Primary Sources

"Angell Treaty." last modified November 17, 1880. Yung Wing Project. PDF.
This source is the text of the Angell Treaty of 1880. This treaty modified the terms of the Burlingame Treaty and allowed the government to restrict Chinese immigration to the U.S. I quote Article I in The CEM - Friends and Foes to show rising tensions against the Chinese.

Bowen, James L. "Rong Hong and His Work." *Scribner's Monthly*, May 1875, 106-09. PDF.
This article is a commentary of Rong Hong and his work with the CEM. In it, the author (Bowen) notes his surprise at the patience and dedication of the CEM students. I quote this source in The CEM - Life in America to show how quickly the CEM students learned English and adapted to American culture.

This image is a list of presentations at Springfield Collegiate Institute, where some of the CEM boys attended. Just a few months after arriving in the U.S., four students were able to give public recitations in Greek, Latin, Chinese and English. I include this image in The CEM - Life in America.

This image is of the new group of Chinese students in the U.S. These students, like the CEM students, attended U.S. colleges and universities. Their tuition was paid for by the Boxer Indemnity Fund (the U.S. allocated part of China's Boxer Rebellion indemnity to fund students to come to the U.S.). I include this image in Legacy - Notable Students.

This image shows wagons of money (representing China's reparations at the end of the First Opium War) entering the British Mint. I include it in Background - Historical Context.

https://archive.org/details/yalehistory00yalerich.
This source is a history of the Yale Class of 1884. In it, there are several mentions of the CEM students, who had to leave in their sophomore year. I quote in The CEM -
Termination to show how the suddenness of the CEM students' departure and their classmates' worry for their safety (as it was rumored that they would be decapitated).

This article is authored by CEM student Li Enfu. Li credits the U.S. for China's modernization, and he says that because of the U.S.'s advances, China was able to leave its seclusion and adopt Western technologies. I quote this source in Legacy - Impact to show how the CEM brought Western influences back to China.

———. "Graduating Address of Yan Phou Lee, at Yale College." The American Missionary 41, no. 9 (September 1887): 269-73. PDF.
This article is authored by Li Enfu, a CEM student who advocated heavily against Chinese exclusion from the U.S.; it is his graduation speech from Yale College. I quote this source in Legacy - Impact to show how the CEM students, now fluent in English, could clearly and effectively argue on behalf of China and Chinese immigrants against the Chinese Exclusion Acts.

———. When I Was a Boy in China. Boston: Lothrop Publishing Company, 1887. Accessed March 9, 2015. https://archive.org/details/wheniwasboyinch00leey. This book is a memoir written by Li Enfu, a CEM student, on his experiences as a child and as a student in the U.S. Unfortunately, the time period of the book ends right after he arrives in the U.S., but nevertheless, Li provides interesting insight on the beginning of the CEM. I use this source in Origins - Assistance and Approval and The CEM - Life in America to show the students' first impressions to the CEM and to the U.S.

This image is of six Yale Sheffield Scientific School engineering students, including CEM student Lu Yongquan of the first detachment. I include this image in The CEM - Life in America.

This image is of Rong as a college student at Yale. From the image, it is clear that Rong transition into Western culture. I include this image in Background - Who was Rong Hong?.

This source is a article by a committee of the California Senate. In it, the committee members argue the disadvantages of having Chinese laborers in the U.S. I quote from this source in The CEM - Friends and Foes to show how Chinese immigrants were seen as "cheap labor," and when they began to threaten the jobs of other immigrants and Americans, they met much resistance.

This address by Rong discusses the relationship between the U.S. and Chinese governments. Rong says that the U.S. government was key in encouraging China to interact with foreign countries through the Burlingame Treaty, but also that as the years went on, treatment of Chinese immigrants worsened. I quote it in Origins - Assistance and Approval to show the (initially) positive effects of the Burlingame Treaty.

This book is Rong's autobiography. He chronicles his experience as a child, as a student in the U.S., and as the founder and leader of the CEM. This was an extremely helpful source because not only does it provide a narrative account of events, it also gives insight into Rong's thoughts on the CEM. I use and quote this source throughout my website, especially in the earlier sections, to show the story of the CEM through Rong's perspective. Of course, this source has some bias: Rong put all his efforts into the CEM, and so naturally he is very critical of its opponents.

This letter is from Rong to his mentor, Samuel Wells Williams during his time as a Yale college student. In it, he shares his thoughts on college life, in particular how the atmosphere of Yale is very different from the atmosphere of Chinese schools. I quote from this source in Background - Who was Rong Hong? to show how Rong enjoyed his time at Yale and in the U.S.

These two images are depictions of the CEM students' train ride from California to New England. According to Li Enfu, the train encounter bandits who robbed the train of its gold and also a herd of buffalo. I include these images in The CEM - Life in America.

This image is of Joseph Twichell and Rong, who became good friends around the time of the CEM. The photograph was taken shortly before Rong's departure for China. I include it in The CEM - Friends and Foes.
This source is a lecture given by J.G. Kerr regarding the issue of Chinese immigration to the U.S. It provides a different, less common viewpoint: Kerr argues that the U.S. should not blame the Chinese immigration for the high unemployment rates. I quote this source in The CEM - Friends and Foes to show that not everyone opposed Chinese immigration.

This image is of Li Hongzhang, who was a Qing official and later became the patron of the CEM. At first he supported, Rong's ideas for self-strengthening, but later he became impatient with the CEM's results and as a result, the CEM was aborted. I include this image in Origins - Approval and Assistance.

This article announces the arrival of Rong and Chen Lanbin (co-commissioners of the CEM) to the U.S; it also includes a short description of both men. I include a quote describing Rong's fluency in English in Origins - An Idea is Born to show Rong's high level of comfort with Western culture.

This article announces the arrival of the first detachment of CEM students in California. Their arrival aroused much excitement from the press, who were surprised to find that the students were so well-mannered. I quote this article in The CEM - Life in America to show how the CEM students varied greatly from the American stereotypes of the Chinese.

This article shows some of the negative reactions to the Burlingame Treaty. I quote it in Origins - Assistance and Approval to show that not everyone in the U.S. was pleased with the Burlingame Treaty's terms. Some thought it was only beneficial to the Chinese. Perhaps this dissatisfaction was among the reasons for the revisions to the Burlingame Treaty made in 1880.
This article reports the marriage of Rong and Mary Kellogg of Avon, Connecticut. Although this happens well after the CEM is started, Rong's marriage to an American woman is representative of his disregard for Confucian traditions. At the time, an interracial marriage such as this was very uncommon (which was likely why it was reported in the New York Times). I quote this article in Origins - An Idea is Born.

This image (a cartoon) is a rather satirical depiction of how the U.S. only barred the Chinese from immigrating (with the Chinese Exclusion Acts). I include this image in The CEM - Friends and Foes.

This image is of the CEM's baseball team and was taken outside the CEM headquarters. The students really enjoyed American sports, and often participated in baseball, crew, etc. I included this image in The CEM - Life in America.

This book is William Lyon Phelps's autobiography. Phelps went to school with many of the CEM students. In the twelfth chapter, he talks about how well-mannered, talented, and adaptable the students were, and also expresses regret at their early departure. I quote this chapter in The CEM - Life in America to show the good relationships the CEM students had with U.S. students.

This article is the obituary of Zhan Tianyou, a CEM student. I quote and translate it in Legacy - Notable Students to highlight Zhan's contributions: namely, he built the Beijing-Zhangjiakou Railroad in a short four years. It shows how the students' Western education allowed them to make considerable contributions to China.

This image is of Mary Kellogg, Rong's wife, at the time of their wedding. She is from Avon, Connecticut. Kellogg and Rong were introduced to each other by Joseph Twichell, and the two married in 1875. I include this image in Origins - An Idea is Born.
Sheffield Scientific School Class of 1881. Photograph. 1880/1881. 10515. Yale Class Album. Accessed March 11, 2015. http://images.library.yale.edu/madid/oneltem.aspx?id=1780842&q=Sheffield%20Scientific%20School%20Class%201881&q1=&q2=&qc1=&qc2=&qf1=&qf2=&qn=&qo=&qm=&qs=&sid=&qx=. This image is of Yale's Sheffield Scientific School class photograph (class of 1881). Two CEM students, Zhan Tianyou and Ouyang Geng, are in this class; these students were the only two from the CEM to fully receive a college degree before the CEM was aborted. I include this image in The CEM - Life in America.


"Treaty between China and the United States." 1868. Chinese in California. University of California Berkley Bancroft Library, Berkley. Accessed March 8, 2015. http://content.cdlib.org/ark:/13030/hb4m3nb03h/?order=6&brand=calisphere. This is the original text of the Burligame Treaty. I quote Articles V and VI in Origins - Assistance and Approval. Respectively, they concern immigration rights and access to public education. I think these two articles are particularly applicable to the CEM, as it allowed for Chinese students to come to the U.S. and attend U.S. schools.

Yale College Crew of 1880 with the Leg-of-mutton Oars. Photograph. 1880. 1815. Yale Athletics Photographs. Accessed March 11, 2015. http://images.library.yale.edu/madid/oneltem.aspx?id=1771204&q=Chung%20Mun%20Yew&q1=&q2=&qc1=&qc2=&qf1=&qf2=&qn=&qo=&qm=&qs=&sid=&qx=. This image is of the 1880 Yale crew team. During his time at Yale, CEM student Zhong Wenyao was a coxswain, and, allegedly, he was key to their success against rival teams. I include this image in The CEM - Life in America.

Zeng Guofan, Rong's Powerful Patron. Yung Wing and CEM Students Research Academy, Zhuhai, China. In Fortunate Sons: The 120 Chinese Boys Who Came to America, Went to

This image is of Zeng Guofan, a very powerful official in the Qing government. Without his support, Rong and the CEM would have likely not been approved. I include this image in Origins - Assistance and Approval.


This letter was written just before the start of the First Opium War. In it, Commissioner Lin implores Queen Victoria to see the amoral nature of the opium trade and call an end to it. I quote this letter in Background - Historical Context to show how the Opium Wars fueled anti-Western resentment in China.


This image is of Zhan Tianyou as a Yale student, one of the CEM students. Zhan later became China's first fully qualified railroad engineer. I include this image in Legacy - Notable Students.


This image is of Zhan Tianyou, a CEM student, as an adult. I include this image in Legacy - Notable Students.
Secondary Sources

Austen, Barbara. "Yung Wing’s Dream: The Chinese Educational Mission, 1872-1881." Connecticut History.org. Accessed March 13, 2015. http://connecticuthistory.org/yung-wings-dream-the-chinese-educational-mission-1872-1881/. This website was a good reference for when I was first started the project, as it referenced a few sources to look at and also gave me a general idea of what topics I should cover. Although I do not use it directly in my website, reading through the article was a helpful way of starting my research.


A CEM Chinese Class. Photograph. CEM Connections. 2006. Accessed March 12, 2015. http://www.cemconnections.org/index.php?option=com_easygallery&act=categories&cid=26&Itemid=56. This image is of a teacher and several students in the CEM headquarters during a Chinese class. The teachers were very strict, and from the expressions of the students, it is clear that they do not enjoy the Chinese lessons. I include this image in The CEM - Friends and Foes.

CEM Connections. Accessed March 12, 2015. http://www.cemconnections.org/. This website was a very useful resource in making my website. It provided a narrative of starting, executing, and aborting the CEM, as well as profiles on each of the CEM students. The website helped me get a better understanding of the sequence of events. It also has a gallery of photos of Rong, the students, etc.

Courtney, Steve. *Joseph Hopkins Twichell: The Life and Times of Mark Twain's Closest Friend*. Athens: University of Georgia Press, 2008. Accessed March 11, 2015. https://books.google.com/. This book is a biography of Joseph Twichell, who was friends with Rong. When the CEM was about to be terminated, Rong enlisted Twichell's help. Although they kept the CEM alive for only a few extra months, Rong was very appreciative of Twichell's help. I quote Twichell a few times to show how many Americans supported the CEM and China's attempts at reform. (Note: since the URL is very long, the main URL is included instead)

This table shows the province distribution of the CEM students. Most of the students came from the maritime provinces, since the news of the CEM did not reach far inland. I include it in Origins - Assistance and Approval.


This image is of the first detachment of CEM students. They are in traditional Chinese clothing and are very young. I include this image in The CEM - Life in America.


This book was a very useful reference source, and it helped me get an idea of the sequence of events. It chronicles everything from Rong's initial return to China all the way through the careers of some of the CEM students. This book also quotes many primary sources, which were very useful in providing contrasting viewpoints on the CEM, and it highlights the stories of many individuals (such as the CEM students, commissioners, Qing officials, etc.). I quote from this book throughout my website. I also use many images (individually cited) from this book.

Mrs. Gutzlaff's Mission School. Illustration. JPG.

This image, from the CCTV documentary "Young Children," is of a British mission school in Macao that Rong attended as a child. It was his first interaction with Western influences. I include it in Background - Who was Rong Hong?


Perdue, Peter C. "The First Opium War: The Anglo-Chinese War of 1839-1842." MIT Visualizing Cultures. Last modified 2011. Accessed February 22, 2015. http://ocw.mit.edu/ans7870/21f/21f.027/opium_wars_01/ow1蓬勃发展.html. This article summarizes the events preceding and immediately following the First Opium War. The section "1st Unequal Treaty" was especially helpful, as it showed the long-reaching effects of the Opium War. I use it as a reference for Background - Historical Context to show the harsh terms of the Treaty of Nanjing and the subsequent tensions between China and the West.

This article provided a good introduction to the historical context for the CEM, in particular the Qing Dynasty. From it, I decided that the Opium Wars were most relevant to the CEM. I used it as a reference when writing Background - Historical Context to show how the Qing dynasty was susceptible to both internal and external threats.

Republican Laywer and Former U.S. Representative from Massachusetts, Anson Burlingame. Illustration. U.S. Department of State: Office of the Historian. Accessed March 8, 2015. https://history.state.gov/milestones/1866-1898/burlingame-seward-treaty. This image is of Anson Burlingame, who was appointed as U.S. Minister to China. With his help, the U.S. and China were able to sign the Burlingame Treaty. I include this image in Origins - Assistance and Approval.

The Triumph of the British Arms, 1842. Photograph. National Maritime Museum. Accessed February 22, 2015. http://ocw.mit.edu/ans7870/21f/21f.027/opium_wars_01/ow1_essay04.html. This image shows the front and back of a commemorative gold medal in celebration of the First Opium War made by England. The British were very happy with their victory, as the terms of the Treaty of Nanjing were in their favor. I include this image in Background - Historical Context.


Young Children. China Central Television. March 22, 2011. Accessed March 9, 2015. http://tv.cntv.cn/video/C25010/567d5e4fd4974c686ef9e795532e7ada. This is a five-part China Central Television (CCTV) documentary "Young Children." I used clips and quotes from this documentary throughout my website. It provides interesting commentary by historians or descendants of the CEM students that provide insight into the day-to-day lives of Rong and the students. This documentary is a fairly objective source: it includes quotes from and stories about a variety of characters related to the CEM, both supporters and opponents.

The Yung Wing Project. Last modified 2006-2015. Accessed March 13, 2015. http://ywproject.x10.mx/texts.htm. This website was a very useful resource in my research. It has a list of images of Rong and the CEM students in the Yale Manuscripts and Archives, as well as a list of primary documents that links to New York Times articles, books and autobiographies, speeches and addresses, etc. Many of the primary sources and images I use in the website are linked from here.