, 96; quote is from page 121. For the World War I impact on American thinking about international radio, see Jonathan Reed Winkler, *Nexus: Strategic Communications and American Security in World War I* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 2008), esp. 11, 40, 50, 60, 95, and 163.
22. Leo Marx and Merritt Roe Smith, "Introduction," in Marx and Smith, eds., *Does Technology Drive History*, ix–xii, esp. xi.
23. Quoted in Menahem Blondheim, *New Over the Wires: The Telegraph and the Flow of Public Information in America, 1844–1897* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1994), 191.
24. "The Problems and Prospects of Radio," Address By General J.G. Harbord before the Meat Packers Institute and The University of Chicago, 21 October 1925, #305a, Series 95 (Articles on Radio Subjects), Box 393, Clark Radioana Collection.
25. John Tierney, "Better. Our Oldest Computer Upgraded," in *New York Times*, section 6 (magazine), 28 September 1997, 46.
26. Pat Nason, "Analysis: Is Podcasting the New Radio?," 7 April 2005, *United Press International*, http://www.upi.com/Odd_News/2005/04/07/Analysis_Is_podcasting_the_new_radio/UPI-28111112890695 (last accessed 26 September 2010).
27. James Schwoch, *Global TV: New Media and the Cold War, 1946–1969* (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 2009). Quote is from 152.
28. Jane Abbate, *Inventing the Internet* (Cambridge, MA: MIT Press, 1999), 5–6.
29. Benson, "From Teahouse to Radio"; Carlton Benson, "Consumers are also Soldiers: Subversive Songs From Nanjing Road during the New Life Movement," in *Inventing Nanjing Road: Commercial Culture in Shanghai, 1900–1945*, ed. Sherman Cochran (Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, 1999); Carlton Benson, "Back to Business as Usual: The Resurgence of Commercial Radio in Gudao Shanghai" in *In the Shadow of the Rising Sun: Shanghai Under Japanese Occupation*, ed. Christian Henriot and Wen-hsin Yeh (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2004).
30. Gregory Kasza, *The State and Mass Media in Japan, 1918–1945* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1988); Roger W. Purdy, "'Information Imperialism' and Japan," in the *Journal of American–East Asian Relations* 1 no. 3 (Fall 1992): esp. 295–325.
31. For example, see Parkes Coble, *Facing Japan: Chinese Politics and Japanese Imperialism, 1931–1937* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1991); John Fitzgerald, *Awakening China: Politics, Culture, and Class in the Nationalist Revolution* (Stanford, CA: Stanford University Press, 1996); James C. Hsiung

and Steven I. Levine, eds., *China's Bitter Victory: The War With Japan, 1937–1945* (Armonk, NY: M.E. Sharpe, 1992); Youli Sun, *China and the Origins of the Pacific War* (New York: St. Martins Press, 1993); and Frederic Wakeman, Jr., *Policing Shanghai 1927–1937* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1995).

1 “We Owe Nothing to Their Sensibilities”: Federal Telegraph, the Open Door, and the Washington System in 1920s China

1. Schurman to the Secretary of State Charles Hughes, 27 September 1921, 893.74/193, DSNA 1910–29. This document is reprinted in *The Federal Telegraph Company's Contract with the Chinese Government: Correspondence and Documents* (Washington, DC: Government Printing Office, 1925), 79–80 (hereinafter *Federal Telegraph*). For the specific contract, see “Contract between the Federal Telegraph Company of California and the Chinese Government, January 8, 1921,” in *Federal Telegraph*, Annex I, pp. i–iv. Research for this chapter began with the DSNA 1910–29 files. I subsequently used the published documents from the *Federal Telegraph* volume. The two collections overlap, but they are not identical. While much of the material I first encountered at the National Archives also appears in the *Federal Telegraph* volume, some does not. Some original documents that are reprinted in the *Federal Telegraph* volume are paraphrased or otherwise modified from the original. Any documents that are reprinted in the *Federal Telegraph* volume are identified, even those that I first discovered while researching in the State Department files. Documents from DSNA 1910–29 that are not identified as being reprinted in the *Federal Telegraph* volume were located only in the more complete State Department files.
2. Schurman to Hughes, 27 September 1921, 893.74/193, DSNA 1910–29, reprinted in *Federal Telegraph*, 79–80.
3. For Reinsch's support of Federal see Reinsch to the Secretary of State Robert Lansing, 27 March 1919, 893.74/18, DSNA 1910–29. For background on Reinsch, see Warren Cohen, *The Chinese Connection and American-East Asian Relations* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1978), 301; Iriye, *Across the Pacific*, 133–4; James Reed, *The Missionary Mind and American East Asia Policy, 1911–1915* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1983), 49, 50, 88. Quote is from Paul Reinsch, *An American Diplomat in China* (Garden City, NY: Doubleday, Page, and Company, 1922; reprinted, Taipei: Ch'eng-wen Publishing Company, 1967), 80.
4. Background information on Crane from Jacob J. Sulzbach, Jr., “Charles Crane, Woodrow Wilson, and Progressive Reform: 1909–1921,” (Ph.D. diss., Texas A&M University, 1994), esp. 1–8. Crane's quote is from Crane to the Secretary of State Bainbridge Colby, 9 February 1921, 893.74/91, DSNA 1910–29, reprinted in *Federal Telegraph*, 5.
5. Background information on Schurman from “Obituary: Jacob Gould Schurman, 1854–1942,” *Science* 96 (28 August 1942): 197. Schurman to Hughes, 27 September 1921.

6. On the Open Door see Hunt, *The Making of a Special Relationship*; Paul A. Varg, *The Making of a Myth: The United States and China, 1897–1912* (Westport, CT: Greenwood Press, 1968); Marilyn B. Young, *The Rhetoric of Empire: American China Policy, 1895–1901* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1968); Thomas J. McCormick, *China Market: America's Quest for Informal Empire, 1893–1901* (Chicago: Quadrangle Books, 1967).
7. For the Warlord Era, see Hsi-Sheng Ch'i, *Warlord Politics in China, 1916–1928* (Stanford, CA.: Stanford University Press, 1976).
8. Young, *Rhetoric of Empire*, esp. 12; Hunt, *Making of a Special Relationship*, esp. 299. See also David Anderson, *Imperialism and Idealism: American Diplomats in China, 1861–1898* (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1985), esp. 192; and Jerry Israel, *Progressivism and the Open Door: American and China, 1905–1921* (Pittsburgh: Pittsburgh University Press, 1971), esp. 176–202
9. President of the Federal Telegraph Company Rennie P. Schwerin to Hughes, 8 June 1921, 893.74/142, DSN 1910–29, reprinted in *Federal Telegraph*, 53–7.
10. Memorandum of conversation between Schwerin, Walter Rogers (wireless expert of the State Department at the Washington Conference), and Nelson Johnson (head of the State Department's Division of Far Eastern Affairs), 30 December 1921, 893.74/211, DSN 1910–29.
11. For Schwerin's background, see Hugh Aitken, *The Continuous Wave: Technology and American Radio, 1900–1932* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1985), 294–9; E. Mowbray Tate, *Transpacific Steam: The Story of Steam Navigation from the Pacific Coast of North America to the Far East and the Antipodes, 1867–1941* (New York: Cornwall Books, 1986), 253–5
12. Aitken, *Continuous Wave*, 298–300; Hughes to the Chargé in Japan Edward Bell, 1 July 1921, 893.74/115, DSN 1910–29, reprinted in *Federal Telegraph*, 63.
13. Mitsui Bussan Kaisha was one of the major Japanese *zaibatsu*, the huge family-based industrial-banking conglomerates that drove Japan's modern economy while benefiting from favorable government economic policies and close ties to the military.
14. Michael J. Hogan, *Informal Entente: The Private Structure of Cooperation in Anglo-American Economic Diplomacy, 1918–1928* (Columbia: University of Missouri Press, 1977), 129–58; Aitken, *Continuous Wave*, 492; Daniel Headrick, *The Invisible Weapon: Telecommunications and International Politics, 1851–1945* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1991), 188. See also "Old Cable Deals in China Recalled," in the *New York Times*, 19 August 1928, 41.
15. Japanese Minister to the United States Yukichi Obata to Crane, 16 February 1921, enclosed in Crane to Colby, 17 February 1921, 893.74/111, DSN 1910–29, reprinted in *Federal Telegraph*, 16. The reference to the particular contract clause guaranteeing Japan's revenue is from Hughes to Schurman, 13 March 1923, 893.74/278a, DSN 1910–29, reprinted in *Federal Telegraph*, 115–16. The comparison between Mitsui-Federal competition and railroad competition is noted in Bell to Hughes, 11 April 1921, 893.74/115, DSN 1910–29, reprinted in *Federal Telegraph*, 35–6.
16. For information on the various positions of Japanese elites, see Michael A. Barnhart, *Japan and the World Since 1868* (New York: Edward Arnold, 1995),

- 47–72, esp. 48. Herbert Bix's biography of Hirohito convincingly makes the case that the Japanese monarchy in general and Hirohito in particular played a much more active and involved role in governing Japan than is typically acknowledged, especially in matters that involved the military. Hirohito became regent for his physically and mentally ill father in November 1921, in the midst of the Federal controversy. Hirohito formally ascended to the throne in 1926. See Herbert P. Bix, *Hirohito and the Making of Modern Japan* (New York: Harper Collins, 2000), 91–123. On the growth of Japan's electrical communications manufacturing industry and exports, see Christopher Howe, *The Origins of Japanese Trade Supremacy: Development and Technology in Asia from 1540 to the Pacific War* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1996), 302–3. A 1936 *North China Daily News* article underscored the steadily increasing significance of these exports over the next decade; the article commented that since 1930 "most noticeable increase [in radio imports to China] is shown by Japan, whose shipments to China have increased enormously;" see "Extract from the North China Daily News of April 28, 1936," p. 25, File U001-04-0002812, "Transmission Electrical Messages: Radio Broadcasting and Receiving Stations: Control," Records of the Secretariat of the Shanghai Municipal Council, Shanghai Municipal Archives, Shanghai, China (hereinafter SMC Records).
17. Walter LaFeber, *The Clash: U.S.-Japanese Relations Throughout History* (New York: W.W. Norton, 1997), 134.
 18. Study prepared by A.P. Winton (of the foreign trade advisor's office in the State Department's Economic Intelligence Department), 19 March 1919, Box 8 (Confidential Correspondence, 1917–26), RG 38, Records of the Chief of Naval Operations, United States National Archives, College Park, Maryland. I would like to thank Jonathan Winkler for bringing this document to my attention.
 19. A list of the various heads of state, prime ministers and cabinets can be found in Ch'i, *Warlord Politics*, 243.
 20. Harry W. Kirwin, "The Federal Telegraph Company: A Testing of the Open Door," *Pacific Historical Review* 22, no. 3 (August 1953): 281. Foreign interests seeking a contract were also known to include an up-front payment – some called it a bribe – in order to prompt a ministry to sign off on an agreement, a facet that further enriched the respective ministry (or minister).
 21. The Chargé in China A.B. Ruddock to Hughes, 27 August 1921, 893.74/185, DSNA 1910–29, reprinted in *Federal Telegraph*, 75–6.
 22. Ruddock to Hughes, 27 August 1921.
 23. Biographical information on Yan Huiqing comes from John Benjamin Powell and Hollington Kong Tong, *Who's Who in China, Containing the Pictures and Biographies of Some of China's Political, Financial, Business, and Professional Leaders*, 2nd ed. (Shanghai: Millard's Review, 1920), 309–10, and Roberta Allbert Dayer, *Bankers and Diplomats in China, 1917–1925* (Totowa, NJ: Frank Cass and Company, Ltd., 1981), 113, n. 73.
 24. Ruddock to Hughes, 26 August 1921, 893.74/174, DSNA 1910- 29, reprinted in *Federal Telegraph*, 74–5.
 25. Ruddock to Hughes, 22 August 1921 (893.74/187, DSNA 1910–29), 26 August 1921 and 27 August 1921; all preceding documents reprinted in *Federal Telegraph*, 74–6.

26. Ruddock to Hughes, 7 September 1921, 893.74/177, DSNA 1910–29, reprinted in *Federal Telegraph*, 78.
27. Hughes to Ruddock, 29 August 1921, 893.74/174, DSNA 1910–29, reprinted in *Federal Telegraph*, 77.
28. Ruddock to Hughes, 26 August 1921; Ruddock to Hughes, 7 September 1921; see also Ruddock to Hughes, 2 September 1921, 893.74/175, DSNA 1910–29, reprinted in *Federal Telegraph*, 77.
29. Schwerin, “Memorandum regarding representations of the Federal Telegraph Company,” 9 June 1922, enclosed with RCA Secretary John Elwood to General Electric Vice President A.G. Davis, 19 June 1922; RCA General Counsel John Griggs, “Memorandum of legal suggestions on agreement between the Republic of China and the Federal Telegraph Company as contained in original agreement of January 8, 1921, and supplemental agreement of September 19, 1921;” both documents in file 87.2.125.B, folder 264A, Box 125B, Papers of Owen D. Young, Special Collections and Archives, St. Lawrence University, Canton, New York (hereinafter Owen Young Papers).
30. Schurman to Hughes, 27 September 1921.
31. On the American view of coercion as a policy device toward China, see Hunt, *Making of a Special Relationship*, 197–8. For Schurman’s background and views, see Dudden, *The American Pacific*, 90 (including quote); Peter W. Stanley, *A Nation in the Making: The Philippines and the United States, 1899–1921* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1974), 58, 62; H.W. Brands, *Bound to Empire: The United States and the Philippines* (New York: Oxford University Press), 52, 67–8, 75; Jacob Gould Schurman, “Philippine Fundamentals,” in *Gunton’s Magazine* XXII (January–June 1902): esp. 313–15.
32. Akira Iriye, *After Imperialism: The Search for a New Order in the Far East, 1921–1931*, 2nd ed. (Chicago: Imprint Publications, 1990), 17–19; Arthur Waldron, *From War to Nationalism: China’s Turning Point, 1924–1925* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 1995), 163.
33. Federal’s precarious finances are discussed in Schurman to Hughes, 10 February 1922, 893.74/219; Rogers to Hughes, 10 March 1922, 893.74/347; Hughes to Schurman, 17 May 1922, 893.74/238. For Schwerin’s quote, see Schwerin to Hughes, 2 August 1922, 893.74/244; preceding documents from DSNA 1910–29; reprinted in *Federal Telegraph*, 88, 91, 98–100. See also John P. Rossi, “The U.S. Government, RCA, and Radio Communications with East Asia, 1919–1928,” *Radical History Review* 33 (1985): 38–42.
34. Aitken, *Continuous Wave*, 491–3.
35. Griggs, “Memorandum of legal suggestions.”
36. *Ibid.*
37. The agreement between RCA and Federal Telegraph of California is reprinted in *Federal Telegraph* (n. 1 above), Annex IV and Annex IV-A, xii–xvii; see also Peter Hugill, *Global Communications Since 1844: Geopolitics and Technology* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1999), 122. For Schwerin’s trip to China and the objectives he hoped to achieve, see Schwerin to Hughes, 29 August 1922, 893.74/246; Acting Secretary of State William Philips to Schwerin, 31 August 1922, 893.74/246; Hughes to Schurman, 2 September 1923, 893.74/231; Philips to Schurman, 7 September 1922, 893.74/246; Schurman to Hughes, 29 November 1922, 893.74/259; all documents from DSNA 1910–29, reprinted in *Federal Telegraph*, 100–3.

38. Schwerin's comments were forwarded in Schurman to Hughes, 12 June 1923, 893.74/318, DSNA 1910–29, reprinted in *Federal Telegraph*, 131–2 (in the reprint, quoted portions appear slightly different from the original).
39. On Yoshizawa's threats, see Schwerin to RCA, 8 June 1923, enclosed with letter from Harbord to Hughes, 9 June 1923, 893.74/322, DSNA 1910–29, reprinted in *Federal Telegraph*, 129. For Hanihara's position, see Head of the State Department's Division of Far Eastern Affairs John V.A. MacMurray to Hughes, 18 May 1923, 893.74/247, DSNA 1910–29; on Hanihara's relationship with Hughes, see LaFeber, *The Clash*, 185. Schwerin's comments were forwarded in Schurman to Hughes, 12 June 1923 (in the reprint, quoted portion reads slightly different from the original).
40. Schurman to Hughes, 13 July 1923, 893.74/352, DSNA 1910–29, reprinted *Federal Telegraph*, 144. Harbord's and Young's comments were enclosed in this communication. Quoted text from Schurman to Hughes, 18 July 1923, 893.74/376, DSNA 1910–29, reprinted in *Federal Telegraph*, 146. Gu's biographer, Stephen G. Craft, presents Gu as a Chinese patriot committed to strengthening and modernizing China who, on the basis of his education and experience, looked to the United States as China's natural partner that could help achieve that objective. See Stephen G. Kraft, *V.K. Wellington Koo and the Emergence of Modern China* (Lexington: University Press of Kentucky, 2004), chap. 1, esp. 21–2.
41. A Sino-French dispute over indemnity payments dating back to the turn-of-the-century precipitated the problem. The French used this dispute to justify delaying the ratification of a Washington Conference treaty on tariff revision. The Americans, British, and Japanese – already alarmed by growing Chinese radicalism and its implications for their interests in China – used the crisis to justify their own delays in ratifying the treaties until the problem with the French was satisfactorily resolved (thereby giving them additional time to ensure the security of their own positions in China). See Waldron, *From War to Nationalism*, 30–4; Iriye, *After Imperialism*, 27–37.
42. For the Ministry's position on interest payments, see the memorandum of the conversation between RCA Vice President and General Attorney William Brown and Representatives of the State Department's Division of Far Eastern Affairs, 10 January 1924, 893.74/429; and Schwerin to Hughes, 18 January 1924, 893.74/424, DSNA, 1910–29 (18 January 1924 document is reprinted in *Federal Telegraph*, 182). For the Chinese government's position on attaching a Chinese official with decision-making authority to the project and opening the books to auditors of both parties, see "Demands Made by the Chinese Government on the Federal Telegraph Company of Delaware for Modifications of and Additions to Contract of January 8th 1921, Supplemental Agreement of September 19th, 1921, and the Letter of July 13th, 1923," enclosed with Schwerin to MacMurray, 8 September 1924, 893.74/495, and Bell to Hughes, 20 September 1924, 893.74/496, DSNA 1910–29, reprinted in *Federal Telegraph*, 214–15, 216–17, respectively. On the Chinese blocking of funds and land acquisition Hughes to the American Legation in China, 23 January 1924, 893.74/432, DSNA 1910–29; and Bell to Hughes, 9 September 1924, 893.74/491, DSNA 1910–29, reprinted in *Federal Telegraph*, 215.
43. Schurman to Hughes 23 April 1924, 893.74/459, DSNA 1910–29, reprinted in *Federal Telegraph*, 200.

44. Biographical information on Shi Zhaoji is from Powell and Tong, eds., *Who's Who in Modern China*, 186, 157–8.
45. Harbord to Schwerin, 10 November 1924, enclosed with Harbord to Hughes, 10 November 1924, 893.74/497, DSNA 1910–29, reprinted in *Federal Telegraph*, 218.
46. Memorandum of conversations between Assistant Secretary of State Leland Harrison and MacMurray with RCA's Brown, 13 June 1923, 893.74/329, DSNA, 1910–29.
47. Schurman to Hughes, 30 May 1924, 893.74/471, DSNA 1910–29, reprinted in *Federal Telegraph*, 205–6.
48. MacMurray to Hughes, 9 June 1924, 893.74/471, DSNA, 1910–29.
49. Bell to Hughes, 20 September 1924.
50. Harbord to Young, 27 August 1923, and Harbord to Schwerin, 8 November 1923, file 87.2.125, folder 264B, Owen Young Papers.
51. The Japanese Embassy to the Department of State, 24 December 1924, 893.74/502, DSNA 1910–29, reprinted in *Federal Telegraph*, 222–3.
52. Waldron, *From War to Nationalism*, 3, 204–7; Iriye, *After Imperialism*, 27.
53. For the origins and implications of the Zhili-Fengtian battle, see Waldron, *From War to Nationalism*, esp. 3, 46, 90, 127, 175–80, 204–7.
54. Brown to Harrison, 31 March 1925, 893.74/556, DSNA 1910–29, reprinted in *Federal Telegraph*, 239–40. In this communication, RCA's Brown forwarded to Washington the information sent over by Manton Davis, RCA's representative in Beijing, in a telegram dated 17 March 1925.
55. Harbord to the Secretary of State Frank Kellogg and Harrison, 1 July 1925, file 87.2.126, Folder 264E, Owen Young Papers. In his correspondence with Washington, Harbord quoted the text of the Japanese reply, dated 1 June 1925.
56. Schurman to Kellogg, 12 April 1925, 893.74/546, DSNA 1910–29, reprinted in *Federal Telegraph*, 244; cablegram from Colonel Manton Davis, RCA Representative in China, 19 June 1925, 893.74/578, DSNA 1910–29.
57. Takuma Dan to Charles M. Muchnic (of the American Locomotive Sales Corporation), 3 February 1925, file 87.2.126, folder 264E, Owen Young Papers.
58. MacMurray to Hughes, 9 June 1924, 893.74/471, and MacMurray to Hughes, 18 May 1923, 893.74/347, DSNA 1910–29. For background on MacMurray, see Waren Cohen, *America's Response to China: A History of Sino-American Relations*, 3rd ed. (New York: Columbia University Press, 1990), 92–4; see also Arthur Waldron's introduction in John V. MacMurray and Arthur Waldron, *How the Peace Was Lost: The 1935 Memorandum, Developments Affecting American Policy in the Far East*, ed. Arthur Waldron. (Stanford, CA: Hoover Institution Press, 1992), 1–2, 10.
59. Jonathan Spence, *The Search for Modern China*, 2nd ed. (New York: W.W. Norton, 1999), 322–3; Karen Garner, *Precious Fire: Maud Russell and the Chinese Revolution* (Amherst: University of Massachusetts Press, 2003), 68–70. Thorburn's quote is from pages 69–70 of the Garner book.
60. Cohen, *American Response to China*, 93–6; Waldron's introduction in MacMurray and Waldron, *How the Peace Was Lost*, 1–4, 8–10, 35–9; MacMurray to Kellogg, 11 June 1926, 893.74/691, DSNA 1910–29
61. Memorandum of General Harbord's conversation with the State Department, 12 May 1926, File 87.2.126, Folder 264E, Owen Young Papers.

62. On MacMurray and Kellogg, see Cohen, *American Response to China*, 89, 96; Waldron's introduction in MacMurray and Waldron, *How the Peace Was Lost*, 21–6
63. On the cost of shortwave transmission versus the older “long wave” alternatives, see Daniel Headrick, “Shortwave Radio and Its Impact on International Communications Between the Wars,” in *History and Technology* 11, no.1 (1994): 24
64. For the Nationalists' growth in political, military, and economic power in the years leading up to the Northern Expedition, see Ch'i, *Warlord Politics*, esp. 196–239. For the Northern Expedition, see Donald Jordan, *The Northern Expedition: China's National Revolution of 1926–1928* (Honolulu: University Press of Hawaii, 1976).
65. Schwerin's views paraphrased in Harbord to Head of the State Department's Division of Far Eastern Affairs Nelson Johnson, 2 August 1928, 893.74/854, DSNA 1910–29; Harbord to Schwerin, 2 August 1928, 893.74/854, DSNA 1910–29.
66. MacMurray (now the American Minister to China) to the Chinese Minister for Foreign Affairs C.T. Wang, 31 October 1929, 893.74/880, reprinted in United States, *Papers Relating to the Foreign Relations of the United States, 1929*, vol. 2 (Washington, DC: Government Printing Office, 1943), 830–1.
67. Aitken, *Continuous Wave*, 493.
68. For Chinese strategies to influence the incorporation of railroad and telegraph technologies in the late nineteenth century, see Zhang Zhong, “The Transfer of Network Technologies to China, 1860–1898,” (Ph.D. dissertation, University of Pennsylvania, 1989); see also Erik Baark, *Lightning Wires: The Telegraph and China's Technological Modernization, 1860–1890* (Westport, CT.: Greenwood Press, 1997).
69. Iriye, *After Imperialism*, 87; Waldron, *From War to Nationalism*, 172.
70. “Developments Affecting American Policy in the Far East,” prepared for the State Department by John Van Antwerp MacMurray, 711.93/383, DSNA 1930–39, reprinted in MacMurray and Waldron, *How the Peace Was Lost*, 67–8, 126.

2 “We Are Not Interested in the Politics of the Situation”: The Radio Corporation of America in Nationalist China, 1928–37

1. “Text of messages exchanged upon the occasion of opening direct radio telegraph service between San Francisco and Shanghai by RCA Communications, Inc.” n.d., #316a, box 196, Series 14 (General History), Clark Radioana Collection.
2. RCA Press Release, 6 December 1930, box 131, Series 5 (History of Radio Companies), Clark Radioana Collection.
3. This chapter's application of the concept of “transnational structuring,” is derived from Gregory Nowell, *Mercantile States and the World Oil Cartel, 1900–1939* (Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, 1995), esp. 33–5, 43.
4. Chang Ching-kiang [Zhang Jingjiang, a.k.a. Zhang Renjie] to RCA's Board of Directors, 10 July 1928, file “China: Chinese Arbitration Correspondence

- 1933 (9 of 13),” box 581, Records of MCI International, Inc., Hagley Museum and Library, Wilmington, Delaware (hereinafter referred to as MCI International Papers) [MCI’s acquisition of RCA Communications in 1987 is the reason why these RCA files are kept in the MCI archives]; RCA President James Harbord to First National Bank of Los Angeles President (and economic advisor to President Calvin Coolidge) Henry M. Robinson, 27 September 1927, file 87.7.126, folder 264D, box 126, Owen Young Papers; Harbord to Federal Telegraph Company of Delaware President R.P. Schwerin, 2 August 1928, 893.74/854, DSNA 1910–29. On Zhang Jingjiang’s relationship with Chiang Kai-shek, see Ming K. Chan, *Precarious Balance: Hong Kong between China and Britain, 1842–1992* (Hong Kong: Hong Kong University Press, 1994), 87, n. 7. Zhang even officiated Chiang’s 1921 wedding to his second wife, Chen Jieru; see Chen Jieru, *Chiang Kai-Shek’s Secret Past: The Memoir of his Second Wife, Ch’en Chieh-ju* (Boulder, CO: Westview Press, 1993), 38.
5. For the proposed RCA Communications sale to ITT, see Robert Sobel, *ITT: The Management of Opportunity* (New York: Times Books, 1983), 61–4. For Sarnoff’s remarks, see Congress, Senate, Committee on Interstate Commerce, Commission on Communications, 71st Congress, 2nd Session, December 10, 1929, 1247.
 6. For the Northern Expedition, see Jordan, *The Northern Expedition*. For Nationalist state-building efforts, see Lloyd Eastman, “Nationalist China During the Nanking [Nanjing] Decade,” in *The Nationalist Era in China, 1927–1949*, ed. sLloyd Eastman, Jerome Ch’en, Suzanne Pepper, and Lyman Van Slyke (New York: Cambridge University Press, 1991), 1–52; and Robert Bedeski, “China’s Wartime State,” in Hsiung and Levine, eds., *China’s Bitter Victory*, 33–49. Edward McCord explores the extension of Nationalist state power on the local level and its effect on the eventual Communist rise to power after 1949 in “Local Militia and State Power in Nationalist China,” *Modern China* 25, no. 2 (1999): 115–41.
 7. Chu Chia-hua [Zhu Jiahua], *China’s Postal and Other Communications Services*. (London: Kegan Paul, Trench, Trubner & Co., Ltd., 1937), 151. Prior to his service as Minister of Education and Minister of Communications, Zhu served as the Commissioner of Civil Affairs in Zhejiang province. He was elected to the Central Executive Committee of the Nationalist party in 1929 and then became the Chairman of the Zhejiang provincial government. He had also served as president of Nanjing’s Central University. See R. Keith Schoppa, *Blood Road: The Mystery of Shen Dingyi in Revolutionary China* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1995), 12; Donald A. Jordan, *Chinese Boycotts versus Japanese Bombs: The Failure of China’s “Revolutionary Diplomacy,” 1931–1932* (Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 1991), 242
 8. Guo Taiqi is quoted in the American Minister in China John V.A. MacMurray to Secretary of State Frank Kellogg, 9 January 1928, 893.74/800, DSNA 1910–29, reprinted in United States Department of State, *Foreign Relations of the United States 1928*, vol. 2 (Washington, DC: Government Printing Office, 1943), 557–8.
 9. The regime’s position on radio’s and further unification is noted in the American Trade Commissioner in China A. Viola Smith “Telecommunications-

- China," Special Report No. S-11, 23 July 1937, box 124, RG 151, Records Relating to the Commercial Attachés' Reports, Bureau of Foreign and Domestic Commerce (BFDC), Department of Commerce, United States National Archives, College Park, Maryland (hereinafter BFDC Attachés' Reports); see also Chang to RCA's Board of Directors, 10 July 1928; for the 1929 Telecommunications Act, see Chu, *China's Postal and Other Communications Services*, 152.
10. For international radiotelegraph agreements and the expansion of China's domestic and international radiotelegraphy, see Rudolf Löwenthal, "Public Communications in China, before July 1937," in *The Chinese Social and Political Science Review* 22, no. 1 (1938): 53–5; Wen Yu-ching, "Electrical Communications," in *Chinese Year Book*, 2nd issue (1936–37), 1086–95, 1122–4; Wen Yu-ching, "Electrical Communications," in *Chinese Year Book*, 3rd issue (1936–37): 966, 969–74, 988–91; A. V. Smith, "Communications Questionnaire, Special Report No. S-22, 30 October 1935, pp. 9–12, box 120, folder "Foreign Service–Copies of Reports–Peiping–1935–October–November," BFDC Attachés' Reports. With regard to the improved management of finances, Oberlin-educated Kong Xiangxi and Harvard-educated Song Ziwen are credited for using their ties to the China's financial world to improve the efficiency of the Chinese bureaucracy; see Tien-wei Wu, "Contending Political Forces during the War of Resistance," in Hsiung and Levine, eds., *China's Bitter Victory*, 51–78. For equipment purchases, see Yen Jen-kuang [Yan Renguang], "Telecommunications," in *Chinese Year Book*, 1st issue (1935–36), 688. For subsidies of other telecommunications services through radio profits, see Chu, *China's Postal and Other Communications Services*, 196.
 11. Zhang's aspirations for national leadership (and the long odds that stood in the way of such aspirations) are commented on in David Strand, *Rickshaw Beijing: City People and Politics in the 1920s* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1989), 8–10. For the Mukden contract, see RCA's China Representative George Shecklen to RCA Communications Vice President and General Manager William A. Winterbottom, 18 January 1934, file "China: Chinese Arbitration Correspondence, 1928–1934 (13 of 13)," box 581, MCI International Papers. For the Nationalist's concerns over RCA's recognition of their authority, see Chang to RCA's Board of Directors, 10 July 1928.
 12. Zhu Jiahua pointed out that even through the Shanghai terminus was often referred to as a single station, the "high powered station" was in fact three separate stations: a central receiving station was built in Liuhong, the central transmitting station at Chenju, and a branch station at Fenglinchao – all in the neighborhood of Shanghai. For this detail, see Chu, *China's Postal and Other Communications Services*, 152.
 13. For Zhang's relationship with Japan, see Michael A. Barnhart, *Japan Prepares for Total War: The Search for Economic Security, 1919–1941* (Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, 1987), 30; LaFeber, *The Clash*, 152. For more specific reference to the assistance Zhang received from Japan, see Waldron, *From War to Nationalism*, 3, 204–7; Akira Iriye, *After Imperialism*, 27. With regard to how Zhang's Japanese connections hurt him in the context of the Northern Expedition and China's rising nationalism, see Jordan, *The Northern Expedition*, 160. For the Seiyukai–Minseito political divide through the 1928 elections, see Barnhart, *Japan and the World*, 78–87; LaFeber, *The Clash*, 134,

- 151–3, 162. For Zhang Xueliang's relationship with the Chinese Nationalists and Japan in the late 1920s and early 1930s, see Barnhart, *Japan and the World*, 31; LaFeber, *The Clash*, 152–3, 162; Coble, *Facing Japan*, 21–31. For the relationship between Manchuria's Northeastern Long Distance Radio and Long Distance Telegraph Administration and the regime in Nanjing, see the American Vice Consul at Mukden John Hubner, "Report on Radio Broadcasting and Receiving in the Mukden Consular District," 8 December 1931, 893.76/11, DSNA 1930–39; at the time of this report's writing Zhang Xueliang had been driven out of Manchuria two months before, but the report accounts for the situation that existed before Zhang withdrew. On the Nationalists' recognition of the Mukden agreement, the subsequent contract for a Shanghai-San Francisco connection, and rapid execution of those contracts, see Shecklen to Winterbottom, 18 January 1934.
14. For the Manchurian Incident, see Coble, *Facing Japan*, 11–18; LaFeber, *The Clash*, 164–74. On the Great Depression in Japan, the significance of Manchuria to Japan, and the Depression's impact on the Guangdong Army's view of Manchuria, see Barnhart, *Japan and the World*, 91–2, and LaFeber, *The Clash*, 161–3. For popular Japanese views linking Manchuria to a solution for Japan's domestic ills, see Andrew Gordon, *Labor and Imperial Democracy in Prewar Japan* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1991), esp. 262. For Zhang Xueliang's efforts to reduce Japanese influence in Manchuria, see Coble, *Facing Japan*, 22–3. For Japanese domestic politics and its relationship to the Manchurian Incident, see Barnhart, *Japan and the World*, 92–7. For a more detailed examination of the Minseito's reversal of fortune, see Gordon Mark Berger, *Parties out of Power in Japan, 1931–1941* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1977), esp. 37–43.
15. For the station's bombing, see the First Secretary of the American Legation in China Corenlius Van H. Engert to the Secretary of State Henry Stimson, 12 November 1931, 893.74/939, DSNA 1930–39; W.J. Richards, "Radio in China," in H.G.W. Woodhead, ed., *The China Year Book 1936*, (Shanghai: North China Daily News & Herald; repr., Nendeln: Kraus Reprint, 1969), 304. For Japan's request that RCA resume operations, see Counselor of the Legation in Beijing Mahlon F. Perkins, written for the American Minister in China Nelson Johnson to Stimson, 8 March 1932, 893.74/957, DSNA 1930–39.
16. Robert Sobel, *RCA* (New York: Stein and Day, 1986), 89–91, 99; See also Gleason Archer, *Big Business and Radio* (New York: The American Historical Company, Inc., 1939), 361.
17. For Chiang's foreign policy in response to the Manchuria Incident, see Youli Sun, *China and the Origins of the Pacific War*, 19–39. For RCA Victor in Japan, "RCA Abroad – In Japan," in *RCA Family Circle*, vol. 2, no. 8 (August 1936), 2. For broadcasting exchanges in 1931, see the listings of National Broadcasting Company's international programs in folder 9, box 38, Central Office Files of National Broadcasting Company Records, Mass Communications History Center of the State Historical Society of Wisconsin, Madison. On the profitability and vulnerability of RCA's US-Japan circuit, see Rossi, "The U.S. Government, RCA, and Radio Communications with East Asia," 40; William Winterbottom to RCA representative in Japan J. Francis Harris, 11 March 1933, file "Japan: Correspondence and Agreements, 1916–1935 (1 of

- 4),” box 586, MCI International Papers. Reference to the cancellation clause in the context of establishing a competing Japanese-American circuit is from RCA General Counsel Manton Davis to Winterbottom, 18 June 1934, file “Japan: Correspondence and Agreements, 1916–1935 (1 of 4),” box 586, MCI International Papers.
18. Shecklen’s general comments on Americans in China from Shecklen to Winterbottom, 7 April 1932, folder “China: Correspondence (Manchuria) 1929–1940,” box 582, MCI International Papers. Specific comments about the Mukden situation from Shecklen to Winterbottom, 16 September 1932, file “China: Chinese Arbitration Correspondence, July–November 1932 (4 of 13),” box 581, MCI International Papers.
 19. Shecklen to Winterbottom, 7 April 1932.
 20. “Brief of the Intervener, RCA Communications, Inc.,” in Mackay Radio and Telegraph Company v. the Federal Communications Commission; RCA Communications, Inc.; and the Western Union Telegraph Company, No. 6970 (United States Court of Appeals for the District of Columbia, 1938), 25.
 21. Winterbottom to Shecklen, 2 May 1932, folder “China: Correspondence (Manchuria) 1929–1940,” box 582, MCI International Papers.
 22. Johnson to Stimson, 4 April 1932, 893.74/959, DSN 1930–39.
 23. Telegram from the Bureau of International Telegraphs, Ministry of Communications, China, to Shecklen, 4 April 1932, file “China: Correspondence (Manchuria) 1929–1940,” box 582, MCI International Papers.
 24. Shecklen to Winterbottom, telegraph, 6 April 1932, file “China: Correspondence (Manchuria) 1929–1940,” box 582, MCI International Papers.
 25. Johnson to Stimson, 4 April 1932; quote from memorandum by the Head of the State Department’s Division of Far Eastern Affairs Stanley Hornbeck, 8 April 1932, 811.7493 (M) RCA/6, DSN 1930–39, reprinted in United States Department of State, *Foreign Relations of the United States* 1932, vol. 3, The Far East (Washington, DC: Government Printing Office, 1948), 685–6.
 26. Memorandum regarding radio contracts between American concerns and foreign countries purporting to grant exclusive rights in respect to the transmission of messages, routes undesignated, 22 May 1928, 893.74/828, DSN 1910–29; see also A.B.C. Scull to J.R. McDonough, 12 March 1930, file 87.2.126, folder 264F, box 126, Owen Young Papers. McDonough and Scull were both executives with General Electric, RCA’s parent company.
 27. Sun, *China and the Origins of the Pacific War*, 21–4; see also Coble, *Facing Japan*, esp. 17–18.
 28. “Notes Concerning the Mukden Station and the Mukden Traffic Contract and the Effect of These upon the Chinese Administration,” enclosed with correspondence from Davis to Heinrich Schuloff, 5 June 1934, file “China: Chinese Arbitration Correspondence, 1928–1934 (13 of 13),” box 581, MCI International Papers. Davis and Schuloff, a lawyer from Vienna, both represented RCA before The Hague. The direct quote from p. 7 of this document.
 29. For Western views of industrialized Japan, see Adas, *Machines as the Measure of Men*. For Hoover’s experience in China, see Herbert Hoover, *The Memoirs*

- of *Herbert Hoover, 1874–1920: Years of Adventure* (New York: The Macmillan Company, 1951), 35–72; direct quotes are from 70–1. For American policy regarding China and the Manchurian Incident, see Warren Cohen, “American Leaders in East Asia, 1931–1938,” in *American, Chinese, and Japanese Perspectives on Wartime Asia, 1931–1949*, ed. Akira Iriye and Warren Cohen (Wilmington, Delaware: Scholarly Resources, 1990), 1, 3–5; Barnhart, *Japan Prepares for Total War*, 50–63; Alfred L. Castle, *Diplomatic Realism: William R. Castle, Jr., and American Foreign Policy, 1919–1953* (Honolulu: Samuel N. and Mary Castle Foundation 1998), 67–91.
30. Sobel, *ITT*, 58–60. On the signing of the Mackay agreement, see George Shecklen to Chu Chia-hua [Zhu Jiahua], 28 April 1933, file “China: Chinese Arbitration, 1932–1933 (5 of 13),” box 581, MCI International Papers. On the opening of the Mackay circuit to the United States, see “Closer Contact with West; Radio Link with America Inaugurated,” 19 May 1933, *North China Daily News*, copy of article (and similar articles from other papers) located in file “China: Chinese Arbitration, 1932–1933 (6 of 13),” box 581, MCI International Papers.
 31. “Decision in the Arbitration Case between Radio Corporation of America versus the National Government of the Republic of China,” in *American Journal of International Law* 30, no. 3 (1936): 538, 544–7.
 32. Winterbottom to RCA President David Sarnoff, 4 May 1934, file “Japan: Correspondence and Agreements, 1916–1935 (1 of 4),” box 586, MCI International Papers; Archer, *Big Business and Radio*, 361, 398.
 33. Shecklen to Winterbottom, 22 July 1932, file “China: Chinese Arbitration Correspondence, 1927–1932 (1 of 13),” box 581, MCI International Papers. Harris to Winterbottom, 6 February 1933; William Winterbottom to J. Francis Harris, 11 March 1933; Winterbottom to Harris, 25 April 1933; Davis to Winterbottom, 18 June 1934; from file “Japan: Correspondence and Agreements, 1916–1935 (1 of 4),” box 586, MCI International Papers.
 34. For Chinese pressure on RCA to revise revenue sharing agreements, See China’s Director of the Communications Ministry’s Radio Administration Yu Ching-wen to Shecklen, 21 April 1930, and RCA Far Eastern representative Curtis H. Nance to Winterbottom, 17 October 1930, file “China: Correspondence, 1929–1938 (1 of 6),” box 582, MCI International Papers. From the MCI International Papers, see also Winterbottom to Sarnoff, 14 September 1932, file “General Correspondence and Agreements (3 of 3) 1919–1939,” box 570; Winterbottom to Shecklen, 1 October 1932, file “China: Correspondence, 1929–1938 (1 of 6),” box 582; and RCA Vice President and General Attorney William Brown to Winterbottom, 10 October 1932, file “General Correspondence & Traffic Agreements, 1919–1939,” box 570. On ITT’s effort to obstruct the Shanghai station construction, see Attachment to correspondence from McDonough to Scull, 12 March 1930. On ITT’s cutting of its cable rates and RCA’s subsequent financial losses, see memorandum to Harbord and Young, 6 November 1930, file 87.2.126, folder 265, box 126, Owen Young Papers.
 35. Shecklen to Winterbottom, 6 June 1933, file “China: Chinese Arbitration 1933 (7 of 13),” box 581, MCI International Papers.
 36. Shecklen and US District Attorney at Shanghai Dr. George Sellett, “Legality of Sino-Mackey Traffic Agreement: Is China Abandoning her Policy to

- Regain Control of Her Electrical Communications?," draft copy prepared for the *China Weekly Review*, 10 September 1932, file "China: Chinese Arbitration Correspondence, July–November 1932 (4 of 13)," box 581, MCI International Papers.
37. For Winterbottom's quotes about ITT inroads and two Americans companies "thinking of how they can best make love to a foreign administration," see Winterbottom to Sarnoff, 14 September 1932. For Winterbottom's quote about foreign governments seeking "the largest share of revenue," see Winterbottom to Sarnoff, 15 September 1932, file "General Correspondence and Agreements (3 of 3) 1919–1939," box 570, MCI International Papers.
 38. Quoted in Sobel, *ITT*, 50.
 39. Shecklen to Winterbottom, 16 November 1932, file "China: Chinese Arbitration Correspondence–July–November 1932 (4 of 13)," box 581, MCI International Papers.
 40. Shecklen to the Chinese Minister of Communications, 20 August 1932, and Shecklen to Winterbottom, 21 December 1932, file "China: Chinese Arbitration Correspondence, 1927–1932 (1 of 13)," box 581, MCI International Papers.
 41. Shecklen to Winterbottom, 21 December 1932.
 42. Chen and Huang quotes from "Huang Shao Hsiung [Huang Shaoxiong] Declares Real Status of Mackay Agreement," 22 July 1932, *Shun Pao*, translated copy of article filed in file "China: Chinese Arbitration Correspondence, 1927–1932 (1 of 13)," box 581, MCI International Papers.
 43. For Chen Mingshu's opposition to Chiang Kai-shek, see Lloyd E. Eastman, *The Abortive Revolution: China under Nationalist Rule, 1927–1937* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1974), 85–139, esp. 88–93, 108, 137–9; see also Sun, *China and the Origins of the Pacific War*, 17. For Chen and the radio controversy, see Shecklen to RCA's general foreign representative Samuel Reber, 1 September 1932; Shecklen to Winterbottom, 16 September 1932; "Chen Ming-shu [Chen Mingshu] Again Resigning," 22 October 1932, *China Times* (translation); all documents from file "China: Chinese Arbitration Correspondence–July–November 1932 (4 of 13)," box 581, MCI International Papers.
 44. Shecklen to Reber, 1 September 1932.
 45. Shecklen and Sellett, "Legality of Sino-Mackey Traffic Agreement" (underlining contained in the original draft); see also Shecklen to Winterbottom, 18 January 1934; Shecklen to Reber, 1 September 1932.
 46. Shecklen to Reber, 1 September 1932.
 47. "Traffic contracts: draft of memorandum for use as a basis of discussion with Mr. Patrick, general counsel of the Federal Radio Commission," 22 August 1932, file "General Correspondence and Agreements (3 of 3) 1919–1939," box 570, MCI International Papers.
 48. Sobel, *RCA*, 92–121.
 49. Shecklen to Winterbottom, 21 December 1932.
 50. "Nanking Government Cannot Cancel Deal With Mackay Radio for Foreign Service," 1 November 1932, *Japan Advertiser* (Tokyo), copy of article in file "China: Chinese Arbitration Correspondence–July–November 1932 (4 of 13)," box 581, MCI International Papers.
 51. Chu, *China's Postal and Other Communications Services*, 149–51, 154; Chu's quote is from 154. For the Nationalists' contemplation of canceling Mackay,

- see Shecklen to Winterbottom, 31 August 1932, and Shecklen to Reber, 1 September 1932, file “China: Chinese Arbitration Correspondence, July–November 1932 (4 of 13),” box 581, MCI International Papers.
52. For the advantages of arbitration for China, see Davis to Sarnoff, 25 January 1933, file “China: Chinese Arbitration, January–May 1933 (10 of 13),” box 581, MCI International Papers. For Zhu’s successfully gaining additional concessions from Mackay, see Chu, *China’s Postal and Other Communications Services*, 154.
 53. Chu Chia-hua [Zhu Jiahua] to Shecklen, 22 April 1933, file “China: Chinese Arbitration Correspondence, July–November 1932 (4 of 13).” box 581, MCI International Papers
 54. ITT quoted in F.P. Guthrie of the Washington, D.C. office of RCA Communications to RCA Communications Traffic Manager J.B. Rostron, 17 August 1932, file “China: Chinese Arbitration Correspondence–July–November 1932 (4 of 13),” box 581, MCI International Papers.
 55. For RCA’s views of Mackay’s legality, see Shecklen and Sellett, “Legality of Sino-Mackey Radio Traffic Agreement.” For the connection between China and RCA’s legal troubles at home see “Traffic contracts: draft memorandum for use as a basis of discussion with Mr. Patrick, general counsel of the Federal Radio Commission,” 22 August 1932; see also Davis to Sarnoff, 25 January 1933; Davis to Schuloff, 5 June 1934; and Manton Davis, “Memorandum of legal authorities that allegation is not adjudication and no presumption of illegality arises from a mere unadjudicated charge,” 5 June 1934, file “Chinese Arbitration Correspondence, 1928–1934 (3 of 13),” box 581; “Chinese Arbitration: Memorandum of Conference at the Department of Justice,” 1 May 1933, file “China: Chinese Arbitration, January–May 1933 (10 of 13),” box 581.
 56. “Decision in the Arbitration Case,” 535–6.
 57. “Decision in the Arbitration Case,” 538, 544–7.
 58. “Decision in the Arbitration Case,” 540, 543–4, 549. On ITT’s contract with Japan, see Winterbottom to Sarnoff, 4 May 1934.
 59. “Traffic contracts: draft memorandum for use as a basis of discussion with Mr. Patrick, general counsel of the Federal Radio Commission,” 22 August 1932.
 60. For excerpts of Winterbottom’s testimony before the FCC (from where the quote is taken), see “Brief of the Intervener, RCA Communications, Inc.,” 25–6.
 61. On RCA’s declining international business and subsequent withdrawal, see Hugill, *Global Communications Since 1844*, 125.
 62. Sobel, *ITT*, 5–7.
 63. On the road to the Pacific War, see Barnhart, *Japan Prepares for Total War*. On the aftermath of the John Dower, *Embracing Defeat: Japan in the Wake of World War II* (New York: W.W. Norton, 1999). For a more concise treatment of those topics see LaFeber, *The Clash*, 160–213, 257–95.
 64. Anthony Sampson, *The Sovereign State of ITT* (New York: Stein and Day, 1973), esp. 303. Although many writers have identified threats to sovereignty emanating from international communications technologies (some of whom are discussed in the subsequent note), Sampson’s argument about ITT’s challenge to national sovereignty, it should be noted, is not based on

- any assumptions about the power of the telecommunications technology itself to undermine sovereignty. Sampson's argument about the threat of transnational companies to national sovereignty was based on his analysis of the company's business practices and global strategies that were not, in fact, contingent on international communications. Sampson indeed explicitly recognizes the extent to which communications can strengthen the nation-state while offering a critical evaluation of ITT's relationship with the Soviet Union by the early 1970s. The potential for communications technology transfers to the Soviets particularly galled Sampson. "Watching the conjunction of a superstate with centralized technology – above all a communications technology," Sampson writes, "it is not hard to have some sense of dread at the unfolding prospects of unified planning systems and controlled markets, undisturbed by competition or antitrust." See p. 293.
65. Denis McQuail identified "an increase in transnational and multi-media operations which may weaken national cultural integrity or even political sovereignty" as one of several developments that "have been considered problematic for the rest of society" and "which have provoked a re-examination of normative principles or proposals for reform;" see Denis McQuail, *Mass Communication Theory: An Introduction*, 3rd ed. (London: Sage Publications, 1994), 122. See also Hans Speier, "International Communication: Elite vs. Mass," in *World Politics* 4, no. 3 (1952): 305–17, esp. 307. A more recent articulation of this notion, put forward in the context of a globalization analysis, is in Thomas Friedman, *The World Is Flat: a Brief History of the Twenty-First Century*, rev. ed. (New York: Farrar, Straus and Giroux, 2007), 236–7. Friedman discusses what he calls the "flattening" characteristics of global communications from the telegraph to the Internet. Quoting Harvard Professor Michael J. Sandel, Friedman frames these communications media as being employed in an effort to create "a perfectly efficient, frictionless global market," Friedman then shifts his attention to the nation-state. "The biggest source of friction, of course, has always been the nation-state, with its clearly defined boundaries and laws," Friedman writes. "Are national boundaries a source of friction we should want to preserve, or even can preserve in a flat world?" Friedman asks with an implicit suggestion that any effort to preserve those boundaries might be fruitless in the face of international communications. "[T]he more the flattening forces reduce friction and barriers, the sharper the challenge they will pose to the nation-state and to the particular cultures, values, national identities, democratic traditions, and bonds of restraint that have historically provided some protection and cushioning for workers and communities."
66. Gregory Nowell's exposition of the transnational structuring concept specifically refers to the multiple outcomes the process can have depending how the various actors interact and use each other. See Nowell, *Mercantile States and the World Oil Cartel*.
67. For example, see Robert Bedeski, "China's Wartime State," 33–49, and William Kirby "The Chinese War Economy," 185–212, in Hsiung and Levine, eds., *China's Bitter Victory*. For a broader examination of the ongoing reassessment of the Nationalist era, see Frederic Wakeman, Jr. and Richard Louis Edmonds, eds., *Reappraising Republican China* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2000).

3 “By Some It Is Doubted If the Chinese Will Ever Become Radio Fans”: Sino-American Relations and Chinese Broadcasting during the Interwar Era

1. W.A. Estes to Department of State, n.d., received 21 April 1925, 893.74/548, DSNA 1910–29. On the Chinese wireless law see the American Minister in China Jacob Schurman to the Secretary of State Charles Hughes, 13 March 1923, 893.74/284, DSNA 1910–29. See also “Radio Apparatus Contraband,” *North China Daily News*, 3 February 1923, copy filed with Schurman to Hughes, 28 February 1923, 893.74/281, DSNA 1910–29. The 1915 law required special permits for importing or operating radio equipment (primarily radiotelegraphy and radiotelephony equipment). By 1925 the Chinese government at Beijing had yet to adjust the law to accommodate broadcasting, despite foreign appeals to do so.
2. Michael Adas explores this Western mindset in *Machines as the Measure of Men*. Adas makes specific reference to the particular American enthusiasm for this worldview in the aftermath of World War I on 408–9.
3. Avid Scofield to Hughes, 19 April 1922, and Assistant Secretary of State Leland Harrison to Avid Scofield, 17 May 1922, 893.74/237, RG 59, DSNA 1910–29. Since Scofield’s request predated the establishment of China’s first broadcasting station, the missionary apparently wanted to “listen in” for the possibility of hearing distant stations. Michelle Hilmes examines the popularity of this practice in *Radio Voices: American Broadcasting, 1922–1952* (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1997), 34–74. On the perceptions of irrational opposition to Western technology from non-Westerners, see Adas, *Machines as the Measure of Men*, 306.
4. Nicholas R. Clifford, *Spoilt Children of the Empire: Westerners in Shanghai and the Chinese Revolution of the 1920s* (Hanover, NH: Middlebury College Press, 1991), 16–17.
5. The treaty that stipulated the supremacy of a nation’s own radio laws in guiding the radio activities of expatriates was the Nine Power Treaty signed at the Washington Conference of 1921–22. For one American interpretation of how this treaty applied to American radio operators in China, see the American Consul General in Shanghai Edwin Cunningham to the Secretary of State Cordell Hull, 17 April 1934, 893.76/18, DSNA 1930–39.
6. The popularity of self-assembled sets in the United States is explored in Douglas, *Inventing American Broadcasting*, 197; and Lizabeth Cohen, *Making a New Deal: Industrial Workers in Chicago, 1919–1939* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 1990), 132. Carlton Benson documents this practice in China in “Back to Business as Usual,” 286; see also “Radio Apparatus Contraband,” *North China Daily News*.
7. Kuhn, *Assigned to Adventure*, 313
8. On Shanghai’s development as a foreign-controlled treaty port, see Clifford, *Spoilt Children of the Empire*. Carlton Benson estimates that at least four foreign-owned stations were established between 1923 and 1927 – one British, one Japanese, and two American – and a Chinese-owned station appeared in 1927; “From Teahouse to Radio: Storytelling and the Commercialization of Culture in 1930s Shanghai” (Ph.D. diss., University of California at Berkeley, 1996), 78–82.

9. The American consulate at Shanghai kept Washington abreast of British Customs Commissioner L.A. Lyall's steps to deal with illicit radios entering the city: see Cunningham to Schurman, 9 March 1925, 893.74/539; Cunningham to Schurman, 24 March 1925, 893.74/549; Schurman to the Secretary of State Frank Kellogg, 10 April 1925, 893.74/545; all from DSNA 1910–29. For Harrison's replies to Estes, see Harrison to W.A. Estes, 21 April 1925 and 25 April 1925, 893.74/548 and 893.74/549, DSNA 1910–29.
10. James Schwoch, *The American Radio Industry and Its Latin American Activities, 1900–1939* (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1990), 96–123; Rosenberg, *Spreading the American Dream*, 102–3.
11. On the number of broadcasting stations, see Chu, *China's Postal and Other Communications Services*, 192; on the number of receivers, see American Minister in China John V.A. MacMurray to Kellogg, 17 February 1926, 893.74/667, DSNA 1910–29.
12. This picture of radio imports and international competition is largely gleaned from the following consular reports: American Consul at Peking [Beijing] Ferdinand Mayer to Kellogg, 1 May 1925, 893.74/573; the American Consul at Tientsin [Tianjin] David Berger, "Radio in the Tientsin District Consular District," 19 June 1925, 893.74/584; American Consul at Darien [Dalian] Leo Sturgeon to Kellogg, 10 August 1925, 893.74/608; American Consul at Harbin George Hanson to Kellogg, forwarding newspaper clipping "Radio Broadcasting Act," in *Harbin Daily News*, 24 September 1926, 893.741/1; American Consul in Charge at Mukden Samuel Sobokin to Kellogg, "Chinese Broadcasting Regulations for Manchuria," 8 November 1926, 893.741/3; Hanson to Kellogg, "Radio Broadcasting Act for North Manchuria," 10 December 1926, 893.741/5; American Consul in Charge at Mukden Samuel Sobokin to Mayer (now serving as chargé d'affaires ad interim at Beijing), 30 December 1926, 893.741/6; Hanson to Kellogg, 29 January 1927, 893.74/744; Mayer (now serving as counselor of the Legation at Beijing) to Kellogg, 23 August 1927, 574.D7/972; the American Consul in Charge at Mukden Myrl Myers, "Broadcasting Station at Mukden," 14 October 1927, 893.74/778; Myers, "Wireless Development in the Three Eastern Provinces," 31 October 1927, 893.74/780; Cunningham, "Broadcasting in Shanghai," 5 March 1928, 893.74/818; and the American Consul in Shanghai Jay C. Huston, "The Radio Situation in Shanghai, China," 23 July 1928, 893.74/853; all preceding documents from DSNA 1910–29.
13. The American Trade Commissioner in Hong Kong Thomas C. Barringer to the BFDC's Electrical Equipment Division, 5 May 1932, file 544, "Radio – China – General, 1919–1928," RG 151, BFDC General Records 1914–58, United States National Archives at College Park, Maryland (hereinafter BFDC General Records 1914–58).
14. For example, see the American Consul at Amoy [Xiamen] John R. Putnam to MacMurray, 23 August 1927, 574.D7/973; the American Consul General at Canton [Guangzhou] Douglas Jenkins to MacMurray, "Radio Stations in the Canton Consular District," 7 August 1928, 893.74/855; the American Consul at Yunnanfu Joseph E. Jacobs to the Mayer (serving as Chargé d'Affaires ad interim), 8 September 1927, 893.741/16; the American Vice Consul in Charge at Yunnanfu Culver B. Chamberlain to Kellogg, 30 April

- 1928, 800.74/81 991h; and Chamberlain to Cunningham, 19 August 1928, 893.74/863; all preceding documents from DSNA 1910–29.
15. Berger, “Radio in the Tientsin [Tianjin] District Consular District,” 19 June 1925.
 16. David E. Nye, *Electrifying America: Social Meanings of a New Technology* (Cambridge, MA: MIT Press, 1990), 277–86. For a particular focus on radio, see Douglas B. Craig, *Fireside Politics: Radio and Political Culture in the United States, 1920–1940* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 2000), 14–17; and Susan J. Douglas, *Listening In: Radio and the American Imagination from Amos ‘n’ Andy to Wolfman Jack and Howard Stern* (New York: Times Books, 2000), 72–8, 128.
 17. Berger, “Radio in the Tientsin [Tianjin] District Consular District,” 19 June 1925. On the connection between leisure time, the home, and broadcasting’s rise in the United States, see Douglas, *Inventing American Broadcasting*, esp. 301–2.
 18. “One of the big features of the station,” according to a story in the American-owned *China Press*, “is a special receiving set, using fourteen vacuum-tubes, which is being prepared to receive music and voice from the new five kilowatt broadcasting stations now being constructed by the Radio Corporation of America and the Westinghouse Company.” See “Wing On Tower Broadcasting to Start Thursday,” *China Press*, 29 May 1923, clipping enclosed in Schurman to Hughes, 21 June 1923, 893.74/362, DSNA 1910–29.
 19. Cunningham to the Chinese Special Commissioner of Foreign Affairs at Shanghai Hsu [Xu] Yuan, 30 May 1923, 893.74/362, DSNA 1910–29.
 20. Ministry of Communications position quoted in Vice Minister of Foreign Affairs Shen Jui-lin [Ruilin] to Schurman, 21 April 1923, 893.74/362, DSNA 1910–29.
 21. Cunningham, “Broadcasting in Shanghai,” 5 March 1928. For Shanghai’s first Chinese-operated broadcasting stations, see Benson, “From Teahouse to Radio,” 81. I was unable to locate estimates of foreign and Chinese receiver ownership for the 1920s to test Cunningham’s assertion.
 22. Cunningham, “Broadcasting in Shanghai,” 5 March 1928. For Cunningham’s disposition, see Helen Foster Snow, *My China Years: A Memoir by Helen Foster Snow* (New York: William Morrow and Company, Inc., 1984), 60, 66, 68 (quote is from page 66); Clifford, *Spoilt Children of the Empire*, 34; Edna Lee Booker, *News is My Job* (New York: Macmillan, 1940), 29, 118–19, 235; Hallett Abend, *My Life in China, 1926–1941* (New York: Harcourt, Brace and Company, 1943), 136; Stella Dong, *Shanghai 1842–1949: The Rise and Fall of a Decadent City* (New York: William Morrow, 2000), 108.
 23. This term refers to the territorial rights on the Liaodong Peninsula that were transferred from Russia to Japan after the Russo-Japanese War of 1904–5.
 24. At the time of his report, Sturgeon noted that although only one hundred permits had been issued in the territory of more than one million people, the application process had just begun.
 25. Sturgeon, “Radio Broadcasting and the Market for Radio Apparatus in the Kwantung [Guandong] Leased Territory,” special circular no. 269, BFDC’s Electrical Division, 15 July 1924, file 544, “Radio – China – General, 1919–1928,” BFDC General Records 1914–58; Sturgeon to Kellogg, 10 August 1925;

- Sturgeon, "Radio Broadcasting Commences in the Kwantung [Guandong] Leased Territory," special circular no. 445, BFDC's Electrical Division, 21 August 1925, file 544, "Radio – China – General, 1919–1928," BFDC General Records 1914–58. The quote concerning Japanese leadership in broadcasting's development comes from the 21 July 1925 document; others come from the 10 August 1925 document. The prices quoted reflect the prevailing exchange rate, at which one yen brought just over forty-one cents in American dollars, as noted in the 10 August 1925 document.
26. According to Michael Adas, an underlying theme in many commentaries on Japan's rapid development after the late nineteenth century was that "[p]rogressive Japan was a society very different from stagnant China." Matthew Jacobson discusses common American perceptions of China as a backward country stubbornly clinging to premodern traditions, in contrast to Americans' own presumed progressive attributes (including their embrace of technology). See Adas, *Machines as the Measure of Men*, 360; Matthew Frye Jacobson, *Barbarian Virtues: The United States Encounters Foreign Peoples at Home and Abroad, 1876–1917* (New York: Hill and Wang, 2000), 36–7, 141.
 27. In the autumn of 1927, France's Société Française des Téléphones Interurbains completed construction on a state-controlled broadcasting station with a daytime range of 1,500 miles and a nighttime range of 3,000 miles. See Myers, "Broadcasting Station at Mukden," 14 October 1927.
 28. Sobokin to Kellogg, "Chinese Broadcasting Regulations for Manchuria," 8 November 1926.
 29. Myers, "Broadcasting Station at Mukden," 14 October 1927.
 30. It was around this time, however, the Zhang Zuolin began to distance himself from Japan, leading to his assassination in 1928; see Barnhart, *Japan Prepares for Total War*, 30.
 31. James Schwoch's examination of American consular reports from Latin America during this period identified a similar promotion of the American broadcasting style; see Schwoch, *The American Radio Industry and Its Latin American Activities*, 96–123. Some reports from China avoided predictions and just described the then-current situation. For the more straightforward reports, see Putnam to MacMurray, 23 August 1927 (regarding Xiamen); Chamberlain to MacMurray, 21 July 1927 (regarding Shantou); Mayer (serving as American Consul in Charge in China) to Kellogg, 13 March 1928, 574.D7/1095, box 5594, DSN 1910–29 (regarding Beijing); Barringer to the BFDC's Electrical Equipment Division, 5 May 1932 (regarding Hong Kong).
 32. For the query asking Washington's advice on China's various radio laws, see Mayer to Kellogg, 13 March 1928. Washington's response is contained in the Assistant Secretary of State Nelson Johnson to the American Ambassador to Japan Charles MacVeagh, 2 April 1928, 574.D7/1095, box 5594, RG 59, DSN 1910–29. For Johnson's attitudes about China, see Cohen, *The Chinese Connection*, 172–3; Iriye, *After Imperialism*, 84, 150; James C. Thomson, Jr., *While China Faced West: American Reformers in Nationalist China, 1928–1937* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1969), 28.
 33. On the press, see Stephen R. MacKinnon, "Toward a History of the Chinese Press in the Republican Period," *Modern China* 23 (1997): 3–32; Eastman, *The Abortive Revolution*, 24–30. On film, see Zhiwei Xiao, "Constructing a New National Culture: Film Censorship and the Issues of Cantonese

- Dialect, Superstition, and Sex in the Nanjing Decade," in *Cinema and Urban Culture in Shanghai, 1922–1943*, ed. Yingjin Zhang (Stanford, CA: Stanford University Press, 1999), 183–99. Zhiwei Xiao demonstrates that Nanjing actually enjoyed little success in achieving the unifying goals of this policy because of inherent weaknesses and divisions in the regime. On film and music, see Susan Tuohy, "Metropolitan Sounds: Music and Chinese Films of the 1930s," in Yingjin Zhang, ed., *Cinema and Urban Culture in Shanghai*, 200–21, esp. 206–7. On phonographs and music, see Andrew F. Jones, *Yellow Music: Media Culture and Colonial Modernity in the Chinese Jazz Age* (Durham, NC: Duke University Press, 2001); the quote, spoken by Nationalist official and music policy director Xiao Youmei in the early 1930s, is on 31.
34. Xiao Youmei and Nationalist broadcasting standards quoted in Jones, *Yellow Music*, 51 and 118, respectively. For the connection between movies, popular songs, and broadcasting, see Tuohy, 206–7. Music became an instrumental part of the Nationalists' New Life Movement, launched in 1934. The movement sought to transform China by strengthening its people's moral character and militarizing society behind the Nationalist regime along fascist lines. For the connections between the New Life Movement and music, see Jones, 48–52, 113, 117–19. For a more general discussion of the New Life Movement, see Spence, *The Search for Modern China*, 356–9. On the use of Mandarin and the 1936 modifications to Nationalist radio regulations, see the American Trade Commissioner in China A. Viola Smith, "Radio Markets – China," 11 March 1937, pp. 6–8, file "Foreign Service–Copies of Reports–Peiping [Beiping/Beijing]–1937–March," box 124, BFDC Attachés' Reports.
 35. A.V. Smith, "World Radio Markets – China," 15 August 1939, esp. pp. 2, 24–5, file "Foreign Service – Copies of Reports – Peiping – 1939 – July–August," box 128, BFDC Attachés' Reports.
 36. An American trade official cited the ability of American firms to provide replacement parts for their sets more reliably than their competitors as a chief reason for their dominant position in the market. The Japanese actually sold more sets than the Americans, but their low prices (and poor quality) kept the actual value of that trade quite low. See A.V. Smith, "Radio Markets – China," 11 March 1937, 104–5, 111–12.
 37. "Monthly Trade Report, China, Issued at Shanghai," 1 April 1937, folder "Foreign Service–Copies of Reports–Peiping–1937–April," box 125, BFDC Attachés' Reports. By the eve of the war with Japan, the Central Electrical Manufacturing Works had established itself as a key Nationalist economic initiative. But when the war began Japan destroyed it, along with most of China's burgeoning industrial infrastructure. See Kirby, "The Chinese War Economy," 185–212, esp. 194. See also A.V. Smith, "Radio Markets – China," 19 May 1938, file "Foreign Service–Copies of Reports–Peiping–1938–May," box 126, BFDC Attachés' Reports.
 38. Government involvement in broadcasting was not simply about increasing the number of stations. The Ministry of Communications also imposed order on the airwaves by reducing Shanghai's stations from fifty-seven in 1933 to thirty-seven on the eve of the war with Japan. See the American Consul in Nanking [Nanjing] Willys R. Peck to the Secretary of State Henry Stimson, 13 February 1933, 893.74/972, DSNA 1930–39.

39. On popular programming, see Benson, "From Teahouse to Radio," 73–140. Benson relates several illuminating anecdotes (e.g., listeners heard one broadcaster, working out of his home, invite a performing storyteller to join him on the bed to smoke opium, and another urinate in a chamber pot); see page 85. For more on "hybrid" programs (Benson's term), see A.V. Smith, "Radio Markets–China," 11 March 1937, 10. According to this report, other popular Chinese programs included comedy acts composed of two musicians and three singers and five-person novelty groups consisting of two storytellers, two musicians, and one singer.
40. A.V. Smith, "Radio News," 5 September 1935, file "Foreign Service–Copies of Reports–Peiping–1935– August–September," box 120, BFDC Attachés' Reports, 2; A.V. Smith, "Radio Markets–China," 11 March 1937, 73–88; A.V. Smith, "World Radio Markets–China", 15 August 1939, 8–15.
41. The American Assistant Trade Commissioner at Shanghai Edgar W. O'Harow, "The Shanghai Market for Radio Receiving Sets, Parts, and Equipment," 4 January 1933, pp. 10–11, file "Shanghai – Special Reports – January 1933," box 117, BFDC Attachés' Reports; A.V. Smith, "Radio Markets – China," 11 March 1937, 73–5. Broadcasting's expansion continued after the Communists ousted the Nationalists from power in 1949. Over the next three decades the key components of rural Chinese broadcasting became locally based and government-controlled wired networks, public broadcasts that reduced the need for personal receivers and electrified homes, and shortwave transmissions that surmounted geographic obstacles like mountains. See Yuezhi Zhao, *Media, Market, and Democracy: Between the Party Line and the Bottom Line* (Urbana, IL: University of Illinois Press, 1998), 16–17; Fitzgerald, *Awakening China*, 119; Andrew Nathan, *Chinese Democracy* (New York: Columbia University, 1985), 151–71.
42. Charles Crane to President Franklin Roosevelt, 31 December 1936, folder "PPF 462 – Crane, Charles R.," President's Personal File, Franklin Roosevelt Presidential Library, Hyde Park, New York; "Annual Report of Trade and Industry for 1934, Shanghai, China," 30 January 1935, folder "Foreign Service–Copies Of Reports–Peiping–January 1935," box 119, BFDC Attachés' Reports; A.V. Smith, "Radio Markets–China," 11 March 1937, 73; Chu, *China's Postal and Other Communications Services*, 194. Observations such as these contradict Leland Harrison's 1922 assumptions that Chinese peasants would instinctively resist radio, as well as the consular dismissals of Chinese broadcasting's future that came soon thereafter.
43. See Baark, *Lightning Wires*; Zhang, "The Transfer of Network Technologies to China, 1860–1898," 84–129.
44. Following the Washington Conference of 1921–22, Chinese delegations strongly opposed foreign disregard for Chinese radio laws. Their objections were written into a succession of international communications treaties. However, as chapter one documented, in the absence of a strong central government to support these objections they carried little practical weight. See the Director of China's Bureau of International Telegraphs Wen Yu-Ch'ing [Wen Youqing] to Cunningham, 24 May 1935, 893.76/30, DSNA 1930–39. See also Keith Clark, *International Communications: The American Attitude* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1931), 194.

45. Benson, "From Teahouse to Radio." For programming and studio information, see 84–6. The emphasis on promoting native goods over foreign products is addressed in chap. 3, "Consumers Are Also Soldiers," 141–211. The subject of patriotic radio is addressed in Benson's "Back to Business as Usual." Listener protests of advertisements for foreign products are discussed in Benson's "From Teahouse to Radio," 134 (including direct quote). Overall, Benson depicts the Shanghai radio audience as highly engaged with the new entertainment medium.
46. On Chiang's loss of nationalist support while trying to navigate the challenges of confronting Japan and leading a regime with inherent flaws in its construction, see So Wai Chor, "The Making of the Guomindang's Japan Policy, 1932–1937," *Modern China* 28 (2002): 213–52; Xiaoqun Xu, "National Salvation and Cultural Reconstruction: Shanghai Professors' Responses to the National Crisis in the 1930s," in Wei and Liu, eds., *Chinese Nationalism in Perspective*, 53–74; Tien-wei Wu, "The Chinese Communist Movement," in Hsiung and Levine, eds., *China's Bitter Victory*, 79–106; Chalmers A. Johnson, *Peasant Nationalism and Communist Power: The Emergence of Revolutionary China, 1937–1945* (Stanford, CA: Stanford University Press, 1962); and Tien-wei Wu, *The Sian Incident* (Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 1976). In recent years, some historians have maintained that Chiang's logic of avoiding direct confrontation with Japan was sound in terms of his assessment of China's chances against Japan. Works by Robert Bedeski and William Kirby, for example, support this interpretation. However, Frederic Wakeman argues that fundamental flaws in the regime itself would have compromised the ability of the Nationalists to rule over China for the long-term regardless of the war against Japan. See Robert Bedeski, "China's Wartime State;" Kirby, "The Chinese War Economy;" and Wakeman, *Policing Shanghai*, esp. xvi.
47. On extending the authority of China in general and the Ministry of Communications in particular over radio, see Chu, *China's Postal and Other Communications Services*, 149–51 (quote is from 151); also see A.V. Smith, "Telecommunications – China," special report no. S-11, 23 July 1937, box 123, BFDC Attachés' Reports. On intra-party rivalries, see Frederic Wakeman Jr., "A Revisionist View of the Nanjing Decade: Confucian Fascism," in Wakeman and Edmonds, eds., *Reappraising Republican China*, 141–78, esp. 150; see also T'ien-wei Wu, "Contending Political Forces during the War of Resistance." Donald Jordan's *Chinese Boycotts Versus Japanese Bombs* offers an excellent analysis of how intra-party rivalries in 1931–32 compounded problems with Japan; see esp. chap. 2 and chap. 14. On efforts to minimize Communist and warlord power, see William Wei, *Counterrevolution in China: The Nationalists in Jiangxi During the Soviet Period* (Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 1985). For the 1932 Sino-Japanese War at Shanghai and its relationship to the takeover of Manchuria, see Donald A. Jordan, *China's Trial By Fire: The Shanghai War of 1932* (Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 2001).
48. Philip T. Rosen, *The Modern Stentors: Radio Broadcasting and the Federal Government, 1920–1934* (Westport, CT: Greenwood Press, 1980), 121–3. For an examination of how developments in American broadcasting (in particular the dynamics between amateur operators, commercial interests,

- and the government) contributed to particular frequency allocations and regulatory guidelines, see Hilmes, *Radio Voices*, 38–51, esp. 49 for the licensing and programming distinctions applied to “amateurs” and “commercial broadcasters.” Also see Douglas, *Inventing American Broadcasting*, 292–303.
49. On Stanton’s position, see Johnson (serving as American Minister to China since 1929) to Hull, 22 March 1934, 893.76/20, DSNA 1930–39.
 50. Johnson to Hull, 22 March 1934. The State Department’s support of Johnson is filed under the same decimal number, 893.76/20, and dated 3 May 1934. For Johnson’s low regard of the Nationalists, see Cohen, *America’s Response to China*, 103; for a broader look at the Johnson’s approach to foreign policy, see Herbert J. Wood, “Nelson Trussler Johnson: The Diplomacy of Benevolent Pragmatism,” in *Diplomats in Crisis: United States-Chinese-Japanese Relations, 1919–1941*, ed. Richard Dean Burns and Edward M. Bennett (Santa Barbara, CA: ABC-Clio Press, Inc., 1974), 16
 51. On Hankou and the overall percentage of foreign concessions returned to Chinese control, see William Kirby, “The Internationalization of China,” in Wakeman and Edmonds, eds., *Reappraising Republican China*, 186–7; for a more detailed look at the Hankou concession’s return to Chinese control, see C. Martin Wilbur, *The Nationalist Revolution in China, 1923–1928* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 1983), 73–7. For the particulars of Mueller’s situation, see Johnson to the American Consul General in Hankow [Hankou] Edwin Stanton, 4 August 1934, 893.76/28, and Counselor of the American Legation Clarence Gauss to Hull, 3 October 1934, 893.76/29, both in DSNA 1930–39.
 52. For Johnson’s diplomatic maneuvering see Johnson to Hull, 21 June 1935, 893.76/30, DSNA 1930–39 and Johnson to Stanton, 4 August 1934 (Johnson’s quotes are from the 21 June 1935 correspondence). Johnson even tried to retaliate against China by having the FCC threaten to harass Chinese radio operators in the United States; see the memorandum of a conversation between the State Department’s Treaty Division representative Harvey Otterman and the Acting Chief of the International Section of the FCC B.J. Shimeall, 9 October 1936, 893.76/35, DSNA 1930–39. For some of the other amateur radio conflicts involving Johnson, see Wen to Cunningham, 24 May 1935; Johnson to Hull, 25 May 1936, 893.76/35; Cunningham to Johnson, 8 June 1935, 893.76/30; all from DSNA 1930–39. Zhu’s quote is from Chu, *China’s Postal and Other Communications Services*, 194–5.
 53. French and Japanese diplomats expressed reservations about the Chinese position, but the British took the same official stance as the Americans (Johnson’s freelancing notwithstanding). See Leslie Bennett Tribolet, *The International Aspects of Electrical Communications in the Pacific Area* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1929), 132–5.
 54. See A.V. Smith, “Radio Markets – China,” 11 March 1937.
 55. Cunningham to Johnson, n.d. (probably spring 1934), 893.76/22, DSNA 1930–39. The Chinese licensing law was similar to the licensing procedures in effect in Britain, which perhaps explains the lack of official British concern. For Johnson’s position, see Johnson to Hull, 22 March 1934.
 56. The International Settlement’s residents elected Shanghai Municipal Council members, who generally were connected to prominent commercial interests within Shanghai. The number of council members ranged from

- nine in the early 1920s to fourteen by the end of that decade, when representation was settled at five British, five Chinese, two American, and two Japanese. See Clifford, *Spoilt Children of the Empire*, 21–2; Frederic Wakeman, Jr., *Shanghai Badlands: Wartime Terrorism and Urban Crime, 1937–1941* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 1996), 182, n. 44; Dong, *Shanghai 1842–1949*, 83–4, 181–2; Eileen P. Scully, *Bargaining with the State from Afar: American Citizenship in Treaty Port China, 1844–1942* (New York: Columbia University Press, 2001), 166.
57. The development of the Shanghai Municipal Council's (SMC) position on radio can be followed in files U001-04-0002812 and U001-04-0002813, both titled "Transmission Electrical Messages: Radio Broadcasting and Receiving Stations – Control," SMC Records. In file U001-04-0002812, see esp. the deputy secretary of the SMC to the Commissioner of the Shanghai Municipal Police Kenneth W. Bourne, 5 May 1927, file page 13; memorandum of a meeting with RCA's China Representative George Shecklen and Sales Manager of the Philco Sales Corporation Mr. E.A.L. Best, 10 December 1932, 176; untitled document stating the SMC's position on enforcing Chinese radio regulations, 12 June 1933, 137; Secretary of the Shanghai Foreign Residents Association J.M. Tavares to the Secretary of the SMC J.R. Jones, 14 March 1934, 92; Secretary General of the SMC Sterling Fessenden to Tavares, 20 March 1934, 90. In file U001-04-0002813, Jones to the Secretary of the Kulangsu [Gulangsu] Municipal Council G.R. Bass, 17 April 1934, file page 119; Secretary of the SMC G. Godfrey Philips to Gauss on the subject of "Regulations Governing the Operation and Maintenance of Communications," 9 May 1937, 95–7. Quotes are from the untitled document dated 12 June 1933.
 58. Untitled document stating the SMC's position on enforcing Chinese radio regulations, 12 June 1933, p. 137, file U001-04-0002812, SMC Records.
 59. "Activities of the Shanghai Telegraphs Office of the Ministry of Communications Regarding Suspected Installation of a Wireless Transmitting Set at 119 Baikal Road," Special Branch report, 9 October 1935, pp. 37–9, file U001-04-0002813, SMC Records.
 60. Chu, *China's Postal and Other Communications Services*, 195. For stations registered in 1934, see Benson, "From Teahouse to Radio" (n. 9 above), 83. For stations registered in 1937, see Leo Oufan Lee and Andrew Nathan, "The Beginnings of Mass Culture: Journalism and Fiction in the Late Ch'ing and Beyond," in *Popular Culture in Late Imperial China*, ed. David Johnson, Andrew Nathan, and Evelyn Rawski (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1985), 374–5.
 61. *Shanghai Calling*, 26 April 1934, p. 88, file U001-04-0002812, SMC Records.
 62. Handwritten note by Jones, concerning the difficulties of enacting radio regulation, n.d. but written before 28 March 1934, p. 122, file U001-04-0002813, SMC Records.
 63. James Lafayette Hutchison, *China Hand* (New York: Grosset and Dunlap, 1936), 377–8.
 64. The Chairman of the Shanghai Municipal Council H.E. Arnhold to the Chairman of the British Municipal Council at Tientsin [Tianjin] E.C. Peters, 17 January 1936, p. 101, file U001-04-0002813, SMC Records.

65. Studies of Nationalist efforts to control mass media often emphasize how limited Nationalist control actually was in the face of the deep domestic political divisions and lingering warlord power bases that remained after the Northern Expedition. On the press, see MacKinnon, "Toward a History of the Chinese Press;" on music, see Jones, *Yellow Music*; on film, see Xiao, "Constructing a New National Culture."
66. For the British and American stations' disposition toward Nationalist radio regulations, see A.V. Smith "Radio Markets – China," 11 March 1937, 8; French and Japanese stations were also reported to have ignored the Nationalist regulations regarding retransmission of official broadcasts. For an account of the American station forced out of business, see A.V. Smith, "Radio Developments in China," special report number S-2, 7 July 1937, box 125, BFDC Attachés' Reports.
67. On American efforts to promote their own developmental models, see Rosenberg, *Spreading the American Dream*. For a more particular focus on China, see T. Christopher Jespersen, *American Images of China, 1931–1949* (Stanford, CA: Stanford University Press, 1996); Hunt, *Making of a Special Relationship*; Israel, *Progressivism and the Open Door*; Reed, *The Missionary Mind*. Jonathan D. Spence addresses this theme and notes its application to Westerners in his book, *To Change China*. The studies cited above also address the tendency to look past rising Chinese nationalism. Studies by Iriye's *After Imperialism*, esp. 87, and Waldron's *From War to Nationalism*, esp. 172, highlight the poor responses to rising Chinese nationalism as critical factors in the demise of the so-called Washington System of international cooperation for East Asia during the mid-1920s. For the return of concessions, see Kirby, "The Internationalization of China," 187.

4 "As If We Lived on Maine St. in Kansas, USA": Shortwave Broadcasting and American Mass Media in Wartime China

1. American Trade Commissioner in Shanghai A. Viola Smith to the BFDC's Electrical Division, 21 February 1939, file 544, "Radio-China-1939," box 2478, BFDC General Records 1914–58.
2. Benedict Anderson, *Imagined Communities: Reflections on the Origins and Spread of Nationalism*, rev. ed. (New York: Verso Press, 1991). Since the publication of Anderson's original analysis, the notion of the "imagined community" has informed many subsequent analyses, including: Richard R. John, *Spreading the News: The American Postal System from Franklin to Morse* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1995); Yongming Zhou, *Historicizing Online Politics: Telegraphy, the Internet, and Political Participation in China* (Stanford, CA: Stanford University Press 2006); Monroe E. Price, *Television, the Public Sphere, and National Identity* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1995), Elihu Katz, "Deliver Us From Segmentation," in *A Communications Cornucopia: Markle Foundation Essays on Information Policy*, ed. Roger G. Noll and Monroe E. Price (Washington, DC: Brookings Institution, 1998), 99–112. For two examples of radio histories that have been informed by Anderson, see Hilmes, *Radio Voices* and Joy Elizabeth Hayes, *Radio Nation, Communication, Popular Culture, and Nationalism in Mexico, 1920–1950* (Tucson: University of Arizona Press, 2000).

3. On the unique oral attributes of radio and its engagement of the human mind, see Douglas, *Listening In*, 4–8, 12, 22–36 (esp. 26–7). See also Edward D. Miller, *Emergency Broadcasting and 1930s American Radio* (Philadelphia: Temple University Press, 2003), 7–10 and John Durham Peters, *Speaking Into the Air: A History of the Idea of Communication* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1999), 214–17. Direct quotes are from Douglas, *Listening In*, 23–4.
4. Direct quote is reprinted in Peters, *Speaking into the Air*, 215.
5. A.V. Smith to the BFDC's Electrical Division, 20 September 1935, file 544, "China–Radio–1929–36," box 2478, BFDC General Records 1914–58. Background information on Viola Smith and her career in the Commerce Department's foreign service can be found in "U.S. Woman Aide at Shanghai Cited," in *New York Times*, 18 October 1937, 19. See also Assistant Director of the BFDC O.P. Hopkins to Secretary of Commerce Herbert Hoover's assistant Lawrence Richey, 17 January 1928, and Richey to Clara Burdette, 19 January 1928; both letters in folder "Smith, A.B.–Alber W; 1922–1927," box 562, Hoover Commerce Papers.
6. For the growth of commercialized national network broadcasting that primarily appealed to a white middle class, see Susan Smulyan, *Selling Radio: The Commercialization of American Broadcasting, 1920–1934* (Washington, DC: Smithsonian Institution Press, 1994). For the potential unifying effects of broadcasting through the transmission of shared cultural symbols, see Hilmes, *Radio Voices*, 1–33. However, it is also important to recognize that national broadcasting can both unify and marginalize at the same time; groups farther removed from and less invested in those dominant symbols and values can be further marginalized, isolated, and antagonized by the so-called mainstream programming that saturated the airwaves. On national broadcasting's divisive tendencies, see Craig, *Fireside Politics*, esp. 281; Randall Patnode, "'What These People Need is Radio': New Technology, the Press, and Otherness in America," in *Technology and Culture* 44, no. 2 (April 2003): 285–305. For a reference to a comparable divisive process occurring in early Mexican broadcasting, see Hayes, *Radio Nation*, 7.
7. On the overall development of international shortwave broadcasting through the mid-1930s, see Fejes, *Imperialism, Media, and the Good Neighbor: New Deal Foreign Policy and United States Shortwave Broadcasting to Latin America*, (Norwood, NJ: Ablex Publishing Corporation, 1986), 54–60; see also Jerome S. Berg, *On the Short Waves, 1923–1945: Broadcast Listening in the Pioneer Days of Radio* (Jefferson, NC: McFarland & Company, 1999), 47–57, esp. 56–57. On Smith's desire for a west coast station to fill the broadcasting void to Asia, see A.V. Smith to the BFDC's Electrical Division, 20 September 1935.
8. For Americans and other foreign communities in Shanghai, see Clifford, *Spoilt Children of the Empire*, 42; and James Huskey, "The Cosmopolitan Connection: Americans and Chinese in Shanghai during the Interwar Years," in *Diplomatic History* 11, no. 3 (1987): 228. On missionaries, see John K. Fairbank, ed. *The Missionary Enterprise in China and America* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1974); Reed, *The Missionary Mind in American-East Asian Policy*; and Patricia Neils, ed., *United States Attitudes and Policies Toward China: The Impact of American Missionaries* (Armonk, NY: M.E. Sharpe, 1990). The estimated American population in Shanghai comes from A.V. Smith,

- “Radio Markets–China,” p. 30, 11 March 1937, file “Foreign Service–Copies of Reports–Peiping–1937–March,” box 124, BFDC Attachés’ Reports.
9. My use of the term “expatriate” might strike some as problematic. In the early twentieth century, an American identified as an “expatriate” might have been suspected of having loosened their loyalties and patriotism toward the United States, and had their commitment to their American citizenship questioned. In the context of this chapter’s argument, I certainly do not intend my use of this term to carry any such implication. I am primarily using it as shorthand for American citizens who have chosen to live abroad while remaining unquestionably American. My use of the term, in fact, is closer to the more recent understanding of an “expat” who enjoys a privileged status in a foreign land without any questions being raised about an individual’s commitment to their national citizenship. See Nancy Green, “Expatriation, Expatriates, and Expats: The American Transformation of a Concept,” *American Historical Review* 114, no. 2 (April 2009): 307–28, esp. 32–3.
 10. Smith’s personnel file contains effusive praise about her abilities as trade commissioner; see “Biographies” file, volume 8 (Ricardo Giceta Sabella–Edward A. Symms), box 5, Records Relating to the History and Personnel of the Foreign Commerce Service, 1914–39, BFDC General Records 1914–58. The correspondence between Hopkins and Richey cited in n. 5 above comments (albeit not very sympathetically) on the gender discrimination Smith experienced as a pioneering woman in a male-dominated profession. For a more thorough examination of gender issues that impacted Smith’s career, see Epstein, “International Feminism and Empire-Building Between the Wars,” 699–719; Alexandra Epstein, “Linking a State to the World: Female Internationalists, California, and the Pacific, 1919–1939” (Ph.D. diss., University of California at Santa Barbara, 2003), 154–217; For Smith’s reporting on shortwave reception in Shanghai, see A.V. Smith to the BFDC’s Electrical Division, 20 September 1935; A.V. Smith to the BFDC’s Electrical Division, 11 January 1938, file 544, “Radio-China-General, 1937–38, box 2478, BFDC General Records 1914–58; A.V. Smith, “Radio Markets–China,” 11 March 1937 p. 30; A.V. Smith, “Radio Markets–China,” May 1938, pp. 15–16, 19 file “Foreign Service–Copies of Reports–Peiping –1938–May,” box 126, BFDC Attachés’ Reports.
 11. See Elizabeth Rue to My Dear Girls, 9 February 1937, file 2, box 173, Margaret Mary Rue and Elizabeth Rue Hembold Papers, RG 8, China Records Project, Yale Divinity School Library Special Collections, New Haven, Connecticut.
 12. On the sale of American products and the potentially significant Chinese audience, see A.V. Smith, “Radio Markets–China,” 11 March 1937, 31. On receiver sales, A.V. Smith to the BFDC’s Electrical Division, 20 September 1935. Direct quote is from 11 March 1937 report.
 13. A.V. Smith to the BFDC’s Electrical Division, 20 September 1935; A.V. Smith to the National Foreign Trade Association, 18 July 1936, file 544, “Radio–China–1929–1936,” box 2478, BFDC General Records 1914–58; A.V. Smith to the BFDC’s Electrical Division, 2 August 1937, file 544, “Radio-China-General, 1937–38,” box 2478, BFDC General Records 1914–58.
 14. For popular American views of radio’s cultural and geographic unifying potential, see Smulyan, *Selling Radio*, 31–6; on American cosmopolitanism

- in Shanghai, see Huskey, “The Cosmopolitan Connection.” For the persisting parochialism in the American community, see Mark F. Wilkenon, “The Shanghai American Community, 1937–1949,” in Robert Bickers and Christian Henriot, eds., *New Frontiers: Imperialism’s New Communities in East Asia, 1842–1953* (New York: Manchester University Press, 2000), 231–49. Edgar Snow is quoted in Dong, *Shanghai 1842–1849*, 224.
15. For the application, see Examiner’s Report No. I-462, in regard to the application of General Electric Company, 30 June 1937, file 89-6 (General Electric), box 365, FCC Records 1927–46. For reference to complaints from Americans abroad concerning reception of US international broadcasts, see Secretary of the Federal Communications Commission T.J. Slowie to Mr. Newton Underwood, 21 September 1937, file 89-6 (General Electric), Box 365, FCC Records 1927–46. On the decision to grant the license to General Electric, see Decision of the Federal Communications Commission in the Matter of General Electric Company, Belmont, California, For Construction Permit, Docket No. 4467, submitted 4 August 1937, decided 9 November 1937, file 89-6 (General Electric), box 365, RG 173, FCC Records 1927–46. On FCC changes to shortwave regulations and the increase in international advertising, see Berg, *On the Shortwaves*, 56–7.
 16. A.V. Smith to the BFDC’s Electrical Division, 21 February 1939, file 544, “Radio–China–1939,” box 2478, BFDC General Records 1914–58; “U.S. Pacific Coast Radio Broadcasts Inaugurated,” *China Weekly Review*, 18 February 1939, 360. A similar request for listeners to send their feedback to Viola Smith was also published in a *China Press* article that ran almost a week later; see “W6XBE–KGEI Radio Programs May Resume Today,” in *China Press*, 26 February 1939, 3.
 17. On the station’s reach, see “W6XBE–KGEI Radio Programs May Resume Today,” in *China Press*, 26 February 1939, 3. Quote concerning the “mediocre” quality of programming from American Trade Commissioner in Shanghai (Smith) to the electrical division, BFDC, “Treasure Island Station W6XBE,” 30 March 1939, file 544, “Radio–China–1939,” box 2478, RG 151, BFDC 1914–58. Quote criticizing “swing” music and other “insipid musical numbers” from A.V. Smith to the BFDC’s Electrical Division, 3 May 1939, file 544, “Radio–China–General, 1939,” box 2479, BFDC 1914–58. On communications and notions of simultaneity, see Stephen Kern, *The Culture of Time and Space, 1880–1918* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1983), esp. 314–15, 318 (quote is from 318).
 18. A.V. Smith to the BFDC’s Electrical Division, “Treasure Island Station W6XBE,” 30 March 1939. The underlining of “American” was contained in the original document. For the reformist ideals that Smith echoed, see Joan Shelley Rubin. *The Making of Middlebrow Culture* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1992), esp. 266–329.
 19. A.V. Smith to the BFDC’s Electrical Division, 3 May 1939.
 20. In 1930, ownership of the *China Press* passed to a Chinese syndicate (Hollington Tong, later an official for Chiang Kai-Shek’s government, was the editor at one point) but it retained its American registration and character, as well as a strong focus on American news. During the 1930s the paper did allow for more detailed coverage of local events to compliment its American focus, which also interested its readers who lived in Shanghai. For the “nationality” of the newspapers, see Thomas Ming-Heng Chao, *The*

Foreign Press in China (Shanghai: Institute of Pacific Relations, 1931), 64–88, esp. 69–70; and Hollington K. Tong, *China and the World Press* (Nanjing: publisher not identified, 1948), 9–10, 24. For the U.S. relations with Franco's Spain, see "Recognition of Franco to Wait, Welles Says," in *China Press*, 19 February 1939, 1. For some of the many examples of reprinted American political cartoons, see the two *Chicago Tribune* cartoons, one *Chicago Daily News* cartoon, and a Herblock cartoon addressing the tense state of international relations in 1939, reprinted in the *China Weekly Review*, 11 February 1939, 325–6. Reference to an annual ball held in Shanghai to honor of George Washington's birthday is found in the *China Weekly Review*, 22 February 1936, 430 (the article cited complications that led to the cancellation of that particular year's ball). A commemoration for the July Fourth holiday is covered in the *China Weekly Review*, 10 July 1937, 214. Any December issue of the *China Weekly Review* will provide a host of references to the upcoming Christmas holiday; for a specific reference to Christmas that speaks to the particular idea of an American media milieu, see "Christmas Prosperity in the United States: 5000 Extra Men Employed to Handle Mail," in the *China Weekly Review*, 2 January 1937, 170. In the 24 February 1939 edition of the *China Press*, the comics can be found on page 7; in addition to the cartoons noted above, the *China Press* also carried "Wash Tubbs," "Freckles and His Friends," "Boots and Her Buddies," and "Alley Oop" in its comics section. The article discussing the possibility of a Chicago Cubs World Series championship can be found in the *China Press*, 9 March 1939, 4.

21. Percentages of English-language and American movies from Lowenthal, "Public Communications in China, before July, 1937," 48–9. Advertisements for the specific movies listed are found in the *China Press*, 19 February 1939, 5. The "Young at Heart" advertising appears in the *China Press*, 1 March 1939, 12–13.
22. The Zenith, Champion and Snow White Powder ads appear in the 18 February 1939 edition of the *China Press*; the Ovaltine (then marketed as "Ovalmaltine"), Coca Cola, and Daggett & Ramsdell ads appeared in the 19 February 1939 edition of the *China Press*. When the Ford ad appeared on the back cover of the 15 February 1936 edition of the *China Press*, that same month a Ford ad with comparable claims ran in major US publications, including the 24 February 1936 edition of *Time* magazine. The *Time* ad touted the vehicle's "high quality and modern design" and its "ease of control;" overall it promised to be "better in power, acceleration, smoothness, and all-round motoring satisfaction." For a discussion of the era's auto advertisements placed in their wider historical context, see Merrit Roe Smith, "Technological Determinism in American Culture," 19–21.
23. For the Shanghai Telephone ad, see the *China Press*, 23 February 1939, 3; for Dr. Williams' Pink Pills, see the *China Weekly Review*, 11 January 1936, 213; for Baby's Own Tablets ad, see the *China Weekly Review*, 22 February 1936, 461.
24. For the Shanghai Gas Company ads, see the *China Press*, 22 February 1939, 2 and the *China Press*, 28 February 1939, 2. To consider these ads in the context of their counterparts in the US-based publications, see Roland Marchand, *Advertising the American Dream: Making Way for Modernity, 1920–1940* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1985); for a discussion on how the ads of this era reflected the idealized white American social world,

- see Elspeth H. Brown, *The Corporate Eye: Photography and the Rationalization of American Commercial Culture, 1884–1929* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 2005), 168–9.
25. For international telegraphy, see Daniel Headrick, *The Tentacles of Progress: Technology Transfer in the Age of Imperialism, 1850–1940*, (New York: Oxford University Press, 1988), 97–144; Headrick, *The Invisible Weapon*, 11–115; Jill Hills, *The Struggle For Control of Global Communication: The Formative Century* (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 2002), 1–92; Hugill *Global Communications since 1844*, 1–52. On shipping, see Headrick, *Tentacles of Progress*, esp. 18–48. For the development of China's rail and telegraphy networks, see Zhang, "The Transfer of Network Technologies to China, 1860–1898;" Baark, *Lightning Wires*. For the relationship between expanding telegraphic networks and the US diplomatic service's closer ties to Washington, see David Paul Nickles, *Under the Wire: How the Telegraph Changed Diplomacy* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 2003). For international mail, see Headrick, *Tentacles of Progress*, 20–1, 37; Daniel Headrick, *When Information Came of Age: Technologies of Knowledge in the Age of Reason and Revolution, 1700–1850* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2000), 181–93; F.H. Williamson, "The International Postal Service and the Universal Postal Union," in *The Journal of the Royal Institute of International Affairs* 9, no. 1 (January 1930): 68–78, esp. 68–71; Paul Reinsch, "International Unions and their Administration," in *The American Journal of International Law* 1: 3 (July 1907), 579–623, esp. 581, 586–8; "Unveiling the Monument Commemorating the Founding of the Universal Postal Union," in *The American Journal of International Law* 4: 1 (January 1910), 185–6. For the development of the American postal system and its relationship to American identity, see John, *Spreading the News*, esp. 13, 29, 158, 161. For the expansion of China's domestic postal network, see Chu, *China's Postal and Other Communications Services*, 27.
 26. As Hamid Naficy argued with an eye on the more contemporary global reach of American media, "[t]he globalization of American pop culture does not automatically translate into globalization of American control." People exposed to American media "may think with American cultural products but they do not think American." See Hamid Naficy, *The Making of Exile Cultures: Iranian Television in Los Angeles* (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1993), 2.
 27. Rosenberg, *Spreading the American Dream*.
 28. Hunt, *Ideology and U.S. Foreign Policy*.
 29. NBC Vice President Frank Mason to the Chief of the BFDC's Electrical Division John Payne, 18 April 1939, file 544, "Radio-China-General, 1939," box 2479, BFDC General Records 1914–58.
 30. On entertainment programming, see A.V. Smith, "Shortwave Broadcasts from the United States: Shanghai Reception of KGEL," 11 March 1941, 894.74/274, DSN 1940–44; on presidential broadcasts, see A.V. Smith, "Shortwave Broadcasting from the United States: Shanghai Reception Of KGEL," 18 March 1941, 894.74/273, DSN 1940–44. For Smith's appraisal of W6XBE at the end of 1939, see A.V. Smith, "World Radio Markets—China," 15 August 1939, file "Foreign Service—Copies of Reports—Peiping—1939—July—August," box 128, RG 151, BFDC Attachés' Reports.

31. "American Broadcast," letter to the editor, *China Weekly Review*, 25 February 1939, 381. For the later editorials, see "Treasure Island News Reports Should Be Rebroadcast Here," *China Weekly Review*, 29 May, 1939, 362; "The Shanghai Broadcasting Situation and Future Prospects," *China Weekly Review*, 24 June 1939, 99.
32. M. Morgan to KGEI (W6XBE), n.d., contained in a group of letters forwarded by Assistant to the Manager of Broadcasting for General Electric (Gibson) to the assistant secretary of state (Long), Department of State, 25 June 1940, 894.74/254, DSN 1940-44 (letters forwarded in this group hereinafter referred to as W6XBE-KGEI 1940 Letters, 894.74/254, DSN 1940-44); Reverend Vincent Morrison to General Electric, Treasure Island, 23 April 1940, W6XBE-KGEI 1940 Letters, 894.74/254, DSN 1940-44; Reverend W.M. Burnside to W6XBE, 15 April 1939, contained in a group of letters forwarded by station manager E.T.B. Harris to Commander F.W. Connor, 7 July 1939, in turn forwarded by Connor to the Department of State, 894.74/182, DSN 1930-39 (letters forwarded in this group hereinafter referred to as W6XBE-KGEI 1939 Letters, 894.74/182, DSN 1930-39). W6XBE changed its call letters to KGEI in 1940, which is why the call letters KGEI are used to identify W6XBE Morgan's letter.
33. E.G. Goldsborough to W6XBE, 16 April 1939, W6XBE-KGEI 1939 Letters, 894.74/182, DSN 1930-39.
34. Historian Reinhold Wagnleitner refers to Latin America during this period as the "laboratory" in which US government and corporate interests began coordinating on the development of media strategies and methods to influence foreign peoples with American cultural ideals, strategies later used more broadly in the Cold War. Fred Fejes comments, however, that US-Latin American relations remained "very rocky" despite this cultural diplomacy. Reinhold Wagnleitner, *Coca-Colonization and the Cold War: The Cultural Mission of the United States in Austria After the Second World War*, translated by Diana M. Wolf (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1994), 51; Fejes, *Imperialism, Media, and the Good Neighbor*, esp. 63-114 (quote is from 109).
35. Adele Williams (signed as Mrs. Frank S. Williams) to W6XBE, date illegible, W6XBE-KGEI 1939 Letters, 894.74/182, DSN 1930-39.
36. For her first radio purchase and subsequent poor reception, see Velva Brown to Frances Clausen, 17 September 1936, file 13, box 31, Velva Brown Papers, RG 8, China Records Project, Yale Divinity School Library, New Haven, Connecticut (hereinafter Velva Brown Papers); on four radios in the compound, see Brown to Clausen, 30 October 1938, file 15, box 31, Velva Brown Papers; for persisting complaints about US reception, see Brown to Clausen, 25 September 1938, file 15, box 31, Velva Brown Papers.
37. On the social gospel as implemented in China and the United States, see Jun Xing, *Baptized in the Fire of Revolution: The American Social Gospel and the YMCA in China, 1919-1937*. (Cranberry, NJ: Lehigh University Press, 1996), especially chap. 1 ("The Social Gospel and the YMCA in the United States") and chap. 2 ("The Social Gospel and the YMCA in China"). For a brief overview of the application of the social gospel in the American context, see George Brown Tindall and David Emory Shi, *America: A Narrative History*, brief 7th ed. (New York: W.W. Norton, 2007), 609-11.

38. For Japan's foreign policies that drove the expansion into China and wider East Asia, see Barnhart, *Japan and the World*, esp. 1–115. Donald Jordan is the author of a trilogy of books that explores Chiang Kai-Shek's rise to and consolidation of power between 1926 and 1932 against the backdrop of domestic challenges and Japanese imperialism: see Jordan, *The Northern Expedition*; Jordan, *Chinese Boycotts versus Japanese Bombs*; Jordan, *China's Trial By Fire*. For an analysis of how the conflict between Chinese nationalism and Japanese imperialism between 1931 and 1937 ultimately led to the Sino-Japanese War, see Coble, *Facing Japan*; Chiang Kai-shek's kidnapping and near assassination, known as the X'ian [Sian] Incident is addressed in detail on 334–74. For the disaster of China's attempt to fight Japan after the outbreak of war in 1937 and its subsequent impact on China's approach to fighting the war, see John Garver, "China's Wartime Diplomacy," 6–7, and Marvin Williamsen, "The Military Dimension, 1937–1941," in Hsiung and Levine, eds., *China's Bitter Victory*, 142–7.
39. For the effects of the war on Shantou, see Hsu Long-hsuen and Chang Ming-kai, *History of The Sino-Japanese War (1937-1945)*, 2nd ed., trans. Wen Ha-hsiung (Taipei: Chung Wu Publishing, 1971) 492–3. From the outskirts of the city, Velva Brown commented on the bombings that followed the outset of the war and the impact it had on Shantou "People are beginning to trickle back... so I am told," she wrote. "I have not had time to go over to the city and see myself.... As a matter of fact the four days of shelling and bombing in Swatow [Shantou] did considerable damage;" see Brown to the Folks at Home, 4 October 1937, file 14, box 31, Velva Brown Papers. Brown's comments on the challenges of scavenging for food are from Brown to the Folks at Home, 6 August 1941, and the quote is from Brown to Friends at Home, 18 February 1941; both letters in file 18, box 31, Velva Brown Papers.
40. Brown to Clausen, 21 May 1937, file 14, and Brown to Clausen, 20 November 1938, file 15; both letters in box 31, Velva Brown Papers.
41. Brown to unknown recipient (first page is missing), 11 April 1939, file 16, box 31, Velva Brown Papers. This letter is actually undated. Based on where the letter was filed, Velva Brown's reference to listing to an Easter broadcast "last night" in a year where the holiday fell on April 9, and the date and time change between China and the US, Brown was likely writing this letter on 11 April 1939.
42. For Brown's entrenchment in an American media and communications milieu via international mail before W6XBE–KGEI's establishment, see the following letters Velva Brown wrote to her friend Frances Clausen that are archived in box 31 of the Velva Brown Papers: 30 October 1937, file 14; 23 August 1938, 13 October 1938, 7 November 1938, and 20 November 1938, file 15; 23 September 1940, file 17. See also Brown to Inger, 30 June 1931, file 8, box 31, Velva Brown Papers.
43. Brown to Clausen, 20 January 1938, file 15, box 31, Velva Brown Papers.
44. Letter from Brown (first page missing), 11 April 1939.
45. Bruce Lenthall, *Radio's America: The Great Depression and the Rise of Modern Mass Culture* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2007), 53–82, esp. 54, 72, 73, and 81.
46. Brown to Clausen, 21 October 1940, file 17, box 31, Velva Brown Papers.

47. Brown to Clausen, 23 September 1940, file 17, box 31, Velva Brown Papers.
48. Brown to Clausen, 7 March 1941, file 18, box 31, Velva Brown Papers.
49. Russell's personal reflections on radio are recorded in her "Daybook, 1937–1950" (two folders), box 47, Maud Russell Papers, Special Collections, New York Public Library (hereinafter Maud Russell Papers). Several entries from 1939 and 1940 note her penchant for listening to the radio, as well as inviting people over to join her in doing so. She was particularly busy hosting guests between 3 June and 13 June 1940. It is the entry from 22 February 1940 that specifically mentions her order of the Pilot radio. The entry from 26 April 1940 comments on hearing Franklin Roosevelt's Pan American speech. For the letter she sent directly to the station, see Maud Russell to Station KGEL, 9 May 1940, W6XBE–KGEL 1940 Letters, 894.74/254, DSN 1940–44.
50. For biographical information on Russell, see Karen Garner, "The 'Chinese Connection' to American Radicalism," in *Journal of American-East Asian Relations* 3, no. 2 (Summer 1994): 127–53; and Garner, *Precious Fire*. Quote regarding station reception is from Maud Russell to Station KGEL, 9 May 1940.
51. For Russell's reading of the *China Weekly Review*, originally named *Millard's Review*, see Garner, *Precious Fire*, 34. On the change of name for that publication, see Chao, *Foreign Press in China*, 75–6. The remaining information comes from the Maud Russell Papers: for her record listening habits, see "Records–Victor," undated, file "Letters 1919," box 1; for Russell's reaction to American movies being shown in China, see Russell to Asilomar Division, 25 November 1929, file "Correspondence, 1929," box 3; for the inoperable radio, see Maud Russell to Lil, 15 December 1938, file "Correspondence, 1938," box 3; for the purchase of a new radio, see the entry from 22 February 1940, "Daybook, 1937–1950" (two folders), box 47.
52. Russell to Gertrude and All of You, 28 November 1940, and Russell to Gertrude and All of You, 8 December 1940, file "Correspondence, 1940," box 3, Maud Russell Papers.
53. Russell to Folks, 10 November 1940, file "Correspondence, 1940," box 3, Maud Russell Papers.
54. Reed, *The Missionary Mind*, esp. 24.
55. Eileen Scully, "Still Strangers at the Gate: Recent Scholarship on Pre-1900 Sino-American Relations," in Warren I. Cohen, ed., *Pacific Passage: The Study of American-East Asian Relations on the Eve of the Twenty-First Century* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1996), 130; Charles W. Hayford, "The Open Door Raj: Chinese-American Cultural Relations 1900–1945," in *Pacific Passage*, 143; Paul Harris, "Cultural Imperialism and American Protestant Missionaries: Collaboration and Dependency in Mid-Nineteenth-Century China," in the *Pacific Historical Review* 60, no. 3 (August 1991): 309–38. The common ground shared by missionaries and many churchgoing lay-people in the United States is also a major component James Reed's analysis in his *The Missionary Mind and American East Asia Policy* regarding why missionary efforts could be so influential in their impact on popular views about China.
56. Jane Hunter, *The Gospel of Gentility: American Missionary Women in Turn-of-the-Century China* (New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 1984), esp. 128–73,

263. See also Carol C. Chin, "Beneficent Imperialists: American Women Missionaries in China at the Turn of the Twentieth Century," in *Diplomatic History* 27, no. 3 (June 2003): 327–52.
57. Brown to Clausen, 2 September 1939, file 16, box 31, Velva Brown Papers.
 58. Mary Katherine Russell to Mother and All, 24 August 1941, file 11, box 10, RG 30, Arthur Carson Papers, Record Group 8, China Records Project, Yale Divinity School Library, New Haven, Connecticut. For biographical information on Russell, see Charles Hodge Corbett, *Shantung Christian University* (New York: United Board for Christian Colleges in China, 1955), 219.
 59. On renting the radio receiver, see Elleroy Smith diary entry, 29 February 1936, file 1, box 197, Elleroy and Maybelle Smith Papers, Record Group 8, China Records Project, Yale Divinity School Library, New Haven, Connecticut [hereafter Elleroy and Maybelle Smith Papers]. On receiving personal messages via the radio, see Elleroy Smith diary entries, 3 March 1936 and 16 September 1937, both diaries from file 1, box 197 (the "Aimee" referred to here is Aimee Millican, covered extensively in chap. 5). On receiving the message from Iowa, see Elleroy Smith diary entry, 12 October 1941, file 1, box 197. Both Elleroy and Maybelle Smith used the 17 August 1941 entry of their diaries to note that they listened to the *Mailbag* program without any expression of disappointment when no message arrived for them; Elleroy Smith, diary entry, 17 August 1941, file 1, box 197 and Maybelle Smith diary entry from 17 August 1941, Maybelle Smith, *Five Year Diary: 1938–1942*, file 7, box 195.
 60. For books read, see the back pages of the Smiths' diaries; specific reference to completing *Gone With the Wind* contained in Elleroy Smith's 12 July 1940 diary entry, while *For Whom the Bell Tolls* appears in the reading list at the back of Maybelle Smith's diary covering the years 1938–1942 (in the list compiled for 1941). On specific movies mentioned, see Maybelle Smith diary entry from 20 November 1938 and Elleroy Smith diary entries from 15 April 1937 and 1 May 1940. On newspapers delivered to the Smiths, see Elleroy Smith diary entries from 15 September 1940 and 18 November 1940. For select holiday celebrations and observances, see Maybelle Smith diary entries from 20 November 1940 and 25 December 1941, and Elleroy Smith diary entries from 28 November 1936, 18 December 1936, 25 December 1936 (in which he comments that "Santa Claus was generous as usual"), and 4 July 1938. For magazines arriving via the mail, see Elleroy Smith diary entry, 27 January 1938. Maybelle Smith diaries from file 7, box 195; Elleroy Smith diaries from file 1, box 197; Elleroy and Maybelle Smith Papers.
 61. All the following cited information is from the Elleroy and Maybelle Smith Papers. Quote on radio rental comment Elleroy Smith diary entry, 29 February 1936. For receiving messages and the enthusiasm for hearing programming broadcast from the US, see Elleroy Smith diary entries from 3 March 1936, 16 September 1937, and 24 September 1937; all from file 1, box 197. Quotes about listening to Franklin Roosevelt's inauguration recorded in Elleroy Smith diary entry, 20 January 1937, file 1, box 197; and Maybelle Smith diary entry, 20 January 1937, file 6, box 195. For listening to religious programming and the communal nature of the Smiths' radio listening habits, see Maybelle Smith diary entries, 17 August 1937 and 19 December

- 1937, file 6, box 195; and Elleroy Smith diary entries, 25 December 1936, 1 January 1937, 19 February 1937, 21 December 1937, 6 March 1937, 17 August 1937, 16 September 1937, 24 September 1937, 19 December 1937, 4 July 1938, file 1, box 197.
62. For the purchase of a radio for Elleroy Smith's parents, see Elleroy Smith diary entry from 31 December 1938. For listening to Charlie McCarthy, see Elleroy Smith diary entry from 13 August 1939. For department store shopping, see Elleroy Smith diary entry from 11 March 1939 and Maybelle Smith diary entries from 14 August 1939, 21 August 1939, and 5 September 1939. For the baseball game, see Maybelle Smith diary entry from 21 July 1939. For World's Fair visit, see Maybelle Smith diary entry from 19 July 1939. References to seeing movies are entered into both Smiths' diaries throughout the furlough. For the specific reference to the *Wizard of Oz*, see Elleroy Smith diary entry from 28 August 1939 and Maybelle Smith diary entry from 28 August 1939. Elleroy Smith diaries are in file 1, box 197, Elleroy and Maybelle Smith Papers. Maybelle Smith diaries are in file 7, box 195, Elleroy and Maybelle Smith Papers.
 63. Elleroy Smith diary entry, 24 March 1940, file 1, box 197, Elleroy and Maybelle Smith Papers.
 64. Laura Ward to Helen Ward, 1 September 1941, file 9, box 207, Laura Ward Papers, Record Group 8, China Records Project, Yale Divinity School Library, New Haven, Connecticut [hereafter Laura Ward Papers].
 65. For biographical information on Laura Ward, see Laura Dwight Ward, Life Sketch, 27 May 1914; Laura Dwight Ward, Doctrinal Statement, 27 May 1914; and "Miss Laura D. Ward," undated newspaper clipping with no publication information, all documents in file 10, box 207, Laura Ward Papers. Specific reference to Ward's mathematics degree comes from Ward's biographical sketch that accompanies the finding aid for the Ward Family Papers housed at Mt. Holyoke College. This finding aid was accessed through the Mount Holyoke College Archives and Special Collections website, <http://asteria.fivecolleges.edu/findaids/mountholyoke/mshm205.html> (last accessed 26 September 2010). For more on Ward's furlough, see Ruth Desmond, "Miss Ward Describes Conditions in China," in *Granite State Free Press* (New Hampshire), 15 October 1937, file 10, box 207, Laura Ward Papers. For the arrival of newspapers and magazines via the mail, see Laura Ward to Family, 31 March 1932, file 8, box 207. For the phonograph and record collection, see Laura Ward to Family Mine [sic], 29 April 1940, and Laura Ward to Family Mine, 3 February 1941, file 9, box 207. For a reference to the acquisition of American consumer items, see Laura Ward to Family Mine, 2 October 1940, file 9, box 207.
 66. Laura Ward to Dear Family Mine, 29 November 1940, file 9, box 207, Laura Ward Papers.
 67. "Excerpts from Bob McClure's letter of July 18th to August 2nd (1940)," file 10, box 122, Jeanie McClure Papers, Record Group 8, China Records Project, Yale Divinity School Library Special Collections, New Haven, Connecticut [hereinafter Jeanie McClure Papers]. See also "Excerpts from Bob McClure's August Letters (1940)" in the same file and box.
 68. Bill Trent, "Dr. Robert McClure: missionary-surgeon extraordinaire," *Canada Medical Association Journal* 132 (February 1985): 431–4.

69. All quoted portions from “Excerpts from Bob McClure’s August Letters (1940),” file 10, box 122, Jeanie McClure Papers, except “My heart is in the USA.” That latter quote is from “Excerpts from Bob McClure’s letter of July 18th to August 2nd (1940).”
70. A. Holmes Johnson to the Federal Communications Commission, 16 March 1939, file 89-6, box 365, FCC Records 1927–46. Information on A. Holmes Johnson’s library legacy in Kodiak can be found at the website for the library bearing his name, <http://www.city.kodiak.ak.us/Library/Pages/default.aspx> (last accessed 26 September 2010). I received additional information on Johnson from his son, Dr. Bob Johnson, who still resides in Kodiak (email to author, received 27 January 2010).
71. Direct quotes are from Grace Morrison Boynton’s diary entries (in order of appearance) 13 June 1939, 12 August 1939, and 20 August 1939. Other information about Boynton and her exposure to American communications, media, and culture in China are from diary entries dated 13 March 1937, 17 April 1937, 6 July 1937, 28 July 1937, 3 January 1939, 26 February 1939, 18 May 1939, 31 July 1939, 19 October 1941, and 26 December 1943. 1937 entries from “Diary, Jan 5–Dec 22, 1937 Typescript,” file A-155 7; 1939 entries from “Diary, Jan 3–Dec 25, 1939 Typescript,” file A-155 9; 1941 entry from “Diary, Jan3–Dec 28, 1941–typescript,” file A-155 13; 1943 entry from “Diary, Jan 1–Dec 26, 1943–typescript file A-155 17; Boxes 1 and 2; Grace Morrison Boynton Papers, Arthur and Laura Schlesinger Library, Harvard University, Cambridge, Massachusetts.
72. In studies on immigration to the United States, the role that various forms of mass media (particularly the ethnic press) played in appealing to notions of expatriate identity and keeping immigrant groups “connected” to their homeland is a prominent theme. For example, see Matthew Frye Jacobson, *Special Sorrows: The Diasporic Imagination of Irish, Polish, and Jewish Immigrants in the United States* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1995); Renqiu Yu, *To Save China, To Save Ourselves: The Chinese Hand Laundry Alliance of New York* (Philadelphia: Temple University Press, 1992); and Brian Masamuru Hayashi, ‘*For the Sake of Our Japanese Brethren: Assimilation, Nationalism, and Protestantism Among the Japanese of Los Angeles, 1895-1942* (Stanford, CA: Stanford University Press, 1995).
73. Douglas, *Listening In*, 24.

5 “Win China for Christ through Radio”: Religious Broadcasting and the American Missionary Movement in Nationalist China

1. Conversion stories about Mr. Chang, the unidentified wealthy merchant, and the Jiangsu political leader are from “Shanghai Christian Broadcasting Association,” *Chinese Recorder*, February 1937, 129; Mr. Yang’s conversion story is from A.H.L. Clark, “This is Station XMHD,” in *Christian Broadcast Bulletin* 2, no. 3 (January–March 1938): pp. 2–3, Shanghai Christian Broadcasting Association Records, Historical Records (HR) 154, Special Collections, Yale University Divinity School Library, New Haven, Connecticut (hereinafter SCBA Records).

2. C.J. Lowe, "Editorials," in *Christian Broadcast Bulletin* 1, no. 3 (January–March 1937): 1. This issue of the *Christian Broadcast Bulletin* is from a microfilm collection available through Yale University Library. It is a different collection than the ones I researched in the Missionary Pamphlet Collection at Yale University's Divinity School Library, cited in n. 1 above. The microfilm collection is more extensive than the "Missionary Pamphlet Collection." Each collection, however, has issues that the other one does not. *Bulletins* contained on the microfilm role will be hereinafter cited as "Yale University Library Microfilm" to distinguish those issues from those in the Yale Divinity Library's "Missionary Pamphlet Collection."
3. Joseph King, "The Beginning of the Christian Broadcasting Association," in *Christian Broadcast Bulletin* 1, no. 1 (August–September 1936): p. 1, SCBA Records.
4. Though Americans are prominent in this story, it is also important to note that Christian broadcasting in 1930s and early 1940s China was not exclusively an American project. Other missionaries and Chinese were also significant forces in the development of religious broadcasting in China. An analysis of what Christianity signified to these various groups and how they engaged with Christian broadcasting on their own terms is significant in its own right, but that analysis is beyond the particular scope of this chapter. This chapter's focus on the American involvement with Christian broadcasting and how it spoke to particular issues of American national identity and anti-Japanese politics is not meant to imply those other stories are somehow less important.
5. The unequal treaties, extraterritorial rights, and other special privileges often helped missionaries and their Chinese converts acquire property, establish churches, and avoid Chinese jurisdiction in a way they hoped might help their proselytizing. These practices also made missionaries and their converts vulnerable to nationalist and xenophobic anger. For the political complications of exporting Christianity in this increasingly nationalistic context, see Hunt, *The Making of a Special Relationship*, 293–4. For an analysis of how cultural differences made exporting Western Christianity into a Chinese context difficult, see Jacques Gernet, *China and the Christian Impact: A Conflict of Cultures*, translated by Janet Lloyd (New York: Cambridge University Press, 1985) esp. 146, 150–1, 196, and 246; Charles Weber, "Conflicting Cultural Traditions in China: Baptist Educational Work in the Nineteenth Century," in Neils, ed., *United States Attitudes and Policies Toward China*, 41.
6. "Win China For Christ Through Radio," undated but likely from the late 1930s, file "China Christian Broadcasting Association," China Christian Broadcasting Association Records, HR108, Special Collections, Yale Divinity School Library, New Haven, Connecticut (the China Christian Broadcasting Association was, in fact, the same organization as the Shanghai Christian Broadcasting Association). For the growth of indigenous Chinese Christianity, see Daniel Bays, "The Growth of Independent Christianity in China," in *Christianity in China From the Eighteenth Century to the Present*, ed. Daniel Bays (Stanford, CA: Stanford University Press, 1996), 307–16, esp. 310. Arthur Lewis Rosenbaum notes that the majority of Chinese Christians were actually fundamentalists who had little interest in the liberal Protestantism of the major social gospel-influenced Christian missionary institutions like Yanjing [Yenching] University. See Arthur Lewis Rosenbaum, "Christianity,

- Academics, and National Salvation in China: Yenching University, 1924–1949,” *Journal of American–East Asian Relations* 13 (2004–06): 39.
7. “Win China For Christ Through Radio;” K.S. Lee, “Some Appealing Facts About the Christian Broadcasting Station,” in *Christian Broadcast Bulletin* 1, no. 1 (August–September 1936): p. 2, file “Shanghai Christian Broadcasting Association, 1936–1938,” SCBA Records. I have left K.S. Lee’s name in its original Wade–Giles Romanization because I was unable to find any reference to what the initials “K” and “S” represent, which precluded presenting his name’s pinyin equivalent with any accuracy. In pinyin, the family name is “Li.”
 8. “Win China For Christ Through Radio.” Station registration information is from the American Trade Commissioner in Shanghai A. Viola Smith, “Radio Markets–China,” 11 March 1937, p. 30, file “Foreign Service–Copies of Reports–Peiping–1937–March,” box 124, BFDC Attachés’ Reports. For information on the backgrounds of Chen, Koo, and Zau, see Xing, *Baptized in the Fire of Revolution*, esp. 69, 160; Walter N. Lacy, *One Hundred Years of China Methodism* (New York: Abingdon–Cokesbury, 1948), 61; “Bishop from China,” *Time*, 13 March 1944, retrieved from <http://www.time.com/time/magazine/article/0,9171,932420,00.html> (last accessed 26 September 2010); Edward R. Slack, *Opium, State, and Society: China’s Narco-Economy and the Guomindang, 1924–1937* (Honolulu: University of Hawaii Press, 2001), 58–9; Kevin Scott Wong and Sucheng Chan. *Claiming America: Constructing Chinese American Identities During the Exclusion Era* (Philadelphia: Temple University Press, 1998), 175. On US-based religious broadcasting, see Tona J. Hangen, *Redeeming the Dial: Radio, Religion, and Popular Culture in America* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2002), 24–6.
 9. *The Madras Series: Presenting Papers Based Upon the Meeting of the International Missionary Council at Tambaram, Madras, India, December 12th to 29th*, Vol. III, Evangelism (New York: International Missionary Council, 1939); “Wuhan Christian Broadcasting Association,” *Chinese Recorder*, April 1936, 253.
 10. “The Present Situation: Christian Broadcasting in Peiping,” *Chinese Recorder*, June 1936, 382.
 11. “Radio Evangelism,” *Chinese Recorder*, June 1937, 400.
 12. Aimee Millican to Friends at Home, 9 February 1940, file 10, box 1, RG 199, Millican Family Papers, Presbyterian Historical Society, Philadelphia, Pennsylvania (hereinafter Millican Family Papers).
 13. A. Millican to Edith Millican, 2 April 1940, file 10, box 1, Millican Family Papers.
 14. A. Millican (credited as Mrs. F.R. Millican), “A Whole Family For Christ Through the Radio Broadcast,” *Christian Broadcast Bulletin* 1, no. 1 (August–September 1936), 2, file “Shanghai Christian Broadcasting Association, 1936–1938,” SCBA Records.
 15. K.S. Lee, “Some Appealing Facts About the Christian Broadcasting Station,” 2. Regarding views in the US of broadcasting’s benefits to the blind and other disabled individuals, NBC Vice President Frank Arnold declared in 1933 that radio was “the only medium where a blind man had just as good a prospect as the man with two good eyes” (quoted in Craig, *Fireside Politics*, 22). Another commentator wrote, “to the blind, the deaf, the shut-ins, radio broadcasting has been a new kind of sunshine.” Broadcasting ensured that

- these unfortunates would no longer be “blind to the fast pace of civilization” (unfortunately, the writer did not elaborate on how the deaf could benefit from broadcasting). A draft of this essay, entitled “Radio And What It Does To The World’s Unfortunate,” unfortunately had no further author or publication information. It can be found in file 477a, Box 198, Series 14 (General History), Clark Radioana Collection. The article appears to have been written in the 1920s.
16. For the connection between religion and technology, see David F. Noble, *The Religion of Technology: The Divinity of Many and the Spirit of Invention* (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1997). For an analysis that focuses on the American context, see Nye, *America as Second Creation*.
 17. F.R. Millican, “Radio as an Instrument for Good,” *Christian Broadcast Bulletin* 1, no. 3 (January–March 1937): p. 8, Yale University Library Microfilm.
 18. Lee S. Huizenga, “Broadcasting the Gospel Message,” *Christian Broadcast Bulletin* 5, no 1–4 (1940): p. 14, Yale University Library Microfilm.
 19. A.R. Gallimore, “The Radio in Christian Service,” *Christian Broadcast Bulletin* 2, no. 1 (July–September 1937): pp. 3–4, Yale University Library Microfilm.
 20. H.G.C. Hallock, “Radio and Prayer,” *Christian Broadcast Bulletin* 4, nos. 2–4 (July–December 1939): pp. 3–4, Yale University Library Microfilm.
 21. *The Madras Series* (n. 10 above), 140–1.
 22. F.W. Price, “Evangelism and Religious Education,” *Chinese Recorder*, April 1936, 236.
 23. K.J. Faulkner, “The Radio. A Means to Bring Him In,” *Christian Broadcast Bulletin* 4, nos. 2–4 (July–December 1939): p. 13, Yale University Library Microfilm.
 24. “Shanghai Broadcasting Situation and Future Prospects,” *China Weekly Review*, 24 June 1939, 98.
 25. For example, see the daily programs in English and Chinese in any of the *Christian Broadcast Bulletins*. For the description in this paragraph, I specifically consulted the January–March 1937 and January–December 1940 issues [no page numbers are provided on the pages the schedules appear]. The Sunday schedule description is from *The Madras Series*, 141. (I would like to thank my colleague Kristin Mulready-Stone for her help in translating the Chinese language program schedule).
 26. Lawrence D. Kessler, *The Jiangyin Mission Station: An American Missionary Community in China, 1895–1951* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1996), 158–9. Ryan Dunch, *Fuzhou Protestants and the Making of a Modern China, 1857–1927* (New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 2001). 150, 194.
 27. Price, “Evangelism and Religious Education,” 231–2, 236. For information about the resentment that the burden that social gospel programs placed on budgets, see Kessler, *Jiangyin Mission Station*, 158–9; Xing, *Baptized in the Fire of Revolution*, 60–1
 28. For XMHD’s reception range, see *The Madras Series*, 141. On radio’s ability to reach listeners located nowhere near a church, see “The Present Situation: Christian Broadcasting in Peiping,” 382. For Christian broadcasting as the antidote to the perceived harmful effects of “popular” radio, see Jen-Mei Tan, “Christian Youth and Education,” *Chinese Recorder*, December 1939, 714; for a similar concern, see Paul T.H. Chen, “Christian Education Through Book Service,” *Chinese Recorder*, August 1941, 412. On the Millicans’

- connection to the Oxford Group, see Paul French, *Through the Looking Glass: China's Foreign Journalists from Opium Wars to Mao* (Hong Kong: Hong Kong University Press, 2009), 187. French also mentions the Oxford Group's connection to Alcoholics Anonymous. For a more extensive discussion of that story, see John H. Peterson, Jr., "The International Origins of Alcoholics Anonymous," *Contemporary Drug Problems* 19, no. 1 (Spring 1992): 53–74.
29. "Radio Evangelism," 400.
 30. "Fruits of Station XMHD," *Christian Broadcast Bulletin* 2, no. 3 (January–March 1938): pp. 6–7, Yale University Library Microfilm. Interestingly, not a single listener testimony quoted was actually written in the convert's own pen. Instead, missionaries reported these stories to the SCBA second-hand. While that caveat raises some legitimate suspicions about the verity of these accounts, it also underscores the fact these missionary listeners viewed the station from the vantage point of its evangelical, not social gospel, utility.
 31. Hallock, "Radio and Prayer," 3. Biographical information on Hallock is taken from the information on the Metropolitan Presbyterian Mission contained on the website for "The Ricci 21st Century Roundtable on the History of Christianity in China," <http://ricci.rt.usfca.edu/institution/view.aspx?institutionID=384> (last accessed on 26 September 2010) and "Church News," in the *Putnam County Courier*, 11 January 1895, <http://www.localarchives.org/WorkArea/downloadasset.aspx?id=26853> (last accessed on 26 September 2010).
 32. Adas, *Machines as the Measure of Men*, 6–7, 205–8; Charles Edward Jefferson, "Searching the Scriptures," XMHD broadcast from 22 May 1939, *Christian Broadcast Bulletin* 4, nos. 2–4 (July–December 1939): pp. 15–20, Yale University Library Microfilm. (Jefferson died before the broadcast, so Carlton Lacy read the prepared text over the air; quote is from p. 17). Prior to coming to China, Jefferson served as the past of the Broadway United Christian Church from 1898 to 1929. See http://www.broadwayucc.org/p_jefferson.php (last accessed on 26 September 2010).
 33. On listening to W6XBE–KGEL, see Frank R. Millican to A. Millican, 11 September 1941 and 28 September 1941, file 31, box 1, Millican Family Papers. On the letter to daughter Edith, see F. Millican to E. Millican, 12 April 1938, file 30, box 1, Millican Family Papers.
 34. For Elleroy Smith's letter regarding XMHD, see *Christian Broadcast Bulletin* 1, no. 3 (January–March 1937), p. 13, Yale University Library Microfilm.
 35. Simon Coleman and Peter Collins, "Introduction: Ambiguous Attachments—Religion, Identity, and Nation," in Simon Coleman and Peter Collins, eds., *Religion, Identity, and Change: Perspectives on Global Transformations* (Burlington, VT: Ashgate, 2004), 4–6; Gerd Baumann, *The Multicultural Riddle: Rethinking National, Ethnic, and Religious Identities* (New York: Routledge, 1999), 21; Sheldon Stryker and Peter J. Burke, "The Past Present and Future of an Identity Theory," in *Social Psychology Quarterly* 63, no. 4 (December 2000): esp. 287, 289, 292; Peter J. Burke, "Relationships Among Multiple Identities," in *Advances in Identity Theory and Research*, eds., Peter J. Burke, Timothy J. Owens, Richard T. Sherpe, and Peggy Thoits (New York: Kluwer Academic/Plenum Publishers, 2003), esp. 201–2; Peggy A. Thoits, "Personal Agency in Multiple Role Identities," in *Advances in Identity Theory and Research*, esp. 181–3.

36. Elleroy and Maybelle Smith to Our Dear Friends, 10 November 1937, pp. 4–6, file 7, box 1, Millican Family Papers.
37. Stryker and Burke, “The Past, Present and Future of an Identity Theory,” 288–90; on Russell in China, see Garner, *Precious Fire*; see also chap. 4 of this study.
38. Gary Wills, *Under God: Religion and American Politics* (New York: Simon and Schuster, 1990), 19, 22, 25, 207–8; Richard Carwardine, “The Know-nothing party, the protestant evangelical community, and American national identity,” in Stuart Mews, ed., *Religion and National Identity: Papers Read at the Nineteenth Summer Meeting and the Twentieth Winter Meeting of the Ecclesiastical History Society* (Oxford: Basil Blackwell, 1982), 449–64.
39. Jeffrey Swanson, *Echoes of the Call: Identity and Ideology Among American Missionaries in Ecuador* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1995), 158–9; Reed, *The Missionary Mind*, 23–34; William Hutchison, *Errand to the World: American Protestant Thought and Foreign Missions* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1987), 9, 44–5, 51–60.
40. A. Millican, undated and untitled unpublished draft of an article, file 28, box 1, Millican Family Papers.
41. Swanson, *Echoes of the Call*, 148.
42. For the development of the notion of a “special relationship,” see Hunt, *Making of a Special Relationship*. On the interconnections between the missionary movement in China and the larger American populace at home, see Reed, *The Missionary Mind*.
43. Thomson, *While China Faced West*, esp. 153–4; Jespersen, *American Images of China*, 24–5, 84–5.
44. Thomson, *While China Faced West*, 153–95, 226–30; Jespersen, *American Images of China*, 34–5.
45. A. Millican to E. Millican, 5 January 1936, file 6, box 1, Millican Family Papers. For further cooperative efforts see F. Millican to E. Millican, 5 April 1937, file 30, box 1, Millican Family Papers. Millican’s letter did not identify Zhang Qun [Chang Chun] by name. I identified Zhang as the Minister she was discussing through *Who’s Who in China: Biographies of Chinese Leaders*, 5th ed (Shanghai: China Weekly Review, 1936), 5–6. According to this volume, Zhang had been appointed the Minister of Foreign Affairs in December 1935. For additional information on Zhang see “Hao Hao!,” 28 April 1947, *Time*, available online at <http://www.time.com/time/magazine/article/0,9171,793568,00.html> [last accessed 26 September 2010]. Unfortunately, these sources do not provide a name for his “attractive” wife (the adjective used by *Time*).
46. Chiang Kai-shek, “My Spiritual Conception of Good Friday,” *Christian Broadcast Bulletin* 1, no. 4 (April–June 1937): p. 1, Yale University Library Microfilm. For reference to Chiang and Song Meiling’s pamphlets, see C.J. Lowe, “Opportunity,” pp. 1–2 in the same issue of the *Christian Broadcast Bulletin*; previous issues of the bulletin also contain letters in which listeners request the station send them Song’s pamphlet. Letter praising the Chiangs’ Christianity are from the *Christian Broadcast Bulletin* 1, no. 3 (January–March 1937): p. 12, Yale University Library Microfilm.
47. A. Millican to E. Millican, 1 July 1936, file 6, box 1, Millican Family Papers.

48. A. Millican to E. Millican, 3 January 1937, file 7, box 1, Millican Family Papers. See also Jespersen, 31–34.
49. Youli Sun, *China and the Origins of the Pacific War*, 87–91.
50. F. Millican to E. Millican, 21 August 1937; A. Millican to E. Millican, 29 August 1937; F. Millican to E. Millican, 7 November 1937; file 30, box 1, Millican Family Papers.
51. All quotes are from Elleroy and Maybelle Smith to Our Dear Friends, 10 November 1937. Frank Millican also used the term “grand stand seat” to describe their view of the war from the apartment in Shanghai; see F. Millican to E. Millican, 14 September 1937, file 30, box 1, Millican Family Papers. A further description of the Millican’s wartime experience in Shanghai can be found in A. Millican to E. Millican, 3 October 1937, file 7, box 1, Millican Family Papers.
52. A. Millican to E. Millican, 12 December 1937, file 7, box 1, Millican Family Papers.
53. Reactions to Japanese news (including quotes) from A. Millican to E. Millican, 5 November 1937, file 7, box 1, Millican Family Papers. Millican’s efforts to enable converts to listen to the Chongqing broadcasts is from A. Millican to E. Millican, 27 October 1939 and A. Millican to E. Millican, 31 December 1939, file 9, box 1, Millican Family Papers. Japanese efforts to control the news reaching East Asia during the war are the focus of the next chapter.
54. Information about the damage XMHD sustained and the difficulties in completing the repair work is from the transcript of the third XMHA broadcast directed toward Christian missionaries. See Transcript of NCC Broadcast from Station XMHA, 19 September 1937, New York Public Library non-circulating material, call number ZDZ (National Christian Council of China. Bulletin. Broadcast) (hereinafter NCC Broadcast Bulletins, NYPL). For additional information about the impact of the typhoon on XMHD, see Mrs. A.H. Clark, “This is Station XMHD,” *Christian Broadcast Bulletin* 2, no. 3 (January–March 1938): p. 2, Yale University Library Microfilm.
55. For the American influence in the Chinese YMCA, see Xing, *Baptized in the Fire of Revolution*; see also Garrett, *Social Reformers in Urban China*, esp. 28–44; Charles A. Keller, “The Christian Student Movement, YMCAs, and Transnationalism in Republican China,” *Journal of American–East Asian Relations* 13, no. 1 (2004–06): esp. 64–6. For the American influence in the NCC (including the American education received by many of the Chinese principles), see Thomson. *While China Faced West*, 50–8. For the cooperation between the YMCA and the NCC, see Xing, *Baptized in the Fire of Revolution*, 56–61, and Thomson, *While China Faced West*, 204. For the ties between both groups and the Chinese government, see Thomson, *While China Faced West*, 66–75, 191, 204 and Xing, *Baptized in the Fire of Revolution*, 119–20. XMHA’s anti-Japanese character is addressed in chap 6.
56. Transcripts of NCC Broadcasts from Station XMHA, 10 October 1937 and 27 March 1937, NCC Broadcast Bulletins, NYPL.
57. Transcripts of NCC Broadcasts from Station XMHA, 26 September 1937, 23 January 1938, and 24 October 1937, NCC Broadcast Bulletins, NYPL.
58. Transcript of NCC Broadcast from Station XMHA, 13 March 1937, NCC Broadcast Bulletins, NYPL.

59. Ronald Rees, ed., *Christians in Action: A Record of Work in War-time China by Seven Missionaries* (London: Longmans, Green and Co., 1939), xi, 14–15. The editor, Ronald Rees, was an Englishman and another one of the NCC's regular broadcasters for its Sunday program. He too adopted a more restrained tone when broadcasting than when writing. Although claiming that he and his fellow contributors "harbour no bitterness against those who are inflicting all this cruel suffering," he later noted that missionary compounds throughout the country often offered "the one place of security for the population against rape and murder" committed by Japanese soldiers (pp. vii, 10).
60. American Consul in Foochow [Fuzhou] Edward E. Rice, "Political Report for April 1941," 7 May 1941, 893.00 P.R. Foochow/159, DSNA 1940–44. For a brief overview of Japan's transgressions against American property and citizens after the outbreak of the Sino-Japanese War, see Cohen, *America's Response to China*, 120.
61. For the repairs to XMHD, see "Editorial Briefs," *Christian Broadcast Bulletin* 4, no. 1 (January–June 1939): p. 1, Yale University Library Microfilm; for the broadcast detailing one family's hardships during the 1937 battle for Nanjing, see T.L. Chen, "A Personal Testimony," *Christian Broadcast Bulletin* 5, nos. 1–4 (January–December 1940): p. 13, Yale University Library Microfilm (the specific date of this broadcast was not mentioned in the newsletter). Information on Beath's broadcast is from Sterling Beath, "The Influence of the Radio," XMHD broadcast from 5 February 1939, reprinted in the *Christian Broadcast Bulletin* 4, no. 1 (January–June 1939): pp. 19–20, Yale University Library Microfilm (quotes are from p. 19). Additional biographical information about Sterling Beath is from <http://evansvillehistory.net/107WESTLibery.html> (last accessed on 26 September 2010).
62. "XMHD is Now Object of Interference," *China Press*, 26 April 1940, copy of article in file D6813/14/X(40), RG 263, Records of the Shanghai Municipal Police, United States National Archives microfilm [researched entirely off-site] (hereinafter SMP Records); the extensive reach of the station's broadcasts is referred to in the American Consul in Shanghai Richard Butrick to the Secretary of State Cordell Hull, 15 August 1940, 893.102S/2186, DSNA 1940–44; the promotion of newspaper subscriptions is from *China Broadcast Bulletin* 5, nos. 1–4 (January–December 1940): p. 4, Yale University Library Microfilm.
63. For the ownership and registration transfer, see Butrick to Hull, 15 August 1940. This document identifies XMHD as an American station deserving of US official support. Prewar documentation, including A.V. Smith "Radio Markets–China," 11 March 1937 identifies the station as Chinese. For the Shanghai Municipal Police cooperation with the Japanese to silence Chinese radio, see Benson, "Back to Business as Usual," esp. 282 and 296. A copy of the pledge the police had Chinese station managers sign is filed with "Chinese and semi-Chinese radio broadcasting stations operating in the International Settlement," Shanghai Municipal Police Report, 30 November 1937, file D 6813/14/VI, SMP Records.
64. Consular reports sent to Washington from a variety of cities around China provide particular examples of these strategies. For example, diplomatic reports from Shantou documenting the events of June and July 1941 comment on the anti-American tone of Japanese-controlled newspapers. The

May 1940 political report from Shanghai noted a long-standing problem with the censorship of American mail arriving in China, as well as the jamming of American radio. The Shanghai political report from August 1940 includes a rich array of examples, including the jamming of XMHD, sharp criticisms of the United States by the Japanese-controlled press, an American ship carrying missionaries that was prevented from docking in Shanghai by Japan, and outright terrorism against the American-owned press in Shanghai. For these documents, see the American Consul in Swatow [Shantou] Kenneth Yearns to Hull, "Political Review for June 1941, 5 July 1941, 893.00 P.R. Swatow/163; Yearns to Hull, "Political Review for July 1941, 4 August 1941, 893.00 P.R. Swatow/164; Butrick to Hull, "Political Report for May, 1940, 11 June 1940, 893.00 P.R. Shanghai/140; Butrick to Hull, "Political Report for August, 1940," 7 September 1940, 893.00 P.R. Shanghai/143; all files from DSNA 1940–44. The entire collection of the 893.00 P.R. files in DSNA 1940–44 offers many more relevant examples.

65. Butrick to Hull, "Political Report for August, 1940," 7 September 1940, 893.00 P.R. Shanghai/143, DSNA 1940–44.
66. "XMHD is Now Object of Interference;" see also Butrick to Hull, 15 August 1940. On the U.S.-Japanese tensions over the move into Indochina, see Jonathan Marshall, *To Have and Have Not: Southeast Asian Raw Materials and the Origins of the Pacific War* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1995), 80–5.
67. Butrick to Hull, 15 August 1940; Butrick to Hull, 18 September 1940, 893.102 S/2276 (cross-referenced in file 893.76/120); Butrick to Hull, "Political Report for August, 1940," 7 September 1940; Butrick to Hull, "Political Report for September, 1940," October 1940 [specific date illegible], 893.00 P.R. Shanghai/144; Butrick to Hull, "Political Report for November, 1940," 7 December 1940, 893.00 P.R. Shanghai/146; all files from DSNA 1940–44.
68. Carlton Lacey, "The Use of the Bible in the Home," China Bible House Broadcast over XMHD on 22 August 1938, reprinted in the *Christian Broadcast Bulletin* 4, no. 1 (January–June 1939): pp. 6–8, Yale University Library Microfilm (quote is from p. 6).

6 "Unofficial Radio Hell-Raiser": Radio News and US-Japanese Conflict on the Eve of the Pacific War

1. Carroll Alcott, *My War With Japan* (New York: H. Holt & Co., 1943), p. 296–8; see also "Newscaster of Shanghai," *Time*, 20 July 1940, accessed at <http://www.time.com/time/magazine/article/0,9171,764298,00.html> (last accessed 26 September 2010).
2. Alcott, *My War With Japan*, 17, 22, 279, 282–3, 340–1; quote is from page 279. See also "Foreign News: New Order in Shanghai," *Time*, 29 July 1940, accessed at <http://www.time.com/time/magazine/article/0,9171,764271,00.html> (last accessed 26 September 2010). The 1933 restaurant incident is mentioned in Matt Weinstock, "Some Job Tryouts Take an Odd Turn," *Los Angeles Times*, 20 May 1965, section a, 6.
3. For how mass media can elicit contrasting reactions from audiences with different national perspectives, see Benedict Anderson, *The Spectre of Comparisons: Nationalism, Southeast Asia, and the World* (New York: Verso Press, 1998), 58–74.

4. Velva Brown to Frances Clausen, 4 October 1937, file 14, box 31 and Brown to Clausen, 13 November 1938 and 20 November 1938, file 15, box 31, Velva Brown Papers. Quoted portions are from the 4 October 1937 correspondence.
5. The taking of radio news notes mentioned in Brown to Clausen, 4 October 1937, file 14; listening to reports from London, Berlin, and Australia noted in Brown to Clausen, 13 November 1938, file 15; the decision to stop writing the letter to listen to radio news noted in Brown to Clausen, 30 October 1937, file 14; all correspondence from box 31, Velva Brown Papers.
6. Many of the reports submitted by the American Trade Commissioner in Shanghai A. Viola Smith are particularly valuable for the information they provide about XMHA. See "Broadcasting, Airways Beacons, and Radio Equipment," April 1935, p. 4–5, box 119; "Radio Markets–China," 19 May 1938, file "Foreign Service, Copies of Reports, Peiping–1938–May," box 126; "Radio Markets–China," 15 August 1939, p. 38, file "Foreign Service–Copies of Reports–Peiping–1939–July–August," box 126; all of Smith's reports are from BFDC Attachés' Reports. See also the Commissioner of the Shanghai Police Kenneth M. Bourne to the Secretary of the Shanghai Municipal Council G. Godfrey Phillips, 6 January 1939, pp. 46–51, and Bourne to Phillips, 9 March 1939, p. 31, file U001-04-0002813 (Transmission Electrical Messages: Radio Broadcasting and Receiving Stations: Control), SMC Records; Chief of the State Department's Division of Current Information Michael J. McDermott to Maxwell Hamilton of Department of State's Division of Far Eastern Affairs, 15 October 1941, 893.76/141, DSNA 1940–44; Alcott, *My War With Japan*, 15–16; Vivian Wang, "Rags to riches in Shanghai food fight," 31 July 2003, *Shanghai Star*, accessed at <http://app1.chinadaily.com.cn/star/2003/0731/cu18-2.html> (last accessed 26 September 2010).
7. From the BFDC Attachés' Reports, see A.V. Smith, "Radio Markets–China," 11 March 1937, pp. 2, 9–10, 12, 102, box 124; A.V. Smith, "Radio Developments in China," July 1937, pp. 3, 7, box 125; A.V. Smith, "Radio Markets–China," 15 August 1939, 38, 48–9; A.V. Smith, "Radio Markets in China" (Special Report No. S-99), 8 June 1938, file "Foreign Service–Copies Of Reports–Peiping–1938–June," box 126. See also A.V. Smith to the BFDC's Electrical Division, 13 January 1939, file 544, "Radio–China–1939," box 2479, BFDC General Records 1914–58.
8. A.V. Smith, "Radio Markets–China," 11 March 1937, pp. 31, 34, 108; A.V. Smith to the BFDC's Electrical Division, 11 November 1937, file 544, "Radio–China–1937–38," box 2478, BFDC General Records 1914–58.
9. For the history of American radio journalism, see Edward Bliss, Jr., *Now The News: The Story of Broadcast Journalism* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1991), esp. 76–118 and Gerd Horten, *Radio Goes to War: The Cultural Politics of Propaganda During World War II* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2003), 22–40. David Culbert's study on radio news and foreign affairs demonstrates the lack of objectivity that pervaded the presumably reliable radio newscasts during this period; see David Holbrook Culbert, *News For Everyman: Radio and Foreign Affairs in Thirties America* (Westport, CN: Greenwood Press, 1976), esp. 5–6. The prevalence of newscasts as part of other countries' shortwave broadcasting efforts was noted in A.V. Smith to the BFDC's Electrical Division,

- 11 January 1938, file 544, "Radio-China-1937-38," box 2478, BFDC General Records 1914-58. For a discussion on the blurred lines between news and propaganda broadcast over the international shortwaves, see James Wood, *History of International Broadcasting* (London: Peregrinus, 1992), 31-48; Berg, *On the Shortwaves*.
10. On wartime receiver sales and homemade sets, see Carlton Benson, "Back to Business as Usual," 286-7.
 11. For Alcott's observations about public radio listening, see Alcott, *My War With Japan*, 248. For the reference to Alcott's letters and the letter from the Chinese doctor, see A.V. Smith to the BFDC's Electrical Division, 8 March 1939, file 544, "Radio-China-General-1939." box 2479, RG 151, BFDC General Records 1914-58. For Julia Morgan's letters, see Julia Morgan to her father, 16 August 1937 and 3 January 1938, file 143-7, box 143, Julia Morgan Papers, RG 8, China Records Project, Yale Divinity Library Special Collections, Yale University, New Haven, Connecticut.
 12. "A Splendid Journalistic Achievement," *The China Journal*, September 1937, 141. For the Smiths receiving word to cancel their Shanghai trip, see Elleroy Smith, diary entries from 16 September and 24 September 1937, file 1, box 197, Elleroy and Maybelle Smith Papers. For other efforts to keep up with war news via the radio, see Maybelle Smith diary entries from 15 August 1937, 17 August 1937, and 26 September 1937, file 6, box 195, and Elleroy Smith, diary entry from 15 August 1937, file 1, box 197, Elleroy and Maybelle Smith Papers.
 13. A.V. Smith, "Radio Markets-China," 19 May 1938, p. 5.
 14. Alcott, *My War With Japan*, 16.
 15. Hamilton to McDermott, 9 October 1941, and Hamilton to McDermott, 15 October 1941, 893.76/141, DSN 1940-44.
 16. For a general discussion of Johnson's work as it related to the Rockefeller Foundation, the "social gospel," and the Chinese Nationalists, see Thomson, *When China Faced West*, esp. 50-66, 221-41. The predominance of radio as a source of news, the dinner party experience, and the bedroom placement of his own radio is from William R. Johnson to Ina Johnson, 16 January 1938, file 58; regret at missing the radio news due to working late is noted in W.R. Johnson to I. James and Laura, 19 November 1937 file 58; Johnson's typing up of news notes is referenced in W.R. Johnson to family, 2 December 1937, file 57 and W.R. Johnson to I. Johnson, 12 September 1938, file 61; Johnson's delight at seeing his access to radio news restored is noted in one Johnson letter that is missing its cover page noting the date and recipient; that letter, filed in file 63, was likely sent to his family, and written between May and August 1939; aforementioned correspondence from box 4, William R. Johnson Papers, RG 8, China Records Project, Yale Divinity Library Special Collections, Yale University, New Haven, Connecticut (hereinafter William R. Johnson Papers).
 17. Frank Rawlinson to children, 3 August 1937, file 32, box 161, Rawlinson Family Papers, RG 8, China Records Project, Yale Divinity School Library, New Haven, Connecticut (hereinafter Rawlinson Family Papers).
 18. For the general situation in Shanghai once the war reached it, including stray bombs, refugees, and the protection of "Japan Town," see Parks M. Coble, *Chinese Capitalists in Japan's New Order: The Occupied Lower Yangzi*,

- 1937–1945 (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2003), 11–12; Dong, *Shanghai 1842–1949*, 252–3.
19. “Holocaust” reference is from “China Held Guilty in Shanghai Blast,” *New York Times*, 27 August 1937, 3. For the casualty figures, description of the scene after the bombs fell, including the decapitated policeman, see Dong, 253–4. The circumstances of Rawlinson’s death are described in “Dr. Frank Rawlinson,” *China Weekly Review*, 21 August 1937, 422, 427. Rawlinson’s son Alfred wrote at the top of the elder Rawlinson’s last letter that it arrived after the family was notified of his death; see F. Rawlinson to children, 3 August 1937, file 32, box 161, Rawlinson Family Papers. One of Rawlinson’s other sons, John Rawlinson, is also the author of a scholarly article on his father’s life and work in China. See John Rawlinson, “Frank Rawlinson, China Missionary, 1902–1937: Veteran Deputationist,” in Neals, ed., *United States Attitudes and Policies Toward China*, 111–32.
 20. “Dr. Frank Rawlinson,” *China Weekly Review*, 21 August 1937, 422, 427; Margaret Thomson to Nancy Thomson, 15 August 1937, file 30, box 2, Margaret Thomson Papers, Arthur and Laura Schlesinger Library, Harvard University, Cambridge, Massachusetts; W.R. Johnson to family, 20 August 1937, file 59, box 4, William R. Johnson Papers.
 21. For information on Boynton, the outbreak of war, listening to the radio with her neighbor, and the quoting of that neighbor, see Grace M. Boynton, “At Yenching University, August 1937: A Letter from Grace M. Boynton, Wellesley, 1912, a member of the Department of English at Yenching,” pp. 2–4, file 92, box 27, William R. Johnson Papers. Comparison to 1914 from 25 August 1939 diary entry, p. 244, file A-155 9, box 1, Grace Morrison Boynton Papers, 1925–1951, Arthur and Laura Schlesinger Library Special Collections, Harvard University, Cambridge, Massachusetts; for additional references Boynton makes to using the radio to follow war news in the same collection, see 14 July 1937 diary entry, p. 32, 27 July 1937 diary entry, p. 48, 1 August 1937 diary entry, p. 68, file A-155 5, box 1; 12 August 1939 diary entry, p. 236, file A-155 9, box 1; 19 October 1941 diary entry, p. 68, file A-155 13, box 2. For Yanjing University and its mission, see Philip West, *Yenching University and Sino–Western Relations, 1916–1952* (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1976), esp. 22; see also Rosenbaum, “Christianity, Academics, and National Salvation in China,” 25–54. Rosenbaum notes that the university actually began as a conservative evangelical institution, but adjusted its mission toward the social gospel perspective in light of the combined growing influence of liberal Protestantism and the volatile Chinese domestic political situation of the 1920s.
 22. Maud Russell to KGEI, 9 May 1940, M. Morgan (in Tianjin) to KGEI, n.d., and Reverend Vincent Morrison to KGEI, 23 April 1940, W6XBE–KGEI 1940 Letters, 894.74/254, DSNA 1940–44. For Viola Smith’s opinion, see A.V. Smith to the BFDC’s Electrical Division, 30 March 1939, file 544, “Radio–China–1939,” box 2478, BFDC General Records 1914–58.
 23. Walter T. Sullivan to A.V. Smith, 25 April 1939, 894.74/201 and the American Consul General in Shanghai Clarence Gauss to the Secretary of State Cordell Hull, 25 August 1939 [Section 2], 894.74/188, DSNA 1930–39.
 24. Gauss to Hull, 30 August 1939 [Section 2] and 30 August 1939 [Section 3], 894.74/188, DSNA 1930–39. In “Section 3” of the above citations, Gauss

- expressed doubts about Smith's charges of intentional interference were accurate, but subsequent investigations bore them out to be true.
25. For Japanese distrust of Western news organizations, see Roger W. Purdy, "Information Imperialism," 295–325. On the politicization of Japanese shortwave broadcasting in the aftermath of the Manchurian Incident and the explicit criticisms those broadcasts directed at the United States, see Jane Robbins, "Presenting Japan: The Role of Overseas Broadcasting by Japan during the Manchurian Incident, 1931–7," *Japan Forum* 13, no. 1 (2001): esp. 43–6. The quote on Australian news broadcasts comes from Lucy D. Meo, *Japan's Radio War on Australia, 1941–1945* (Melbourne, Australia: Melbourne University Press, 1968), 39–40.
 26. Purdy, "Information Imperialism," esp. 309 and 314. Japanese newsman Iwanaga Yukichi examined the problem of Japanese representation in Western news in a 1927 article entitled "A Look at the Meagerness of Our Nation's News Operations; Envy for the Development of American News Operations;" for this quote and citation see page 309 of the Purdy article. See also Kasza, *The State and Mass Media in Japan*, 155. On the use of Domei reports over Chinese stations and the presumed threat radio posed to Japanese designs, see "The Shanghai Broadcasting Situation and Prospects," editorial from the *China Weekly Review*, 24 June 1939, 97. The State Department's attention to the rising Japanese-American radio tensions was underscored by the fact that this article was sent by Gauss to the State Department, 1 September 1939, 894.74/201, DSNA 1930–39; this article was also reprinted in Shuhsi Hsü, *Japan and the Third Powers*, v. 3 (Shanghai: Kelly and Walsh, 1941), 630–43.
 27. For the Army's ascendancy and its effect on radio, see Kasza, *The State and Mass Media in Japan*, 72–101 (esp. 95), 121–68 (esp. 121, 124–5, 140–1, 151, 157), 252–65 (esp. 254 and 254 n. 9), and 285. On the Depression's impact on Japanese politics and society, see LaFeber, *The Clash*, 170. NHK's "cosmopolitan" objectives are quoted in "Nippon Hoso Kyokai (The Broadcasting Corporation of Japan): Overseas Broadcast For North American, China, And The South Seas" [Bulletin 48 for June 1940 of the Broadcasting Company of Japan], enclosed with report from the American Consul in Yokohama Richard F. Boyce, 21 May 1940, 894.76/17, DSNA 1940–44.
 28. "Local Americans Ask Probe of Alleged West Coast Broadcast Jam By Japanese," *China Press*, 4 October 1939, 2; "Propaganda Replaces News as War Censors Go Into Action," *China Weekly Review*, 16 September 1939, 80. For a general discussion of international broadcasting and propaganda, see Wood, *History of International Broadcasting* 36–103. On the development of the ideal of journalistic objectivity, see Richard L. Kaplan, *Politics and the American Press: The Rise of Objectivity, 1865–1920* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2002); see also Theodore L. Glasser and James S. Ettema, "Investigative Journalism and the Moral Order," in *Critical Perspectives on Media and Society*, ed. Robert K. Avery and David Eason (New York: The Guilford Press, 1991), 207; Hazel Dicken-Garcia, *Journalistic Standards in Nineteenth Century America* (Madison: University of Wisconsin Press, 1989), 98. Although late nineteenth century historical patterns and transformations contributed to the embrace of objectivity as the journalistic ideal in the US, the recognized

- value of factual based reporting that informs that ideal has even deeper roots in American journalism history; see David Paul Nord, "Teleology and News: The Religious Roots of American Journalism, 1630-1730," in the *Journal of American History* 77, no. 1 (June 1990): esp. 10–11
29. A.V. Smith to the BFDC's Electrical Division, BFDC, 20 September 1935, file 544, "China-Radio-1929-1936," box 2478, RG 151, BFDC General Records 1914–58; A.V. Smith, "Radio Markets–China," 11 March 1937, p. 31; A.V. Smith, "Political and/or Commercial Use of International Shortwave Broadcasting," 11 January 1938; direct quotes are from the 11 January 1938 document.
 30. T.A. Bisson, *Japan in China* (New York: Macmillan Company, 1939), 22, 309, 310, 317. Hallett Abend, *Chaos in Asia* (New York: Ives Washburn, 1939), 67–72; Randall Gould, *China in the Sun* (New York: Doubleday & Company, 1946), 264. John B. Powell, *My Twenty-Five Years in China* (New York: Macmillan Company, 1945), 297. James R. Young, *Behind the Rising Sun* (New York: Doubleday, Doran and Company, 1941), 148. G.E. Miller, *Shanghai: The Paradise of Adventurers* (New York: Orsay Publishing House, 1937), 99–100. James Bertram, *Unconquered: Journal of a Year's Adventures Among the Fighting Peasants of North China* (New York: John Day Company, 1939), 19. W.R. Johnson to I. Johnson, 8 October 1938, file 61, box 4, William R. Johnson Papers. For a historian's assessment of Chinese representations in Japanese media, see Louise Young, *Japan's Total Empire: Manchuria and the Culture of Wartime Imperialism* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1998), 100–1.
 31. On shifting American attitudes toward China and Japan, see Michael Schaller, *The U.S. Crusade in China, 1938–1945* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1979), esp. 17. The pro-China bias of the American news media, especially *Time* and its China-born publisher Henry Luce, has been well-documented. See LaFeber, 206. For *Time's* pro-China slant, see Jespersen, *American Images of China*, esp. 24–44. The anti-Japanese tone of American radio newscasts is addressed in Culbert, *News for Everyman*, 202. Culbert, who used the term "bad nations" to describe this lumping of Japan and Germany together, also notes that although the tone toward Japan was negative, events in Asia received far less attention in radio news than the developments impacting Europe.
 32. "Interference with the Mail in the Shanghai Post Office," *China Weekly Review*, 24 June 1939, 95; Doris Rubens, "Japanese Propaganda Efforts in Shanghai," *China Weekly Review*, 12 August 1939, 332–6; "Japanese Ask Rigid Control of Newspapers," *China Press*, 15 April 1939, 2; "Nippon Press Blackout Seen by R. Gould," *China Press*, 30 November 1939, 2; "Wanted: An End to Present Postal Chaos; American Chamber Should Take the Lead," *China Weekly Review*, 16 August 1941, 227–8. For a brief examination of Japanese efforts to suppress, intimidate, and even kill foreign journalists identified as antagonistic toward Japan's fight against China, see French, *Through the Looking Glass*, 198–202.
 33. Yuji Tosaka, "The Discourse of Anti-Americanism and Hollywood Movies: Film Import Controls in Japan, 1937–1941," *Journal of American–East Asian Relations* 12, no. 1–2 (Spring-Summer 2003): 59–73.

34. On Japanese jamming, see W.R. Johnson to folks, 24 November 1937 and W.R. Johnson to family, 31 December 1937, file 57, box 4, William R. Johnson Papers.
35. A.V. Smith to Gauss, 4 October 1939, 894.74/216, DSNA 1930–39; A.V. Smith, “Interference with Broadcast Programs from Station KGEL, Treasure Island, San Francisco,” 4 April 1940, 894.74/250, DSNA 1940–44. See also “Japanese Stations Jam American News Broadcasts,” 7 October 1939, *China Weekly Review*, 220. The chair of Smith’s “listening committee” was John B. Powell, the well-known anti-Japanese editor of the *China Weekly Review* who endured a few Japanese assassination attempts himself; see Bernard Wasserstein, *Secret War in Shanghai: An Untold Story of Espionage, Intrigue, and Treason in World War II* (Boston: Houghton Mifflin Company, 1999), 63–4.
36. J. Sheil (from Hong Kong) to W6XBE, 5 April 1939; Reverend W.M. Burnside to W6XBE, April 15, 1939; E.G. Goldsborough to W6XBE, 13 April 1939; all preceding correspondence from W6XBE–KGEL 1939 Letters, 894.74/182, DSNA 1930–39.
37. Counselor to the American Embassy in China Frank Lockhart to the Secretary Hull, Oct. 13, 1939, 894.74/197, DS 1930 – 1939, RG 59, NA The American Consul General in Batavia Erle Dickover to Hull, 30 November 1939, 894.74/225, DSNA 1930–39. See also Dickover to W6XBE Manager E.S. Darlington, 21 December 1939, W6XBE–KGEL 1939 Letters, 894.74/182, DSNA 1930–39.
38. Waldo Heinrichs, “Franklin D. Roosevelt and the Risks of War,” in Iriye and Cohen, eds., *American, Chinese, and Japanese Perspectives on Wartime Asia*, 147–78.
39. For the FCC-State Department exchanges surrounding W6XBE–KGEL, see Assistant Secretary of State George Messersmith to the Chairman of the Federal Communications Commission Lawrence Fly, 23 January 1940, 894.74/225; Fly to Hull, 29 January 1940, 893.74/229; memorandum from Harvey Otterman of the State Department’s Division of International Communications, 7 February 1940, 894.74/ 235; Fly to Hull, undated but received in the Department of State on 29 February 1940, 894.74/236; aforementioned correspondence from DSNA 1940–44. Viola Smith’s feedback on reception from A.V. Smith, “Shortwave Broadcasts from the United States: Shanghai Reception Of KGEL,” 11 March 1941, 894.74/274, DSNA 1940–44.
40. For more on this general idea, see Divya C. McMillin, *International Media Studies* (Malden, MA: Blackwell Publishing, 2007), esp. 140.
41. Clare Boothe, “U.S. General Stilwell Commands Chinese on Burma Front,” adapted from *Life*, 27 April 1942, accessed at <http://cbi-theater-2.home.comcast.net/burmafront/burmafront.html> (last accessed 26 September 2010). Clare Boothe, better known as Clare Boothe Luce, was later married to the adamantly pro-Chinese *Time-Life* publisher Henry Luce.
42. “Mme. Chiang Declares China Is Not Afraid After She Sees Horrors of War in Shanghai,” 29 August, 1937, *New York Times*, 29 (article attributed to the Associated Press).
43. Hamilton to McDermott, 9 October 1941. Alcott, *My War With Japan*, 15–16 (Alcott’s recollection of Horton’s comments quoted on p. 16). For the RCA-Victor and XMHA deal, see the A.V. Smith, “Radio Markets–China,” 15 August 1939, 38, 48.

44. Alcott, *My War With Japan*, 238–39. See also Dong, *Shanghai 1842–1949*, 253–4.
45. Alcott, *My War With Japan*, 238–44.
46. Paul French, the author of *Through the Looking Glass*, interviewed many of those surviving “Shanghailanders” who knew him in the process of completing his research, and shared with me the reputation Alcott had among his contemporaries in a personal email communication from 17 September 2010.
47. Alcott, *My War With Japan*, 15–16, 18.
48. Alcott, *My War With Japan*, 18–23. See also French, *Through the Looking Glass*, 199–200. The propaganda film referred to is Frank Capra’s “Know Your Enemy: Japan” (1945) and is discussed in John Dower, *War Without Mercy: Race and Power in the Pacific War* (New York: Pantheon Books, 1986), 15–32. The quote from the film appears on page 19.
49. Craig Crawford, *Attack the Messenger: How Politicians Turn You Against The Media* (New York: Rowman and Littlefield, 2006), 127. See also interviews with Craig Crawford by MSNBC program hosts Keith Olbermann on 21 June 2006 and Joe Scarborough on 8 January 2007; transcripts available at <http://www.msnbc.msn.com/id/13459394/> and <http://www.msnbc.msn.com/id/16541962/> (last accessed 26 September 2010).
50. Alcott, *My War With Japan*, 22; Department of State to the British Embassy, “Problem of Controlling the Traffic in Opium and Other Narcotic Drugs in Parts of China Under Japanese Military Occupation,” 16 February 1939, with enclosure “Memorandum by the Department of State,” 14 January 1939, 893.114 Narcotics/2458, DSNA 1930–39, reprinted in *Foreign Relations of the United States Diplomatic Papers, 1939, Vol. 4, The Far East, the Near East and Africa* (Washington, DC: Government Printing Office, 1955). 431.
51. Alcott’s series on drug trafficking appeared on the front page of the *China Press* on 4, 5, 6, and 7 December 1938. On the Japanese and Chinese involvement in the 1930s drug trade in China and the different levels of accountability to which China and Japan were held by Americans, see William O. Walker, *Opium and Foreign Policy: The Anglo-American Search for Order in Asia, 1912–1954* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1991), 83–105, esp. 92–5, 104; For Alcott’s quote, see Alcott, *My War With Japan*, 22.
52. See Alcott, *My War With Japan* for Alcott’s differing treatments of the two assassinations (247–8), references to Japan’s “New Odor” (333–6), the request that Alcott “say something nice” (258–61), and Alcott’s involvement in the Settlement elections (318–22); the direct quote is from page 322. For the *Time* article, see “Newscaster of Shanghai.” For information on the political assassinations and the wider context that fueled them, see Wakeman, *Shanghai Badlands*, 17; and Coble, *Chinese Capitalists in Japan’s New Order*, 72.
53. Werner Gruhl, “The Great Asian-Pacific Crescent of Pain: Japan’s War from Manchuria to Hiroshima, 1931–1945,” in Peter Li, ed., *Japanese War Crimes: The Search for Justice* (New Brunswick, NJ: Transaction Publishers, 2003), 249. The best-known example of those excesses is the Nanjing Massacre (frequently referred to as the “Rape of Nanjing”) when Japanese troops raped, plundered, and pillaged the civilian population of Nanjing following a more difficult than expected effort to capture the Chinese capital.

- See Joshua A. Fogel, *The Nanjing Massacre in History and Historiography* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2000). For a broader critical look at Japanese policies and actions, particularly those of the Japanese army, see Saburo Ienaga, *The Pacific War, 1931–1935* (New York: Pantheon Books, 1978), esp. chap. 8, “The Greater East Asia Co-Prosperity Sphere: Liberation or Exploitation?,” 153–80. In this chapter, Ienaga recounts the frequency of rape, torture, involvement in the drug trade, use of forced labor, the plundering of agriculture and countless other atrocities throughout the Japanese occupied areas of East Asia. Warren Cohen refers to the “brutality” which the Japanese inflicted on “Chinese everywhere and describes some Japanese actions as “bordering on genocide.” Michael Barnhart notes that “Japan’s occupation of China was harsh.” Akira Iriye cites Imperial Army documents to demonstrate that the Japanese viewed themselves as the masters over inferior Chinese, who were “regarded...merely as objects of exploitation.” Walter LaFeber also notes the exploitive aspect of Japan’s occupation of China. Robert Smith Thomson cites Ambassador Joseph Grew’s speech to an audience that included influential Japanese economic and political leaders, warning of the deleterious effect that Japanese atrocities in China were having on American public opinion. The Japanese foreign minister, however, responded to the speech by insisting that Japanese policies would not change. See Warren Cohen, *East Asia at the Center: Four Thousand Years of Engagement with the World* (New York: Columbia University Press, 2000), 352; Warren Cohen, *The Asian American Century* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 2002), 12; Barnhart, *Japan and World*, 120; LaFeber, *The Clash*, 189; Akira Iriye, *Power and Culture: The Japanese American War, 1941–1945* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1981), 44; Robert Smith Thompson, *Empire’s on the Pacific: World War II and the Struggle for Mastery of Asia* (New York: Basic Books, 2001), 78–9.
54. The American Consul General in Tianjin John K. Caldwell to Hull, “Political Report for February 1941,” 893.00 PR Tientsin/153 (see also “Political Report for March 1941,” 10 April 1941, 893.00 PR Tientsin/155); American Consul General in Shanghai Frank Lockhart to Hull, “Political Report for December 1940,” 14 January 1941, 893.00 PR Shanghai/147; aforementioned documents from DSN 1940–44. Additional information on the methods used to generate interference is from Alcott, 270–1 and “NCDN Plans Station to Counter Nazis’ Local ‘Lord Haw-Haw,’” *China Weekly Review*, 27 April 1940, 296–7.
55. For the establishment of the Broadcast Radio Supervisory Office, see Benson, “Back to Business as Usual,” 292. For the discovery of the source of XMHA’s interference, Alcott’s broadcast of it, and efforts to avoid the interference, see American Counsel in Shanghai Richard Butrick to Hull, 17 April 1940, includes attachment of letter from E.L. Healy to the United States Consulate General, 16 April 1940, 896.76/116, DSN 1940–44; “Newscaster of Shanghai,” 29 July 1940, *Time*. For the meeting held with the Shanghai Municipal Police and the Japanese and confirmation that Japanese were indeed behind XMHA’s interference, see “Interference with Radio Station XMHA,” Shanghai Municipal Police Report by D.S.I. MacAdie, 23 December 1940, file D6813/14/X(17), SMP Records.
56. For Alcott’s rebuffing of the police request, see Carroll Alcott to the Assistant Commissioner of Police K.W. Yorke, 10 October 1940, and “Complaint

- Against Radio Station XMHA,” report filed by Commissioner Bourne, 18 October 1940, file D6813/14/X(17), SMP Records. For Healy’s account of the anonymous threat, see Police Report, by D.S.I.A. Taylor, 25 March 1941, file D6813/14/X(17), SMP Records
57. For Alcott’s brush with the Japanese embassy officials, see Alcott 285–86; the Japanese reporter informing Alcott that there was no intention to kill him is noted on Alcott, *My War With Japan*, 295. See also “Newscaster of Shanghai”, *Time*, 20 July 1940; Hallet Abend, “Shanghai Guards American Writers,” *New York Times*, 21 July 1940, 19. See also “Radio and Asia,” *Time*, 29 December 1941, accessed at <http://www.time.com/time/magazine/article/0,9171,772937,00.html> (last accessed 26 September 2010).
 58. The reference to “deliberate interference by Japanese elements” is from “American Radio Station Here Protests Against Japanese Interference,” 7 April 1940, *China Press*, copy of article preserved in file 6813/14/X(17), SMP Records. For a collection of articles from December 1940 saved by the Shanghai Municipal Police, see the clippings that follow “Interference with Radio Station XMHA,” Police Report filed by D.S.I. MacAdie, 23 December 1940, file 6813/14/X(17), SMP Records; the articles and letters specifically quoted in this paragraph are from these same SMP Records: see “Radio Jamming: How to Circumvent” (writer’s name illegible), 20 December 1940 and “A Fund Suggested” (signed D’Arnum), 21 December 1940, *North China Daily News* (the dates listed are those attached to the document, which may be a day or two off from the actual date the article was printed); “Broadcasting of Foreign-owned Radio Station Continuously Interfered With By Japanese,” 17 December 1940, *Cheng Yien Pao [Zheng Yan Bao]*; “Interference with an American Radio Station,” *Chinese–American Daily News*, n.d. [but probably from late December 1940].
 59. An estimate of “well over 250,000” listeners is from “Newscaster of Shanghai,” *Time*, 29 July 1940. The estimate of 500,000 listeners is from Astrid Freyeisen, “XGRS–Shanghai Calling: Deutsche Rundfunkpropaganda in Ostasien während des Zweiten Weltkriegs,” in *Rundfunk und Geschichte: Mitteilungen des Studienkreises Rundfunk und Geschichte Informationen aus dem Deutschen Rundfunkarchiv* 29, no. 1/2 (January/April 2003): 42. “The Shanghai Broadcasting Situation and Future Prospects (Editorial Correspondence),” *China Weekly Review*, 24 June 1939, 99. Reference to the “American School” petition is from Rena Krasno, *Stranger Always: A Jewish Family in Wartime Shanghai* (Berkeley, CA: Pacific View Press, 1992), 139–40.
 60. Brown to Clausen, 23 June 1940, box 31, file 17, Velva Brown Papers. William Johnson never mentioned stations or personalities he listened to by name, but it is safe to conclude that he was listening to Alcott and XMHA’s powerful signal when in one letter home he referenced listening to “American” news broadcast out of Shanghai from his outpost in the interior of central China; see W. Johnson letter [name of recipient is illegible], 27 November 1938, file 61, box 4, William R. Johnson Papers. See also Elleroy Smith diary entries from 12 January 1940 and 1 May 1941, file 1, box 197, Elleroy and Mabel Smith Papers. The James Halsema diary is posted on the website for the Center of East Asian Studies at the University of Kansas; see <http://www.ceas.ku.edu/publications/epp/Halsema%20Diary/jasc3.html> (last accessed 26 September 2010). Krasno, *Stranger Always*, 139–40.

61. Butrick to Hull, 17 April 1940; Butrick to the Japanese Consul General Yoshiaki Miura, 9 April 1940, 893.76/116; Butrick to Hull, "Political Report for April 1940, 9 May 1940, 893.00 P.R. Shanghai/139; Lockhart to the American Ambassador in China Nelson Johnson, "Political Report for December 1940," 14 January 1941, 893.00 PR Shanghai/147; Hamilton to McDermott, 17 October 1941, FW 893.76/141; all documents DSN 1940–44.
62. Benson, "Back to Business as Usual," 293, 297.
63. E.L. Healy's quote is from "French News Broadcast Daily from XMHA," police report by D.S.I. Logan, 9 December 1940, file 6813/14/X(17), SMP Records. For the reference to Alcott being "not very conciliatory" in his interview with the police, see Yorke to Bourne, 17 October 1940. In his own report on the subject, the Commissioner of Police, clearly having read Yorke's letter, used the identical phrase to describe Alcott. The reply to which both detectives refer is also contained in the same file on the same microfilm roll. See Carroll Alcott to assistant commissioner of police R.W. Yorke, 10 October 1940. All the above correspondence and other actions taken with regard to Alcott can be found in file 6813/14/X(17), RG 263, SMP Records. Commissioner Bourne subsequently alerted the Shanghai Municipal Council of Alcott's "not very conciliatory attitude" as well; see Bourne to the Secretary and Commissioner-General of the SMC G. Godfrey Phillips, 18 October 1941, p. 3, file U001-04-0002820 (Complaints Against Broadcasts), SMC Records. Extraterritoriality did not provide American expatriates the full protection of the Constitution (like guarantees of due process or trial by jury), but did provide for what the Supreme Court somewhat imprecisely claimed to be "fundamental rights" in an 1891 decision. See Scully, *Bargaining with the State from Afar*, esp. 87–8.
64. Krasno, *Stranger Always* 141–2.
65. James Halsema diary.
66. "Jap's Enemy No. 1," *Time*, 7 September 1942, accessed at <http://www.time.com/time/magazine/article/0,9171,773509,00.html> (last accessed 26 September 2010); Powell recounts his experiences in Powell, *My Twenty-Five Years in China*, 370–404. On Powell's participation on the listening committee, see A.V. Smith to Gauss, 4 October 1939. On the Chinese subsidization of his anti-Japanese paper, see Wasserstein, *Secret War in Shanghai*, 63.
67. Alcott, *My War With Japan*, 342–4; "Newscaster of Shanghai," *Time*, 29 July 1940; "Radio and Asia," *Time*, 29 December 1941; "Who's a Phony," *Time*, 31 May 1943, accessed at <http://www.time.com/time/magazine/article/0,9171,851715,00.html> (last accessed on 26 September 2010); "Commentator Carroll Alcott Dies at 64," *Los Angeles Times*, 16 May 1965, section b, 15.
68. A.V. Smith to the BFDC's Electrical Division, 2 August 1937, file 544, "Radio-China-General, 1937–38," box 2478, BFDC General Records 1914–58.
69. "Nippon Hoso Kyokai (The Broadcasting Corporation of Japan): Overseas Broadcast For North American, China, And The South Seas."

Conclusion

1. Rosenberg, *Spreading the American Dream*, esp. 7; Hunt, *Ideology and U.S. Foreign Policy*, 15.

2. The American Trade Commissioner in Shanghai A. Viola Smith to the BFDC's Electrical Division, 20 September 1935, file 544, "Radio-China-1929-1936," box 2478, BFDC General Records 1914-58; on pre-World War 2 media theories, see Horten, *Radio Goes to War*, 63.
3. The American Embassy in Chongqing to the Secretary of State Cordell Hull, 27 January 1942, 893.76/ 127, DSNA 1940-44.
4. Nicholas Negroponte, *Being Digital* (New York: Vintage Books, 1995), 230, quoted in David Nye, *Technology Matters: Questions to Live With* (Cambridge, MA: 2006), 19; Steve Case (then CEO of AOL), "Internet's Reach Will Extend Our Grasp, Improve our Lives," in *USA Today*, 22 June 1999, section e, 4; Bill Clinton quoted in James C. Luh, "The Internet Can't Free China," *New York Times*, 25 July 2000, section a, 25.
5. On the number of Chinese Internet users, see Calum MacLeod, "China Vaults Past USA in Internet Users," *USA Today*, 21 April 2008, section a, 1; "210 million Internet users in China," in *People's Daily Online*, 21 January 1928, <http://english.peopledaily.com.cn/90001/90781/90877/6341926.html> (last accessed on 20 December 2010). For Chinese sabotage of American websites, see Elizabeth Becker, "F.B.I. Warns that Chinese May Disrupt U.S. Web Sites," *New York Times*, 28 April 2001. Chinese antagonism toward Western news media and especially CNN is addressed in David Eimer, "Chinese Anger with the West Spills on to the High Street: Pro-Tibet Demonstrations Have Dogged Olympic Torch Relays Around the World," *Sunday Telegraph* (London), 20 April 2008, 34. Japanese displeasure with CNN during the Persian Gulf War of 1990 is addressed in Purdy, "Information Imperialism" 321-5.
6. Nye, *Technology Matters*, 38.

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Index

- Abbate, Janet, 11–12
Abend, Hallet, 167
Adas, Michael, 6–8
Advertising, 83, 100; prohibition
of over American shortwave
broadcasts, 94, 97; radio, 83, 93,
95–7, 125, 158, 180–1, 196
Alaska, 120
Alcoholics Anonymous, 134
Alcott, Caroll, 154–6, 158–60,
171–86, 195–6, 256 (n. 60); print
journalist career of, 154, 160,
172–6; threatened by the Japanese,
154–5, 173–4, 178–9
Alka-Seltzer, 97
Amateur broadcasting, 84–6, 159
American Mission Board, 129, 130
Americans—broadcasting in China
by, 1, 2, 14, 86–8, 192, 220 (n. 18),
256 (n. 60) (*see also* Alcott, Carroll;
W6XBE-KGEI; XMHA; XMHD);
distrust of Japanese sources of news
by, 144, 165, 167–8, 177; distrust
of non-American sources of news
by, 165–7; ethnocentrism and
presumptions of superiority held by,
6–8, 12; European influences on the
thought of, 6; perceptions of China
and Chinese held by, 2, 3, 5, 25, 45,
56, 71, 73–7, 89, 140–1, 189, 192,
221 (n. 26); perceptions of Japan
and Japanese held by, 5, 55–6, 76,
171, 174–5, 183, 186, 189, 221 (n.
26); perceptions of non-Westerners
held by, 6, 7, 71; population in
Shanghai of, 94–5; radio audience
in China of, 87, 90–2, 95, 97–8,
107–9, 111–23, 156–9, 166, 242 (n.
30); *see also* Mass Media, American;
Missionaries; United States
Amos 'n' Andy, 98, 104, 112, 124
Anderson, Benedict, 91
Anglo-Japanese Alliance (1902), 25
Anti-foreignism in China, 26,
29, 36, 88, 124, 128–9; *see also*
Nationalism
Anti-imperialism, *see* Anti-
foreignism; Nationalism
AOL Online, 197
Arnhold, H.E., 87–8
Arnold, Frank, 241 (n. 15)
Asano Kazuwo, 149, 178–9, 185
Associated Oil Company, 21
Associated Press, 165, 167, 172
Australia: broadcasts from, 157, 165,
167, 169
Aviation, 190
Baby's Own Tablets, 101, 104
Baker, Elsie, 114
Ballou, Earle, 146–7
Barrymore, John, 117
Beath, Sterling, 148
Beijing, 177, 198; American Mission
Board office located in, 130;
Americans in, 142, 180, 183; radio
in, 17, 34, 72, 120, 129–30, 163,
169; Sino-Japanese War erupts
outside of, 110, 143; Warlord Era
and, 20, 23–5, 77, 190–1
Belgium: Hague arbitrator from, 63;
radiotelegraphy links to, 57
Benson, Carlton, 15
Bergen, Edgar, 118
Berger, David, 73–5
Berlin: radiotelegraphy links to, 48;
shortwave broadcasts from, 157,
167, 169
Bertram, James, 167
Betty Boop, 100
Bisson, T.A., 167
Books, 117, 120, 137; *see also specific
book titles*
Boothe, Clare, 172
Boxer Rebellion, 56
Boynton, Grace Morrison, 121, 163

- Britain: broadcasting in China by nationals of, 72; dominance of international cable telegraphy by, 10; international broadcasting of, 167, 186; opposition to the Federal Telegraph Company from, 17–18, 22; radio imports to China from, 80; radio news and, 159, 167; radio policy in China of, 86; Washington System and, 25–6, 207 (n. 41)
- British Marconi, *see* Marconi
- British North Borneo, 108, 169
- Broadcast Radio Supervisory Office (Shanghai), 149–50, 178–9, 181, 185; and cooperation with the Shanghai Municipal Council, 181
- Brown, Velva, 108–15, 119, 122–3, 138, 157–9, 161, 180
- Burleigh Cigarettes, 158
- Burnside, W.M., 108, 115, 169
- Butrick, Richard, 181
- Cable telegraphy, *see* Telegraphy (cable)
- California: Americans in China from, 92, 108, 113; broadcasting to China from, *see* W6XBE-KGEI
- Camel cigarettes, 97
- Canada, 118–19
- Carnegie Hall Symphony Concerts, 107
- Case, Steve, 197
- Cell phones, 11
- Chamber of Commerce, American, 96
- Charlie Chan*, 99
- Charlie McCarthy*, 98, 104, 107, 118, 122
- Chen Mingshu, 59–60, 66
- Chen Wenyuan, 129
- Chiang Kai-shek, 39, 43–7, 49, 51–2, 55, 59, 61, 64–7, 78, 83, 152, 172, 191, 193; Christianity of, 141–2; kidnapping of, 110; opposition to, 59–60
- Chicago Cubs, 99
- Chicago Tribune*, 99
- China: 1911 Revolution, 46; American radio opposed by, 1, 83–8, 189, 192, 196–7 (*see also* Jamming of American radio stations, by China); broadcasting's development in, 74–88, 164, 192, 223 (n. 39 and n. 41); Bureau of International Telegraphs, 55; civil war between Nationalists and Communists in, 65, 198; CNN and, 198; domestic radiotelegraphy network in, 47–8; Federal Telegraph Company and, 17, 19, 24–7, 29–33, 190–1; international radiotelegraphy links established with, 42, 44, 48, 51; Ministry of Communications, 23–4, 27–9, 33–4, 37, 44, 47–8, 51, 55–7, 59–63, 66, 74, 81–7, 191–2, 196, 223 (n. 38); Ministry of Education, 82; Ministry of Foreign Affairs, 24, 29, 47, 59; Ministry of the Navy of, 22–3; Ministry of War, 22–4; National Reconstruction Commission, 45; political instability in, 20, 23, 25–7, 34, 37, 44–5, 47, 71, 77, 84, 207 (n. 41); (*see also* Warlords and the Warlord Era in China); radio contracts with, 17, 19, 22–3, 25–6, 32, 39, 42–5, 47, 51–2, 54–5, 57–63, 81, 190–1, 205 (n. 20); radio imports into, 72–4, 76, 80, 192; radio law of 1915 in, 69, 73, 218 (n. 1); radio law of 1929 (e.g. Telecommunications Act of 1929) in, 47, 77, 84; radio laws in, 72, 74–5, 78, 84–8, 192, 226 (n. 55); radio manufacturing in, 79; radio receivers in, 2, 69, 73–6, 81–2, 88, 95–6, 108, 112–14; RCA and, 49, 55–6, 59–61, 63, 66; revenues from radiotelegraphy for, 48; Washington Conference and, 24–5, 30–1, 224 (n. 44); Washington System and, 13, 19, 25–6, 29, 34, 36, 40; *see also* Nationalist Government
- China Journal*, 160
- China Press*, 1, 2, 72, 98–100, 102, 149, 154, 166, 174–5, 179, 231 (n. 20)
- China Weekly Review*, 97–100, 107, 114, 132, 163, 165–6, 168–9, 180, 183, 252 (n. 35)

- Chinese Communist Party: as a threat to the Nationalists, 83, 152; Nationalist government defeated by, 65, 67, 198, 223 (n. 41)
- Chinese Recorder*, 126, 130, 132, 134–5, 143, 161
- Chinese-American Daily News*, 180
- Chongqing: Sino-Japanese War and, 110, 144, 164, 174
- Christian Broadcast Bulletin, 131, 137, 142, 242 (n. 30)
- Christian Literature Society (Shanghai), 134
- Christianity: Chinese converts and conversions to, 7, 95, 109, 115, 120, 125–8, 131, 133–6, 140, 144–5, 147, 151, 194; Chinese sects of, 128; technology and, 131, 137; *see also* Identity, religious
- Cigarettes, 97, 158
- Civilization: ideas about, 2–3, 5–8, 10, 12, 21, 151; *see also* Progress, ideas about
- Clausen, Frances, 111–12, 115–16
- CNN, 198
- Coca-Cola, 100
- Colbert, Claudette, 100
- Cold War, 11
- Collier's*, 9
- Columbia Broadcasting System (CBS), 93, 120, 184
- Comics, 99
- Communications: attitudes about, 8, 10–11, 190, 197–9; *see also* Technology, attitudes about
- Communists, *see* Chinese Communist Party
- Coolidge, Calvin, 8
- Cornell University, 20
- Crane, Charles, 20, 81–2
- Cunningham, Edwin, 74–5, 86
- Czechoslovakia: radiotelegraphy links to, 57
- Daggett & Ramsdell facial cream, 100
- Dalian, 75
- Davis, Harry, 8
- Dawn Patrol*, 100
- Delay, Roy, 1–2
- Denmark: opposition to the Federal Telegraph Company, 22
- Depression, *see* Great Depression
- Dickover, Erle, 169–70
- Disease and illness, 110–11, 126, 133, 135
- Disney, 100, 117
- Domei, 165–9, 175, 177, 179
- Douglas, Susan, 91, 123
- Dr. Ludwig's Alca Table Water, 100
- Dr. Scholl's foot supports, 112
- Dr. Williams' Pink Pills, 100, 103
- Duan Qirui, 34
- Dudden, Arthur, 7
- East Asian Broadcast Council, 166
- Ecuador, 140
- "Eskimo Pies," 158
- Estes, W.A., 69–73, 89
- Ethiopia: Italian invasion of, 159, 167
- Evangelical emphasis of Christian radio in China, 133–5
- Evangelism: tensions with social gospel, 133–5, 140, 242 (n. 30)
- Expatriate: use of the term, 229 (n. 9)
- Extraterritoriality, 29, 36, 72, 82–3, 85–6, 88, 96, 115, 136, 148, 181–2, 193, 239 (n. 5), 256 (n. 63); *see also* Treaty Ports; Unequal Treaties
- Fairbanks, Douglas, 100
- Federal Communications Commission (FCC), 61, 64, 94, 97, 120, 171, 184
- Federal Radio Commission, 61
- Federal Telegraph Company, 13, 17–42, 45, 47–9, 56, 68, 81, 189, 190–1, 193–4; bond agreement with China, 25–6, 29; Chinese tensions with, 17, 19, 24–5, 29–33, 39; contract cancelled, 39; financial troubles of, 26; international opposition to, 22; partnership with RCA, 17, 26–7, 33, 35, 39, 41, 45, 190; split between Federal Telegraph Company of Delaware and the

- Federal Telegraph Company of California, 41
- Fengtian faction, 34, 40; *see also* Warlords and the Warlord Era in China
- Filipinos: American attitudes toward, 6
- Firestone, 97
- Five Power Treaty, 26; *see also* Washington Conference; Washington System
- Flynn, Errol, 100, 117
- For Whom the Bell Tolls*, 117
- Ford Motor Company, 100
- Four Power Treaty, 25–6; *see also* Washington Conference; Washington System
- France: radio links to, 57; Washington System and, 25, 207 (n. 41)
- Franco, Francisco, 99
- French Concession (Shanghai), 72, 162; *see also* Shanghai
- French Indochina: Japanese occupation of, 149
- Fujian province: Americans in, 118
- Fujian Rebellion, 60
- Fuzhou: Sino-Japanese War in, 147
- Gallimore, A.R., 132
- Garland, Judy, 118
- General Electric, 32; international broadcasting and, 9, 94, 97, 108, 124, 164, 169–71, 189; *see also* W6XBE-KGEI
- Geneva: radiotelegraphy links to, 48
- Germans: in Shanghai, 155, 176, 178
- Germany: American attitudes and policies toward, 168, 171; loss of Shandong by, 29; radio imports to China from, 80; radio news and, 159, 167, 169, 186; radiotelegraphy links to, 57
- Gimbels, 118
- Golden Gate Quartet, 1
- Gone with the Wind*, 117
- Gould, Randall, 167
- Great Britain, *see* Britain
- Great Depression, 52–3, 55, 57, 61–2, 65–6, 112, 166
- Great Northern Telegraph Company, 22
- Griggs, John, 26–7
- Gu Weijun, 27–8, 31, 207 (n. 40)
- Gu Ziren, 129
- Guandong Army, 50–2, 56, 65–6, 76
- Guandong Leased Territory, 75–6, 221 (n. 24)
- Guangzhou: Nationalist Party base in, 39; radio receivers in, 73; radiotelegraphy stations in 17; Sino-Japanese War in, 146
- Guizhou province: Americans in, 113–14, 164
- Guo Taiqi, 47
- Guomindang, *see* Nationalist Government; Nationalist Party
- Great Britain, *see* Britain
- The Hague, 13, 43–4, 62–4, 66–8, 192
- Hall, George, 1
- Hallock, H.G.C., 132, 136
- Halsema, James, 180, 183
- Ham radio, *see* Amateur broadcasting
- Hamilton, Maxwell, 161, 172, 181
- Hanihara Masanao, 27
- Hankou: American amateur broadcaster in, 84–5; radio receivers in, 72; Sino-Japanese War in, 146
- Hanoi: radiotelegraphy links to, 48
- Harbin: Federal Telegraph Company's proposed station in, 23; Japanese occupation of, 60; radiotelegraphy in, 17
- Harbord, James, 9–10, 31, 33, 37, 39, 42, 45
- Harding, Warren, 20, 22
- Harkson, Ulysses Severin, 158, 172
- Harrison, Leland, 71–3, 223–4 (n. 42)
- Harvard University, 163
- Havas, 165
- Hazelwood ice cream, 158
- Healy, E.L., 172, 178, 181
- Hearst International New Service, 168
- Hemingway, Ernest, 117
- Henan province: missionaries in, 119
- Hennessy Brandy, 100
- Henningsen Produce Company, 158, 172
- Hirohito, 23, 205 (n. 16)

- Hitler, Adolph, 159, 174
- Holidays (American) celebrated in China, 99, 117, 120
- Holland: Hague arbitrator from, 63; radiotelegraphy links to, 57
- Hollywood Chit-chat*, 98
- Hong Kong, 48, 58, 72–3, 80, 107, 129, 157, 169
- Hoover, Herbert, 56
- Horton, Jack, 172
- Huaijing: missionaries in, 119
- Huang Shaoxiong, 59
- Hughes, Charles, 22, 24–7, 37–8
- Huizenga, Lee, 131
- Hull, Cordell, 171
- Hunt, Michael, 7, 106
- Hutchison, James, 87
- Identity, 14; local, 111; multiple and coexisting types of, 138–9; national, 13, 91–2, 111, 115, 118–19, 122–3, 127, 136–40, 186, 190; religious, 126, 128, 136–9, 190; ties between national and religious identity in America, 139–41
- Illinois Manufacturing Association, 9
- “Imagined community,” 91, 122, 136; *see also* Identity
- Imperialism: in China during the nineteenth century, 1, 23, 71–2, 89, 113; Japanese expansion and, 3, 5, 13–15, 19–20, 22–3, 44, 50–1, 55, 65, 75–6, 83–4, 110, 128, 142–3, 148, 166, 171, 188, 194 (*see also* Sino-Japanese War); Nationalist efforts to challenge, 36, 40, 47, 70, 83, 110 (*see also* Nationalist government, radio policy of)
- India: International Missionary Council Meeting in, 132
- International communications: sovereignty and, 67
- International Missionary Council, 132
- International Postal Union, 101
- International Radiotelegraph Conference (1927), 8
- International Settlement (Shanghai), 1, 72, 86, 88, 143, 148–50, 156, 162, 173–4, 177–9, 181–3, 193, 226 (n. 56); *see also* French Concession; Shanghai
- Internet, 10–11, 91, 197–8; in China, 198
- Iowa, 116–17; Americans in China from, 138
- Iriye, Akira, 7, 40
- Italians in Shanghai, 155, 176
- Italy: American attitudes toward, 169, 171; radio imports to China from, 80; radio news and, 159, 167–8, 186; radiotelegraphy links to, 57; Washington System and, 26
- International Telephone and Telegraph Company (ITT), 13, 42–5, 52–3, 56–62, 64–8, 191, 192; acquisition of Mackay Radio and Telegraph Company by, 56; proposed merger with RCA, 45, 52–3, 64, 66; rivalry with RCA, 56–8, 60–2; *see also* Mackay Radio and Telegraph Company
- Iwanaga Yukichi, 165
- Jamming of American radio stations: by China, 87–8, 148, 193; by Japan, 14, 149–52, 156, 164, 166, 168–9, 171, 177–83, 194–5, 198, 246 (n. 46); *see also* China, American radio opposed by; Japan, opposition to American radio
- Japan: 1928 elections, 51; Army of, 24, 147, 165–6, 176, 181; broadcasting in China by, 72; China’s narcotics trade and, 176; CNN and, 198; control of information by, 156, 164–6, 168, 194, 256 (n. 64); distrust of and opposition to American sources of news by, 145, 156, 168, 175, 176, 195; expansion and imperialism in China by, 3, 5, 13–15, 19–20, 22–3, 44, 50–1, 55, 65, 75–6, 83–4, 110, 128, 142–3, 148, 166, 171, 188, 194 (*see also* Sino-Japanese War); Ministry of Communications, 166; Navy, 175; opposition to American

- Japan: – *continued*
 radio, 189 (*see also* Jamming of American radio stations, by Japan); opposition to the Federal Telegraph Company by, 19, 22–7, 34, 40, 191; Pearl Harbor attack by, 163, 168, 175, 183, 196 (*see also* Pacific War); proposals to resolve the Federal Telegraph controversy, 34, 36; radio policy in China of, 22–3, 27, 33–4, 40, 52, 56; RCA interests in, 53, 62, 64, 66; Washington Conference and, 24–5; Washington System and, 13, 19, 25–7, 29, 33–4, 36–7, 40–1, 207 (n. 41); *see also* Tokyo
- Japan-American Student Conference (1940), 180
- Jefferson, Charles Edward, 137, 242 (n. 32)
- Jiangsu province: Chinese convert from, 126
- Jiangxi province: Americans in, 163
- Jin Yongpeng, 24
- Jinan: missionary broadcasting station in, 129
- Johnson, A. Holmes, 120–1
- Johnson, Lyndon, 11
- Johnson, Nelson, 37, 55, 77–8, 84–6, 88, 192–3
- Johnson, William R., 161, 163, 167–8, 177, 180, 255–6 (n. 60)
- Johnson Wax, 97
- Journal of Economics, 92
- Journalism and news, 1, 14, 92, 100, 156, 163, 165–7, 171–3, 175, 177, 185, 190, 194–6; *see also* Objectivity, ideas about; Radio news
- JZI and JZJ, 165–6, 169, 186
- Kasza, Gregory, 15
- Kellogg, Frank, 37–8, 40; attitude toward China, 37
- Kellogg Switchboard and Supply Company, 1, 72
- Kellogg's Rice Crispies, 95
- Kern, Stephen, 98
- KGEI, *see* W6XBE–KGEI
- King, Joseph, 127, 135
- Know Your Enemy: Japan*, 253 (n. 48)
- Kocian, Jaraniev, 1
- Kong Xiangxi, 211 (n. 10)
- Krasno, Rena, 180–1, 183
- KRC, 2, 72
- Kuhn, Irene, 2, 72
- Lacy, Carlton, 242 (n. 32)
- Latin America: shortwave broadcasting to, 97, 108, 233 (n. 34)
- Laurel and Hardy, 100
- League of Nations, 54–5
- Lee, K.S., 128–31
- Lenthall, Bruce, 112
- Li Yuanhong, 3
- Liadong peninsula, 221 (n. 23)
- “Liberal developmentalism:” United States policy of, 105–6; *see also* Rosenberg, Emily
- Life*, 119, 172
- Lockhart, Frank, 169–70, 177
- London: broadcasts from, 157; radiotelegraphy link to, 48; *see also* Britain
- Lucey, Acheson, 172
- Lyall, L.A., 219 (n. 9)
- Macao: radiotelegraphy links to, 48
- Mackay Radio and Telegraph Company, 56–64, 66–7; acquired by International Telephone and Telegraph Company, 56; *see also* International Telephone and Telegraph Company
- MacMurray, John V.A., 32, 35–7, 40–1; attitude toward China, 36–7; attitude toward Japan, 37
- Madras, India: International Missionary Council meeting in, 132
- Magazines and periodicals, 15, 90, 102, 112, 117–18, 120, 122, 137; *see also specific magazine titles*
- Mail, *see* Postal service
- Manchukuo, *see* Manchuria, Japanese takeover and occupation of
- Manchuria: broadcasting's development in, 76–7; cooperation with RCA in, 44, 52–5, 58–9, 64–5,

- Manchuria: – *continued*
 191, 194; Guandong Army in, 50, 52, 65; Japanese takeover and occupation of, 13, 42, 52–60, 84, 159, 165; Nationalist government and, 49, 51–2, 59–60, 66, 110; natural resources in, 23; United States attitude toward Japanese occupation of, 55–6; Warlord Era and, 34, 49–50, 66
- Manchurian Incident, *see* Manchuria, Japanese takeover and occupation of
- Manila: broadcasts from, 157; radiotelegraphy links to, 48
- Marco Polo Bridge, 163
- Marconi (British), 22–4, 34
- Marquand, John, 122
- Mass media: American, 90–1, 98–104, 107, 115–18, 120–3, 136–47, 197 (*see also specific media types*, e.g., books, magazines, movies, newspapers, etc.); Japanese expansion in East Asia, 166; Nationalist policy toward, 77, 227 (n. 65)
- Massachusetts: Americans in China from, 121
- May Thirtieth Movement (1925), 36
- McCall's, 112
- McClure, Robert, 119–20, 122
- McCormick, John, 114
- Medicine, *see also* Disease and illness; public health and medicine
- Metropolitan Opera, 95
- Mexicans: American attitudes toward, 6
- Miller, G.E., 167
- Millican, Aimee, 116, 130–1, 134, 138, 140, 142, 144
- Millican, Edith, 137–8
- Millican, Frank, 131, 134, 137–8, 143
- Minseito party (Japan), 51–2
- Missionaries (American), 2, 7, 14, 21, 36, 71, 84–5, 95, 101, 107–23, 125, 127–8, 134–5, 137–43, 151–3, 157, 160–4, 167–9, 177, 194, 246 (n. 64); identity (national and/or religious) of, 111, 115, 118–19, 122, 127, 136–40; ties to American congregations, 114; XMHA broadcasts during the Sino-Japanese War by, 145–7; *see also* National Christian Council (NCC), Shanghai Christian Broadcasting Association (SBCA); XMHD
- Mitchell, Margaret, 117
- Mitsui Bussan Kaisha, 13, 22–4, 34–5, 38, 40, 47–8, 51, 204 (n. 13)
- Montgomery Ward, 112
- Morgan, Julia, 160
- Morrison, Vincent, 107, 115, 164
- Moscow: broadcasts from, 167; radiotelegraphy links to, 48
- Movies, 77–9, 90, 99–100, 114, 117, 134, 137, 168, 190, 197; *see also specific movie titles*
- Mueller, R.J., 84–5
- Mukden, 49, 76; RCA and, 51–62, 65, 191
- Munich Crisis, 159
- Mutt and Jeff*, 99
- Myers, Myrl, 76
- Nanchang, 180; Sino-Japanese War and, 161
- Nanjing Massacre, 147, 254 (n. 53)
- Nanjing Road, 173
- Narcotics trade in China, 175–6
- National Association of Broadcasters, 8
- National Broadcasting Company (NBC), 9, 53, 93–4, 97–8, 107, 120, 124, 158, 196
- National Christian Council (NCC), 129, 145–7
- National Foreign Trade Association, 96
- National identity, *see* Identity
- National interest: defining of, 10, 22, 44, 59–62, 65
- National Reconstruction Commission, 45, 47, 49
- Nationalism: American views of, 36–7, 40; in China, 3, 5, 13–15, 18–19, 26, 29, 33–4, 36–41, 47, 51, 66, 70, 83, 85–6, 88–9, 124, 128, 191–3, 197; formation of, 91; *see also* Anti-foreignism; “Imagined community” United States, economic nationalism in

- Nationalist Government (China), 13, 39, 42–68, 70, 77–89, 110, 141–5, 148–9, 151–3, 161, 164, 174, 176, 183, 191–4, 198, 224 (n. 46); Chinese Communist victory over, 65, 67, 198, 223 (n. 41); economic development under, 79, 223 (n. 37); involvement in China's narcotics trade, 176; mass media policy of, 77, 227 (n. 65); radio law of 1929 (e.g. Telecommunications Act of 1929), 47, 77, 84; radio policy of, 39, 42–5, 47–9, 54–63, 66, 77–88, 223 (n. 38); shortwave broadcasts of, 82, 144, 164–5; state-building by, 3, 47, 64–8, 77, 110, 194; on Taiwan, 67; *see also* China; Nationalist Party
- Nationalist Party, 38–9, 46, 191; *see also* Nationalist Government
- Native Americans: American attitudes toward, 6
- Netherlands: radio imports to China from, 80
- New Life Movement, 222 (n. 34)
- New York, 118; Shanghai Christian Broadcasting Association office in, 129
- New York Giants, 118
- New York Times*, 11, 99, 162, 179
- News, *see* Journalism and news
- Newspapers, 77, 88, 90–1, 97–100, 102, 117–18, 120, 122–3, 137, 157, 159, 161, 168, 172, 179, 246 (n. 64); *see also specific newspaper titles*
- Nihon Hoso Kyokai (NHK), 166, 184
- Nine Power Treaty, 26, 34, 218 (n. 5); *see also* Washington Conference; Washington System
- Ningbo: American missionaries in, 116, 138–9, 143, 160; Sino-Japanese War in, 139
- North China Christian Broadcasting Station, 134
- North China Daily News*, 133, 148–9, 179, 205 (n. 16)
- Northeastern Radio and Long Distance Telegraph Administration, 51
- Northern Expedition, 39, 45–7, 83, 85, 227 (n. 65)
- Nye, David, 6
- Obata, Yukichi, 22–3
- Objectivity: ideas about, 166–8, 175, 177, 195, 251 (n. 28)
- One Man's Family*, 107
- Open Door policy, 17–18, 20–1, 24–6, 33, 37, 70, 74, 79
- Osborn, E.G., 1, 72
- Ovaltine, 100, 231 (n. 22)
- Oxford Group, 134
- Pacific Mail Steamship Company, 21
- Pacific War, 5, 14–15, 125, 150, 154, 165, 184, 186; *see also* Pearl Harbor, Japanese attack on; Sino-Japanese War; World War 2 in Europe
- Packard Motor Car Company, 158
- Page, Norman, 112, 164, 180
- Palmolive, 83, 125, 196
- Paramount, 100
- Paris: radiotelegraphy links to, 48
- Pearl Harbor: Japanese attack on, 168, 175, 183, 196
- Periodicals, *see* Magazines and periodicals
- Philippines: American attitudes toward, 6, 25; American broadcasts to, 108; United States and, 25; United States acquisition of, 6
- Phonographs, 82, 91, 113, 118, 120
- Pinocchio*, 117
- Pittsburg Pirates, 118
- Podcasting, 11
- Poland: radiotelegraphy links to, 57
- Polo Grounds, 118
- Postal service, 89–91, 101–2, 112, 114, 117, 120, 159, 168, 197, 246 (n. 64)
- Powell, John, 167, 183, 252 (n. 35)
- Powell, Maud, 114
- Price, F.W., 132–4
- Progress: ideas about, 2–3, 5, 12, 21, 151
- Progressive Era (United States), 21
- Propaganda, 34, 149, 166–7, 169, 172, 174, 179, 181, 196; American views of Japanese news as, 144, 156, 165;

- Japanese views of American news as, 156, 165
- Public health and medicine: radio programs addressing, 133, 135
- Puerto Rico: United States acquisition of, 6
- Purdy, Roger, 15
- Qilu University, 160
- Qing Dynasty, 20, 46, 52, 83
- Qingdao, 116, 143–4, 177
- Radio: perceptions of the power of, 2–3, 5, 8–10, 12, 14, 17–18, 42, 67–8, 90, 96, 104–5, 122, 125, 126–32, 134, 151, 153, 184–90, 193–6, 198, 241 (n. 15); “hypodermic needle” and “magic bullet” theories of, 195–6; *see also* “Radio cosmopolitanism”
- Radio advertising, *see* Advertising
- Radio Broadcast*, 2
- Radio Control Board, *see* Broadcast Radio Supervisory Office
- Radio Corporation of America (RCA), 8–9, 13, 17, 26–7, 31, 33, 35, 37–9, 41–6, 49–68, 158, 189–94, 220 (n. 18); attitudes toward China, 60; China’s attitude toward, 49, 55; the Federal Telegraph Company and, 26, 27, 33, 35, 38, 39, 45; The Hague and, 13, 43–4, 62–4, 66–7, 192, 214 (n. 28); ITT’s proposed merger with, 45, 52–3, 57, 64, 66; ITT’s rivalry with, 56–62; Japan and, 33, 35, 53–4, 57, 62, 64, 66; the Manchuria station of, 42, 44, 49, 51, 53–4, 56–9, 62–6; Mitsui and, 38; RCA Communications and, 45, 53, 56, 61, 64, 66; revenues of, 45; Shanghai–San Francisco circuit of, 51, 54, 56–8, 62–3; South America and, 64; withdrawal from international communications by, 64; *see also* RCA–Victor; Victor Talking Machine Company of Japan
- “Radio cosmopolitanism,” 92, 96, 103, 108, 124; *see also* Radio, perceptions of the power of
- Radio news, 154–6, 174, 184–5, 195, 251 (n. 31); Americans in China desire for, 157–61, 163–4, 167–71, 183–4, 186; development of, 159; from Japan, 144, 156, 165, 198; United States policy concerning, 171, 184, 186; *see also* Jamming of American radio stations, Japan; Journalism and news
- Radio receivers, 2, 69, 73–6, 81–2, 88, 95–6, 108, 112–14, 116–118, 130, 144, 149, 157–61, 163, 192, 223 (n. 41), 226 (n. 55)
- Radio technology: arc, 45; alternator, 45; shortwave, 94
- Radiotelegraphy networks: international, 17–18, 34, 44–5, 47–9, 51–68, 101, 189, 191
- Railroads, 91, 101
- Rape of Nanjing, *see* Nanjing Massacre
- Rawlinson, Frank, 143, 161–3, 173
- RCA–Victor, 158, 172
- Reader’s Digest*, 112, 117
- Reed, James, 114
- Rees, Ronald, 245 (n. 59)
- Reinsch, Paul, 19
- Religious broadcasting, 117; *see also* Shanghai Christian Broadcasting Association; XMHD
- Religious identity, *see* Identity
- Reuters, 165
- Rice, Martin, 9
- Robertson, Clarence, 2–4
- Robin Hood*, 100
- Rockefeller Foundation, 161
- Rome: radiotelegraphy links to, 48
- Romeo and Juliet*, 117
- Rooney, Mickey, 118
- Roosevelt, Franklin D., 82, 95, 98, 117, 171
- Rosenberg, Emily, 10, 105, 190
- Rue, Margaret and Elizabeth, 95
- Rural Reconstruction, 79, 133, 161
- Russell, Mary K., 116
- Russell, Maud, 113–15, 122, 139, 164
- Russians in Shanghai, 155, 176, 178
- Russo–Japanese War, 50, 221 (n. 23)

- Saigon: radiotelegraphy links to, 48
- Sampson, Anthony, 67
- San Francisco: broadcasts from, 74; radiotelegraphy links to, 51, 54, 56–7, 62 (*see also* W6XBE–KG EI)
- Sarnoff, David, 45–6, 58; attitude towards China, 45
- Satellites, 11
- Schurman, Jacob, 17–20, 25, 28, 34, 36
- Schwerin, Rennie, 21–2, 26–7, 29–30, 33, 38–41, 190; *see also* Federal Telegraph Company
- Scott Thresher Memorial Hospital, 108, 157
- Seaman's Act (1915), 21
- Sears & Roebuck, 112, 118
- Seiyukai party (Japan), 23, 51, 52
- Shandong: Americans in, 116, 160; German concession transferred to Japan, 29; Sino-Japanese War in, 160
- Shandong Christian University, 116
- Shanghai, 60, 79, 90, 92, 116, 128, 134, 136, 246 (n. 64); American auto dealerships in, 10, 158; American movies in, 100, 117; Americans in, 1, 2, 4, 36, 69, 72, 74–5, 86–8, 95–7, 116–17, 122–3, 134–6, 143–7, 154–5, 158–65, 168–9, 172–4, 176–83; broadcasting in, 1–2, 4–5, 15, 69, 72–5, 79–84, 87–90, 95, 97–8, 107, 117, 126, 145–53, 158–61, 164–5, 168–9, 172, 176–83, 192–3, 195, 223 (n. 39), 255–6 (n. 60); Chiang Kai-shek's ties to criminal elements in, 141; extraterritoriality in, 72, 86, 88, 96, 148, 181–2, 193; political unrest in, 36; radio receivers in, 69, 72, 81–2, 86, 159, 192; radios and radio parts imported to, 72–3; radiotelegraphy links to, 13, 17, 42–3, 48, 51, 54, 56–8, 62, 191–3; Sino-Japanese War in, 143–5, 159–64, 173–4, 176, 178; *see also* French Concession; International Settlement; Shanghai War of 1932
- Shanghai Baptist Alliance, 129
- Shanghai Calling*, 87
- Shanghai Christian Broadcasting Association (SCBA), 126–32, 148, 151–2, 242 (n. 30); *see also* XMHD
- Shanghai Evening Post and Mercury*, 98, 102, 117, 158, 172
- Shanghai Gas Company, 101, 105, 106
- Shanghai Municipal Council (SMC), 86–8, 148, 156, 176, 181–3; 1940 elections for, 176–7, 226 (n. 56); cooperation with Broadcast Radio Supervisory Office, 181
- Shanghai Municipal Police (SMP), 148, 178, 181–2
- Shanghai Telephone Company, 100, 102
- Shanghai Times*, 179
- Shanghai War of 1932, 84, 110
- Shantou, 108, 110–11, 157, 159, 177
- Shaohing: missionary broadcasting in, 129
- Shecklen, George, 53–5, 58–62
- Sheets, D.K., 142
- Sherley, Swagar, 8
- Sherlock Holmes*, 107, 122
- Shi Zhaoji, 29–32, 40
- Shipping, 21, 50–1, 91, 101, 114
- Shortwave broadcasting, 82, 94, 144, 157–8, 161, 165–6, 180, 186; to China, 93–4, 98, 118, 167, 186, 189; to Latin America, 97, 108, 233 (n. 34); *see also* W6XBE–KG EI; JZI and JZJ
- Sino-Japanese War, 13–14, 65, 91, 107, 110, 112, 118–22, 124, 127, 139, 142–9, 151–2, 156, 159–68, 172–4, 176–7, 181, 184–6, 194, 223 (n. 37), 224 (n. 46), 234 (n. 39), 251 (n. 31), 254 (n. 53); disrupted communications networks during, 145, 159–61, 168, 246 (n. 64); *see also* Japan, expansion and imperialism in China
- Smith, A. Viola, 90, 92–7, 103–8, 111, 115, 122–4, 158–60, 164, 167–9, 171, 183–5, 195–6; gender prejudice experienced by, 95, 229 (n. 10)
- Smith, Elleroy, 116–18, 123, 137–8, 143–4, 160, 180

- Smith, Maybelle, 116–18, 123, 137–9, 143–4, 160, 180
- Snow, Edgar, 97, 103
- Snow, Helen Foster, 75
- Snow White*, 100
- Sobokin, Samuel, 76, 77
- Social gospel, 109–10, 113, 115–16, 122, 133–5, 138, 140, 145, 161, 163; tensions with evangelism, 133–5, 140, 242 (n. 30)
- Song family, 141; *see also* Song Meiling
- Song Meiling, 141–2, 152, 172
- Song Ziwen, 211 (n. 10)
- South America, 64, 97
- Soviet Union, 11, 217 (n. 64); broadcasts from, 167
- Spanish Civil War, 159
- Stanton, Edwin, 84
- Stewart, Jimmy, 100
- Sturgeon, Leo, 75–6, 221 (n. 24)
- Sun Yat-sen, 39, 46
- Sunday Mailbag*, 107, 115–16, 118, 122, 124, 137, 196–7
- Suzhou, 72
- Swiss Miss*, 100
- Taiwan, 67
- Technological determinism, 10–12, 14, 185, 189
- Technology: American attitudes about, 5–7, 10, 15, 68, 70, 73–5, 89, 188–9, 199; and Christianity, 131, 137; societal shaping of, 11–12, 185–6, 199; Western attitudes about, 131; *see also* Communications, attitudes about; Technological determinism
- Telegraphy (cable), 10–11, 39, 45, 83, 91, 101, 190
- Television, 91
- Thoburn, Helen, 36
- Thomson, Margaret, 163
- Tianjin, 75, 87, 177; broadcasting in, 73; shortwave broadcasting to, 164
- Time*, 100, 176, 179
- Tokyo: broadcasts from, 144, 157, 169; radiotelegraphy links to, 48; *see also* Japan
- Tong, Hollington, 231 (n. 20)
- Transcendence: radio and ideas about, 131–2, 137, 151–2; *see also* Christianity, Technology and; Communications, attitudes about; Technology, attitudes about
- “Transnational structuring,” 43–4, 65, 67
- Transportation, 114; international networks of, 101; *see also* Aviation; Railroads; Shipping
- Treasure Island, *see* W6XBE-KGEI
- Treaty ports, 72–3, 86, 192; *see also* Extraterritoriality; Shanghai; Unequal Treaties
- Unequal treaties, 1, 21, 29, 239 (n. 5); *see also* Extraterritoriality; Foreign Concessions
- United Church of Canada Mission Hospital, 119
- United States: broadcasting in, 45, 65, 70, 75, 84, 91–2, 94, 112, 117, 158, 228 (n. 6); Civil War in, 11; continental expansion, 6; Department of Commerce, 92, 95; Department of State, 22, 26, 32–3, 36–7, 41, 55, 69–71, 77, 84, 171–2, 181–2, 184, 192; Department of State Far Eastern Affairs Division, 32, 35–6, 55, 77, 84, 161, 172, 181; economic nationalism in, 65; imperialism of, 6; Navy, 22; policies toward Japan during World War II in Europe, 171, 182; policy of “liberal developmentalism,” 105–6; radio policies of, 19–20, 22, 24–5, 34, 36–7, 40–1, 55, 61, 70–3, 77, 84–6, 88–90, 171, 184, 186, 226 (n. 53); shortwave broadcasting from, 93–5, 97, 108, 118, 189, 233 (n. 34) (*see also* W6XBE–KGEI); Washington Conference and, 25–6, 36; Washington System and, 19, 25–6, 36–7, 41, 207 (n. 41)
- University of Toronto, 119
- University of Virginia, 24
- University of Wisconsin, 19

- Versailles Conference, 10
 Victor Talking Machine Company of Japan, 53
 Vietnam War, 15
- W6XBE-KGEL, 13, 90–2, 97–8, 100, 103–4, 106–8, 111–20, 122–5, 136–8, 156, 160, 164–6, 168–72, 183–6, 195–8; *see also* General Electric
- Waldron, Arthur, 40
 Wanamakers, 118
 Ward, Laura 118, 138
- Warlords and the Warlord Era in China, 3, 7, 13, 20, 26, 34, 39, 47, 49, 66, 71–2, 76, 83–4, 110, 141–2, 190–1, 193, 227 (n. 65); *see also* China, political instability in
- Washington College of Law, 93
 Washington Conference, 5, 24–7, 29–31, 34, 36, 207 (n. 41), 218 (n. 5), 224 (n. 44); *see also* Washington System
- Washington System, 13, 19, 25–7, 29, 33–4, 36–7, 40–1, 207 (n. 41); *see also* Washington Conference
- Welles, Sumner, 99
 Westinghouse, 8, 220 (n. 18)
Wickford Point, 122
 Williams, Adele, 108, 122
 Williams, Frank, 108
 Wilson, Woodrow, 20, 82
 Winterbottom, William, 42, 54, 58, 61, 64
 Winthrop, John, 139–40
Wizard of Oz, 118
 WLW, 184
 World War I, 6, 9–10, 13, 21, 29
 World War II, 11; in Europe, 107, 166, 171, 251 (n. 31); *see also* Sino-Japanese War; Pacific War
- World's Fair (1939), 118
 Wuhan: missionary broadcasting in, 129
- Xenophobia in China, *see* Anti-foreignism in China
- Xiao Youmei, 78
 XJOB, 164–5, 186
 XMHA, 116, 145–7, 154, 156, 158–60, 171–86, 195, 255–6 (n. 60); *see also* Alcott, Carroll
- XMHD, 126–7, 129–37, 140–3, 145, 147–53, 189, 194–5, 246 (n. 64); *see also* Shanghai Christian Broadcasting Association; Missionaries; religious broadcasting
- XRO, 1
 Xu Yuan, 74
- Yan Huiqing, 24–5
 Yanjing University, 163
 Ye Gongchuo, 24
 Yoshizawa Kenkichi, 27
 Young, James, 167
 Young, Owen, 32–3, 35, 45
Young in Heart, 100
 Young Men's Christian Association (YMCA), 2, 129, 145
 Young Women's Christian Association (YWCA), 36, 113
- Zaibatsu, 204 (n. 13)
Zaza, 100
 Zenith, 100
 Zhang Jingjiang, 45, 49
 Zhang Qun, 142
 Zhang Xueliang, 51–2, 54–5, 110, 142
 Zhang Zhidan, 24
 Zhang Zuolin, 49–51, 66, 76, 221 (n. 30)
 Zhao Xi'en, 129–30
 Zhejiang: Americans in, 107, 164
 Zheng Yan Bao, 180
 Zhili faction, 29, 34; *see also* Warlords and the Warlord Era in China
- Zhu Jiahua, 47, 61–2, 82–7, 211 (n. 12); attitude toward the Radio Corporation of America, 61
 Ziemer, Gregor Athalwin, 184
 Zimbalist, Efrem, 114