

1 From Admirer to Critic

Li Dazhao's Changing Attitudes toward the United States

Patrick Fuliang Shan

Abstract

The May Fourth Movement was the demarcation line in Li's strikingly incongruent early pro-American stance and his later pro-Russian posture. His altered attitude paralleled the nation-wide demonstrations. What remained unchanged in his mind was his underlying nationalistic zeal for seeking an exemplar for China's modernization. Before 1919, he intended to transform his country by pursuing the American model. However, this hope was dashed by the decision of the Paris Peace Conference. It was this event that inspired his noticeable ideological change. As he leaned towards Soviet Russia, he embraced communism. When he relinquished his long-held positive view of the United States, he became a pro-Russian activist, championed for the communist cause, and urged his countrymen to emulate Soviet Russia.

Keywords: Admirer, critic, America, nationalism, communism

Introduction

To many, it sounds ridiculous to link China's first communist, Li Dazhao (1889–1927), with the United States, the global capitalist stronghold. Li never studied in America and did not even set foot on American soil. Li and America seem to be two distant unrelated objects impossible to group together. Nonetheless, the two are connected, because Li studied America ardently, deliberated over America frequently, and published on America regularly. He often cited American precedents to address China's issues and intended to follow the American model for his nation's modernization. As a progressive intellectual, he pioneered the exploration of Western civilization

Li, X. and Fang, Q. (eds.), *Sino-American Relations. A New Cold War*. Amsterdam: Amsterdam University Press 2022

DOI: 10.5117/9789463726368_CH01

and paid close attention to the ascending superpower in North America. Confronting the status quo of his nation, Li felt the urgency of studying and emulating America. Yet, he ultimately drifted away, got closer to Soviet Russia, and embraced communism. His change in stance impacted his contemporaries, swayed the youth, and redirected his nation's historical path. Without a doubt, an understanding of Li's attitudes towards the United States will assist our comprehension of the complex historical evolution of twentieth century China.

A close examination of Li Dazhao's writings demonstrates that his attitudes towards America changed during the May Fourth Movement in 1919. Before it, Li was an admirer of America who appreciated almost every aspect of American civilization. To be specific, Li became a vanguard of promoting and emulating American democracy. His admiration of American civilization tended to be all-inclusive, ranging from American history to US politics and from folklore to historical figures. More than thirty-five percent of all his early articles mention America-related issues and over a quarter of his writings during his lifetime touched upon America. After the May Fourth Movement, however, he started to criticize American leaders, condemned American imperialism, and derided American democracy. The sudden switch was partially caused by Woodrow Wilson's actions at the Paris Peace Conference. In Li's eyes, Wilson helped decide to transfer the former German colonial privileges in Shandong to the Japanese Empire, which left Li feeling betrayed, as his country had fought on the American side during the Great War. His departure from the American model was accompanied by his rapid march towards communism, by his approbation of the Russian Revolution, and by his selection of Soviet Russia as a new model for his nation.

Unfortunately, not a single scholarly book or article has been published on the relationship between Li Dazhao and America. The nonexistence of any scholarly activity, either in China or abroad, leaves it a much-neglected topic. The reasons for the absence are multiple, as it might be regarded as irrelevant, viewed as marginal, or deemed as unimportant. Even further, Li's prominent status as China's first communist and a co-founder of the Chinese Communist Party has eclipsed his early ties with the United States. Yet, the study of Li Dazhao is a booming field in China, as a thousand articles and a few dozen books were published in the past five decades, and Western scholars have also written about this important historical figure. Needless to say, almost all of the existing literature has been devoted to Li's philosophical thought, his conversion to communism, and his leading role in the early communist movement. Fortunately, the publication of *The Complete Works*

of *Li Dazhao* in 2013 offers a number of newfound articles written by Li. This set of five volumes allows us to probe Li's changing attitudes towards America, his feelings for the American people, and his analysis of American civilization.

Learning America from Afar

The fact that Li Dazhao never visited the United States despite frequently featuring it in his writings puzzles everyone. This naturally requires an investigation of the way he acquired relevant information about the distant trans-Pacific country. Interestingly enough, Li himself went through many life changes, each one a milestone allowing him to get closer to America. During his youth, China underwent upheavals leading to dramatic transformation. Imperial decay and national weakness had frustrated Chinese intellectuals, who searched for a new model of national salvation. It was popular to introduce foreign cultures and this impacted young Li. Before 1919, he paid close attention to America, reading widely and writing productively. Even after he embraced communism in 1919, he continued to retain his strong interest in America, although his political viewpoint differed. Throughout his life, he gleaned America-related information from afar through diverse channels, such as schools, media, and publications, with occasional contact with Americans from whom he acquired first-hand information.

Li Dazhao's early classical education influenced his concern for his nation's weakness, which was a factor in his continuing passion for a new model. He was born in Zhili [Hebei] in 1889. As a youth, he was educated at three private schools for Confucian learning. It is impossible for him to have learned about America there, because the goal of traditional education was to excel in the Civil Service Examination System. However, the sudden abolition of the system in 1905 terminated his prospects of being a government official. No evidence could be found to connect Li with his initial knowledge of America during those years, but the recent finding of Li Dazhao's 1898 hand-copied Chinese translation of Adam Smith's *The Wealth of Nations* reveals his passion for Western learning (Wu 1994, 49). Because Smith wrote extensively on the thirteen British colonies, young Li could have learned about colonial America from this monumental book.

The crucial moment for Li Dazhao's transition to modern education came when he enrolled as a student at Yongping Prefecture Middle School in 1905. This school was established three years before as a part of the late Qing reform. Because Western learning was offered, Li got his first

chance to learn English, Western history, geography, and politics, besides other subjects (Wu 1994, 54–55). He exhibited his Western learning in his own “My Autobiography” written in English for his American teacher, Arthur Robinson, in Tokyo: “I went to Yung Ping Fu [Yongping Prefecture] to study the primary sciences in the middle school. It was the beginning of my English lesson[s] and I spent two years there” (Meisner 1967, 3). Not far away was an American mission school run by the Methodist Episcopal Church, where Li’s classmate, Liu Yunzhi, later became a teacher. This may indicate that students at Yongping and the mission might have maintained ties, although we do not have any evidence about Li’s personal contact with the American missionaries (Li 2013, 1:148). In any case, it is safe to argue that Li acquired rich knowledge about the West during his two-year study at Yongping, which helped shape his embryonic view of the United States.

A new vista of learning about the West opened in 1907 when Li Dazhao was admitted to the North China College of Law and Politics in Tianjin, where he received his formal undergraduate education until his graduation in 1913. Western learning occupied a large part of his curriculum. Not only did he study Western history, geography, laws, Western constitutions, and other subjects, but he also became proficient in two foreign languages, Japanese and English (Liu 1989, 6). More importantly, he was tutored by Japanese professors, including Yoshino Sakuzo, whose expertise on the West had a long-term impact on Li. Without direct access to America, Li viewed the emerging superpower across the Pacific Ocean from a distance. Being well-versed in the two foreign languages, Li was able to browse books and journals from Japan and America, wade into a new landscape, and drift closer towards American civilization. As the United States became the largest global economy, it inevitably drew Chinese attention for its role in the new world order. While almost all his Western learning courses devoted a certain amount of time to the United States, Li’s familiarity with America was unquestionably strengthened. Moreover, he became an editor of *The Political Review* [Yanzhi], in which he published thirty-five articles (Zhu 2009, 38). Some of these touched upon issues in the United States or used American cases to interpret China’s problems. For example, in his article on impeachment in 1913, he quoted the views of American politicians, including those of Michael C. Kerr, Thomas Cooper, and Joel Prentiss Bishop (Li 2013, 1:14).

Li Dazhao’s study abroad in Japan (1913–1916) marked a major turning point in his contact with American culture. Not only did his major in politics and economy at Waseda University allow him to further explore the United States, but his encounters with American scholars opened his eyes and

helped him retrieve first-hand information. He lived in a YMCA dormitory near the campus, which was run by the global network of America's Christian community. It was in this dormitory where he studied the Bible, leaned English with American teachers such as Arthur Robinson, and gained substantial information about American culture (Zhu 2009, 230). From his Japanese professors, he acquired new knowledge about the American economy and politics. The availability of books at the university library granted him a chance to explore related issues. He did not miss the opportunity to listen to American scholars' public lectures. For instance, he attended Shailer Mathews' talk, from which he learned the importance of public opinion in the United States (Li 2013, 2:157). Although he was expelled from Waseda due to his political activities, his Tokyo years saw him profoundly impacted by American civilization.

For more than two years after his return to China, Li Dazhao's new job as an editor for three newspapers in Beijing continued to broaden his familiarity with America. He made full use of his profession to explore American culture, do further research on the United States, and develop his unique perspectives on the American way of life. During those two years, he published about 100 articles in newspapers and journals, of which many were on America-related issues and in which he urged his countrymen to emulate American democracy. He liked to read American journals; *North American Review* and *Atlantic Monthly* were his favorites. Through recurring opportunities to explore American culture, Li emerged as a pro-American democrat who expressed his admiration through his conscious self-awareness. At special times, he defended America-centred Western learning. The Chen Jintao case in early 1917 is an example: Chen earned his doctorate degree from Yale University. After returning to China, he became the financial minister of the Chinese government. Unfortunately, his acceptance of a large sum of bribes was exposed as a national scandal. The conservatives took advantage of this opportunity to smear Western learning and vented their deeply rooted prejudice against it, particularly American culture. Li Dazhao published an article to defend Western learning, arguing that "this current case is an occasion for us to deliver our verdict on good and evil, while it has nothing to do with the new learning or the traditional learning" (Li 2013, 2:140, 166).

There are few gaps in the course of Li Dazhao's personal life; nevertheless, a number of transitions occurred, as his multifaceted career led him down diverse tracks. In early 1918, Li was hired by Beijing University as the head librarian, a position he held until late 1922, during which he contributed significantly to China's library enterprise. He purchased a large number of

foreign language books for his library, including those from the United States. More importantly, he utilized its available sources to deepen his study of America. With those rich materials, Li was drawn to Western scholarship by fashioning a connection with the global community, as Leigh Jenco points out (Jenco 2016, 436–445). Within the new culture-dominated terrain, Li indulged himself in the America-focused materials and wrote more articles. He read American scholars' monographs, such as those by John Burgess, Paul Reinsch, Arthur H. Noyes, and Jeremiah W. Jenkins. He even translated a chapter of Jenkins' *Principles of Politics*, with the intention to familiarize the Chinese with America's constitutional rule (Li 2013, 5:546–558). Li tried to build a working relationship with the Library of Congress and personally interacted with its librarian, Katherine H. Wead, in 1921 (Wang 2010, 235). Needless to say, he learned more about America from those episodic, yet direct, encounters.

Another shift in Li Dazhao's career was his appointment as a professor at Beijing University in 1920, which required him to read more on America for teaching his courses. Although he became a self-converted communist in 1919, his passion for America remained strong. In fact, the ongoing New Cultural Movement led to the upsurge of public attention on America as a new superpower, which required Chinese intellectuals to acquire more relevant information. Adding to this growing passion, Li conducted his own research. His interests widened as he explored American politics, the economy, education, ethnicities, labour, and other topics by his direct use of foreign language sources. His interaction with his colleagues shows their common interests. Once, Hu Shi, a professor at the same university, wrote an article entitled "American Women" and asked Li to offer a foreword. In it, Li speaks highly of Hu's work, stressing the importance of knowing more about American women (Li 2013, 2:336). Hu Shi studied in the United States and his friendship with Li allowed the latter to obtain more information about America. It is interesting to note that during this time Li even familiarized himself with communist doctrine through American publications, because he often read the materials published by Rand School of Social Sciences in New York City, which deepened his understanding of the communistic ideology, Lenin's theory, Trotsky's ideas, and Soviet Russia (Li 2013, 3:412).

After Li Dazhao co-founded the Chinese Communist Party, and especially after his forging of the United Front with Sun Yat-sen's Nationalist Party, Li devoted himself to the ongoing revolutionary movement. Yet, he continued to study America, albeit in a critical way. As he gradually became a professional revolutionary, his time for the study of America was reduced. Nevertheless, he still paid attention to the United States and even worked

with radical American intellectuals. In 1925, he hired an American couple in Beijing, Bill and Rayna Prohme, to edit the English publications of the official documents of the United Front (Hirson 2007, 12). He called Rayna “Peng Taitai” and even mentioned her in his last testimony he wrote in the prison in 1927 (Li 2011, 408). His five-month visit to the Soviet Union in 1924 was his opportunity of interacting with the leaders of the Communist Party of the USA (Li 2013, 5:26). To cope with the warlord regime’s persecution, Li hid himself in mid-March 1926 inside the Russian Embassy, where he stayed for over a year. In such a situation, he might have been unable to continue his studies, although he kept utilizing his existing knowledge of America to analyze complicated international issues. His execution by Warlord Zhang Zuolin in 1927 abruptly ended his long odyssey of learning about America from afar.

America’s Admirer

Before the May Fourth Movement in 1919, Li Dazhao presented extensive, and wide-ranging coverage of America-related issues through his writings. As a vanguard of the New Cultural Movement, he offered a rich repository of literature which revealed the mood of the Chinese intelligentsia in emulating America for China’s reconstruction. In his work, Li showcased his almost complete admiration, while his analysis and discourse shepherded public opinion to recognize the importance of the emerging superpower across the Pacific Ocean. Under his pen, America was a democratic lightning rod to fend off tyranny. With his passion, he inspired the Chinese to learn from America. His promotion of the American model, its democratic system, and its constitutional tradition triggered an aspirational pursuit of democracy. By presenting the American way of life, he criticized China’s traditional despotism and warned its leaders to restrain themselves from crossing the red line. With his endeavours, Li emerged as a pro-American democrat with a blueprint of transforming China by following the American model.

First, Li Dazhao unfolded a grand picture of the extraordinary development of American democracy by tracing it back to the American Revolution. He acknowledged the difficulties of building such a system, saying, “American independence ultimately succeeded, because of bloody battles during the eight long years.” In contrast, he told the Chinese that China’s path to democracy might be one hundred times harder due to its long tyrannical tradition (Li 2013, 2:54, 255). He spoke highly of “The Declaration of Independence,” ranking it as one of the most significant political documents because

it contributed to global democratic progress (Li 2013, 1:285). By elevating “The Declaration of Independence” and its influence on world history, Li valued, endorsed, and publicized American democratic ideals. His discourse was not confined within American bounds; rather, he superimposed it onto a global worldview to caution the Chinese against any attempts of drifting away from the universally shared value.

Li Dazhao praised the Constitution of the United States as a guarantor of liberty and freedom. He stated: “a group of talented elites who emerged during the American Revolution gathered together in Philadelphia. For the long-term security and well-being of their country, those men crafted a constitution with their own hands, and turned it into a legendary tale on everyone’s lips in the world of political commentators.” More significant is that the American Constitution could be amended so long as two-thirds of the members of Congress approved it, with a further ratification by the states. Li highlighted the importance of “The Bill of Rights,” the first amendment, in protecting freedom and justice. With all of these, Li maintained that the Americans set up a model for other countries to draft their own constitutions (Li 2013, 1:106, 363–367, 405). By virtue of this constitution, the United States had become “the purest democratic federal country” (Li 2013, 2:398). Such a tradition allowed American legislators in Congress to peacefully and orderly deliberate over issues and pass laws. Li noticed the magnitude of impeachment under American constitutional rule, which could prevent transgression and violations. However, Li did not totally copy the American political system. In contrast to the two-house system in the US Congress, he proposed the one-house system for the Chinese congress due to China’s special national circumstances (Li 2013, 1:12, 95, 493).

Li Dazhao applied his study of American democracy to his analysis of Chinese politics and utilized the American model to admonish Chinese politicians. Never did he confine his discourse to the purely scholarly limit; rather, he applied his thinking in practice to contemporary Chinese issues. He advocated for curbing the potential arbitrary power of Chinese politicians who were warned to restrain themselves from exercising prerogative authority. By citing John William Burgess’s notion of sovereignty, Li criticized Yuan Shikai’s move of creating a new constitution in 1913. Li remarked: “The power of a president was endowed by the constitution which he should defend. If the president promulgates a constitution, it seems to be an irony as if a son gives birth to his mother” (Li 2013, 1:107). After suppressing the Second Revolution in 1913, Yuan Shikai outlawed the Nationalist Party and planned to dissolve Congress. In contrast to Yuan’s moves, Li studied the salary issue of legislators in various countries, emphasizing American congressmen’s high

salary, compensation, and reimbursement. Li told the Chinese confidently that “our congress is suspended for the time being, but it will be reopened so long as our republic exists. By then, the salary will be an issue” (Li 2013, 1:139). After citing Ralph Waldo Emerson’s view, Li argued that democracy could never be quashed, because it represented a universal value (Li 2013, 1:277). In 1914, Frank Johnson Goodnow, Yuan Shikai’s advisor, claimed that a change in China’s national political system might be necessary, because the Chinese were not ready for democracy and because the people lacked the ability to participate politically. Li condemned Goodnow’s views and defended China’s newly built republican system (Li 2013, 1:207).

In contrast to his admonition of China’s politicians, Li Dazhao praised American leaders as inspirational exemplars. His lauding of American leaders is evidence of his admiration for American civilization. To Li, George Washington was a paragon who refused to hold power beyond his second term, on which Li commented “ever since such a figure set up this praiseworthy precedent, the American people even now especially cherish the righteous virtues he left behind” (Li 2013, 1:159). In Li’s eyes, Teddy Roosevelt was a hero: “Even after his retirement from the presidency, he hunted in the deep mountains and used his fists to fight wild animals” (Li 2013, 1:317). Woodrow Wilson was respected as an indispensable world leader. Li commented in 1917 that “Mr. Wilson has been revered as a lover of peace. I am confident that the dawn of peace will rise on the eastern side of the Pacific Ocean, while the burden for peace will rest rightly on Mr. Wilson’s shoulders” (Li 2013, 1:458). As soon as the Great War ended, Li endorsed Wilson’s idea of establishing an international organization to ensure peace (Li 2013, 2:377). Li envisioned that this organization could be an initial step towards a global federation (Li 2013, 2:399). Indeed, Li bumped into “the Wilsonian Moment,” as Erez Manela terms it, which shows Wilson’s wide-ranging impact upon the global community (Manela 2019, 409).

Li Dazhao extolled American social fluidity, which allowed gifted and hard-working individuals to climb the social ladder. He remarked: “America’s rich, influential, and powerful individuals mostly were sons of mediocre businessmen. With their unyielding spirit and their integrity, they strove to tap the natural treasures of the New World. While they became wealthy, their country became rich and strong” (Li 2013, 2:129). To draw public attention, Li selected Horace Greeley as a special example, making him the subject of a long article. Li traced Greeley’s ordinary background, his family’s suffering after his father’s bankruptcy, and his difficult early years. Through persistence, however, Greeley became the owner of an influential newspaper in the United States. From a child labourer to a typist, and then

to a manager of a magazine, Greeley relied on his ability and efforts to amass wealth. Ultimately, he established the *New York Tribune* in 1841 at the age of thirty and then turned it into a daily newspaper with a circulation of 100,000. Li praised Greeley's diligence, talent, and contributions and advised young Chinese to follow in his footsteps to chase their own careers (Li 2013, 1:351–355).

Li Dazhao lauded the noble spirit of the American people who dedicated themselves to the public good without caring for honours. He wrote that “under America's constitutional rule, the president has no power to bestow noble titles; yet American citizens are eager to work for the righteous cause” (Li 2013, 2:18). Amazingly, even senior Americans were active for social service, as Li noted (Li 2013, 2:45). He appreciated American fraternal social relationships, because people held friendly attitudes towards others even if unrelated and unassociated. This cordial tie existed among those who never met, which was, as Li termed, “the genuine social relationship.” Thus, he persuaded his countrymen to imitate the American style of social conduct. Nevertheless, he was critical of romantic love in the United States, on which he wrote a short story. The protagonists were General William Sherman and a Latina girl in Monterey, California. During the Mexican-American War, Sherman was stationed there and met the local girl. Handing her a beautiful rose, he won the lady's heart. She planted the rose and waited for his return for over half a century. Unfortunately, he never came back. Li did not prize this kind of romance; instead, he expressed pity for the loyal woman (Li 2013, 1:505–506). This is Li's only criticism of America before 1919.

Although American women did not get national suffrage until 1920, Li took note of the great achievements of the feminist movement. For Li, women should enjoy equal rights in politics, society, finances, and education, which were fundamental to democratic life. American women's bravery, wisdom, and high spirit in smashing men's “arbitrary monopoly” was praiseworthy. Li happily saw American women filling the positions left by men during the Great War, but he bemoaned the unfair salary they received. To his delight, women won voting rights in some states, and he extolled their political participation in Colorado, Utah, and other states. The old fear that female voting rights would erode family life proved to be unfounded, for which Li provided evidence from Colorado: it was a story of a couple who voted for different political parties. Although the wife's candidate did not win, post-election family life was not harmed at all. Li spoke highly of American women for “their independent judging capability.” He extolled Jeanette Rankin for breaking the glass ceiling by winning a seat in Congress to become the first congresswoman in American history. Mentioning Rankin's refusal

to cast her ballot to support America's war against Germany, Li praised her stance against violence (Li 2013, 2:414–415).

After analyzing the American demographical make-up, Li Dazhao proclaimed that a miracle had occurred in the United States. He remarked that “ever since the Anglo-Saxons immigrated into America, they gradually became the dominant native-born residents. However, their population did not multiply much, and subsequently, America has relied on European immigrants to reinforce its demographical vigor, which becomes a miraculous wonder.” Commenting on this phenomenon, he was at odds with Thomas Malthus, whom Li criticized for formulating an invalid theory. According to Li, the population of modern industrialized societies declined, differing from Malthus' vision. He coined the term “the civilization illness” in his discussion of the population drop. He polled a group of female graduates from Bryn Mawr College in which only one among sixteen gave birth to one child born in a seventeen-year span. Having ridiculed Malthus, Li stressed the American miracle by which the land was not only populated by those who were born there, but also by a large number of immigrants, whose reinforced its social dynamism to such an extent that “half are native-born and half are immigrants” among the white residents (Li 2013, 2:67).

Through his widely publicized writings, Li Dazhao drew Chinese attention to the increasing importance of the United States as a new superpower. Not only would the world face America as a defining force of world peace, but would also confront the reality of America's dominant power in international affairs (Li 2013, 2:23). As Li observed, the United States had reaped profits during the Great War while other powers bled themselves. By early 1917, the global financial centre had shifted to the United States, which owned sixty percent of all existing ready-made commodities in the world (Li 2013, 1:451). In an article on copper, a crucial metal for industry and the military, Li itemized its global distribution, stressing that American ownership of this metal constituted about seventy percent of the total, allowing the United States to easily manipulate its production, sale, and price (Li 2013, 1:461). Nevertheless, as Li pointed out, the United States encountered a serious issue despite its rise as a superpower. After it declared war against Germany, the danger emerged, as “about twenty million among ninety million American residents are of German descent, which is the most burdensome worry” (Li 2013, 1:478). Li's concern over this issue influenced his admiration of America, inspiring serious doubts.

Not surprisingly, Li Dazhao tried to press China to join the alliance with America, soon after the United States severed its diplomatic ties with Germany in 1917. Li wrote an article urging the Chinese government to

cut its ties and then declare war against Germany. He echoed American justifications for war while viewing the German Empire according to the American stance. To win public support, Li reasoned that it “is not to regard Germany as the enemy, but to show our honesty in order to be in rapport with the allied and neutral nations ... This move is not only for the war but also for postwar diplomacy” (Li 2013, 1:457). Here, Li offered his countrymen a realistic imperative: Germany would be defeated regardless and the United States would still be a superpower. Nevertheless, he hoped that “the United States and other Western countries could immediately move out of their narrow-minded racial mentality, move in line with universal humanitarianism, and treat all colored people equally” (Li 2013, 2:156).

A Critic of the United States

Li Dazhao’s attitude towards the United States abruptly shifted during the May Fourth Movement in 1919. The reasons might be multiple, but the major one was China’s “strident nationalism” (Weston 2004, 253), as Timothy B. Weston terms it, which motivated radical Chinese intellectuals to shift their former pro-Western—in particular, pro-American—view to a pro-Russian outlook. The direct cause was the decision of the Paris Peace Conference to transfer former German colonial privileges to the Japanese Empire, which caused a political storm and outburst of popular rage. The ripple effect was dramatic as demonstrations swept across the country, for which Li was one of the leaders (Shan 2020, 3–22). While the great powers failed China’s expectation to reclaim national sovereignty in Shandong, Soviet Russia responded generously by declaring its intention to relinquish Russian privileges in China. It was in the wake of the protests that Li started to align with Soviet Russia. Consequently, Li’s attitude towards America changed. With his praise of America diminished, he instead raised his newly sarcastic voice to blast American leaders, slam American imperialism, and satirize American democracy.

First, Li Dazhao wrote to condemn Woodrow Wilson, whom he had greatly admired just a few months earlier. Wilson was a steady voice for world peace at the Paris Peace Conference and was respected as a global leader. Yet, the decision on China enraged Li. Although the notion that Woodrow Wilson betrayed China might be a misconception, as Bruce Elleman’s study shows, the decision in Paris caused China’s disappointment and popular anger (Elleman 2002, 135). Li expressed his fury at Wilson for establishing “a world of bandits,” saying indignantly: “Mr. Wilson! I feel sorry for you! I

feel sad for you!" (Li 2013, 2:457–459). Li was not an ersatz intellectual under the spell of others; his nationalistic zeal was a spontaneous response to what happened in Paris. Like other radical intellectuals, Li began to turn to Russia "as a model for its [China's] twentieth century modernization and development" (Elleman 2002, 136).

After Li Dazhao's embrace of communism, he began to reevaluate American democracy. Without a doubt, he still had faith in democracy but he claimed that communism would lead to true democracy. With his new stance, he started to expose the hypocritical nature of American democracy and tried his best to uncover its flaws. American politicians did not conform to democratic standards, failed to follow the democratic spirit, and often led the American people into political quagmires. By citing the Marxist doctrine, Li argued that American capitalism had generated an utter fallacy, as "the personal relationship no longer exists and as it turns everything into the commercial tie as if among commodities" (Li 2013, 3:137). Thus, "no justice could be found under the selfish capitalist system and the egoist imperialist system" (Li 2013, 3:100). Because women were treated unfairly, Li raved that "democracy in America cannot be called true democracy" (Li 2013, 3:90). Further, "Under the current imperialist system, no room can be reserved for democracy" (Li 2013, 4:153). The false façade of American democracy contradicted democratic principles. According to Li, elections were always manipulated by rich men. He remarked that "a steel tycoon in America often has a million ballots under his control during an election. During the campaign for presidency, a candidate cannot be elected, if he is not endorsed by industrial tycoons. The people below the tycoons have lost their political prudence and simply become submissive puppets to accept orders" (Li 2013, 4:476).

Li Dazhao remained attuned to events in America, but increasingly became a fault-finding observer. In July 1919, he wrote an article to relay the shocking news of terrorist attacks. He said: "I trembled at the recent bombing cases in America," as parcels were mailed through the post office a few weeks previously to officials and entrepreneurs in many American cities (Li 2013, 2:493). One senator's wife was even injured while opening a package. Delivering the horrible news, Li presented a chaotic saga of dread and unmasked perilous behaviour in capitalist society. Moreover, Li examined the issue of suicide in America and its ruinous effects. Under the capitalist system, dissolute evils and unbridled debauchery led to the startling increase of suicide cases, especially those in New York City and Philadelphia. As Li noticed, this phenomenon was connected to the unhealthy life in "the defective society" (Li 2013, 4:33–42).

In the early 1920s, Li Dazhao spent much of his time heralding the ruinous influence of imperialist powers, including the United States, upon China. The imperialists resorted to the gunboat policy to invade China, forced the Chinese to accept unequal treaties, occupied concession areas, and enjoyed numerous privileges. China's traditional agrarian economy was taken under their control, while its traditional manufacture entered bankruptcy, so that "the entire nation has become a proletarian class of the world" (Li 2013, 3:189). Further, "Being crushed by the invasion of imperialism equipped by the capitalist system in Europe and America, the Chinese people are lowered down to subjugated and anemic status (Li 2013, 4:124)." The eight-powers, including the United States, invaded China in 1900, purporting "to ensure that the Chinese people could never lift their heads again" (Li 2013, 5:68). Li's unique perspective of the Chinese as a proletarian nation shed light on modern Chinese history. As a result, he tagged "international imperialism as the sole vicious enemy of the Chinese people" (Li 2013, 4:517). In 1924, Li published an article on child labour in Shanghai and highlighted American and other Western owners' wrongdoing in exploiting children, damaging their health, and ruining young souls (Li 2013, 5:28–34). Under the brutal oppression, as Li saw it, Chinese children became a special appendage of the proletarian nation. With this new identity, Li heralded a new national goal of making revolution, overthrowing imperialism, and achieving national liberation.

According to Li Dazhao's analysis, "the United States had become the main one among all imperialist powers" by the early 1920s (Li 2013, 5:8). Witnessing China plunging into the Warlord Era, American imperialists supported military strongmen to seize benefits from China's wounds. The United States backed Wu Peifu and Cao Kun in North China, and Lu Yongxiang in the Lower Yangzi River Valley, who in turn were fully complicit with America (Li 2013, 5:8–10). For Li, this was the way "the imperialist bandits have imposed their civilization upon China. They lured warlords as running dogs, supplied them with weapons, and assisted them to fight civil wars. How humane is it for the civilization of imperialism!" (Li 2013, 5:39). Even worse, "the imperialist powers employed the counterrevolutionaries to suppress the Chinese revolution" (Li 2013, 5:68). With American support, Wu Peifu once "crushed the revolutionary force led by Sun Yat-sen" and suppressed the workers' strike along the Beijing-Hankou Railway Line in 1923 (Li 2013, 5:41). It is eye-opening to notice Li's changing attitude to the Open Door Policy, a benchmark of America's relationship with China. In 1916, Li claimed that this policy at least gave China a chance of dragging out a feeble existence during a terrible national crisis (Li 2013, 1:213). By 1923,

however, Li condemned the same policy, because the United States intended to share the privileges already enjoyed by other powers. After this policy was reaffirmed at the Washington Conference, according to Li, America utilized it as a justification for sharing the spoils under superficially moral grounds. Its true objective was to create a new imperialist order in China, which Li saw as the “new international co-management” (Li 2013, 4:131).

In Li Dazhao’s eyes, imperialist powers had accelerated the pace of aggression in China in the early 1920s, which quickly became unbearable. To vent his grievances, Li enumerated recent events to double down on his condemnation of American imperialism. By selecting the Coltman Case to demonstrate how the American government unreasonably bullied the Chinese government, Li offered an example of imperialist oppression. During a clash with Chinese soldiers, Charles Coltman was wounded and then died in Zhangjiakou (Anon 1922, 3). Not only did China have to pay compensation in the amount of \$50,000 USD, it also had to penalize local officials. According to Li, Coltman had violated the Chinese law for smuggling contraband goods (Li 2013, 5:1). Economically, American tobacco companies were exempt from the consumer tax, causing much loss for China. Militarily, the United States pressed the Chinese government to permit organization of a Western fleet to navigate the Yangzi River, which was censured by Li as an impudent move (Li 2013, 5:5). In the realm of the media, the imperialist invasion was disturbing. Western news agencies, including those from the United States, spread rumors, which Li termed “the invasion of the media.” Li angrily requested the Chinese authorities expel foreign reporters due to the trouble they caused and the insults they inflicted (Li 2013, 4:581). Sixty-five years later, the Chinese government republished this article, purporting to step up its measures against the Western media, which drew international attention (Anon 1989, A12).

Regardless of his hostility to American imperialism, Li Dazhao saw the American people as diverse entities while feeling a natural bond with disadvantaged groups. Although his prediction that the raging revolution movement in 1919 would arrive in the United States was inaccurate, he continued to pay attention to its class warfare (Li 2013, 2:403). To support the united front with Sun Yat-sen, Li cited the American precedent, for which the US Communist Party USA joined the Labour Party for mutual benefits (Li 2013, 4:507). He relished American radical intellectuals’ views and expressed his gratitude for their support of the Chinese revolution, offering his thanks to the Communist Party USA for its condemnation of imperialism (Li 2013, 5:26). Li enjoyed working with American leftist intellectuals. As mentioned above, William and Rayna Prohme went to Beijing in 1925 to edit

the English publications under Li. William fell ill and the work was mostly done by his wife. Although Rayna was later confirmed not a member of the Communist Party USA, her diligent spirit deeply moved Li (Cott 2020, 362). Unfortunately, Rayna died in Moscow during her visit in 1927. At her funeral in the Russian capital, Chang Ke cited Li Dazhao's accolades he had heard a couple of years before. Li stated: "Look at the good example of Rayna Prohme. See how devoted she is to our cause. She worked for us for a considerable time, but never once did she express one word of complaint, even under all sort of difficulties" (Hirson and Knodel 2007, 12–13).

Similar tender feelings could be found in Li Dazhao's discourse on American workers, as his articles were replete with stories about their selfless sacrifice in the struggle against the capitalist class. Li studied the workers' strike in Chicago in 1886, during which labourers demanded the implementation of the eight-hour workday. Although Li termed what happened in Chicago on May 1, 1886, and the following days as "the Chicago tragedy," he praised those who participated. He provided a detailed description of what occurred, including workers' demands, street demonstrations, clashes with policemen, the fateful bombing, unfortunate casualties, and subsequent unfair sentences. To Li's anguish, some of the leaders were executed and others prosecuted: he regarded these as wrongful cases. He collected biographical information on eight major leaders and extolled their sacrifice. To Li's satisfaction, May 1 had been celebrated as the International Labour Day to honour the Chicago strike, which showcased American workers' enduring influence upon the working class in the global community. At the same time, Li asserted that Labour Day in America had nothing to do with the Chicago strike, while May Day should be regarded as a more important holiday than any other traditional celebrations for labourers (Li 2013, 3: 237–240).

Li Dazhao's long-lasting endorsement of American women reveals his steadfast compassion for the oppressed gender. He was happy to see American women's reputation reaching new heights as national suffrage was granted in 1920. To him, their struggle to achieve nation-wide voting rights was an extraordinary moment in world history, tantamount to "a revolution," as Li defined it. He saw American women as pioneers of the feminist movement. He further explored the women's liberation movement by emphasizing American women's dedication during turbulent times. According to Li, the vicissitudes of the feminist movement and its triumph for suffrage could not be separated from American women's conscious perseverance. Decades before, the International Council of Women was established in Washington DC to encourage women to participate in politics; Li highlighted

Carrie Chapman Catt's role in championing women's equality in education, professional life, law, and society. Li commented that "a just and pleasant gender relationship should totally rely on both genders' interdependence, equality, and mutual aids rather than on women's subordination to men's superiority" (Li 2013, 4:18–21). He was elated when suffrage was granted, declaring "American women now can bear the same social responsibility as men do" (Li 2013, 4:185).

It is interesting to note that Li Dazhao meticulously studied the socialist movement in the United States while praising socialists' fervour, dedication, efforts, bravery, and persistence (Li 2013, 4:279). By utilizing Arthur H. Noyes' works along with other sources, Li explored the entire gamut of American socialist experiments by religious leaders, utopians, activists, and immigrants (Li 2013, 3:50). He acknowledged the origins of socialism in Europe, but underlined its progress in "America, which is a pure new land, which provides rich and cheap soil for experiment, and which lacks the reactionary force as it is in Europe. Henceforth, those visionaries can freely experiment with their ideals there" (Li 2013, 3:195). Li examined Robert Owen and his New Harmony, his model community, particularly the one established in Indiana. He adored Owen's valour, fearlessness, and determination, and acclaimed him as a great reformer. Yet, Li lamented Owen's failure and accused the political climate of ruining his plans (Li 2013, 3:316–323). Obviously, Li placed the blame on the existing capitalist system for Owen's failed experiments. Being firm in his communist stance, he intended to find continuity versus disruption, as well as similarities versus differences between utopian socialism and scientific communism to affirm his faith in the latter.

Professional Liaison

Li Dazhao's professional liaison with America from January 1918 to December 1922 was an extraordinary period of his life. As the head librarian at Beijing University, Li admired the library enterprise in America, strove to learn from the American standard, and was involved in exchange activities with American colleagues. Li's professional connection breaks the 1919 demarcation line, as it displays his continued positive attitude in this special field. Needless to say, his open mind fostered learning about America's library system, making him able to apply his knowledge to his own management to facilitate higher learning. Interestingly, he did not voice any criticism towards the American library system, which differs from his condemnation

of American imperialism. Indeed, the library at Beijing University provided Li a platform for a professional relationship with America, as well as an academic connection. Although he resigned from this position in late 1922, his contribution to China's library enterprise was substantial, as he had influenced China's modern libraries. He deserves credit for his accomplishment: Diane M. Nelson and Robert B. Nelson acclaim him as "the father of modern Chinese librarianship" (Nelson 1993, 521).

Soon after Li Dazhao assumed responsibility as the head librarian, he organized his staff to visit the library of Qinghua University, which was managed according to the American system. This trip occurred on March 15, 1918. According to Li's personal report, "the first goal was to visit its library where we spent most of our time." Li interacted with American-trained scholar Zhao Guocai, who served as the acting president of Qinghua, and conversed with Yuan Tongli, who was the head librarian, but would later be librarian at the Library of Congress in America. Yuan accompanied Li for six hours on a tour of the facility. Li was amazed at Yuan's use of American cataloguing cards. The modern facilities in the new library dazzled him: he was awed by the large number of English language books and the strict loaning policy (Li 2013, 2:276). The visit was the first of this kind for Li to learn about America's library management through an in-person investigation of a Chinese university library. In fact, the high point of the visit was his careful observation of the conspicuously transferred American library system.

Li Dazhao was a firm supporter of the open-stack policy with its benefits for readers, for which he used American statistics for support. According to Li, American data told him that the benefits of open-stack were far greater than possible losses. In America, as he noticed, the open-stack system saved the readers valuable time in handling delivery, loans, and formalities. Li endorsed this practice at his library, which was originally located at Mashenmiao, a few miles from the campus. In October 1918, it was relocated to the new campus at Shatan near the Forbidden City. The new building featured grandiose architecture paid for by a Belgian loan to Beijing University (Zhu 2009, 190). Yet, because of their size, the rooms posed an inconvenience for open-stack. To solve the problem, Li allocated rooms near the book storage to be reading rooms, which functioned as nearly equivalent to the open-stack practice. The future leader of communist China, Mao Zedong, was hired by Li as an assistant librarian to supervise one of those rooms (Lidazhaozhuanbianxiezhu 1979, 35). According to Li, the traditional Chinese library was merely a book-keeping place, rather than a public facility optimized for use. Unfamiliar with the system, some conservatives raised their eyebrows at the open-stack system because of

their fear of vandalism and theft. However, Li's citation of American data allowed him to defend it in order to allow more readers to make full use of the resources at his library (Li 2013, 3:173).

With Li Dazhao's efforts, his library established ties with the Library of Congress. In June 1921, Li warmly received Katherine H. Wead for a visit. He accompanied her on a tour of his library and familiarized her with traditional Chinese library management. On September 17, Wead wrote him a letter to express her gratitude for his hospitality and professional assistance, which was published in the daily bulletin of Beijing University. In it, she told Li that she had already contacted the head of her library, Dr. Herbert Putnam, to request the dispatch of American catalogue cards to Li. At the same time, she said that she sent a letter to the director of her Chinese department, Dr. Walter K. Swingl, to foster ties with Li. Wead promised to return Qi Chenghan's classification handbook she borrowed from Li as soon as its translation into English was complete (Wang 2010, 235). The exchange yielded fruit, as the Library of Congress not only acknowledged Li's achievements in China's library enterprise, but also donated one million catalogue cards to Li's library in 1922 (Liao 2008, 45).

Li Dazhao paid attention to American classification methods and supported the Dewey Decimal Classification system. In fact, Li's endorsement led to China's nation-wide adoption of it. In his speech in late October 1921, Li lamented China's shortage of professional librarians and deplored the Chinese lack of basic knowledge of modern library management. Classification was a serious issue, without which books were too scattered to be relocated. He introduced a number of American methods and pinpointed their strengths and weaknesses. He ranked Dewey's method as the best (Li 2013, 3:438–444). After careful study of the available options, he finally decided to choose Dewey's method for his library, building twenty-one storage areas and six reading rooms (Pei 2007, 159). By 1927, seventy-nine percent of China's libraries were "managed by librarians with whom he [Li] had maintained close contact" (Liao 2008, 46). More importantly, by the late 1920s, libraries throughout China adopted the Dewey Decimal Classification, for which Li's influence in the process should not be underestimated.

It is worth noting that Li Dazhao spoke highly of American library training programs for securing qualified employees. He drew Chinese attention to the initial resistance to Dewey's establishment of a library school at Columbia University in 1887; soon after, as Li emphasized, the American people praised Dewey's far-sighted move after they saw its tangible benefits. Li offered detailed information about seventeen American library schools, including their administration, management, course offerings, and related issues. In

addition, he mentioned summer schools, apprentice classes, roundtables, seminars, and other activities for training librarians and staff in the United States. Needless to say, those activities helped publicize the importance of the library. Li emphasized the importance of libraries in American social life. Its chief value, in all probability, lay in not only storing books, but also maximizing their use, for which librarians must be professionally trained and their knowledge frequently upgraded. As he noted, females constituted over eighty percent among all the graduates from the library schools in New York, with a similar situation in other states. Henceforth, he encouraged Chinese women to be librarians to commence a new epoch of China's library enterprise (Li 2013, 3:439–453).

Having examined the function of the library in America's social life, Li Dazhao stressed its importance in promoting social progress in the United States. The library provided easy access to useful information, enriched citizens' cultural lives, enhanced their literacy, and helped mold them into responsible individuals. It was impossible to figure out a library's measurable profits, but its vital value in improving civic life was evident. The library served as a cooperative enterprise for public good; an innovative partnership between library and citizens should be forged. Financially, wealthy citizens should do their duty and offer help, for which Li praised American entrepreneurs for their philanthropic contributions. For example, John Simmons' family donated funds to establish a library school at Simmons University in Boston, Massachusetts, and Andrew Carnegie subsidized the library school at Case Western Reserve University in Cleveland, Ohio, which for years relied on the Carnegie Foundation for its operations (Li 2013, 3:449). The support of citizens enabled the library to be the most recognized resource in American social life, as it served as a prominent vehicle for its ever-growing mutually beneficial partnership with citizens. To praise the American accomplishments and to criticize China's old way, Li sarcastically remarked that in American society "there are three essential things: library, post office, and church. In China's social life, there are also three indispensable things: Confucian private school, opium-smoking den, and superstitious shrine" (Li 2013, 3:94).

Conclusion

Li Dazhao's changing attitudes towards the United States mirrored the history of early Republican China and reflected Chinese intellectuals' quest for a new paradigm to revitalize their old civilization. Naturally, the rising

America was viewed as such a model. The central theme of this ongoing pursuit was to achieve national salvation and modernization, for which Chinese intellectuals championed toppling the Confucian establishment and replacing it with a newer culture. They tried myriad cures for their ill nation. Li's initial pursuit of American democracy represented one endeavour, as he viewed it as a fit for China's needs. Yet, the decision in Paris shattered his hopes because "the West had undermined its commitment to China" while "the pledge of national self-determination had not been honoured," as Morris Rossabi commented (Rossabi 2014, 340). In deep disappointment, Li blamed Woodrow Wilson, which ironically marked a radical shift in his personal attitude towards the United States. To be straightforward, no anachronical sequence can be found; rather, a clear-cut bifurcation took shape. Before 1919, or, precisely, before the May Fourth Movement, Li was an admirer of America; after it, he strongly criticized the United States. Across the demarcation line, the underlying force in Li's ideological realm, which remained unchanged, was his unquenchable pursuit of nationalism. His choice of communism, in a sense, was the result of his continued efforts for national salvation. In other words, what happened in 1919 transformed him from a pro-American intellectual to a pro-Russian activist.

To date, few academics have devoted their scholarship to the relationship between intellectuals and foreign relations, or do not define the tie explicitly. During the early years of the Republic, Chinese intellectuals, like Li Dazhao, became extremely sensitive to China's foreign relations, because they were well-trained in modern education, mastered foreign language skills, possessed access to imported publications, and developed analytical skills in international affairs. Yet, it should be noted that Li learned about America remotely, even if he interacted with Americans occasionally. Nevertheless, his pro-American writings were available to large numbers of readers before 1919, which helped China make the decision to join the alliance that included the United States during the Great War. Nevertheless, "the message from Paris was bleak" (Mitter 2010, 5) as Rana Mitter remarks, which so infuriated Li that he began criticizing America and drifted away from the American model. From Li's case, it is obvious that a big power's alienation of intellectuals in a country could lead to its loss of supporters in fostering friendly ties with that country. Even worse, those intellectuals could prove to be the big power's ideological rivals as they redirected their country along a different path.

It would be wrong to assume that Li Dazhao incubated a hatred for America after 1919. On the contrary, he still retained his passion for the American people, particularly the working class, as he extolled American

labourers' contributions to the international proletariat. He admired American women for their accomplishments and supported their ongoing feminist movement. He did not deny the values of American civilization, because he continued to appreciate American cultural progress. However, he started to employ the Marxist doctrine to interpret the United States and view it through the lens of class struggle. He utilized Lenin's theory to condemn American imperialism and its aggression in China, with which he advanced his notion that the Chinese people became a proletarian nation, while the Chinese revolution was intended to oust imperialist invaders. Throughout his life, he never compromised anything for his nationalism, which he proclaimed at the top of his lungs. It was his obsession with national independence, liberation, and resurgence that prompted him to be both a pro-American intellectual and a pro-Russian activist across the 1919 line. A close examination of his changing attitude towards America proves that American involvement in Paris so changed Li's outlook that he could no longer in good faith promote American solutions for Chinese concerns. Henceforth, his nation-building and state-building efforts shifted from an American- to Russian-influenced transformation. This attitude change serves for us to understand the transformation of modern China, as Li's transformed thought ultimately led him to adopt a new ideology and urged him to switch to a new model for his nation. More vitally, it was his newly chosen ideology that would redirect the unfolding path of twentieth-century China.

Bibliography

- Anon. September 18, 1989. "China Uses 1924 Essay to Target Reporters" *Toronto Star*: A12.
- Anon. December 24, 1922. "Differ on Kalgan Killing: Chinese Story of Shooting of American Contradicted by Consul." *New York Times*: 3.
- Cott, Nancy F. 2020. *Fighting Words: The Bold American Journalists who Brought the World Home between the Wars*. New York: Basic Books.
- Elleman, Bruce. 2002. *Wilson and China: A Revised History of the Shandong Question*. London Routledge.
- Hirson, Baruch and Arthur J. Knodel. 2007. *Reporting the Chinese Revolution: The Letters of Rayna Prohme*. London: Pluto Press.
- Jenco, Leigh. 2016. "New Pasts for New Future: A Temporal Reading of Global Thought." *Constellations* 23, no. 3: 436–447.

- Li, Dazhao. 2013. *Li Dazhao quanji* [The Complete Works of Li Dazhao], Vol. 1-5. Beijing: Renminchubanshe.
- Lidazhaozhuanbianxiezu. 1979. *Li Dazhao zhuan* [Biography of Li Dazhao]. Beijing: Renminchubanshe.
- Li, Jihua, Chang Jinjun, and Li Quanxing. 2011. *Li Dazhao beipu xisheng anzang ziliaoxuanbian* [Historical materials concerning Li Dazhao's arrest, death, and burial]. Beijing: Xianzhuangshuju.
- Liao, Jing. March 2008. "The New Cultural Movement and the Breakthrough in Chinese Academic Library Reform." *Library History* 24, no. 1:37–47.
- Liu, Minshan. 1989. *Li Dazhao yu Tianjin* [Li Dazhao and Tianjin]. Tianjin: Tianjinshekeyuan.
- Meisner, Maurice. 1967. *Li Ta-chao and the Origins of Chinese Marxism*. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press.
- Manela, Erez. May 2019. "Asia in the Global 1919: Reimagining Territory, Identity, and Solidarity." *The Journal of Asian Studies* 78, no. 2:409–416.
- Mitter, Rana. 2010. *A Bitter Revolution: China's Struggle with the Modern World*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Nelson, Diane M. and Robert B. Nelson. 1993. "Li Ta-chao," in *World Encyclopedia of Library and Information Services*, Robert Wedgeworth, ed. 3rd Edition Chicago: American Library Association.: 521.
- Pei, Ernian. 2007. "Li Dazhao: zhongguo xiandai tushuguan shiye de dianjiren" [Li Dazhao: the founder of the modern Chinese library enterprise]. *Cangsang* [Vicissitude] no. 5:158–159.
- Rossabi, Morris. 2014. *A History of China*. Malden, MA: Wiley Blackwell.
- Shan, Patrick Fuliang. 2020. "Assessing Li Dazhao's Role in the New Cultural Movement," in *A Century of Student Movements in China: The Mountain Movers, 1919–2019*, edited by Xiaobing Li and Qiang Fang, eds. Lanham, MD: Rowman & Littlefield: 3–22.
- Wang, Jie. 2010. *Li Dazhao Beijing shinian: jiaowangpian* [Li Dazhao's Ten Years in Beijing: Social Connections]. Beijing: Central Compilation & Translation Press.
- Weston, Timothy B. 2004. *The Power of Position: Beijing University, Intellectuals, and Chinese Political Culture, 1898–1929*. Berkeley: University of California Press.
- Wu, Huanfa, ed. 1994. *Li Dazhao yu guxiang* [Li Dazhao and his hometown], Beijing: Zhongyangwenxianchubanshe
- Zhu, Chengjia. 2009. *Li Dazhao zhuan* [Biography of Li Dazhao]. Beijing: Zhongguoshehuikexuechubanshe.
- Zhu, Zhimin. 2009. *Li Dazhao zhuan* [Biography of Li Dazhao]. Beijing: Hongqichubanshe

About the Author

Dr. Patrick Fuliang Shan is professor in the Department of History at Grand Valley State University. His monograph, *Taming China's Wilderness: Immigration, Settlement, and the Shaping of the Heilongjiang Frontier, 1900–1931*, probes the history of China's northeastern frontier during a historical transformation. His new book, *Yuan Shikai: A Reappraisal*, was published by the University of British Columbia Press in 2018.