A Perpetual Fire

John C. Ferguson and His Quest for Chinese Art and Culture

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Introduction

In August 1887, John C. Ferguson, born in Napanee, Ontario, made the first of many trips between North America and China. At the age of twenty-one, equipped with a seminary school education, he was answering what he believed to be "the call" to join the American Methodist mission in Nanking. Ferguson would only stay as a missionary in that Yangtze River city for ten years. In 1897, he was recruited by Sheng Xuanhuai (盛宣懷), an active proponent of reform in China's Qing dynasty government, to build and manage a Western-style school in Shanghai. In this treaty port city, where so much of the Sino-foreign interaction and modernization of China would play out in the early twentieth century, Ferguson's career ramified and prospered. He gained positions as foreign adviser to influential figures in the Qing government, and developed a successful Chinese language newspaper, the *Xinwenbao* (新聞報). In the 1910s, Ferguson also played a leading role in Shanghai's North China Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society. His activity there would be an early stage in his development into a scholar of what he was just beginning to call "Chinese art."

With the downfall of the Manchu Qing dynasty in 1912, Ferguson's political work was put on hold for several years. This hiatus, along with his accumulated connections among the former government elite, propelled him into a new field. When Ferguson began to act as a buyer for New York's Metropolitan Museum of Art in 1912, he became a dealer of Chinese art. He positioned himself as a middleman between collectors and vendors in Peking, and the American museums and individuals who were just becoming interested in paintings, as well as ancient bronzes, jades, and pottery, from China.

In 1915, Ferguson was appointed as an adviser to the new Chinese Republican government, and soon settled nearly permanently in a Peking courtyard home. From this time until his forced departure from the city in 1943, he increasingly concentrated on what would become a massive body of writing on Chinese art and archeology, including English-language monographs, Chinese-language reference books, and countless articles, translations, and book reviews. In the 1920s and 1930s, Ferguson continued to buy for clients, but he acquired even more for his own collection with the help of a younger generation of archeologists and museum professionals in Peking. In 1934, he donated this assemblage of over one thousand objects to the school he had founded as a missionary, by this time the well-respected University of Nanking. The gift capped Ferguson's reputation as a scholar dedicated to the investigation and preservation of China's ancient artifacts—a reputation that was widely held in both Chinese and Western art circles but only partially reflective of his activity.

Over the years, John Ferguson discovered, and labored to define "Chinese art." This book details that journey of discovery. The story includes his exposure, in the company of the Manchu governor-general and collector, Duanfang (端方) (1861–1911), to *jinshi* scholarship—the epigraphical and historical study of the inscriptions on archaic metal (*jin* [金]) and stone (*shi* [石]) artifacts. Ferguson underwent a more intensive and pragmatic process of learning when he spent tens of thousands of American dollars buying paintings and artifacts from Peking dealers, and sought to authenticate and validate these pieces for his clients in the United States. Ferguson's published books, both those in English and those in Chinese, were dependent upon his research into these acquisitions for others and himself. Also inseparable from his work as a dealer and a scholar was the gradual development of Ferguson's own collection.

Ferguson was an eager collector, an avid scholar, and an ambitious promoter of the objects he gathered. His restless and omnivorous pursuit of Chinese art illuminates both the history of that art and the scholarship surrounding it. The concept of Chinese art was in flux in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. In the United States, Americans were coming to understand Chinese bronzes, paintings, and archeological artifacts as art, while in a modernizing China, comparable objects were being researched, preserved, and published in evolving ways for an expanding international audience. The lack of consensus on just what Chinese art was and who had the authority to determine its boundaries presented Ferguson with unusual opportunities, but also placed obstacles in his path. This book is thus also the story of how John Ferguson's career in Chinese art made him into the man we remember today.

In his writings, Ferguson asserted that culture, government, and art were inseparable in China; indeed, his concurrent involvement in politics and in art appreciation was critical to his rise to prominence. His position as an employee of the Qing government enabled him to learn of, to view, and to buy objects from the private collections of fellow officials. During the Republican era, his connections with the political and cultural elite allowed him special access to the former imperial collections and the new museums created for their preservation. Tracing John Ferguson's path from an assistant to Qing officials in the years 1898–1911 to an adviser to the Peking Palace Museum—formerly the Qing imperial palace—in the 1930s, this book addresses cultural and political change in modern China, and the active role played by foreign residents in domestic reform.

The Historical Context of Reform and Revolution in China

Ferguson's sojourn in China, stretching from 1887 until 1943, spanned an era of massive reform and reaction. Those years saw the Manchu Qing empire (1644–1911) and then the Chinese Republic (1911–1949) responding politically and culturally to demands for economic and territorial concessions, and to military invasions by Japan and Western imperialist powers. Ferguson participated directly in many of the formative international encounters and domestic modernization initiatives of the last decades of the Qing period. The political affairs of Ferguson's adopted country not only affected his life, but were also integral to the exchange of objects and both Chinese and Western notions about their significance. Over the course of the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, Chinese objects became increasingly accessible to viewers in the United States, as more Westerners traveled to China, and as the country's political unrest allowed antiquities to flow from collections and archeological sites there into

American museums and private homes. In China, the perceived need to compete for national survival encouraged a yearning for Western knowledge and institutions. John Ferguson's involvement with art developed in collaboration with Chinese men who were inspired by public art museums in Europe, the United States, and Japan, and for whom China's art and artifacts would become fundamental to a modern definition of national history and identity.

In 1858, after its defeat by Britain and France in the Second Opium War, the Qing government was forced to sign treaties granting foreign merchants and missionaries access to the interior of China. The Methodist stations along the Yangtze, including Ferguson's destination, Nanking, were part of the expansion of Western presence inland. In 1895, China suffered a second military loss, this time to Japan, which was once considered merely a weaker neighbor by the Peking government, but now revealed with brutal clarity to be a modernizing nation. The sense of humiliation among Chinese and Manchu officials prompted commitment to "self-strengthening" reforms of the army, schools, and industry, on the part of leading regional officials. Ferguson's invitation to work in Shanghai in 1897 was the direct result of this impetus for change. The curriculum of Nanyang College (南洋公學)—the school that Sheng Xuanhuai and John Ferguson established—was guided by the now well-known slogan: "Chinese learning for substance, Western learning for function" (中學為體，西學為用).

In 1900, the social distress brought about by devastating natural disasters and conflict with Christian missionaries culminated in the anti-foreign Boxer Rebellion, a popular uprising that spread across north China and gained the support of the court. In an attempt to control the potential consequences, leading officials of south-central China negotiated an independent non-aggression treaty with the interested foreign powers. Ferguson assisted Sheng Xuanhuai and governor-generals Liu Kunyi (劉坤一) and Zhang Zhidong (張之洞) in brokering this "Yangtze Compact." After the rebellion was suppressed by allied Western and Japanese forces and the Peking government was forced to sign the punitive Boxer Protocol, self-strengthening reforms gained the full support of the central government. The "New Policies" of 1901 decreed the transformation of traditional institutions and the development of modern infrastructure that had begun in the previous decades. John Ferguson was one of many foreign advisers employed to assist Qing officials in the development of new military forces, schools, railways, and related translations and diplomatic negotiations.

In October 1911, an uprising in the south-central Chinese city of Wuchang led to the downfall of the Qing dynasty and to four subsequent decades of political instability. John Ferguson had worked actively for the cause of reform in the 1890s and the first decade of the twentieth century, but he would be much less directly involved in the radical political and cultural movements that revolutionized China from 1911 to 1949. Ferguson chose to advise the Republican presidents—commonly called the warlord leaders—in Peking from 1915 through 1926. He was not a supporter of their opponent, the revolutionary leader Sun Yat-sen, who had held power just briefly in 1912. In 1925, Chiang Kai-shek succeeded Sun Yat-sen as the leader of a reconstituted Nationalist party and launched a military campaign to unify China and, in principle, to carry forward the republican ideals of the 1911 Revolution. Chiang Kai-shek's victory in 1928 effectively ended Ferguson's active involvement in China's government affairs. Throughout the 1920s and 1930s, the foreign resident expressed no sympathy for the embattled Chinese Communists who would win control of the country in 1949.

John Ferguson came to have close connections with the new universities, academic disciplines, and museums that grew out of the sense among many early twentieth-century Chinese intellectuals that cultural change was urgently needed. Although Ferguson did not sympathize with those who demanded a rejection of traditional Chinese cultural and social norms, exemplified by the adherents of the May Fourth Movement of 1919, he did play a part in the intellectual revolution in modern China. Ferguson was actively involved in the Government Museum and the Palace Museum, opened in Peking in 1914 and 1925 respectively to preserve the former Qing imperial collections. He was a close acquaintance of the Peking professors whose research bridged the gap between Qing dynasty *jinshi* scholarship and modern archeology in China, and was an avid reader, translator, and collector of their findings. His and his colleagues' dismissal of radical cultural transformation did not equal refusal to participate in modern change.

Collecting Japanese and Chinese Art in the United States

In 1929, the newly appointed curator of Asiatic art at the Detroit Institute of Arts, Benjamin March, published a report outlining the state of Chinese and Japanese art in American museums.[1] In a brief historical introduction, March explained how Chinese and Japanese objects, attractive to early nineteenth-century Americans as ethnographic specimens and goods for ornamental and practical use, were by the late 1920s "increasingly collected, appraised and appreciated in full equality with the great arts of all times and peoples."[2] John Ferguson, as a dealer and scholar of what he believed absolutely was Chinese art in the 1910s to 1930s, was involved in this pivotal change. The shifting American perception of Chinese and Japanese objects leading up to these decades provides essential context for Ferguson's exceptional fascination with the art, artifacts, and texts of his adopted home.

In the mid-eighteenth century, the richest colonial Americans shared the European taste for chinoiserie: luxury and decorative goods produced in China for the Western market, as well as comparable goods made in Europe (and to a limited extent in the colonies) according to an imagined Chinese aesthetic. After the colonies gained their independence in 1776, the American China trade expanded, supplying the wealthy and to some extent the middle class with tea, porcelain, silk, and silver and lacquer wares. The merchant captains and sailors also gathered what they considered objects of commercial and exotic interest, such as painted images of the processes of porcelain or tea manufacture.[3] After the Opium Wars, which concluded in 1842 and 1858 respectively, American interest and presence in China increased. The United States government representatives stationed in Peking, as well as Western dealers and collectors at home, began to acquire porcelain originally made for Chinese domestic use. In the 1860s, prior to any other Chinese objects, porcelain began to be appreciated for its artistic merits and to be purchased by the most prominent collectors and art dealers in the United States.[4]

China was seen as deficient in painting and sculpture, the genres believed to represent the greatest Western artistic achievements. The examples of Chinese painting that were accessible to American viewers were seen by American commentators as lacking in the skilled use of perspective, the application of color, and the depiction of light and shade customary in European paintings.[5] These included both landscape and genre scenes made for export that have come to be called "China trade paintings," as well as some works that were stylistically closer to

the ink painting historically appreciated in China. Prior to the early twentieth century, collectors in the United States did not understand China to have produced figural sculpture in stone and bronze that was worthy of their attention.[6] The abundant Chinese exports that Americans so eagerly consumed were seen as evidence of that empire's inability to produce "fine art." That failure was, in turn, interpreted as symptomatic of China's inability to progress culturally and politically, as its defeat in the Opium War appeared to confirm.[7] In neither the 1876 Centennial Exposition in Philadelphia nor the 1893 World's Columbian Exposition in Chicago, to which the host and participating countries devoted so much attention, were products from China included among the displays of "fine art," another telling indication of their status in the United States.[8]

In the late nineteenth century, before Chinese objects came to be understood in a new way, Europeans and Americans developed a fascination with Japan that has come to be called *japonisme*. This cultural phenomenon led to a broad appreciation of Japanese objects as fine art and, a quarter of a century later, to a similar understanding of Chinese art and artifacts. The historical convergence of American interest in the art of these two neighboring countries, and the primary attention paid to Japan by scholars and collectors such as Ernest Fenollosa and Charles Freer, had a lasting impact on how Americans came to view Chinese art.

In the early 1850s, Commodore Perry's United States naval expedition to force Japan open for trade first excited American interest in that island country and its products. After the Meiji Restoration of 1867, when a modernizing Japan exported an increasing number of goods to the United States and devoted significant resources to promoting both new products and arts with a longer tradition at international expositions, American consumption of and captivation with these items grew.[9] With increasing exposure, and as a few elite Americans were able to travel and live in Japan in the 1870s and 1880s, the older paintings, sculpture, *ukiyo-e* prints, and ceramics came to be preferred over newer crafts. American *japonisme* was not a superficial fad. The consumption of Japanese art works during the Gilded Age (about 1870–1900) was essential to the political and cultural identity of the young American nation that was just expanding its imperial presence in the Far East.[10]

This enjoyment of Japanese painting, prints, and fictile arts was integral to a growing respect for what was thought of as fine art among the cultural elite of the United States. It was equally fundamental to the establishment in 1870 of the Metropolitan Museum of Art (hereafter the Metropolitan) and the Museum of Fine Arts, Boston (hereafter the MFA). Not long after their opening, these institutions acquired collections of Chinese and Japanese porcelain, and, in the case of the MFA, Japanese paintings and prints. The new interest in Japan stoked a fascination with Buddhism and other forms of non-Protestant spirituality among upper middle-class Americans in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. This "popular Orientalism," as well as the importance placed on the arts and aesthetic experience, stemmed in part from the cultural turmoil of the newly industrializing United States.[11]

Ernest Fenollosa, who was educated at Harvard University and who taught in Japan from 1878 through 1890, played a critical role in stimulating American appreciation of Japanese objects as fine art. While in Tokyo, he became deeply involved in promoting the preservation and revitalization of what he viewed as traditional Japanese painting, as an alternative to the newer Western-influenced styles being promoted by Meiji artists and officials. Fenollosa acquired Japanese paintings as well as Chinese paintings that had been collected in Japan, and

inspired the Boston physician, William S. Bigelow (1850–1926), to gather a wide range of objects during his travels in Japan. These all came into the possession of the MFA in 1889, giving this museum by far the richest collection in the country of what was then definitely understood as Japanese art.[12] Fenollosa, as the first curator of that museum's Department of Japanese Art from 1890 to 1895, and then as art dealer and author of *Epochs of Chinese and Japanese Art* (published posthumously in 1912), had few rivals in interpreting Japanese and Chinese art to American audiences and collectors from the 1890s to beyond his death in 1908.[13]

In *Epochs of Chinese and Japanese Art*, one of the earliest English-language books on the topic, Fenollosa wrote that all of Asian art shared one line of artistic development. He believed that through a synthesis of diverse traditions, brilliant landscape painting had been achieved in Tang and Song China (spanning 618–1279), but after that time, the "genius" of Asian art had passed to Japan.[14] Fenollosa had only contempt for the literati painting of the Yuan, Ming, and Qing dynasties (spanning 1279–1911) and for related styles in Japan. Instead, Fenollosa had acquired a taste for what he understood to be early Chinese and Japanese paintings, and for later Japanese works that perpetuated Song dynasty styles.[15] The American fascination with Buddhism, which Fenollosa shared, also stimulated his interest in and purchase of paintings in the religion's Chan or Zen traditions. These works, dating from the Song dynasty and later, had been long appreciated by Japanese connoisseurs, but were neither admired nor well studied in China.[16]

Charles Freer, the Detroit philanthropist who from the late 1880s to the 1910s would select a collection of Japanese and Chinese art to rival that of the MFA, considered Fenollosa his "teacher, adviser, and inspirer."[17] Freer acquired his first Japanese ceramics and prints in the United States in the late 1880s and early 1890s. He then bought many more fine-quality objects, first from Japan and later from China, on four trips to East Asia in the 1890s and early 1900s. Fenollosa introduced Freer to prominent collectors in Japan, advised him on purchases from the newly established dealers of Japanese art in Boston and New York, and offered to sell Freer paintings he had acquired himself. In 1907, after Freer's gift of his collection to the public Smithsonian Institution in Washington, DC, Fenollosa helped him review the Japanese, Chinese, and Korean paintings and ceramics included in the gift.[18] Following the death of his adviser in 1908, Charles Freer similarly chose objects from genres and periods that Fenollosa had praised.

On his 1909 trip to Asia, Freer became convinced of the preeminence of Chinese rather than Japanese art. From that time until his death in 1919, he focused on the acquisition of Chinese paintings, Buddhist sculpture, ancient bronzes, and jades. Okakura Tenshin, formerly a student and coworker of Fenollosa, and later his successor as curator of the Chinese and Japanese collection at the MFA, from 1906 to 1913, also increasingly purchased Chinese objects. Okakura's and Freer's choice was in part pragmatic: in the first decades of the twentieth century, the turmoil of the Chinese Revolution and the high demand for Japanese fine art made Chinese objects more available and affordable. These two men were the undisputed pioneers in introducing Chinese paintings and ancient artifacts to American art collections, and in expanding their contents beyond the long admired porcelain. Nonetheless, in the early 1910s, Chinese art was still largely defined by Japanese and Orientalist tastes rather than Chinese standards of connoisseurship. At the turn of the twentieth century, John Ferguson

began to learn of China's incomparably sophisticated tradition of art historical scholarship, and soon after, he became aware that this literature carried little weight in the interpretation of China's objects abroad. Faced with this seemingly nonsensical situation, Ferguson launched a crusade for change.

An Early Champion of Literati Painting?

The limited existing scholarship on John Ferguson sketches a portrait of an unacknowledged pioneer who sought to introduce the kind of paintings appreciated by Chinese connoisseurs and recorded in Chinese texts to North American collections and audiences. *Time of Transition* (1991), by the now retired curator and director of the Freer Gallery of Art and Arthur M. Sackler Gallery, Thomas Lawton, describes the thorough and adept use of traditional Chinese texts and methods of connoisseurship Ferguson demonstrated in his writing. "Several decades would pass," Lawton stated, "before any Westerner approached the subject [of Chinese painting] with a comparable grasp of Chinese language and culture."[19] *Time of Transition* also shows Ferguson to have been in advance of his peers in his selection of Chinese bronzes from the Han dynasty (206 BC–AD 220) and earlier. Lawton concluded that Ferguson made an important early contribution to the Western understanding of China, but judged that Ferguson's confidence in Chinese sources led him to make errors in scholarship and the authentication of objects. Warren Cohen's 1992 *East Asian Art and American Culture* states that Ferguson's part in facilitating Chinese art appreciation in the United States was comparable to Fenollosa's influence upon the MFA and Charles Freer, but that Ferguson's role has been largely neglected by historians. Ferguson's purchases for the Metropolitan in 1912–1913, particularly the Ming and Qing paintings, Cohen argued, did not receive their due recognition because the taste of the museum authorities had been shaped by Japanese traditions of connoisseurship.[20]

John Ferguson's recognition of the significance of calligraphic painting was largely shaped by his reading of art criticism by Chinese scholars of the Song through the Qing dynasties. He was one of the first Americans to engage in the serious Sinological study of Chinese art. Ferguson placed a priority on the research of objects through attached signatures, seals, colophons, and records of particular paintings and inscriptions in historical texts. This approach, marrying the techniques employed by Chinese connoisseurs with those used by Western scholars in Sinology, trickled into American museums in the 1920s and 1930s. Not until the 1940s and 1950s, however, when led by curators trained in China and under European Sinologists, did this methodology begin to rival the influence of American Orientalist and Japanese-influenced connoisseurship.[21] Describing an ongoing debate in the 1940s and postwar period, Cohen questioned: "Would American collectors and curators be guided by the arguments of Japanese connoisseurs as championed by Fenollosa—or by traditions of Chinese art criticism as explicated by Ferguson?"[22]

In the evolution of American appreciation of Chinese painting, John Ferguson is credited with having staked out an avant-garde position. In the years just after Ernest Fenollosa condemned the "degeneration of art" in the Ming and Qing dynasties, Ferguson, guided by Chinese collectors and dealers, selected paintings from those very periods for the Metropolitan.[23] Ferguson's choice is viewed with respect by contemporary scholars of Chinese paintings in the United States, who value literati painting, even as they see the limitations of this category, which has shaped the practice and history of painting in China for centuries.

Song dynasty intellectuals were the first to identify painting as an elite art, writing that the work of a scholar-official was expressive of his enlightened mind and the spirit of the subjects he depicted.[24] The art of the scholarly class continued to evolve in the Yuan, becoming ever more reflective of the artist's subjectivity, although the intellectuals of this dynasty published little art criticism.[25] In the late Ming, the painter and theorist Dong Qichang (董其昌) used the term "*wenren zhi hua*" (文人之畫)—the origin of our current term "literati painting"—to define a specific lineage of men he viewed as scholar-artists and their styles. This succession of artists stretched from Wang Wei (王維) in the Tang to Wen Zhengming (文徵明) in his own dynasty.[26] During the following Qing dynasty, "literati painting," in which calligraphic brushwork was the central mode of expression and artists believed to be scholar-amateurs conformed to the model praised by Dong Qichang, came to be most highly valued by Chinese connoisseurs.

The elevation of *wenren zhi hua* to the status of stylistic orthodoxy in the Qing dynasty narrowed the range of expressive choices made by artists and appreciated by patrons and collectors. Particularly among the educated elite, who asserted the authority of their own taste, Dong Qichang's art criticism led to a disdain for alternative painting traditions and styles. Song court academic painters and their followers, or more generally, technically skilled professional painters, were among those held in low esteem.[27] Chinese scholar-connoisseurs also came to disregard qualities other than calligraphic brushwork in painting, for example, color and fine descriptive detail.[28] These prejudices regarding the style and social class of the artist lasted into the twentieth century and still persist to a degree. James Cahill wrote, for example, of the fortunate preservation in Western and Japanese collections of anonymous Ming and Qing dynasty works composed in representational styles and for functional purpose. These paintings would not have been "prestigious" acquisitions for Qing dynasty and twentieth-century Chinese collectors, and are of a type that continues to be largely ignored by curators in China.[29]

The first generation of Chinese art historians who trained professionally in the United States in the 1950s and 1960s rejected the disregard for literati painting that had been cultivated at the MFA. These men, born in Asia or having had firsthand experience there, focused new attention on Chinese writings on art and the oeuvre of scholarly artists of the later dynasties.[30] This shift towards Dong Qichang's criteria of artistic excellence, nurtured by collectors who had fled Communist China and resettled in the United States, brought about its own limitations. American art historians came to identify with, as Jerome Silbergeld described, "the old literati tradition . . . the all-in-one scholar-connoisseur-critic-collector" and the type of paintings both produced and appreciated by that social group.[31] Only in the final decades of the twentieth century has this traditional canon of literati painters come to be seen as a historical construction representative of one among diverse artistic traditions in China.[32]

John Ferguson has seemed to fill a vacant role in the history of American appreciation of Chinese paintings: he was a solitary champion of Chinese standards of connoisseurship among peers who ignored or derided those criteria. Ferguson also found the restrictions of orthodox Chinese painting history chafing, however. He learned about and endeavored to explain the significance of literati painting, but it would be incorrect to conclude that he appreciated this type of work. In his opinions on art and history, Ferguson was more of his time and native place than research into his English-language publications and some of his acquisitions have

so far revealed. As a North American who achieved success in China, he was also involved in a larger international exchange, of which his public disagreement with Ernest Fenollosa constituted only a small part.

Interdependent Definitions and Collections of Chinese Art

John Ferguson has a place in a complex narrative of American collecting, one that brings into play the constant movement of ideas, people, money, and objects between China and the United States in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. A body of research taking shape in recent years has begun to piece this multifaceted story together. The contributing scholars owe a theoretical debt to Craig Clunas, who (along with his students) critically examined the changing taste for Chinese objects in Britain, the categorization of particular objects as art, and the people and institutions that contributed to that process.[33] Clunas argued that "art" is a socially constructed category and wrote that "Chinese art" and "Chinese art history" exist in their present form in the United Kingdom because of the particular culture of collectors there.[34] He found connoisseurship in Britain to be a classic example of Orientalism as defined by Edward Said: the Western scholars presumed that through their collected objects they had the capacity to interpret the whole of Chinese art and culture.

Much of the newest English-language scholarship considers change over time in collecting practices in China during the modern era. *Jinshi* scholarship prospered during the Qing dynasty, and knowledge and possession of bronzes, stone steles, and rubbings of these objects facilitated participation in elite social and political networks. The men who perpetuated antiquarianism after the 1911 Revolution, however, have been characterized in twentieth-century scholarship as resistant to cultural and political change. A central theme of recent studies is that the gradual transformation of Qing dynasty practices of collecting was an important component of cultural modernity in China. Shana Brown advanced our understanding of how *jinshi* scholars and collectors adapted their practices in the decades spanning the turn of the twentieth century.[35] New technologies such as photography, and new roles such as dealer and publicist, were selectively adopted, Brown argued, allowing the *jinshi* tradition to survive and evolve. To John Ferguson, acting as a *jinshi* collector meant making and sharing photographs as well as rubbings, and perhaps preserving these in one multimedia album.

Increased European, American, and Japanese interest in Chinese art and archeology, the spread of a Western discourse on fine art to Asia, and cultural change taking place in China led collectors in that country to gather new types of objects and to accord others novel significance. Stanley Abe, for example, explored how what we now call Chinese sculpture came to be understood as "Fine Art" by foreigners and Chinese in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries.[36] Hong Zaixin reached a related conclusion that the Shanghai painter and connoisseur, Huang Binhong (黃賓虹) (1865–1955), gave new legitimacy to the collection of Chinese seals by promoting them as three-dimensional works of art equivalent to the sculpture appreciated in the West.[37] John Ferguson learned from the Qing dynasty collectors and scholars and then Republican-era dealers and archeologists whom he was working with, while simultaneously supplying the objects he had come to know as Chinese art to American museums and individuals. He is an ideal subject illuminating with greater clarity the changes in the appreciation for art and antiquities in China that were engendered by Western demand and by a growing awareness of foreign knowledge and institutions.

Scholars who examine the communication and commerce that took place between collectors—Chinese and non-Chinese, residing in China and abroad—contribute to literature that recognizes native participation in the discourse of Orientalism. Cultural historians of China are now seeking to avoid rigid dichotomies such as Western/Chinese and powerful/powerless, and instead, present the complexity of power relations between foreigners in China and their hosts. John Ferguson shared intellectual traditions and institutions with European scholars of the "Orient" (India and the Middle East) and he fought to present alternatives to Western definitions of Chinese paintings, porcelains, and bronzes. London's celebrated 1935 International Exhibition of Chinese Art included numerous objects contributed by the Chinese government, but many of these were, to Ferguson's indignity, assigned new dates and attributions by the London organizing committee.[38] The new London labels encapsulate the ongoing competition to define Chinese art in the early twentieth century, and suggest the usefulness of a nuanced application of Said's theory to this period of Chinese art history.

A Nimble Member of an Evolving Art World

Drawing on abundant sources preserved in museums, archives, and libraries in China and across the United States, this book aims to enrich, and complicate, our current understanding of John Ferguson. Surviving objects and documents reveal the peregrinations of Ferguson's career and his tendency to record his activities. Taken together, they reflect nearly the totality of what Ferguson bought, sold, and wrote about Chinese art. Ferguson's frequent and emotionally expressive correspondence, now preserved in the Arthur M. Sackler Gallery and Freer Gallery of Art Archives, provides an invaluable glimpse into his heartfelt enthusiasm for his work, his acquaintances in China, and his experience of early twentieth-century war and revolution. Ferguson's private collection and library, preserved at Nanjing University, permit this study to encompass the details of his residence in Nanking, Shanghai, and Peking, and the tightly woven tapestry of social, political, and business contacts that allowed him to learn of and buy paintings and antiquities.

Thomas Lawton and Warren Cohen wrote of Ferguson as a collector and scholar who occasionally assisted the Metropolitan and Charles Freer to acquire Chinese art. We must also see Ferguson as a dealer, for his activities as a buyer and seller of art were integral to his other vocations. The international art market was an independent force that affected Ferguson's selection of Chinese art. His acquisitions were not only guided by what Chinese connoisseurs prescribed, but also by his budget and his clients' desires. Ferguson's involvement in the art trade also gave him the opportunity to view and handle many more objects than he could have as an individual collector; this experience allowed him to write books on Chinese art that were dense with descriptions and photographs, and to select exceptional pieces for himself. In the homes of Chinese collectors, dealers, and in some cases scholars, Ferguson socialized, appreciated paintings, bronzes, and other objects, and often made purchases. The meticulous records he kept of his contact with Chinese associates during his fifty-six years of residence in China illuminate the still obscure network of men in Peking who worked to bring art into American collections. Ferguson's transactions also reflect change over time in the art market, as once prosperous families in China felt the deepening effect of political and cultural upheavals and sought to exchange their now internationally valuable art objects for cash.

Ferguson's sustained and active presence in the Chinese scholarly and collecting communities also reveals the involvement of successive generations of Chinese antiquarians, and university and museum staff, in what was becoming an international field of Chinese archeology and art history. Both Duanfang's invitation to Ferguson to join his gatherings for the viewing of antiquities in 1906–1909, and Ferguson's assistance in authenticating objects in the Palace Museum collection in 1928–1931, were rare privileges for a Westerner. At the same time, these opportunities were emblematic of the cosmopolitan nature of the last decades of the Qing dynasty and of the entire Republican era. During the decades of John Ferguson's career in China, Qing officials traveled to the West and Japan, interacted with foreign advisers in China, and made loans to foreign-organized exhibitions of Chinese art. Republican-era scholars of art and archeology received Western-style education, at home and abroad, and participated in an exchange of ideas with researchers in Europe and the United States.

Ferguson's passion for Chinese art blossomed in the latter half of his life, after the fall of the Qing dynasty. The first part of this book explores the intellectual cultures that Ferguson absorbed prior to 1911, through his encounters with Qing dynasty officials and the North China Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society. As a government employee and a privileged foreign resident of Shanghai, Ferguson gained an elite status that would later allow him a rare access to exclusive circles of Chinese art connoisseurs in both China and the United States. Ferguson's work in the years 1890–1911 prepared him for a career in Chinese art, but the revolution prompted him to turn his avocation into a profitable activity. Part II will explore Ferguson's first and very active years as a buyer and interpreter of Chinese art for American collectors in the 1910s. During these years, Ferguson struggled as an art dealer. He and his museum employers often diverged in their ideas about what paintings and objects were desirable, and all were unsure of how Chinese art should look.

John Ferguson had passed his fiftieth birthday (in 1916) and was nearing retirement when he began to assemble a private collection. In 1928, he made the preliminary decision to donate his accumulated art and archeological artifacts to the University of Nanking. Part III turns to this collection, now frozen in the form in which it was given to the university in 1934, and asks: What history, artistic achievement, and cultural capital did the Chinese objects represent for their American owner?[39] The answers suggest why John Ferguson devoted much of his later life to acquiring, organizing, and expounding on works of painting and calligraphy, bronzes, ceramics, and rubbings.

In his books and articles from the 1910s through the 1940s, John Ferguson consistently argued that "in the realm of Chinese art studied by itself, its own standards must prevail."[40] Inevitable contradictions arose, however, between the intellectual assumptions and aesthetic criteria Ferguson brought with him from North America and the "standards" he learned of in Chinese texts and in conversations with his Peking associates. Part IV will address Ferguson's scholarship, concluding with a discussion of two indexes that remain in use today: *Lidai zhulu huamu* (歷代著錄畫目) (Catalog of recorded paintings of successive dynasties) (1934) and *Lidai zhulu jijinmu* (歷代著錄吉金目) (Catalog of recorded bronzes of successive dynasties) (1939). These reference works, compiled with the help of Chinese secretaries and scholars, reflect Ferguson's commitment to placing in order the massive amounts of information he had gathered in the course of his life and research in China.

"Youth," Ferguson wrote in Peking in 1916, "is the time for enthusiasms and for uncalculating zeal."[41] He kept up his ardor for decades, through revolution and war, and in tasks that ranged from school building to assembling collections to collating art historical references. From the encounters between China and the West in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, John Ferguson reaped a harvest for himself and for others that can only be described as exceptional.

Chapter 1

Achieving Prominence in China

A Methodist Upbringing in Canada and the United States, 1866–1887

John Calvin Ferguson was born in 1866 in the town of Lonsdale, now a neighborhood of Toronto, Canada.[1] His father, an itinerant Methodist minister also named John, and his mother, Catherine Pomeroy, were both natives of Ontario. Contrasting himself, his parents, and his own son, Charles, Ferguson wrote:

> He [Charles] always has reminded me of my Father . . . He moves with deliberation, is generous in his views of his fellow-men, only ambitious enough to keep going and not at all interested in books. He is very sound in all his views of life and everyone likes him. These are all characteristics of my Father whom I do not resemble at all. I was my Mother's boy, always on the jump.[2]

"On the jump" is an apt description of Ferguson's future involvement in various and overlapping money-making, intellectual, and social activities.

Ferguson's childhood environment in southern Ontario in the 1870s and 1880s was relatively rural, rugged, and poor. The family of eight moved frequently, following the father's preaching appointments and probably spending some time on the one-hundred-acre farm where John senior and Catherine had first lived together. From the age of thirteen through seventeen, Ferguson regularly walked seven miles each way from Canifton, where the family had settled semi-permanently, to attend secondary school in

Figure 1.1 John Ferguson, Brookville, Ontario, 1874, age 8. John Calvin Ferguson Family Papers, Freer Gallery of Art and Arthur M. Sackler Gallery Archives, Smithsonian Institution, Washington, DC, gift of Peter Ferguson, 1999. Photographer unknown.

the larger town of Belleville. The family certainly lived modestly on a minister's "meagre" and irregular salary.[3] One Christmas in Peking, describing the distribution of gifts to the children of his servants, Ferguson remarked:

> Each child had a bag of fruit candy and nuts, then a present wrapped in red paper and finally some cakes and candied fruit on a stick. All of which, I remember, is more than my parents were able to give me as a child.[4]

He began to support himself as an assistant pastor as soon as he left home at the age of eighteen, in 1884.

John Ferguson's time at Belleville's Albert College, a secondary school and seminary, was the beginning of a decidedly Christian education. He attended the school for five years, specializing in Classics and earning his license as a pastor. To complete his college education, Ferguson left Canada to enroll in Boston University, which had been founded as a Methodist seminary. He entered as a senior on the basis of entrance exams, and graduated with his Bachelor of Arts after just one year of regular study, in 1886.[5] He moved on directly to begin a degree at the Boston University School of Theology.

No formal training in art history was offered at Boston University while Ferguson was a student there. His future knowledge of both Western and Chinese art was completely self-taught. The university entrance exam subjects and courses offered included the literature, history, and geography of the Greek and Roman empires but no direct study of art or archeology.[6] Likewise, Ferguson's School of Theology courses did not touch on art historical topics.[7] The Museum of Fine Arts, Boston, had opened in 1876, displaying primarily reproductions of Classical and Renaissance period masterpieces; Ferguson probably made the occasional visit.[8] He evidently had some early interest in classical sculpture and architecture, for he brought with him to China his copy of *Dictionary of Greek and Roman Antiquities*.[9]

In March 1887, Ferguson wrote to John M. Reid, D. D., corresponding secretary for the Missionary Society of the Methodist Episcopal Church, saying that he had felt the "call" to preach, and that in a recent lecture he had learned that this was a "sufficient call to the mission field." He told Reid that he considered this "the light," "the voice of the Spirit" for which he had been hoping, and would be ready to depart for missionary work at any time.[10] After some vacillation, the board decided to send Ferguson to Nanking, China, that year, rather than have him complete his theological studies. The summer of 1887 was filled with activity and travel as Ferguson married his Albert College sweetheart and fellow Canadian, Mary Wilson, made farewell visits to his family (now scattered throughout the Great Lakes area), and proceeded westward across the United States in preparation to sail to China in the fall (see Figures 1.2 and 1.3).

On August 25, en route to his embarkation port of San Francisco, Ferguson wrote a letter to Reid that helps explain why this Canadian-born man is called an American in all biographical material. Ferguson described his attempt to apply for a US passport in Chicago, when he learned he had to be first naturalized as a citizen in his state of residence, Massachusetts, to obtain the document. With his departure approaching, Ferguson was faced with the options of traveling with no passport or applying as a resident of Canada for a British passport. The latter option was not attractive to Ferguson, who told Reid: "I do not want to be a British subject

Figure 1.2 John Ferguson, Boston, Massachusetts, 1887. John Calvin Ferguson Family Papers, Freer Gallery of Art and Arthur M. Sackler Gallery Archives, Smithsonian Institution, Washington, DC, gift of Peter Ferguson, 1999. Photographer A. H. Pepper Studio, Boston, MA.

Figure 1.3 Mary Ferguson, Rochester, New York, 1887. John Calvin Ferguson Family Papers, Freer Gallery of Art and Arthur M. Sackler Gallery Archives, Smithsonian Institution, Washington, DC, gift of Peter Ferguson, 1999. Photographer Bacon Studio, Rochester, NY.

for I have never intended to be one."[11] Expressing the American patriotism that would be fundamental to him throughout his life, he declared that he was "an American as much as I can be through education, prejudices and love of country."[12] How Ferguson solved his crisis is not clear, but he and his wife set sail for China as planned in late September 1887. Ferguson did not receive his coveted American citizenship until 1892 when he was naturalized in a Boston court while home from China on leave.[13]

A Missionary, Educator, and Acquaintance of the Elite in Nanking, 1888–1897

After arriving safely in Shanghai, John and Mary Ferguson spent their first year at the Methodist mission in Zhenjiang (鎮江), Jiangsu, downriver from Nanking on the Yangtze.[14] The 21-year-old Ferguson devoted the bulk of his time there to learning Chinese, thus establishing the base of fluency that would allow him to engage deeply with Chinese society and scholarship in future decades. He was talented in languages. As a prospective missionary, he had written to the Missionary Society that he was widely read in French, German, Latin, Greek, and Hebrew, and found language study to be "delightful."[15] He admitted, however, that the excellent proficiency he later achieved in Chinese required relentlessly determined study.

> I was left free for the study of the language. I began at once with my teacher and spent my whole time in study and conversation. It is surely hard work at the outset to gain any hold upon the Chinese language, but, like any difficult work, it must yield to constant labor.[16]

In addition to the satisfaction he reportedly derived from learning new languages, at the outset Ferguson's motivation to study Chinese was to render better service as a missionary. He wrote:

> The first year in the mission field has been to me more than I expected . . . I cannot but think of future years and wonder what joys of service they will bring to me; for if this year, when my hands have been tied by ignorance of the people's language, has brought me delight and profit, what of the years to come, when the cord shall have been snapped asunder?[17]

By the fall of 1888, John and Mary Ferguson had moved to their assigned station in Nanking. The American Methodists had secured land in this city only in 1884, and their mission was operating with very limited staff and facilities.[18] At the annual meeting of the Central China Conference, in November that year, Ferguson was appointed forthwith to two positions of responsibility: treasurer of the Central China Mission and president of the newly conceived "Nanking University," which existed only in name at that time.[19] Bishop Charles Fowler, who presided over the Central China Conference, recommended Ferguson to the Missionary Society secretaries in these terms:

> Though young in the Mission, he has the confidence and love of the entire Mission. He already preaches fluently in Chinese. He is a careful and painstaking business man. He has the highest sense of honor and integrity.[20]

Ferguson diligently handled the responsibilities of treasurer from 1888 through 1891, and for a brief period in 1894, served as a replacement superintendent of the Central China Mission. But he was primarily occupied in Nanking with the development of the city's first Western-style university.

In 1888, Ferguson and his fellow missionaries drafted an ambitious plan for the future university, proposing a College of Liberal Arts, School of Theology, School of Medicine, and School of Science.[21] Ferguson began the project by opening a small day-school in his home, named in Chinese "Huiwen shuyuan" (匯文書院) (which can be translated as "Convergence of Culture Academy").[22] In 1890, by dint of Ferguson's persistent fundraising efforts and negotiations with Qing officials, land was purchased for a campus, and one year later, sixty Chinese students were attending college preparatory classes in a new building.[23] In 1893 the school was incorporated as Nanking University by the State of Massachusetts, and in January 1897, the first seven men were granted university degrees: three in liberal arts, and two each from the theological and medical departments.[24] Ferguson, in addition to getting the school off the ground, had taught classes, translated textbooks, and stayed at the school through anti-foreign riots in 1891. He described graduation day as "the goal to which eight years of constant labor had been devoted."[25]

Although Ferguson's identity as a missionary has been overshadowed by his secular accomplishments in the 1890s and in later decades, his time in Nanking should be understood as a period of particularly active engagement in Ferguson's lifelong, evolving Christian

faith. During his first years in China, although Ferguson spent more time on educational and administrative duties than on promulgating Christianity, the young missionary expressed in vivid and passionate language his dedication to "saving souls." In 1889, Ferguson perceived that the board was disappointed with the progress at the Central China Mission, and wrote:

> We even hear that the good Mission Secretaries have in open? [ill.] called us "the sore [?] head Mission" but some of us are willing to be called almost anything if we can but see the glory of God in the salvation of souls . . . We have some grand godly men and women in this Mission who mean to spend and be spent for God . . . Don't be discouraged with us, or say hard things to us or find fault with us and by the grace of God, there will yet be victory in Central China.[26]

By 1896, Ferguson's remarks to the Educational Association of China suggested that sometime during the realization of Nanking University, educational reform in China had replaced evangelization as the target of his zeal:

> Educational reforms must be taken as the basis of all other reforms which China needs, and it is our duty as teachers and missionaries to do all in our power to hasten them. Plato held that the business of reforming education is the chief work of every man . . . This is a noble ambition and worthy of the most complete consecration to God and to one's fellow-men. It calls for the keenest spiritual insight, for the most complete self-abnegation and for the most earnest moral enthusiasm.[27]

When he left the Nanking mission in 1897, Ferguson expressed his regret, perhaps dutifully, that he had not had more success in the "evangelization" of China. Although he remained a deeply religious man, this was the last time that Ferguson indicated a desire to convert the Chinese to Christianity.[28]

In November 1897, exactly one decade after his arrival in China, Ferguson resigned from the Central China Mission of the Methodist Church. He had decided to accept a position as president of a planned school in Shanghai, Nanyang College, offered to him by the Qing official Sheng Xuanhuai. (This school would become the future Jiaotong University [交通大學].) Ferguson's stated motivation for the move was financial: he and Mary had had five children in Nanking, and his efforts to develop Nanking University and support his family on a missionary's salary had driven him into debt.[29] Ferguson later explained to his son Charles that he had laid aside his work as a minister, "the highest of all callings . . . in order to provide education for you all."[30] However, Ferguson's active engagement in activities other than proselytizing during and after his decade in Nanking conveys the sense of a man who became aware of a larger scope for his energies and ambitions, rather than one forced to leave his chosen work for financial reasons. After some initial discord, Ferguson maintained amicable working and personal relationships with the Methodist Church after his resignation.[31]

One crucial aspect of Ferguson's life in Nanking remains to be explored. Nanking was the capital of the politically and economically important Liangjiang administrative region, which included the provinces of Jiangsu, Jiangxi, Anhui, and the city of Shanghai. It was here that Ferguson's familiarity with high-level Qing bureaucrats had its earliest roots. His first noteworthy contact appears to have been with Liu Kunyi, who, as governor-general of Liangjiang,

resided in Nanking. In the spring of 1891, less than three years after his arrival in that city, Ferguson wrote home:

> I now have friendships with the leading officials and gentry of the city . . . Without my knowledge my name was proposed by one of the high officials of the city as Foreign Advisor to the Viceroy [governor-general Liu Kunyi] . . . Of course this has given me a great notoriety among the Chinese . . . I have no idea of giving up my mission work to accept such a position but am willing to realize the benefits to my work which comes from the proposal."[32]

Although Ferguson turned down the invitation, he did begin to advise the governor-general some years later, beginning with occasional assistance in 1894 and in a more formal capacity in 1898.[33] *The China Who's Who* of 1926 provides a rare hint of what Ferguson actually did as a foreign adviser (洋顧問), recording: "1898–1899 Special duty for the Viceroy of Nanking to settle extension of Shanghai Settlements; 1899 Special duty to settle Ningbo joss house case."[34] These two cases were linked: in 1898, a French and British request to expand the limits of their settlements in Shanghai was rejected by the Chinese authorities, prompting an attempt by the French to expropriate the Ningbo native-place association land that lay within their existing settlement.[35] The armed French assault on the property on July 16, 1898, provoked a violent riot and strike by the Ningbo community in Shanghai. Bryna Goodman described governor-general Liu Kunyi's appointment of a committee of "Chinese officials" to negotiate a solution to the crisis with the French consul general; John Ferguson was evidently also a member of this committee.[36]

R. H. van Gulik recorded the names of some of the "leading officials and gentry" that Ferguson met through his association with Liu Kunyi:

> This invitation had the good result of acquainting him with the officials of the city, among whom were several distinguished scholars, such as Chang Ch'ien 張謇 and Miao Ch'üan-sun 繆荃蓀 (1844–1919), K'o Fêng-shih 柯逢時, K'uai Kuang-tien 蒯光典 and others.[37]

Ferguson's contact with these men, all of whom held the highest imperial degrees, was meaningful to him throughout his life, but in no case developed into close connections. His acquaintance with Miao Quansun (繆荃蓀) is nonetheless significant to our story, for Miao provided Ferguson with a critical introduction to bronze scholarship:

> An acquaintance in Nanking during the early nineties with Mr. Miao Hsiao-shan [an alternate name], who was then Shan Chang of the Chung Shan Shu Yüan [Zhongshan Academy], showed me the limitless bounds of investigation in the epigraphy of bronzes.[38]

Miao Quansun, who had earned his degree and entered the Hanlin Academy in 1876, would become renowned later in his life for his bibliographic and epigraphic scholarship. In 1896, Miao was invited by the scholar and official Zhang Zhidong to become the chief lecturer at Nanking's Zhongshan Academy (鍾山書院), remaining in that position until 1901.[39] 1896 is slightly later than Ferguson recalled, and only one year before he left Nanking for Shanghai. Perhaps by situating his meeting with Miao in the early 1890s, he intended to magnify the influence of this important member of the late Qing community of *jinshi* scholars on his own collection.

Ferguson made occasional purchases of antiquities during his residence at Nanking, including remnants of the "Porcelain Pagoda" inside the ruined Ming imperial city (destroyed over three decades earlier during the Taiping Rebellion), and "a late replica of a Han dynasty *hsi* ([洗], bronze vessel)."[40] "Tiles from the pagoda were still easy to obtain. The last ones I purchased were sold to me by a poverty striken [*sic*] man who was using them to support the boards of his bed," Ferguson wrote, indicating that his missionary salary could support such an acquisition.[41] These several tiles and bronze, however, do not mark the time when he "started collecting art objects."[42] The beginning of a collection—when objects are obtained with an intention to collect—rarely coincides with the first casually gathered items.[43] The origins of Ferguson's serious interest in Chinese art are instead his introduction to Liu Kunyi and Miao Quansun, which affected his access to and his perspective on antiquities valued by late Qing scholars and connoisseurs.

An Adviser to Reform-Oriented Qing Officials, 1897–1911

The thirteen years when Ferguson was based in Shanghai were occupied with multiple duties and activities associated with his work with the Qing officials Sheng Xuanhuai, Zhang Zhidong, and Duanfang. As an employee of provincial-level officials, John Ferguson was one of many foreign missionaries, translators, and technical advisers who contributed to a vital program of self-strengthening reforms in the 1890s and the first decade of the twentieth century. Ferguson's interaction with Sheng Xuanhuai, his closest contact among Qing officials, and Zhang Zhidong, a powerful proponent of reform, involved neither Chinese art nor scholarship in any significant degree. But joining their entourage allowed Ferguson to form wide-reaching connections among the political and cultural elite of the late Qing dynasty and, to a lesser degree, of the United States. In future years, when Ferguson was looking to exhibit, buy, and sell Chinese paintings and objects, he would turn to these acquaintances.

Ferguson and Sheng Xuanhuai

Ferguson was invited to Shanghai by Sheng Xuanhuai (1844–1916), one of the most important actors in the development of industry and infrastructure in late Qing China. Ferguson had met his patron for the first time in the early to mid-1890s on a boat on the Yangtze, where the two men had talked for over an hour.[44] In 1897, when Sheng was looking for a foreigner to run his proposed school for Western studies, Nanyang College, he remembered and recruited Ferguson. From that time until 1912, Ferguson's activities in domestic reform, diplomacy, the press, and ultimately the international art market can be traced back to Sheng. Ferguson was not simply an employee of Sheng, he moved with him from position to position, even following him out of China to Japan. Sheng's rather dramatic business and political career is relatively well known, but recounting it briefly will help to reconstruct Ferguson's involvement in Sheng's various endeavors as fully as possible.[45]

Sheng Xuanhuai, who had earned only a *shengyuan* ([生員], prefectural level) degree, had begun his work in the entourage of the reform-oriented Qing official Li Hongzhang (李鴻章) in 1870. From that time until 1895, Sheng had gained complete or partial control over several of the enterprises initiated or overseen by Li, which were central to China's incipient modern industrial sector and Sheng's financial empire. Among the most important of these were the China Merchants' Steam Navigation Company and the Imperial Telegraph Administration.

After Li Hongzhang and his modern Beiyang Army were defeated in the Sino-Japanese War of 1894–1895, official control over these projects was transferred to Zhang Zhidong, who was then governor-general of Huguang (Hubei and Hunan). Sheng Xuanhuai prospered under his second patron, consolidating control over existing companies, managing new projects, and rising through the ranks as an official of the Qing court. In 1896, Sheng was made director-general of the Imperial Railway Administration, a new government agency intended to oversee the construction of a national network of railways.

Sheng's plans for Nanyang College were motivated by the same urge to fortify and modernize China as his other reform efforts. In 1896, Sheng submitted memorials to the throne proposing the school and arguing for "the necessity of training men of talent" (育才之要) in support of "self-strengthening" (自強).[46] Fan Zude argued that Nanyang's foundation and curriculum were consistent with the formula "Chinese learning for substance, Western learning for function" (中學為體，西學為用), the now famous slogan attributed to Zhang Zhidong.[47]

At the time of the Boxer Rebellion in 1900, Sheng was actively involved in negotiations for the "Yangtze Compact" (東南互保), the contract for peace between the governor-generals of Liangjiang and Huguang (Liu Kunyi and Zhang Zhidong) and the foreign powers. In 1902, while at "the peak of his power," Sheng was appointed imperial commissioner to conduct the renegotiation of treaties intended by the Western powers to ensure that China made the agreed-upon Boxer indemnity payments.[48] In a subsequent power struggle, Sheng lost control of a number of his enterprises, but with the support of Zhang Zhidong, gradually recovered his economic and political standing. In 1911, he was appointed president of the Board of Posts and Communications; from that prominent position, he advised the nationalization of railway projects controlled at that time by provincial gentry. Sheng's proposal provoked increased dissatisfaction in the provinces, where anti-Manchu sentiments were running high. Just after the revolutionary uprising on October 10 in Wuchang, Sheng was scapegoated by the court and sentenced to execution. He fled to safety in Japan, later returning to Shanghai in 1912 and continuing to oversee his businesses until his death in 1916.

At the invitation of this key Qing official, John Ferguson and his family had moved from Nanking to Shanghai in 1897, settling in a foreign-style house at 16 Love Lane in the British concession. Ferguson joined the planned Nanyang College on a four-year contract offered to him by Sheng Xuanhuai and He Meisheng, who were respectively the director (董事) and the manager (總理). Ferguson was named *linyuan* (臨院), which was most often translated by Ferguson and others as "president."[49] The new employee explained that since Mr. He only came to their office three mornings a week (and Sheng presumably less often), the setting up of the school and the planning of classes were left entirely to him.[50] In a Chinese essay, "Nanyang gongxue zaoqi lishi" (The early history of Nanyang College), Ferguson described his intimate involvement in each and every step in the launch of the school.[51] This descriptive essay revealed the practical side of Ferguson's personality: he took pride in occupying himself with the construction of his campuses, as well as with the curricula and lesson plans.

The site that Sheng Xuanhuai had originally selected for the school, Ferguson recounted, was unsuitable for various reasons: it was low-lying, humid, and exposed to ash from a nearby temple. While his employer was away from Shanghai, Ferguson bought a new piece of land in the Xujiahui area (the current location of Jiaotong University) with the help of the Shanghai

circuit intendant (道臺). The new school president surveyed and improved the site, planning a road and drainage ditch, then drafted and supervised the construction of the first Western-style school buildings. In his speech on the occasion of the school's fortieth anniversary in 1936, Ferguson observed that his architectural plans had succeeded as intended: his original buildings were still standing strong, and they had not been commandeered by the government for any other use.[52]

Nanyang's students were selected and the curriculum arranged so as to allow for high-level training in "proper literary Chinese" (規範的中國文學語言) in combination with the study of "modern subjects" (現代學科).[53] A rigorous entrance exam supposedly ensured that most of the first class of teachers-in-training, who would instruct the less qualified students, had earned either their *shengyuan* or *juren* ([舉人], provincial level) degree. The school taught what Ferguson described as "the language, history and literature of China," but used new textbooks prepared by the staff. In a 1903 graduation address Ferguson judged that Nanyang had led the effort:

> to reduce this study to a class-room level according to pedagogical methods, and I venture to express the hope that it will carry on its labours till it opens the vast mass of China's ponderous tomes to the possible limits of a school curriculum.[54]

The "modern subjects" portion of the curriculum was made up of English-language training; history and economics classes taught by foreign teachers; and natural science and math classes in which Chinese-language texts were used as much as possible.

In addition to academics, Ferguson organized military-style exercises and sports games to "provide physical exercise" (提供體育鍛煉).[55] He described the Nanyang boys as being reluctant to practice the baseball, basketball, and soccer he introduced, but after four years he finally succeeded in forming a soccer team to play Shanghai's St. John's College (聖約翰書院). Ferguson himself was very physically active. In Nanking, he wrote, "It was my habit to ride daily and also to take long walks," and he advised his children to follow his lead.[56] As a 17-year-old, Ferguson's son Charles received these precise instructions:

> Personally I would much prefer that you would be out in the open air, but if this is not possible you must secure as much exercise as possible before going to the office in the morning [tp.] after returning at night. It is very essential that you [tp.] in the open air as much as possible.[57]

The sports education Ferguson introduced at Nanyang was guided by his personal habits, as well as by widely-held Western beliefs in the importance of physical activity.

Ferguson also foresaw developing a program whereby classroom lessons could be integrated with practical training in industry and business. In 1901, Sheng permitted Ferguson to spend six months visiting commercial schools in Europe and North America to investigate an appropriate model for such a plan. The trip—Ferguson's first to Europe—took him to unspecified institutions in Paris, Berlin, Prague, Brussels, Antwerp, Vienna, and Munich, as well as to The Wharton School in Philadelphia. The tour also gave Ferguson the chance to see his wife and children, who lived in Lausanne, Switzerland, from 1901 to 1902 to avoid the unsettled aftermath of the Boxer Rebellion.[58] Before Ferguson could implement any recommendations, however, Sheng Xuanhuai transferred Ferguson from his job at Nanyang College into a new position as secretary of the Imperial Railway Association.[59]

Ferguson's departure from Nanyang in 1902 finalized his shift from educational reform into the realms of commerce, technological modernization, and international diplomacy, a change that had begun several years before. In 1899, Sheng Xuanhuai "helped"—probably financially—John Ferguson purchase a small Chinese-language paper, the *Xinwenbao*, placed up for sale after its previous foreign owner declared bankruptcy.[60] Under Ferguson's direction and a Chinese staff, the *Xinwenbao* grew into the largest circulation daily paper in Shanghai, and would be an important income source for the Ferguson family.[61] In 1900, Ferguson worked alongside Sheng Xuanhuai in brokering the negotiations for the Yangtze Compact. Ling Hongxun (淩鴻勛), a Nanyang alumnus and acquaintance of Ferguson, wrote evocatively that Sheng Xuanhuai's employee participated, rushing around Shanghai, the site of the talks, at that time (福氏於此亦嘗參與奔走其間).[62] After the resolution of the Boxer crisis, Ferguson's role in the negotiations, as did Sheng's, segued into his appointment as a member of the Chinese commission for the revision of treaties with the United States, Great Britain, and Japan.[63] A photograph of Sheng, Ferguson, and the foreign members of the Treaty Commission in Shanghai, October 8, 1903, confirms their joint participation (see Figure 1.4).

Figure 1.4 John Ferguson and members of the Treaty Commission, taken on the steps of 121 Bubbling Well Road, Shanghai, October 8, 1903. John Calvin Ferguson Family Papers, Freer Gallery of Art and Arthur M. Sackler Gallery Archives, Smithsonian Institution, Washington, DC, gift of Peter Ferguson, 1999.

Ferguson became chief secretary of the Imperial Chinese Railway Administration in 1903, where he remained until Sheng was dismissed as director-general of that office in 1905. As secretary, he was involved in a messy and ultimately unproductive agreement between the Chinese government and the American China Development Company regarding the construction of the Hankow–Canton railway line.[64] In 1904, amid concerns that the ostensibly American company was actually controlled by a majority of Belgian stockholders, Sheng dispatched Ferguson to the United States "to insist on appointment of a 'capable, upright man' as president and on a thoroughly American management."[65] The Americans admitted that the Chinese suspicions of Belgian ownership were true and the industrialist J. P. Morgan (1837–1913), one of the original shareholders, bought back sufficient stock to retake control.[66] It is probable that in the process of the negotiations he made the acquaintance of J. P. Morgan, who would later invite him to purchase Chinese art for the Metropolitan Museum of Art. Ferguson's opportunity for contact with Morgan is a first example of how the relationships he formed in China allowed him to make acquaintances among the business, political, and social elite of the United States.

In July 1911, Sheng selected Ferguson to assist him as foreign secretary to the Ministry of Posts and Communications. The years from the time both men left the Railway Administration until 1910 had been a slack period in Sheng's political career, and Ferguson had held no formal position with immediate links to his patron.[67] A letter from Ferguson to his father expressed his anticipation of his new work:

> It was practically settled a month ago while I was in Peking that I was to go there as the counsellor of the board of Posts and communications. The present head of the Board is my old friend Sheng Kung Pao . . .
>
> He has been in retirement for four or five years, but last year went to Peking and has rapidly risen until it is generally recognized that he is the strongest man in the Empire. The Board of Posts and communications has charge of the railways, telegraph, Post Office, and shipping of the whole Empire, so that there will be plenty of work for me to do on these vital questions which affect the whole future of China. I do not know just what my work will be, but it will not be one of daily detail. I will be handling only the larger questions of policy and diplomacy. [Ferguson's capitalization is erratic.][68]

Several months later, Ferguson's employment in the Qing government was disrupted, but not terminated, by the anti-Manchu revolution of October 1911. Ferguson continued to work for Sheng in the turbulent months following the autumn uprising.

Ferguson considered Sheng Xuanhuai to be an "old friend," rather than just his long-time employer. His feelings of closeness were expressed most fully in a Chinese language memorial preface he contributed to a volume of Sheng's writing.[69] Ferguson described his own bold initiative in selecting a new site for Nanyang as decisive in stimulating his close ties with his employer. "Mr. Sheng was very happy [upon hearing of the change of site] and said that I acted bravely and praised me highly. My close friendship with Mr. Sheng really started just at this time" (公大悦謂余見事勇為，極加贊許。余與公交誼往來無間實自此始云。[*punctuation added*]).[70] Ferguson described Sheng's many "political, business, and

charitable activities" (政治工商慈善事業), then gave an elliptical description of how he remained by Sheng's side through the ups and downs of the Qing official's career:

> When Mr. Sheng was made Minister of Posts and Communications he held a very important and influential position. At that time I was frequently with him, and when he later left his positions and returned south, I was still with him and his wife . . . Later Mr. Sheng went to Japan and Qingdao, and I also followed.[71]
>
> 公為郵傳部尚書位極煊赫，其時余每與公俱。迨後，公罷職南歸，余仍與公夫婦俱…… 公後往日本青島余亦隨行。[*punctuation added*]

Sheng Xuanhuai's continued employment of his assistant indicates that he reciprocated Ferguson's friendship with, at the least, confidence in the American's trustworthiness, competence, and usefulness. But no record has been found so far of Sheng's perspective on their relationship.

Ferguson and Zhang Zhidong

In 1900, probably prompted by the Boxer-related negotiations in which Zhang Zhidong was a primary participant, Ferguson joined the staff of this governor-general of Huguang as a foreign adviser. He would remain in the position for the next seven years, without interrupting his service to Sheng Xuanhuai.[72] The Huguang administrative region included the provinces of Hubei and Hunan, and had its capital at Wuchang, where Zhang Zhidong resided. Ferguson did not move to Wuchang, but periodically traveled up the Yangtze River to that inland capital. He worked less closely with Zhang than he did with Sheng, but the scholarship and reform policies of this official were so influential during the late Qing that they supply a context, if not a model, for Ferguson's own aims and accomplishments.[73]

Zhang Zhidong (1837–1909) was a *jinshi* (進士) of 1863 who ranked third in the palace exam, earning a place as a compiler in the Hanlin Academy.[74] Particularly in his earliest official posts relating to education and court-sponsored scholarship, Zhang was an energetic promoter of Confucian learning, establishing academies and patronizing bibliographic projects. His promotion of classical scholarship overlapped with his somewhat later commitment to self-strengthening reforms. In each region he governed—Liangguang (Guangdong and Guangxi) from 1884 to 1889, Huguang (Hubei and Hunan) from 1889 to 1907, and briefly Liangjiang (Jiangsu, Anhui, and Jiangxi) from 1894 to 1895 and 1902 to 1903—he planned and established multiple modern enterprises. These included arsenals and military training schools, factories, and schools for Western learning. Zhang recognized his need for outside expertise and developed a large staff of foreign teachers, military men, and technicians, as well as Chinese trained abroad and in the earliest self-strengthening schools.[75] The description in English of Ferguson as "adviser to the Viceroy of Wuchang" gives the impression that he had a singular position, but it is more appropriate to understand Ferguson as one among others.[76]

The dual commitment of Zhang Zhidong to modernization and Confucian learning was most thoroughly expressed in his "Exhortation to Learning" (*Quan xue pian* [勸學篇]), a series of essays published in 1898.[77] Zhang laid out a substance-and-function relationship between Chinese and Western learning, advising that Confucian principles be retained as the model for private and public behavior, but that Western science be adopted in order to facilitate the

economic and military regeneration of China. In *Quan xue pian*, Zhang proposed a nationwide educational system that brought together many of the ideas he had begun to implement as governor-general. Traditional academies (書院) would be transformed into modern schools (學堂), and the curricula would include both traditional Chinese studies and Western subjects. Zhang advocated that the most important texts and passages within the Chinese canon be compiled to facilitate the efficient study of the classics. The essays also stressed the importance of industrial training both in schools and on the job, as well as military education.[78]

The balance of Chinese studies, Western subjects, and practical training that Zhang articulated in *Quan xue pian* suggests that the Nanyang College curriculum belonged to the wider educational reform effort being undertaken by the Qing officials with whom Ferguson worked. Writing for a Methodist audience in 1906, Ferguson described well the changes Zhang, Sheng, and he had all played a part in initiating:

> Among the new generation of scholars it is quite out of date to put boys through a course of repeating from memory the Four Books and the Classics . . . Now there are primers, readers, copy books, grammars, elementary drawing books, geographies, arithmetics, science readers, and even books on vocal music. I am afraid that our mission schools are not keeping in the front in their adoption of the new scientific methods of teaching Chinese.[79]

In this context, Ferguson's claim that Nanyang was the first school to teach Chinese "language, literature and history" through a modern curriculum was something of an exaggeration. Ferguson tended to describe his achievements as more singular and dramatic than they probably were.

In 1901, while on his investigative trip to Europe and America, Ferguson began to make notes for his Boston University PhD dissertation, which would ultimately be titled: "Confucian Renaissance in the Sung Dynasty" (see Figure 1.5). Evidently, he had brought a copy of Herbert Giles' *A Chinese Biographical Dictionary* with him on the voyage, for his jottings refer to this book.[80] One year later, in 1902, he had completed and successfully submitted the twenty-six-page document.[81] The "examiner" of Ferguson's thesis, acting on behalf of Boston University, was:

> the present "Optimus of the Chinese Empire" [a *jinshi* degree holder] . . . His careful and highly complimentary report on the work was written upon the official vermilion paper in handsome Chinese characters, and was accompanied with a translation certified . . . at the consular office of the United States in Shanghai.[82]

It is possible that Zhang Zhidong influenced Ferguson's choice of topic and conclusions and conceivably was the "Optimus" who commented on the dissertation. Ferguson's bibliography did not include Zhang Zhidong's widely circulated *Shumu dawen* (書目答問) of 1875, an annotated bibliography of works on Confucian scholarship compiled with the assistance of Miao Quansun, but this does not rule out the possibility that Ferguson used the work.[83] Ferguson referred to Zhang Zhidong as a governor with whom he was "connected," and left no record of a meaningful intellectual exchange between himself and this scholar that transcended their cooperation on political affairs.[84]

By the age of forty in 1906 (a date in the midst of Ferguson's Shanghai years), John Ferguson had traveled far beyond his relatively constrained Canadian Methodist background.

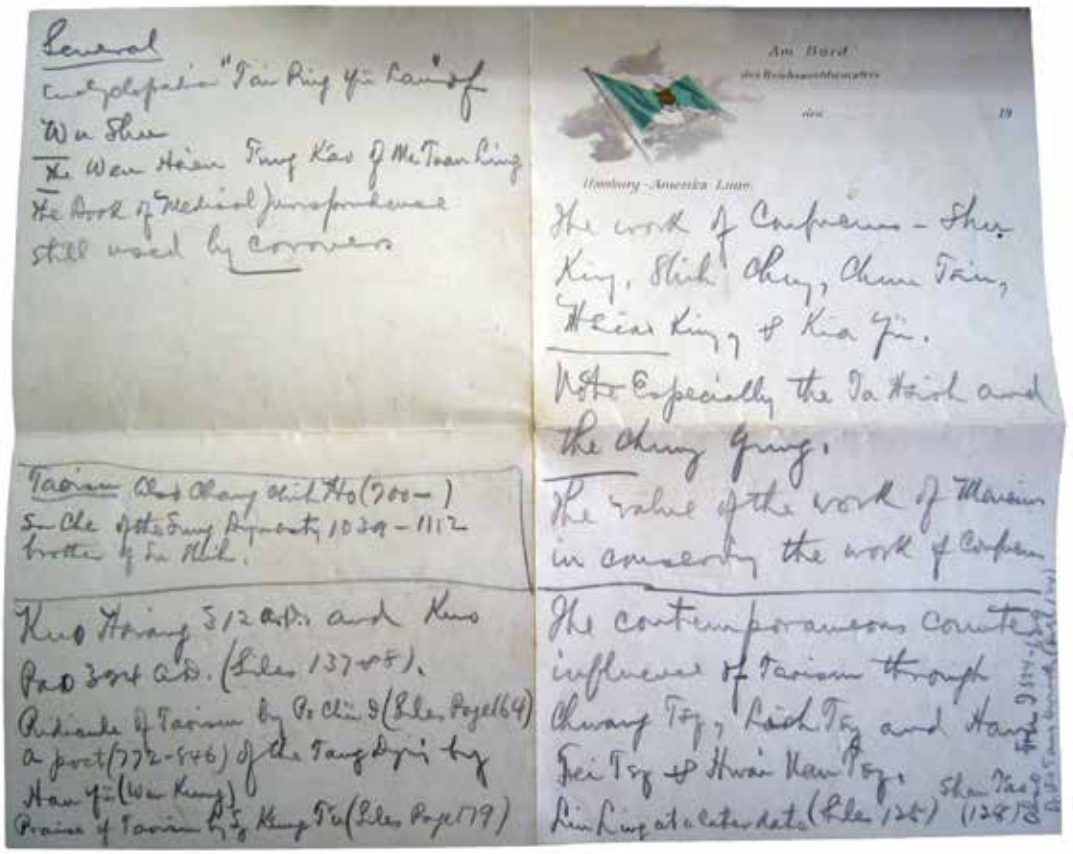

Figure 1.5 One page of Ferguson's dissertation notes, made 1901–1902. JCF Collection, NJU Library.

He could read and speak Chinese fluently; he had forged solid connections to some of the highest level Qing officials and with their help had earned an American PhD; and he had established himself as an educator, administrator, and diplomat. In following this missionary-turned-official from Ontario to Shanghai, a persistent quality of his life begins to appear: John Ferguson was not motivated by a single goal as much as he was able and willing to make the most of the opportunities available to him. After the fall of the Qing dynasty, Ferguson would retain his status as a former government employee and envoy abroad, and would exploit the contacts he had made among Chinese officials in his new vocation as an art dealer.

The young American's work in education and government also speaks to the larger story of political and cultural change in the last decades of the Qing reign. Ferguson helped to resolve some of the key crises that arose from Sino-foreign contact in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries—the maintenance of peace in south-central China at the time of the Boxer Rebellion is just one of several examples—and played a central role in the reforms initiated within China during the same period. John Ferguson exemplified the cooperation that existed between reform-minded officials and foreigners in the late Qing. While his simultaneous assistance to Sheng Xuanhuai, Zhang Zhidong, and Duanfang, and his participation in multiple negotiations may have been exceptional, his employment in the Qing government was not.

Chapter 12

"We Must Aim to Get Just as High as We Can"

Ferguson's Final Years in a Time of War

John Ferguson stayed in Peking during and after Japan's launch of a full-scale invasion of China. One week after the Marco Polo Bridge Incident of July 7, 1937, with Japanese troops very close to Peking and many foreign residents evacuating, Ferguson expressed his intention to stay at 3 Xiqiao Hutong: "We could not leave if we would and . . . I would not if I could." After having been ill for over a year, Ferguson's wife Mary was bedridden, and moving her was "out of the question."[1] Not only that, Ferguson believed his departure would have a great impact in Peking:

> It would throw the city into a panic if I were to leave for it is well-known that I have remained here during all previous crises and through their over-confidence in me the people believe that I am thoroughly informed as to what is going on.[2]

John Ferguson had remained in China through the 1891 anti-foreign riots in Nanking, the Boxer Rebellion of 1900, and numerous regime changes in Peking in the 1910s. He evidently felt that the Japanese invasion of North China was one more "crisis" he could weather.

Beginning with the Mukden Incident of September 18, 1931, Ferguson expressed a range of reactions to Japan's aggression: outrage at the incompetence of the Nationalist defenders, acceptance of Japanese colonial ambitions paired with condemnation of the "absurdity" of their rhetoric, and awareness of the horror of war. Ferguson adapted to life in occupied Peking and wrote analytically about what had led to what he believed was a new era of Japanese domination in Asia.[3] Despite over fifty years of residence in China and the fullness of his social life there, Ferguson did not react to the Sino-Japanese War as he might have to an invasion of his own country. Until 1941, Ferguson's citizenship, and more importantly, his sense of himself as an American, insulated him from feeling as though the Japanese had attacked his "homeland," as he had once referred to the United States.[4]

Ferguson largely blamed the weakness and corruption of the Nationalist government for the partial Japanese occupation of China. He repeatedly expressed his lack of respect for Chiang Kai-shek. In a letter that would be carried to the United States by hand (to avoid censorship) in late 1937, Ferguson wrote heatedly and at length about how Nationalist government corruption had led to devastating defeats in eastern China:

> China brought on the Shanghai fighting. Generals Yang Hu and Tsai Ching-chün said that with their forces they could sink the eighteen Japanese ships and sweep the landing party into

> the sea within a week and they should have been able to make their boast good . . . But there were no guns and the Japanese troops landed wherever they pleased. And there should have been guns for enough money had been fielded from the people to purchase them . . . Chiang Kai-shih [Kai-shek] should have known whether or not supplies had been bought . . . Did he know or did he not? Was he among the looters or not? Only time can tell . . . I consider this retreat [toward western China] only a feint to cover up their [the Nationalist] dirty tracks while they try to square themselves with the people who trusted them and now find that they have been deluded.[5]

Ferguson retained confidence in China in the long run: "China will have her come-back but it will not be through Chiang or the League [of Nations]. China is a much greater and more powerful object than she has seemed to be in recent years."[6] For the time being, he believed: "The main fact to realize is that China is now as effectively under Japanese control as India is under British and other powers must in the immediate future deal with China through Japan."[7]

Japan had taken on the "brown man's burden," Ferguson wrote in 1931 in reference to the takeover of Manchuria. His subsequent letters imply that this comment contained both irony and acceptance of Japan's colonial mission.[8] On October 10, 1937, Ferguson called attention to the illogical terms the Japanese were using to describe their invasion of China. It was National Day for the Republic of China, and Peking was celebrating. Ferguson judged the situation:

> strange . . . but anything is possible when a major war can be called "The China Incident." Of course, war cannot be war when its avowed object is to make friends of the vanquished. I will smite you on both cheeks but I still expect you to smile at me and say "Comrade." Such is the absurdity of the present situation.[9]

In 1939, Ferguson gave a speech expressing his approval of Japan's proposed "New Order in East Asia."[10] His view was that the "New Order" should be based on goodwill, and he suggested that American influence in South America ought to be taken as a model for Japanese influence in East Asia.

After the Japanese took over his home city in July 1937, Ferguson did not shun the invaders. Instead, he socialized with Japanese government representatives just as he had with officials of each of the successive regimes in Peking since his arrival there. In the fall of 1937, Ferguson described lunching with an American scholar of Japan and this man's Japanese friends, Colonel Hiraoka of the Intelligence Department and two members of the Japanese embassy staff.[11] One year later, he made a trip to Newton, Massachusetts, for his wife's interment—Mary Ferguson had died in Peking on October 6, 1938. He traveled on a Japanese ship, via Japan, and his account of the voyage might have been written during a harmonious period of Sino-Japanese relations:

> I have found a pleasant Japanese family on board . . . He is of the diplomatic service in their legal department. He is a graduate of Michigan . . . Perhaps I may go up to Kyoto for a couple of days. I intend to move along the lines of least resistance.[12]

Very much in keeping with his character, John Ferguson accommodated the Japanese both intellectually and practically, while also expressing great sympathy for his demoralized city and its residents' hardships. In late August 1937, he wrote: "hundreds and thousands are out of employment . . . We shall have a winter of much distress and suffering."[13] Several weeks later, he communicated his consternation more metaphorically:

> It was a month yesterday since the Golden Wedding and its echoes still ring in our ears drowning the bedlam of cannon and planes. Thanks to our good God for some roses of Sharon in the midst of the waste places made desolate by war's destruction.[14]

Ferguson did what he could to offer a palliative to his community of Chinese friends, writing on the occasion of the sixth anniversary of the Mukden Incident, September 18, 1937:

> Gloom has settled over North China—the gloom of defeat, and nothing is harder to displace than such an atmosphere . . . I try every means to overcome it by helping to keep the National Library open, by helping to secure funds for the maintenance of the primary and high schools, by opening the Museums today for a nominal entrance fee, by moving around among my Chinese friends and keeping open house for them but the mist of gloom still lies heavy over the city.[15]

Ferguson frequently turned to Biblical language to express his awe and horror at the war. His words powerfully show that although he had left the Methodist mission at the age of thirty-one, he had never abandoned his faith. On August 15, 1937, just two days after the Chinese and Japanese had begun to battle for the possession of Shanghai, Ferguson wrote to his son Charles, who lived and worked there:

> Shanghai surely had its Dies Irae yesterday "When the heavens together roll shrinking like a parched scroll." In our modern matter-of-fact language it is difficult to write of such events as you passed through yesterday. Instinctively my mind goes back to the earlier and more imaginative language of the scripture and the classics.[16]

Ferguson's metaphorical and allusive language may have been in part intended to stymie the Japanese censors, judging from the frequency of its appearance in his letters after 1937. In a description of a Christmas speech of 1937, however, Ferguson gave a clear statement of his sustained belief later in life:

> I have given the Christmas address several times and I always enjoy it for it gives me an opportunity of explaining the progress of my religious thought while at the same time my devotion and loyalty to Jesus continue to increase.[17]

After the attack on Pearl Harbor, on December 7, 1941, American nationals in Peking "anticipated" that they would be swiftly interned.[18] But it was after more than a year, on March 12, 1943, that the Japanese authorities ordered all "enemy aliens" to be imprisoned in a former Presbyterian mission school compound in Wei County, Shandong.[19] Ferguson was exempted along with a few others on account of his age, and was confined instead to the former British embassy compound in Peking. Ferguson and his daughter Mary, who was allowed to stay with him, did not remain in captivity for long. In September 1943, they were traded in a prisoner exchange between the United States and Japan, and would arrive in New York on December

1, 1943. Minimal evidence exists of John Ferguson's two years as an "enemy alien" in Peking. The only communication between the elderly man and his family and friends in the United States appears to have been a Red Cross message, dated October 17, 1942, stating simply that John and Mary Ferguson were well and had enough food and coal.[20]

Ferguson recorded his impressions of the journey—beginning in September 1943 and ending in December that year—that took him from Peking to Shanghai, Hong Kong, the Philippines, Singapore, Goa, Rio de Janeiro, and finally to New York. The notes (made en route or shortly after his return) were terse, but nonetheless convey his experience.[21] Of the day of his departure, he wrote: "Peking same house for 30 years Collection and library. Friends who were loyal to the end . . . Mary and I walked from the British Embassy to the Station." They rode by train to Shanghai, where they boarded the Japanese ship Teia Maru. Ferguson recorded: "Baggage Examinations . . . nothing printed [allowed], no photographs, my mother's Bible . . . overcrowding, understaffed." In Goa, the American and Canadian passengers were transferred to the Swedish liner, the "Gripsholm," in exchange for Japanese imprisoned in North and South America. "Contrast of ships," Ferguson wrote, "one from an exhausted country, one from country of abundance . . . freedom to talk, cleanliness, good food." Finally the trip ended in New York: "Statue of Liberty. National Anthem 'Land of the Free.'"

John and Mary Ferguson established a residence in the Devon Hotel, on West Fifty-fifth Street in New York. Almost immediately, Ferguson resumed his characteristically active lifestyle. Despite turning seventy-eight in March 1944 and having experienced heart trouble since his internment in Peking, Ferguson still traveled with relative ease.[22] He met with old acquaintances, including Paul Pelliot when the French scholar visited New York in 1945, and carried on a friendly correspondence with scholars of Chinese art, such as William C. White and Helen Fernald.[23] Ferguson lectured often in New York and during frequent trips to Boston and the Toronto area, where members of his extended family still lived. On January 28, 1944, for example, he spoke at Boston University on his repatriation, and in February, lectured at Toronto's University College and the Royal Ontario Museum.[24] In the summer of 1944, Ferguson made a longer trip to visit his friend and client Gertrude Warner in Oregon, and while there, gave a presentation at the Rotary Club of Eugene on the importance of recognizing China as a major Allied power.[25] At the end of September, he was back in New York to present a talk entitled "China's Place in a Better World," predicting that in the "post-war years," a democratic China would maintain an "unalterable determination . . . to be autonomous."[26] World War II was still ongoing in both the European and Pacific theatres while Ferguson spoke. Japan finally surrendered to the Allied powers on August 15, 1945, and in China several weeks later.

John Ferguson did not remain so vigorous in 1945. He fell ill in spring that year and entered a sanatorium at Clifton Springs, New York. This medical spa, regularly used by missionaries in need of care and recuperation, was especially familiar to the Ferguson family. In June 1892, on his first visit back to North America, Ferguson had attended the annual meeting of the International Missionary Union at Clifton Springs, and his wife had delivered their daughter Florence there four months later.[27] Little could be done at Clifton Springs to heal the elderly John Ferguson, however. On August 3, 1945, at the age of seventy-nine,

he died of arteriosclerotic heart disease and was buried at Newton Cemetery in Newton, Massachusetts.

On March 1, 1948—what would have been John Ferguson's eighty-second birthday—a memorial service was held in Shanghai, cohosted by Jiaotong University (formerly Nanyang College), the North China Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society, and the International Institute of China.[28] The occasion was attended by Charles and Mary Ferguson, who had already resumed their work in Shanghai and Peking respectively, as well as a Chinese and Western crowd of "persons of distinction in the fields of government, religion, education, art, cultural research, banking and economics."[29] Dr. Bernard E. Read, vice president of the NCBRAS, read in translation an executive order that had been promulgated by the Nationalist government on April 20, 1946, half a year after the Japanese surrender had allowed Chiang Kai-shek's administration to re-establish itself in Nanking. The order stated that Ferguson's "contributions to Chinese culture were great indeed," and lamented that "his enforced departure took toll of his life."[30] Charles Ferguson spoke on the significance of a memorial service in China for his father:

> I cannot but feel that he would be in China today, had he been spared the physical and emotional strain and stress involved in his enforced departure from China in 1943. Separation from you,—his friends,—and from the interests and surroundings he loved so dearly, required a greater adjustment than his advanced years permitted . . . in those last eighteen months of his life in the United States . . . [I] saw him turn constantly,—in speech and thought,—to China and to the host of friends from whom he had been separated.[31]

Service, Ambition, and Ferguson's Political Choices

John Ferguson's easy adaptation to Japanese-occupied Peking up until December 1941 brings into sharp relief his successful collaboration with the leaders that replaced one another, rapidly and often violently, in early twentieth-century China. Indeed, one cannot but question how this man who voiced such strong opinions regarding Chinese art could at the same time have been so accommodating in his politics. On Sunday, February 13, 1916, having just returned to China to serve as an adviser to Yuan Shikai's administration in Peking, John Ferguson wrote to Florence:

> I am not at all sure that I have not before me unexpected opportunities for service. Never have I felt the responsibility of it all more than now and though I may be able to see little result from what I do yet the daily contact with the leaders of this great nation makes possible many open doors.[32]

Ferguson's words open the door to his political choices and their effect on his career in Chinese art.

Throughout his life in China, Ferguson aimed to serve, a goal that was rooted in his Methodist beliefs and his innate drive to work. To Ferguson, "service" meant the humility to serve others—in the sense that "Jesus was as a servant among men."[33] More generally, he understood the word to signify a willingness and capacity to be purposefully engaged. To be at work, as Ferguson was for much of his life, represented more to him than a means to complete the tasks at hand. On February 13, 1916, having just delivered a "sermon" to three of his

former Nanyang College students, all in high-level positions in Yuan Shikai's government, Ferguson explained to Florence that "I have a rare chance now of reaching at least a few young Chinese and of helping fire their souls."[34] Ferguson was not trying to convert his listeners—he encouraged them to be "be cheerful" at a time when a "tide of pessimism . . . has almost swept everyone in China off their feet"—but he did believe that by joining the Peking government in 1915 he had gained new opportunities to contribute to the "up-lift of the world."[35]

John Ferguson retained his own optimism throughout the turbulent first half of the twentieth century. His confidence in China's long-term prosperity helped him make sense of his employment by the warlord presidents and his acceptance of the Japanese attempts to occupy China. In an article written for the *Atlantic Monthly* in May 1918, Ferguson stated that although military rule existed temporarily, "the permanence of a republican form of government in China must now be taken for granted."[36] Ferguson believed in late 1937 that although Japan had achieved present victory, China would have a future resurgence. By minimizing the significance of present upheavals, relative to the historical strength and bright future of his country of residence, Ferguson made a space for his passion for China to coexist with his pragmatism. His choice to maintain his comfortable residence in Peking from the 1910s through the 1930s allowed him to remain engaged in activities he understood to be for the benefit of his acquaintances and the country as a whole: lecturing his former students, speaking on China's behalf during the Shandong Crisis, and opening up his house and Wenhuadian exhibition during the Japanese occupation.

"Daily contact" with China's leaders in 1916 also opened the door for Ferguson to pursue his personal ambition. To place his aspirations in perspective, it is important to understand that, for Ferguson, the drive to learn, to take on responsibility, and to cultivate an ever-wider circle of prominent acquaintances was an admirable quality. In 1901, he had preached to his family on the endeavor to be "perfect in every good work." This ideal meant literally the effort to emulate Jesus, and more broadly, a constant striving in all realms of life. He offered his children an example:

> Just as a person going up the tramway at Hong Kong might stop at the station half way up the height and say to himself, "Now I am as high as many other people . . . I can see all over the harbor, I am content." Would he not be foolish to do this and thus miss the grand view from the Peak . . . We must aim to get just as high as we can.[37]

To see John Ferguson's nearly tireless work on multiple projects and his readiness to seize the next opportunity as a selfish drive to succeed, and to ignore the sense of higher purpose that motivated him, would be to fail to comprehend the mix of inspired energy, righteousness, and political and business acumen that shaped his career in China and in Chinese art.

John Ferguson's flexible understanding of Christian service and his tendency to perceive positive potential in political situations that others might find intolerable facilitated his move from the Methodist mission into work for the Qing and then for the Republican governments. His accomplishments in the realms of education and diplomacy, as well as the "constant labor" he devoted to the Chinese language and to scholarship, eased his entry into the homes of collectors of antiquities and paintings. Ferguson approached Chinese art appreciation with the same zeal and thoroughness with which he tackled all of his endeavors. This enthusiasm, coupled with his decades of experience in China, convinced Western clients to trust his

selections, even if only in the short term. In neither China nor abroad was Ferguson seen as above error, but he was admired for the effort he devoted to his Chinese art collection and scholarship, and for his generosity to personal friends and to China as a whole.

Ferguson: A Resident Scholar of Art in Peking

This account of John Ferguson's life in China is largely pieced together by tracing his interactions with Chinese "associates"—his frequent word of choice. Part I featured the Qing officials for whom he worked, Part II the dealers and collectors who facilitated his purchases for the Metropolitan, Part III the additional connoisseurs who helped him amass his own collection, and Part IV the researchers who provided him with critical help on his scholarly projects. John Ferguson longed to be a part of the overlapping circles of officials, scholars, and art connoisseurs he encountered in Nanking, Shanghai, and Peking, and devoted enormous energy to cultivating this network of contacts. He assiduously preserved long-collected objects and composed albums and inscriptions, all of which testify to his relationship with notable individuals in art and political circles.

Ferguson's employment with Sheng Xuanhuai in 1897 first launched his career as a Qing government official. But it was Duanfang who exerted the single most important influence on the young American's understanding of Chinese antiquities. In 1902–1909, in Duanfang's official residences in Wuchang and Nanking, Ferguson saw archaic bronzes, jades, and stone and pottery artifacts, and began to learn of their significance to *jinshi* scholars. After the Manchu official was killed in 1911, Ferguson's familiarity with the deceased man's family made it possible for the dealer to "secure" important paintings and bronzes for American clients and make reproductions for himself. Ferguson's contact with Duanfang—more important to the foreign resident than it was to the very social Manchu collector—left an unmistakable mark on Ferguson's scholarship and his private collection.

John Ferguson's successful relationships with officials such as Sheng Xuanhuai and Duanfang resulted from his strong commitment to duty, combined with his employers' participation in late Qing economic and cultural reforms and their ensuing receptiveness to foreign knowledge and individuals. A constant theme in this book has been that the official and artistic culture that Ferguson took part in was responsive to modern change. The foreign adviser assisted Zhang Zhidong and Sheng Xuanhuai in the construction of railroads and Nanyang College, and witnessed the vibrancy of antiquarianism as practiced by Duanfang. Ferguson learned of and came to revere the deep historical roots of *jinshi* scholarship; he also observed Duanfang's regular acquisition of newly discovered artifacts, his employer's use of photography and photolithography, and the willingness of the Qing official to show off his expansive collection to foreign visitors. Ferguson experienced an evolution in art historical scholarship: from the *jinshi* studies that he was introduced to in the first decade of the twentieth century to the archeological research undertaken by Ma Heng and his students two decades later. Ferguson's fascination with Duanfang's artifacts and with Republican-era scholarship stemmed from the same urge to learn about China's history and keep abreast of the work of leading Chinese scholars. Cultural transformation was a constant of Ferguson's time in China from the late 1880s through the 1940s. Throughout these decades, he was motivated to share in the current activities of his associates rather than to retreat into China's ancient past.

From 1912 through 1918, Ferguson was primarily involved with Chinese art as a dealer. In the 1920s he continued to buy, albeit less intensively, for Western clients. In Ferguson's case, a symbiosis existed between buying and selling art for others and keeping it for himself. In the spring of 1912, Ferguson returned to Peking with fifty thousand American dollars to spend on Chinese paintings and objects for the Metropolitan Museum of Art in New York. This buying power, along with the contacts he had forged prior to the revolution, permitted Ferguson to hire Cai Naihuang to acquire paintings from Xu Fu. It gave him reason to view and buy from Wanyan Jingxian's extensive collection, and also prompted the Liulichang dealers to pay visits to 3 Xiqiao Hutong with objects on offer. In the 1910s and later decades, Ferguson spent money from the Cleveland Museum of Art, Charles Freer, Gertrude Warner, and as much of his own as he was able to. Ferguson's political connections were influential in establishing him as a member of Peking's circle of dealers and collectors, but only in tandem with his demand for paintings, bronzes, and other objects. In the 1920s and 1930s, Ferguson bought for his own collection and also provided loans to his fellow collectors and dealers, as well as funding for publishing projects. Ferguson's buying power and ability to provide capital were crucial to his access to Chinese art.

From the 1910s to 1930s, although the imperial collection was available for public viewing to a limited degree, access to private collections was necessary if one wished to see, photograph, and publish Chinese art. Over the course of these three decades, the nature of John Ferguson's involvement with the art and scholarly communities shifted gradually. In the 1900s, his employment by Duanfang allowed him to see examples from the governor-general's private stock of antiquities, and earned the foreign adviser a few rubbings and pottery artifacts for his own future collection; in the 1910s, Ferguson entered into Peking's art trade; in the late 1920s, he was granted an appointment to the Committee of Reference for the newly opened Palace Museum. Throughout the early twentieth century, the relationships that Ferguson developed with Jin Cheng, Feng Gongdu, and others allowed him to write about and reproduce paintings, bronzes, and other collected objects that other non-Chinese in Peking could only see with Ferguson's help. His familiarity with Peking connoisseurs and government officials was a critical factor in his exceptional access to the imperial collection and his ability to publish numerous objects from the Government and Palace Museums.

The art world that John Ferguson progressively entered—as that world simultaneously opened to foreign individuals and institutional models—might be compared to Peking's Forbidden City. In imperial times, access to the palace's successive courtyards was increasingly restricted as one approached the inner sanctum. In 1912–1913, Ferguson viewed Song and perhaps earlier masterpieces in Wanyan Jingxian's collection, but he was not able enter a more intimate space of appreciation that Peking collectors shared with Japanese scholars and artists. As Ferguson's connections matured, and the Forbidden City palaces were transformed into museums, Ferguson enjoyed close relationships with Peking connoisseurs and formal opportunities to appreciate collected antiquities. The Guwu chenliesuo and the Palace Museum committees of reference were exclusive, but their members' engagement with art objects was for the benefit of the public sphere. In China's former capital, there were undoubtedly private encounters between artists and connoisseurs that John Ferguson was not party to, just as he had not been in the 1910s. Uncovering some of the collections that were not open to Ferguson

would allow an even more complete picture of the Peking art world in the later Republican era.

As a resident scholar of China, John Ferguson was comparable to the earlier generation of Sinologists that included James Legge and Herbert A. Giles. The "resident scholar" label has explanatory force not just for Ferguson's work at the North China Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society, but for his entire oeuvre. Ferguson did not ultimately view paintings, bronzes, porcelains, and other objects from a wholly Chinese perspective, but rather as a contributor to the international field of Chinese art who was physically and intellectually located in Peking. John Ferguson argued that he and Guo Baochang, who had examined and handled pieces from the imperial collection, had the authority to write the history of Chinese porcelain and assign the correct names to different wares and glazes. He defended the Chinese selection committee for the 1935 International Exhibition of Chinese Art against the European organizers who had changed the Shanghai attributions. Ferguson's constant refrain, that the Chinese had the right to define their own art, was also a defense of his own judgment. Through his long-term residence and his social and institutional connections, Ferguson became, in a sense, a "Chinese" scholar of art.

As early as the first decade of the twentieth century, when Duanfang invited foreign guests to view his collection, and to a much greater degree in the 1920s and 1930s, when Peking scholars were well-informed of foreign publications and collections of Chinese art, Ferguson's associates in China were an urbane group. The atmosphere of intellectual openness and flourishing political, business, and personal relationships between the Chinese and foreign sojourners is one of the most important aspects of modern Chinese history illuminated by John Ferguson's career. Ferguson's repeated assertions, however, that "China" should be permitted to "classify" and "interpret its own art," remind us that art circles in China and Western countries were far from perfectly integrated.[38]

The separation resulted in part from geographical distance and language barriers, but certainly also from Western imperialism in China, concomitant Chinese nationalism, and the disparate cultures of collecting engendered by these political realities. The men who played a part in altering the Chinese attributions in 1935 were among those whose collections contributed to a definition of Chinese art in Britain that was formed with negligible contribution from contemporary scholars from China. Some American museum employees were involved in the emptying of archeological sites that Rong Geng and his colleagues in Peking deplored; others like John Ellerton Lodge, the curator of the Freer Gallery from 1920 to 1942, were forced to curtail cooperative archeological projects in China because of nationalist sentiment and political instability.[39] Ferguson's elegant home in Peking and the paintings, calligraphy, and ancient artifacts he had gathered there allowed him to be a peer to Western scholars and collectors. But by writing from China he suffered a certain loss of voice, despite his vehement protests that the opposite should be true.

By the late 1920s, John Ferguson had stronger affiliations with universities and museums in China than he did in America. He made the most of this situation by giving his private collection to the University of Nanking. The donation was at once the culmination of Ferguson's work in establishing the Western-style school in the 1890s and a calculated act to burnish his own reputation in his adopted country. Throughout his life in China, Ferguson had achieved great success through his strategic decisions, and his gift to Nanking was no exception. In the

1910s John Ferguson bought more objects for American clients than he kept, and throughout the 1920s he continued to act as a dealer. But the well-publicized donation in 1934 clinched his reputation as a collector who was exceptionally sensitive to the Republican Chinese desire to preserve antiquities in their own country. The political and cultural threats China faced in the 1930s added to the impact of Ferguson's gift, and, consequently, to the appreciation he earned from his Peking colleagues and the Nanking government.

Ferguson and an Early Swell of American Interest in "Chinese Art"

When John Ferguson became involved in art dealing in 1912, Americans were just beginning to see and buy Chinese objects as fine art, while remaining largely ill-informed about collectors and art historical scholarship in China. Ferguson contributed to the wave of popularity of Chinese art and archeological artifacts that surged through the United States in the 1910s and the following two decades, as newly excavated objects were increasingly exported to that country. Ferguson's success in selling, lecturing on, and publishing on Chinese art in the decade following 1911 was also buoyed by that swell of interest, specifically by the support he enjoyed from Charles Freer.

John Ferguson's large-scale purchases of paintings and antiquities in the early 1910s and the provenance of a number of these objects from the Manchu families of Duanfang, Wanyan Jingxian, and Baoxi confirm that the 1911 Republican Revolution was an important factor in growing American access to and interest in Chinese art. At the same time, Ferguson's records of his transactions reveal that Manchu and Chinese collectors and dealers were initiating sales to Americans, and were surely also profiting in the process. Western buyers were not simply scooping up treasures from impoverished Manchu families. John Ferguson was both one of these Peking middlemen and a foreigner who benefited from their services. The flow of art from old collections in China was also a protracted consequence of the period of instability that followed the Qing dynasty's downfall. The Wanyan clan remained relatively prosperous in the 1910s, but by the 1920s, Ferguson was able to buy up the remaining family objects. In the continuing quest to understand both American collections of Chinese art in the early twentieth century and the art market that supplied them, there is room for further research into the dealers and collectors in China who fostered Ferguson's participation in the art trade.

Chinese paintings, bronzes, and early pottery entered American museums just at the time when the museums were being transformed from institutions with a primarily educational mission into museums of fine art; the liminal status of Chinese objects complicated their reception at this critical point in museum development. The paintings and bronzes Ferguson bought for the Metropolitan were beginning to be seen as art by the curators and trustees, but some of the pieces were viewed as poor examples of these genres. Still other objects in Ferguson's purchase, such as his favored screen, were viewed as too similar to what had been appreciated by Americans in earlier centuries and therefore unworthy of preservation. Tasked with selecting authentic Chinese art for American museums in the 1910s, Ferguson, with all his connections as a resident in China, could not fully deliver. The differences between buyer and receivers can be attributed to the as yet ill-defined concept of Chinese art in the United States and also to Ferguson's debut in the field that would occupy much of his intellectual energy for the next three decades.

For clients and for himself, John Ferguson bought what he believed to be examples of "Literary Men's Painting." His choice of such works contributed to the failure of the Metropolitan authorities to see eye to eye with him on the value of his 1913 purchases.[40] Ferguson had learned that literati painting was appreciated by Chinese connoisseurs, and he was convinced that this subgenre belonged in any representative collection. But *Outlines* (1919) and *Chinese Painting* (1928) state unequivocally that Ferguson, like Fenollosa, valued Tang and Northern Song artists and Yuan painters, who did not exemplify the scholarly ideal, above "calligraphists" such as Dong Qichang or Huang Gongwang.[41] John Ferguson had arrived in China unschooled in art appreciation and would not examine critically the taste that came to him from his North American background and his self-study of Western art history. His preference for works that showed "freedom of style," and the skills of a "painter" rather than a calligrapher, was persistently strong.[42] To our contemporary eye these works manifest technical skill and representational qualities. Ferguson's awareness of the importance of *wenrenhua* to Chinese art connoisseurs did not lead him to appreciate this type of painting alone.

Ferguson played a leading role in bringing and displaying paintings, ancient bronzes and pottery, and other objects to the American East Coast and Midwest in the 1910s. His influence, however, did not keep pace with the growing American fascination with and demand for "Chinese art." Ferguson's contract with the Metropolitan was not extended as he would have liked, and in 1915 he chose to return to China and continue his work as a foreign adviser. In Peking, Ferguson hosted younger men who, equipped with less experience in China, filled new positions as curators of "Far Eastern" and "Oriental" art in the United States in the 1920s and 1930s, including Alan Priest at the Metropolitan Museum of Art, Benjamin March at the Detroit Institute of Arts, Horace Jayne at the University of Pennsylvania Museum, and Laurence Sickman at the Nelson-Atkins Museum of Art. In the context of the Western imperialism that dominated global politics in the 1920s and 1930s, Ferguson was a resident of a semi-colonized periphery, rather than a metropolitan center. He enjoyed the cultural and economic power available to him in that position—and Western museums periodically took advantage of an on-site buyer in China—but he was not well situated to directly influence the American field of Chinese art.

John Ferguson can be usefully compared to Laurence Sickman, who, through his development of an extraordinary collection at the Nelson-Atkins Museum of Art in the 1930s to 1970s, fulfilled the promise of Ferguson's work in Chinese art.[43] Sickman began his training in Chinese art at Harvard University in 1928, studying with Denman Ross and Langdon Warner—two of the most prominent professors and collectors of Japanese and Chinese art in America. After his graduation in 1930, Sickman was awarded a Harvard-Yenching fellowship for study in Peking, where he had frequent contact with Ferguson. In 1931, Langdon Warner was commissioned to buy Oriental art for the museum-to-be in Kansas City, a task he soon turned over to his former student in Peking. By 1933, Sickman's judicious acquisitions had convinced the museum trustees to offer him a position as curator of Oriental art in the Nelson-Atkins Museum of Art. Sickman returned to the United States in 1935 and remained at the museum as curator and then director until his retirement in 1977.

In 1913 and the following five years, John Ferguson initiated institutional and personal connections that could have led to a noteworthy career in the United States. By 1919, however, Charles Freer had passed away, and Ferguson's contractual relationship with the Metropolitan

had been discontinued. Without a steady connection to a major American museum, Ferguson did not have the opportunity, as Sickman did, to contribute objects to the International Exhibition of Chinese Art in 1935. Nor was he able to develop a permanent public collection or to stage exhibitions, activities which would have allowed him to make a persistent impact on the understanding of Chinese art in the United States throughout the 1920s and 1930s. Sickman is lauded for his discerning eye, which he credited to his study with Denman Ross at Harvard and with the German dealer Otto Burchard in Peking.[44] John Ferguson, who was not formally trained in connoisseurship, is remembered more for his knowledge of Chinese scholarship than for his visual sensitivity to Chinese paintings and objects. A lack of individual aptitude for connoisseurship, along with inexperience and broader cultural factors, contributed to Ferguson's short-lived success in promoting Chinese art to the American public.

Ferguson: An Actor in Global Modernity

Ferguson lived a modern life marked by the compressed space and time made possible by new inventions and shaped by the international rivalries of the twentieth century. "'Oh East is East and West is West and always the twain doth meet.' At least this new version is true in our family," Ferguson wrote in 1937.[45] He traveled frequently by ship across the Pacific and by rail across the North American continent to conduct his business and visit his dispersed family. He and other collectors and dealers in China and the United States exchanged art with the help of international bank transfers, telegrams, and photographs. In the aftermath of World War I, Ferguson defended China's territorial and political interests to American lawmakers; throughout the early twentieth century, his scholarship was deeply affected by the competition to define Chinese art and history in the contexts of global imperialism and nationalism.

John Ferguson consistently endeavored to expand his horizons. He was thus a natural counterpart for those in late nineteenth- and early twentieth-century China who, in their efforts to strengthen their country militarily and culturally, were looking beyond historical institutions and national borders. Ferguson's career was made possible by the determination of late Qing bureaucrats to introduce industrial and educational innovations, and also by the drive of Republican-era scholars to exploit new methods in their study of Chinese artifacts and to share their findings with their foreign colleagues. Ferguson was also accepted as a partner by Chinese collectors and dealers who deftly expanded their business to include foreign buyers in Peking and the much larger market for Chinese art abroad. Ferguson's career demonstrates that while nationalist competition was a defining feature of the early twentieth century, so too was cooperation.

John Ferguson's work for Qing governor-generals and his visits to the homes of Peking collectors, as well as the welcome he offered to Chinese and international guests at 3 Xiqiao Hutong, show the increasingly cosmopolitan character of late Qing and Republican-era China. Both before and after 1911, a segment of the Manchu and Chinese elite embraced the powerful potential of Western ideas. China's leaders regularly invited foreign residents and visitors to participate in the country's domestic affairs. Ferguson's cumulative career success was dependent on his tendency "to move along the lines of least resistance." It also hinged upon the continuity of progressive cultural and political trends in China from the late nineteenth through the early twentieth century. Economic and social modernization has long been a topic of inquiry for historians of the late Qing. Further research into the integration of the

lives of foreigners with those of Manchus and Chinese, the sharing of knowledge and technology, and the resultant cultural ferment, would undoubtedly yield rich results. Ma Heng's long-lasting relationship with Ferguson—from Ma's schooling at the Nanyang Academy to his reception of Ferguson's guest, Benjamin March, at the Palace Museum—suggests that Sino-Western encounters in the early twentieth century were even more common than historians have yet demonstrated.

"The Secret of Doing So Much"

In 1941, Ferguson wondered if he might be best described as an "indexer." Indeed, the records he kept of his personal contacts, his purchases, and his collected objects tell a story about how definitions and examples of "Chinese art" traveled between Nanking, Peking, New York, Chicago, and Cleveland in the early twentieth century. Ferguson's published indexes of recorded Chinese paintings and bronzes are revealing examples of how Chinese and Westerners worked with and for one another in the early twentieth century. At the same time, Ferguson did much more than collect and organize. He devoted an uncommon amount of energy to the various enterprises in which he was involved: establishing the University of Nanking and Nanyang College, administering the North China Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society, and bringing his books on Chinese art to fruition. He was an ambitious social climber. Were it not for his skill for cultivating relationships, he almost certainly would have achieved a lesser degree of success and renown. He also found time to be a loving and supportive husband to Mary Ferguson and father to their nine children.

John Ferguson helped to create an even larger-than-life image of himself and his capacity for constant labor. A *Peiping Chronicle* article, written in 1935 on Ferguson's "seventieth" birthday (as counted in China) quoted him on "The Secret of Doing So Much":

> I never took a vacation until I was sixty and I never needed to. I used to get up early every morning to do my reading, worked every day and night, and when Saturday afternoon came around and everybody went off for recreation, I worked. Sunday, the one day of supposed leisure, I worked too.[46]

Ferguson, however, devised his own coping mechanisms to manage his busiest years without a vacation. His endurance was not simply due to exceptional motivation and energy. In 1944, Ferguson urged his daughter Florence and her husband Ray, an employee of the US State Department, to rest, as the years of war were stressful for them: "I speak from experience for you may remember my old plan of spending an occasional day in bed when the cares of life had been making an unusual drain upon my strength."[47]

Notes

Introduction

1. Benjamin March, *China and Japan in Our Museums* (New York: American Council Institute for Pacific Relations, 1929).
2. Ibid., 19.
3. Carl L. Crossman, *The Decorative Arts of the China Trade: Paintings, Furnishings, and Exotic Curiosities* (Woodbridge, Suffolk: Antique Collectors' Club, 1991); March, *China and Japan*, 14–15.
4. March, *China and Japan*, 15. W. T. Walters of Baltimore and Samuel P. Avery of New York are two of the earliest American collectors and dealers of Chinese porcelain.
5. Warren I. Cohen, *East Asian Art and American Culture: A Study in International Relations* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1992), 8, 31.
6. Stanley Abe, "From Stone to Sculpture: The Alchemy of the Modern," in *Treasures Rediscovered* (New York: Columbia University, 2008), 7.
7. Craig Clunas, "Oriental Antiquities/Far Eastern Art," *Positions* 2, no. 2 (1994). Clunas described similar British views on the deficiency of Chinese painting and declining Chinese civilization, prior to and after the Opium Wars.
8. Cohen, *East Asian Art*, 21, 29.
9. Ellen P. Conant, "Refractions of the Rising Sun: Japan's Participation in International Exhibitions 1862–1910," in *Japan and Britain: An Aesthetic Dialogue 1850–1930*, eds. Tomoko Sato and Toshio Watanabe (London: Lund Humphies, 1991).
10. Christopher Bush, "The Ethnicity of Things in America's Lacquered Age," *Representations* 99, Summer (2007).
11. T. J. Jackson Lears, *No Place of Grace: Antimodernism and the Transformation of American Culture, 1880–1920*, 1st edn. (New York: Pantheon Books, 1981), 175, 186.
12. Jan Fontein and Pratapaditya Pal, *Museum of Fine Arts, Boston: Oriental Art* (Boston: Museum of Fine Arts, Boston, 1969), 12.
13. *Boston Museum of Fine Arts Bulletin* 1, no. 4 (1903). In 1903, the Department of Japanese Art at the MFA was expanded to become the Department of Chinese and Japanese Art.
14. Ernest Fenollosa, *Epochs of Chinese and Japanese Art*, vol. 2 (New York: Frederick A. Stokes Company, 1912), 62–63.
15. Ellen P. Conant, et al., *Nihonga, Transcending the Past: Japanese-Style Painting, 1868–1968*, 1st edn. (St. Louis, MO and Tokyo: Saint Louis Art Museum and The Japan Foundation, 1995).
16. Jerome Silbergeld, "Chinese Painting Studies in the West: A State of the Field Article," *Journal of Asian Studies* 46, no. 4 (1987), 867.
17. Quoted in Thomas Lawton and Linda Merrill, *Freer: A Legacy of Art* (Washington, DC: Freer Gallery of Art Smithsonian Institution in association with H.N. Abrams, 1993), 148.

18. Ibid., 149.
19. Thomas Lawton, *A Time of Transition: Two Collectors of Chinese Art* (Lawrence: University of Kansas Spencer Museum of Art, 1991), 82.
20. Cohen, *East Asian Art*, 64–71.
21. John A. Pope, "Sinology or Art History," *Harvard Journal of Asiatic Studies* 10 (1947). Pope discussed the Sinological approach to Chinese art history in contrast to formal art historical analysis, and argued that the two methodologies must be combined.
22. Cohen, *East Asian Art*, 156.
23. Fenollosa, *Epochs*, 146.
24. James Cahill, "Confucian Elements in the Theory of Painting," in *The Confucian Persuasion*, ed. Arthur F. Wright (Stanford, CA: Stanford University Press, 1960); Susan Bush, *The Chinese Literati on Painting; Su Shih (1037–1101) to Tung Ch'i-ch'ang (1555–1636)*, vol. 27, Harvard-Yenching Institute Studies (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1971). Susan Bush described a change as occurring in the Song period. Kiyohiko Munakata disagreed, arguing that the Song scholar, Su Shi, was more admiring of naturalistic art than Bush claimed, and that pre-Song authors were more appreciative of expressive art. Kiyohiko Munakata, "Some Methological Considerations: A Review Article," *Artibus Asiae* 38, no. 4 (1976), 312.
25. Munakata, "Some Methodological Considerations," 315.
26. Bush, *Chinese Literati on Painting*, 169.
27. Silbergeld, "Chinese Painting Studies in the West," 864.
28. Jason Kuo, *Discovering Chinese Painting: Dialogues with Art Historians*, 2nd edn. (Kendall Hunt Publishing Company, 2006), 18, 118; Silbergeld, "Chinese Painting Studies in the West," 865.
29. James Cahill, "Five Rediscovered Ming and Qing Paintings in the University of Pennsylvania Museum," *Orientations* 32, no. 2 (2001), 62; James Cahill, *Pictures for Use and Pleasure: Vernacular Painting in High Qing China* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2010), 25–28.
30. Silbergeld, "Chinese Painting Studies in the West," 876.
31. Kuo, *Discovering Chinese Painting*, 117.
32. Ibid., 117–118, 154; Silbergeld, "Chinese Painting Studies in the West."
33. Works by scholars taught by Craig Clunas include: Judith Green, "Britain's Chinese Collections, 1842–1943: Private Collecting and the Invention of Chinese Art" (PhD diss., University of Sussex, 2002); Stacey Pierson, "Private Collecting, Teaching and Institutionalisation: The Percival David Foundation and the Field of Chinese Art in Britain, 1920–1964" (PhD diss., University of Sussex, 2003); Stacey Pierson, *Collecting Chinese Art: Interpretation and Display*, Colloquies on Art & Archaeology in Asia (London: University of London, Percival David Foundation of Chinese Art, School of Oriental and African Studies, 2000).
34. Clunas, "Oriental Antiquities/Far Eastern Art."
35. Shana Brown, *Pastimes: From Art and Antiquarianism to Modern Chinese Historiography* (Honolulu: University of Hawai'i Press, 2011).
36. Abe, "From Stone to Sculpture."
37. Zaixin Hong, "A Sculptural Dimension: Collecting Archaic Seals and Establishing a New Concept of the Fine Arts in a Modern China" (paper presented at the Status of and Market for Chinese Sculpture in the Late Qing symposium, Duke University, 2007).
38. For more on the participation of the Republic of China and the significance attributed to the exhibition, see: Ellen Huang, "There and Back Again: Material Objects at the First International Exhibitions of Chinese Art in Shanghai, London, and Nanjing, 1935–36," in *Collecting China: The World, China, and a Short History of Collecting*, ed. Vimalin Rujivacharakul (Newark: University of Delaware, 2011).
39. Krysztof Pomian, *Collectors and Curiosities*, trans. Elizabeth Portier-Wiles (Cambridge: Polity Press, 1990). Pomian described art collecting as a process of transforming objects from things used in the

visible world to semiophores which signify the invisible realm. Borrowing from Pomian: What was the "invisible" for Ferguson in his collection of Chinese art?

40. John C. Ferguson, *Outlines of Chinese Art: The Scammon Lectures at the Art Institute of Chicago, 1918* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1919), 2.
41. "JCF to Florence, February 13, 1916," JCF Family Papers.

Chapter 1 Achieving Prominence in China

1. Mary Ferguson, "Fu 福 [Childhood]," Yale Divinity School Library. My description of Ferguson's childhood years is primarily drawn from this account written by Ferguson's daughter.
2. "JCF to Florence, March 20, 1932," JCF Family Papers.
3. "Fu 福 [Childhood]."
4. "JCF to Charles, December 26, 1937," JCF Family Papers.
5. "Fu 福 [Childhood]." Mary Ferguson wrote that her father entered Boston University in 1884, implying that he studied there for two years. Boston University records, however, show Ferguson to have attended only during the year 1885–1886, and to have earned his BA that spring. *Boston University Year Book*, vol. 7 (Boston: Boston University Offices, 1885); *Boston University Year Book*, vol. 8 (Boston: Boston University Offices, 1886). Possibly he attended Boston University in 1884–1885 but was not enrolled as a regular student.
6. "Admission," *Boston University Year Book* 7 (1885).
7. *Boston University School of Theology Catalogue and Circular 1886–1887* (Boston: Boston University Offices, 1887).
8. Noriko Murai, "Authoring the East: Okakura Kakuzo and the Representations of East Asian Art in the Early Twentieth Century" (PhD diss., Harvard University, 2003), 143.
9. William Smith, ed. *Dictionary of Greek and Roman Antiquities*, 3rd American edn. (New York: Harper & Brothers, 1881). Ferguson's private copy of this book is signed and dated 1884.
10. "JCF to John M. Reid, March 14, 1887," GCAH–UMC.
11. "JCF to John M. Reid, August 25, 1887," GCAH–UMC.
12. Ibid.
13. "Fu 福 [Childhood]."
14. Zhenjiang is called Chinkiang in biographies of Ferguson and in Methodist missionary materials.
15. "JCF to John M. Reid, March 14, 1887."
16. Mary Ferguson, "Fu 福 [Nanking years]," JCF Family Papers.
17. Ibid., 4.
18. Wade Crawford Barclay, *History of Methodist Missions*, vol. 3, *The Methodist Episcopal Church, 1845–1939* (New York: The Board of Missions of The Methodist Church, 1957), 404–405.
19. A conference is a regional and administrative division within the Methodist Church. The Central China Conference—covering the Yangtze-area missions but not including Sichuan—held an annual meeting where church business and, in this case, missionary activities were discussed.
20. "Fu 福 [Nanking years]."
21. Ibid.
22. Barclay, *The Methodist Episcopal Church, 1845–1939*, 410; "Jinda liushi zhounian jiniance 金大六十周年紀念冊," 安卷號 74, 全宗號 649, No. 2 Historical Archives.
23. Letter from Mary Ferguson (wife) quoted in "Fu 福 [Nanking years]." In his correspondence with the missionary secretaries, Ferguson described his confidence that he could procure permission from the viceroy to purchase land for the university. He wrote also that he could pay for the construction of buildings through private donations. Although in 1889 he did not specify his sources, his annual reports to the Mission Board described both Western and Chinese donors in the 1890s.

"JCF to Charles C. McCabe, March 30, 1889," GCAH–UMC; "JCF to Charles C. McCabe, July 28, 1889," GCAH–UMC; "Fu 福 [Nanking years]."

24. William F. Fenn, "A History of the University of Nanking," Yale Divinity School Library. Fenn wrote that in 1916, the Board of Managers of Nanking University attempted to register the university with the Department of Education of the Chinese government, but that the request would lay dormant for one more decade.
25. "Fu 福 [Nanking years]."
26. "JCF to the Missionary Secretaries, September 24, 1889," GCAH–UMC.
27. "Fu 福 [Nanking years]." This association had sprouted from the China Missionary Association in 1890, with Ferguson being one of the initiators.
28. "JCF to Rev. R. J. Palmer, November 15, 1897," GCAH–UMC.
29. Ibid.
30. "JCF to Charles, June 15, 1910," JCF Family Papers.
31. "JCF to Rev. R.J. Palmer, July 30, 1898," GCAH–UMC. Ferguson was selected as one of the representatives of the Methodist mission on the Board of Managers of Nanking University in 1909. University of Nanking: Board of Managers Folder 1, GCAH–UMC.
32. "Fu 福 [Nanking years]." Some of the letters quoted by Mary Ferguson (daughter) in this booklet are only roughly dated. Liu Kunyi served as governor-general of Liangjiang from 1879 to 1881, then returned to the post after a period of retirement. Perhaps the recommendation was associated with Liu Kunyi's return, which occurred in early 1891. Ssu-yu Teng, "Liu K'un-i," in *ECCP*.
33. "Treaty of Peace with Germany Hearing before the Committee on Foreign Relations United States Senate 66th Congress, 1st session, Part 11" (Washington: Government Printing Office, 1919). Ferguson testified before the United States Senate: "Since 1894 I have held various advisory positions in connection with the viceroys at Nanking and Wuchang and in the railway administration." It is not clear whether Ferguson served Liu Kunyi, Zhang Zhidong, or both at this early date, as Zhang replaced Liu as governor-general of Liangjiang during the Sino-Japanese War of 1894–1895. Biographies of Ferguson, compiled during his lifetime and just after his death, record that he began to serve as adviser to the viceroy of Nanking in 1898. "Ferguson, John Calvin," in *The National Cyclopedia of American Biography* (New York: James T. White & Company, 1948), 209; Ling Hongxun 淩鴻勛 "Fukaisen shilue 福開森事略," *Zhuanji wenxue* 13, no. 3 (1968), 20.
34. Carroll Lunt, *The China Who's Who 1926* (Shanghai: Kelly & Walsh, Ltd., 1926), 79.
35. Bryna Goodman, *Native Place, City, and Nation* (Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press, 1995), 163–169.
36. Ibid., 168.
37. R. H. van Gulik, "Dr. John C. Ferguson's 75th Anniversary," *Monumenta Serica* 6 (1941), 341.
38. John C. Ferguson, "Bronze Vessels," *China Journal* 11 (1929), 284.
39. "Miao Ch'uan-sun 繆荃蓀," in *BDRC*; Miao Quansun 繆荃孫, *Yifeng laoren nianpu* 藝風老人年譜, vol. 53, Nianpu congshu (Taipei: Guangwen shuju, 1971), 49–56. Each year within that period, Miao recorded in his diary: "At the Zhongshan Academy" ("在鍾山書院" or "在鍾山").
40. van Gulik, "Ferguson's 75th Anniversary," 341; Ferguson, "Bronze Vessels," 284.
41. John C. Ferguson, "Reminiscences of Last Century Nanking," *The North-China Sunday News*, December 8, 1929.
42. van Gulik, "Ferguson's 75th Anniversary," 341. Van Gulik described the acquisition of these objects as the start of Ferguson's collection. Ferguson loaned one of the tiles to the Metropolitan in 1915; no trace has been found of the others. The bronze was broken on one of Ferguson's trips back to the United States. Ferguson, "Bronze Vessels," 284; "Acceptance of Loan November 1915," Ferguson, John C., OSR MMAA.

43. Mieke Bal, "Telling Objects: A Narrative Perspective on Collecting," in *The Cultures of Collecting*, ed. John Elsner and Roger Cardinal (London: Reaktion Books, 1994).
44. Sheng Xuanhuai 盛宣懷, *Yuzhai cungao* 愚齋存稿, vols. 122–125, Jindai Zhongguo shiliao congkan xubian (Taipei: Wenhai chubanshe, 1974).
45. Albert Feuerwerker, *China's Early Industrialization; Sheng Hsuan-huai (1844–1916) and Mandarin Enterprise*, Harvard East Asian Studies, 1 (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1958). The following account of Sheng's life is based on Feuerwerker's book, as well as "Sheng Hsuan-huai 盛宣懷," in *BDRC*.
46. Fan Zude 范祖德, "Jiaoda de chuangjian yu Sheng Xuanhuai de aiguo 交大的创建与盛宣怀的爱国," in *Siyuanhu: Shanghai jiaotong daxue bainian gushi xieying* 思源湖：上海交通大学百年故事撷英, ed. Zhu Longquan (Shanghai: Shanghai jiaotong daxue chubanshe, 2005); Fan Zude 范祖德, "Bainian qian de Meiguo zhuanjia Fukaisen 百年前的美国专家福开森," in *Siyuanhu: Shanghai jiaotong daxue bainian gushi xieying* 思源湖：上海交通大学百年故事撷英, ed. Zhu Longquan (Shanghai: Shanghai jiaotong daxue chubanshe, 2005), 30.
47. Fan, "Jiaoda de chuangjian"; Fan, "Bainian qian de Meiguo zhuanjia"; William Ayers, *Chang Chih-tung and Educational Reform in China*, Harvard East Asian series, 54 (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1971), 151. Ayers stated that Zhang Zhidong did not use this exact wording in his writing, but that "the basic t'i-yung dualism or dichotomy was utilized, and a harmony of Sino-Western learning and institutions, if not a thoroughgoing synthesis, was prescribed by Chang for the reform movement."
48. Feuerwerker, *China's Early Industrialization*, 73.
49. van Gulik, "Ferguson's 75th Anniversary," 341; Fan, "Bainian qian de Meiguo zhuanjia," 38.
50. John C. Ferguson, "Nanyang gongxue zaoqi lishi 南洋公学早期歷史," in *Siyuanhu: Shanghai jiaotong daxue bainian gushi xieying* 思源湖：上海交通大学百年故事撷英, ed. Zhu Longquan (Shanghai: Shanghai jiaotong daxue chubanshe, 2005), 10.
51. Ibid.
52. John C. Ferguson, "Mianhuai jiaotong daxue de chuangshiren—Sheng Xuanhuai 缅怀交通大学的创始人—盛宣怀," in *Sheng Xuanhuai yu Shanghai jiaotong daxue* 盛宣怀与上海交通大学, eds. Chen Xianyuan and Lei Tian, Mingren yu mingxiao congshu (Taiyuan: Shanxi jiaoyu chubanshe, 1996).
53. Ferguson, "Nanyang gongxue zaoqi lishi," 9.
54. John C. Ferguson, *Nanyang College Graduation Address* (Shanghai: Shanghai Mercury, 1903), 2–3.
55. Ferguson, "Nanyang gongxue zaoqi lishi," 12–13.
56. Ferguson, "Reminiscences of Last Century Nanking."
57. "JCF to Charles, May 23, 1911," JCF Family Papers.
58. Gerry Wald, "Sculptor on the Left: Duncan Ferguson's Search for Wholeness," *Pembroke Magazine*, no. 19 (1987), 35; John C. Ferguson, "Sunday Morning Talks," JCF Family Papers. The explanatory note to this bound collection states that the children were in Lausanne with their mother while Ferguson was in China in 1901–1902. I am grateful to Dr. Thomas Lawton for sending me Gerry Wald's article.
59. Ferguson, "Nanyang gongxue zaoqi lishi," 14.
60. van Gulik, "Ferguson's 75th Anniversary," 341; Shirley Stone Garrett, "Ferguson, John Calvin," in *Dictionary of American Biography, Supplement Three*, eds. Edward T. James, et al. (New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1941–45); Yan Duhe 严独鹤, "Fukaisen yu Xinwenbao 福开森与新闻报," *Shanghai wenshi ziliao xuanji,* no. 2 (1960). I am grateful to Sei Jeong Chin for sharing Yan's article with me.
61. van Gulik, "Ferguson's 75th Anniversary," 341; Garrett, "Ferguson, John Calvin," 268.
62. Daniel H. Bays, *China Enters the Twentieth Century: Chang Chih-tung and the Issues of a New Age, 1895–1909*, Michigan Studies on China (Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 1978), 72; Ling, "Fukaisen shilue 福開森事略," 20.

63. Ling, "Fukaisen shilue 福開森事略," 20; "Ferguson, John Calvin."
64. William R. Braisted, "The United States and the American China Development Company," *Far Eastern Quarterly* 11, no. 2 (1952); Bays, *China Enters the Twentieth Century*, 165.
65. Braisted, "The United States and the American China Development Company," 156. Braisted quoted from the Department of State miscellaneous records: Ferguson to Hay, May 5, 1904.
66. Despite Morgan's action and against Sheng's wishes, Zhang Zhidong did not ultimately permit the American company to resume work.
67. Ferguson evidently kept up with the activities of his patron, for in 1909 he published a translation of a memorial by Sheng, "China's National Bank and Currency Reform," which contained Sheng's recommendations based on a trip to Japan in 1907–1908. "Chinese Currency," *Shanghai Mercury*, October 26, 1909.
68. "JCF to John Ferguson (father), July 3, 1911," JCF Family Papers.
69. Sheng, *Yuzhai cungao* 愚齋存稿.
70. Ibid., 45.
71. Ibid. The order Ferguson implies here for Sheng's activities is different than that given in Sheng's biography in *BDRC* (119). According to that account, Sheng gained his position as president of the Board of Posts and Communications in 1911, fled to Japan in 1911, then returned to Shanghai in 1912. It would make the most sense that Ferguson was referring to Sheng's 1902 downfall when he described him as leaving his positions, because after 1912, Ferguson did not live long term in Shanghai.
72. Lunt, *The China Who's Who 1926*, 79; "Ferguson, John Calvin," 209; Ling, "Fukaisen shilue 福開森事略," 20. Ferguson may have worked occasionally for Zhang Zhidong, as he did for Liu Kunyi, beginning in 1894.
73. Ferguson used the words "in association" or "connected" to describe their ties. He wrote his father, for example, that he had sold the newspaper he had purchased in 1907, the *Shanghai Times*: "It proved an expensive luxury for me, but I was let into it unwittingly by the two Viceroys with whom I was formerly connected. One of them is now dead Chang Chih-tung, and the other Tuan Fang, has been in retirement for two or three years until recently." "JCF to John Ferguson (father), July 3, 1911." For "in association," see John C. Ferguson, "Last of the Immortals," *T'ien Hsia Monthly* 5 (1937), 345–346.
74. The following account of Zhang Zhidong's career is based on: Ayers, *Chang Chih-tung*; Bays, *China Enters the Twentieth Century*; Meredith Cameron, "Chang Chih-tung," in *ECCP*.
75. Ayers, *Chang Chih-tung*, 102.
76. Ling, "Fukaisen shilue 福開森事略," 20; Lunt, *The China Who's Who 1926*. One of the first Westerners whom Zhang contacted for advice was Timothy Richard, an English Baptist missionary working in Shanxi in the early 1880s. Richard declined Zhang's offer of employment, but he did give Zhang informal advice. Ferguson expressed his admiration of Richard as one of the missionaries who knew Chinese well and had close contact with native officials. Ayers, *Chang Chih-tung*, 102; John C. Ferguson, "Dr. Herbert Allen Giles," *JNCBRAS* 66 (1935), 136.
77. Zhang Zhidong 張之洞, *Quan xue pian* 勸學篇 (Lianghu shuyuan, 1898).
78. Ayers, *Chang Chih-tung*, 161–173.
79. John C. Ferguson, "Progress in China," *Methodist Review* (1906), 446.
80. John C. Ferguson, "The Confucian Renaissance in the Sung Dynasty" (PhD diss., Boston University, 1902). These handwritten notes are in an envelope inside Ferguson's private copy.
81. Ibid.
82. "Graduate Department," *Bostonia* 3, no. 3 (1902), 27.
83. Zhang Zhidong 張之洞, *Shumu dawen* 書目答問, 1st edn. (1875; repr., Shanghai: Feiying guan, 1895). In the dissertation, Ferguson referred to James Legge's translations of the Chinese classics, as well as texts in Chinese by Confucius, Mencius, and Han and Song dynasty commentators, among others.
84. "JCF to John Ferguson (father), July 3, 1911."

Chapter 2 Engaging in Antiquarianism, Sinology, and Chinese Art

1. The following account of Duanfang's career is based on: Thomas Lawton, *A Time of Transition: Two Collectors of Chinese Art* (Lawrence: University of Kansas Spencer Museum of Art, 1991); Hiromu Momose, "Tuan-fang," in *ECCP*; Tatsuro Asahara, "Netchu' no hito—Tan Ho den (1)," *Sen-oku Hakkokan kiyo* 4 (1987); Tatsuro Asahara, "Netchu' no hito—Tan Ho den (2)," *Sen-oku Hakkokan kiyo* 6 (1989); Tatsuro Asahara, "Netchu' no hito—Tan Ho den (3)," *Sen-oku Hakkokan kiyo* 7 (1990); Tatsuro Asahara, "Netchu' no hito—Tan Ho den (4)," *Sen-oku Hakkokan kiyo* 8 (1992); Tatsuro Asahara, "Netchu' no hito—Tan Ho den (5)," *Sen-oku Hakkokan kiyo* 9 (1993); Tatsuro Asahara, "Netchu' no hito—Tan Ho den (6)," *Sen-oku Hakkokan kiyo* 10 (1994).
2. Momose, "P'an Tsu-yin" in *ECCP*.
3. The following description of *jinshi* practice is based on: Shana Brown, "Pastimes: Scholars, Art Dealers, and the Making of Modern Chinese Historiography, 1870–1928" (PhD diss., University of California, 2003). Brown made the case that the late Qing *jinshi* scholars that she studied were interested in not just texts, but the objects upon which they were inscribed.
4. Ibid., 32.
5. Ibid., 29, 32.
6. Asahara, "Netchu' no hito 1," 70–71.
7. Thomas Lawton, "Rubbings of Chinese Bronzes," *The Bulletin of the Museum of Far Eastern Antiquities* 67 (1995), 7.
8. Qianshen Bai, "From Composite Rubbing to Picture of Antiques and Flowers (Bogu huahui): The Case of Wu Yun," *Orientations* (2007); Lawton, "Rubbings of Chinese Bronzes."
9. Brown, "Pastimes: Scholars, Art Dealers," 101–104, 113–118.
10. For more on composite rubbings and rubbings in general, see also: Qianshen Bai, "Composite Rubbings in Nineteenth-Century China: The Case of Wu Dacheng (1835–1902) and His Friends," in *Reinventing the Past: Archaism and Antiquarianism in Chinese Art and Visual Culture*, ed. Wu Hung (Chicago: Center for the Art of East Asia, Department of Art History, University of Chicago 2010); Zheng Shanshan 郑珊珊, "Zhi mo liuxiang chuanjishou de rongyao 纸墨留香传继手的荣耀," *Zijincheng* (*Forbidden City Magazine*), no. 138 (2006).
11. Asahara, "Netchu' no hito 5," 101, 104.
12. Lawton, *Time of Transition*, 15.
13. Duanfang 端方, *Taozhai jijinlu* 陶齋吉金錄, 8 vols. (Nanking: Privately published, 1908). Duanfang wrote: "繼之官秦中，古帝王之都，多重寶奇器，往往朝出墟壟，夕登几席。"
14. Duanfang 端方, *Taozhai jijin xulu* 陶齋吉金續錄 (Nanking: Lai-ch'ing-k'o, 1909); Duanfang, *Taozhai jijinlu* 陶齋吉金錄. "Taozhai" was Duanfang's studio name.
15. Song Huizong 宋徽宗, *Xuanhe bo gu tu* 宣和博古圖 (n.p., 1122). Duanfang described the set of Qing catalogs as: 本朝乾隆中命儒臣編，西清古鑑，西清續鑑，寧壽古鑑三書。These books are listed by Lawton as: *Xiqing gujian*, 40 juan, ordered by Qianlong 1749, completed 1751; *Ningshou jiangu*, not dated; *Xiqing xujian*, *jiabian*, completed 1793; *Xiqing xujian*, *yibian*, completed 1793. Lawton, "Rubbings of Chinese Bronzes," 9n7.
16. Ruan Yuan 阮元, *Jiguzhai zhongding yiqi kuanshi* 積古齋鐘鼎彝器款識 (n.p., 1804). Pan Zuyin's text is dated to 1872 and included in Xu Shu 徐蜀, *Guojia tushuguan cang jinwen yanjiu ziliao congkan* 國家圖書館藏金文研究資料叢刊, 22 vols. (Beijing: Beijing tushuguan chubanshe, 2004); Shengyu 盛昱, *Yuhuage yiji* 鬱華閣遺集 (n.p., 1905).
17. Lawton, *Time of Transition*, 5n2, 41.
18. Ibid., 8. The stele is dated by inscription to AD 726 and was judged by Duanfang to be a Tang dynasty object.
19. Ibid., 13; Brown, "Pastimes: Scholars, Art Dealers," 118. Thomas Lawton described Duanfang as the first to use photolithography. Brown, however, wrote of Wu Kezhai's use of this technology in an 1895 catalog.

20. The photographic process was invented in 1839, and spread to the Chinese treaty ports soon after. Regine Thiriez, "Library Collections and Early Photography in China," *International Association of Orientalist Librarians Bulletin*, no. 44 (2000), http://gatheringmountains.net/Photoweb/thiriez/thiriez_iao144.html.
21. Lawton, *Time of Transition*, 11n23.
22. Chen Xiu 陈秀, "Duanfang yu 'Taozhai ping quan tu' 端方与陶斋评权图," *Shoucangjia*, no. 43 (2000). Li Baoxun, a native of Yixian (易縣), Zhili, was a scholar and connoisseur with whom Duanfang interacted frequently. Chen listed the names of the other three men in the photograph and mentioned by Duanfang in his inscription: Xi Juanchen, Huang Zuochen, and Cheng Bozang.
23. Lawton, *Time of Transition*, 29.
24. Charles Freer, "Diaries," Freer Papers.
25. John C. Ferguson, "Bronze Vessels," *China Journal* 11 (1929), 284.
26. "Han dynasty tile, with annotation by Tuan Fang 端午橋題漢瓦拓本軸," JCF Collection, NJU Museum.
27. "Two rubbings from ancient Egyptian stones with annotations by Tuan Fang 陶齋題埃及石刻拓本軸," JCF Collection, NJU Museum. Duanfang's inscriptions on the pair read: 埃及古碑丙午夏自開雒載歸 拓奉茂生先生雅鑒 浭陽端方記 and 茂生先生再鑒丙午冬日端方題贈.
28. John C. Ferguson, *List of Articles Given to Nanking University* (1934), 27. Ferguson recorded that these were found in Zhaozhou (趙州), Zhili, but did not date the pieces. In just these three entries, Ferguson stated that the pieces were "obtained by me from Duanfang," in contrast to other pieces that he described as "from the Duanfang collection."
29. John C. Ferguson, "'Ink Remains' of An I-Chou," *JNCBRAS* 45 (1914), 14. This article is a partial translation of Duanfang's printed edition. Lawton described Duanfang as printing An Yizhou's manuscript in 1900—the date of Duanfang's preface—but the book seems to have been published in 1909. Perhaps, although Duanfang's preface was dated to 1900, the book was printed in 1909. Thomas Lawton, "An Eighteenth Century Chinese Catalogue of Calligraphy and Painting: An Annotated Translation of Sections Three and Four of Mo-Yuan Hui-Kuan by An Ch'i" (PhD diss., Harvard University, 1970), 13; An Qi 安岐, *Moyuan huiguan* 墨緣彙觀 (Wuchang, 1909).
30. John C. Ferguson, "Recent Books by a Chinese Scholar," *JNCBRAS* 50 (1919).
31. "#117 Collectors of Bronzes," JCF Scrapbooks, Bronzes and Porcelains 89–12? [label worn away], NJU Museum. Asahara, "Netchu' no hito 5," 103. Asahara described the work of Wang Xiaoyu (alternate name Wang Guan [王瓘]) in Duanfang's governor-general administration in Nanking, and the exchange of antiquities between the two men.
32. "#78 P'an Ku Lou," JCF Scrapbooks, Bronzes, Porcelains, etc. 1–88, NJU Museum; "Unnumbered, Introduction to 'Ch'i Ku Chai' by Yuan Yüan, dated in the autumn of 1804, written at Yang Chow," JCF Scrapbooks, Bronzes, Porcelains, etc. 1–88, NJU Museum.
33. John C. Ferguson, *Outlines of Chinese Art: The Scammon Lectures at the Art Institute of Chicago, 1918* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1919), 33.
34. Ferguson, "Recent Books by a Chinese Scholar."
35. Ibid., 124, 123.
36. Benjamin A. Elman, *From Philosophy to Philology: Intellectual and Social Aspects of Change in Late Imperial China*, 2nd rev. edn. (Los Angeles: UCLA Asian Pacific Monograph Series, 2001), vi, 3, 32–33.
37. Ferguson, *Outlines*, 36–37; Ferguson, "Recent Books by a Chinese Scholar," 124–125.
38. Ferguson, "Recent Books by a Chinese Scholar," 124.
39. Ibid., 125.

40. "JCF to Charles, February 25, 1912," JCF Family Papers. The word "wonderful" is startling here, but Ferguson's usage accords with the definition: "capable of eliciting wonder."
41. Elijah Coleman Bridgman, "Inaugural Address," *Journal of the Shanghai Literary and Scientific Society* 1 (1858). Shanghai's nascent learned association first met in 1857 as the Shanghai Literary and Scientific Society, and in 1858 was formally accepted as a branch of the Royal Asiatic Society of Great Britain and Ireland.
42. Henri Cordier, "Report of the Council," *JNCBRAS* 9 (1874), iv.
43. Joseph Edkins, "A Sketch of the Life of Confucius," *JNCBRAS* 2, no. 1 (1860); Elijah Coleman Bridgman, "Sketches of the Miau-tsze," *JNCBRAS* I, no. 3 (1859); D. B. Robertson, "Cotton in China," *JNCBRAS* I, no. 3 (1859).
44. Raymond Schwab, *The Oriental Renaissance: Europe's Rediscovery of India and the East, 1680–1880* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1984), 6.
45. David B. Honey, *Incense at the Altar: Pioneering Sinologists and the Development of Classical Chinese Philology*, American Oriental Series; v. 86 (New Haven, CT: American Oriental Society, 2001); Norman Girardot, *The Victorian Translation of China: James Legge's Oriental Pilgramage* (Berkeley: California University Press, 2002), 74n17; Marianne Bastid-Brugiere, "Some Themes of 19th and 20th Century European Historiography on China," in *Europe Studies China: Papers from an International Conference on the History of European Sinology*, eds. Ming Wilson and John Cayley (London: Han-Shan-Tang Books, 1995). Bastid-Brugiere labeled them "practical sinologists." Honey quoted John Fairbank's description of the "distinguished amateurism" of the American scholars of this period (273).
46. Honey, *Incense at the Altar*, 326–327. Stanislas Julien (1797–1873), who took up the chair of Chinese at the Collège de France (established in 1814) in 1832 and never traveled to China, was a leading European Sinologist of the mid-nineteenth century.
47. Ibid., 178–183.
48. Herbert Allen Giles, *An Introduction to the History of Chinese Pictorial Art*, 1st edn. (Shanghai: Kelly and Walsh, Ltd., 1905); Herbert Allen Giles, *A Chinese-English Dictionary* (London, Shanghai: B. Quaritch; Kelly & Walsh Ltd., 1892); Herbert Allen Giles, *A Chinese Biographical Dictionary* (London, Shanghai: B. Quaritch; Kelly & Walsh Ltd., 1898).
49. James Legge (1815–1897) was a London Missionary Society worker who published enduring English translations of the Chinese classics. See Girardot, *Victorian Translation of China*.
50. Honey, *Incense at the Altar*, 327. Honey emphasized the resident experience of the Anglo-American scholars of the late nineteenth century.
51. Henri Cordier, *A Catalogue of the Library of the North China Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society* (Shanghai: Ching-Foong General Printing Office, 1872); Henri Cordier, *Bibliotheca sinica: dictionnaire bibliographique des ouvrages relatifs à l'empire chinois*, 2e éd., rev., corrigée et considérablement augmentée, 4 vols. (Paris: E. Guilmoto, 1904–1908).
52. John C. Ferguson, *Index to the China Review* (Shanghai: Kelly & Walsh Ltd., 1919).
53. Peter Blair Ferguson, *Index to the Journal of the North China Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society, from Vol. I to Vol. LIV* (Supplement to Vol. 55 of the *Journal of the North China Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society*, 1924). Ferguson's son Peter, then age twenty-one, completed a continuation of Cordier's index of the *Journal*, a project he had evidently taken over from his father. In an introductory note, Ferguson wrote that he had supervised Peter's work, but that his son's method was different from the one he had used.
54. Articles reminiscent of the scholarship published by the Royal Asiatic Society of Bengal include: R. A. Jamieson, "The Hieroglyphic Character of the Chinese Written Language," *JNCBRAS* n.s. 2 (1865); Alexander Wylie, "Coins of the Ta-ts'ing, or the Present Dynasty of China," *JNCBRAS* 1 (1858); Stephen Bushell, "The Hsi-Hsia Dynasty of Tangut, Their Money and Peculiar Script," *JNCBRAS* 30 (1895–1896).

55. Stephen Bushell, "The Stone Drums of the Chou Dynasty," *JNCBRAS* 8 (1873).
56. Joseph Edkins, *China's Place in Philology: An Attempt to Show that the Languages of Europe and Asia Have a Common Origin* (London: Trübner & Co., 1871).
57. Honey, *Incense at the Altar*, 330. Honey referred to Arthur Wright's description of foreign scholars' identification with the tradition of Chinese scholarship. While Honey critiqued Wright's claim that twentieth-century Western researchers applied new methodology, he implied his agreement with Wright's view that earlier scholars were implicated in elite Chinese discourse.
58. James Hevia, "The Archive State and the Fear of Pollution: From the Opium Wars to Fu-Manchu," *Cultural Studies* 12, no. 2 (1998). Hevia described the NCBRAS more narrowly as a key institution in the development of an "Imperial archive," the contributors to which were instrumental in what he called the "decoding" and "recoding" of China. Hevia's analysis provides a valuable examination of the political motivation for scholarly investigation of the Qing empire, but focuses almost exclusively on the British consular officials who contributed to the NCBRAS, ignoring the diversity of this institution.
59. Girardot, *Victorian Translation of China*, 142.
60. Ibid., 145n73.
61. The Society's council decided on the institution's administrative affairs and included the executive officers, as well as a small number of additional elected members.
62. "Proceedings," *JNCBRAS* 38 (1907).
63. John C. Ferguson, "Arthur Stanley," *JNCBRAS* 62 (1931).
64. For further details on the Society's library, see Harold Otness, "Nurturing the Roots for Oriental Studies: The Development of the Libraries of the Royal Asiatic Society's Branches and Affiliates in Asia in the Nineteenth Century," *International Association of Orientalist Librarians Bulletin* 43 (1998).
65. John C. Ferguson, review of *An Introduction to the History of Chinese Pictorial Art* by Herbert Giles and *Some Chinese Painters of the Present Dynasty* by Friedrich Hirth, *JNCBRAS* 37 (1906).
66. John C. Ferguson, *Survey of Chinese Art* (Shanghai: The Commercial Press Limited, 1939), 53.
67. Giles, *An Introduction to the History of Chinese Pictorial Art*. Ferguson referred to *Xuanhe huapu* on page 80 of his private copy. Thomas Lawton described *Xuanhe huapu* as compiled in the Northern Song dynasty, based on a preface dated in correspondence to 1120. Lawton, "An Eighteenth Century Chinese Catalogue," 5.
68. "Exhibition of Old Chinese Porcelain and Works of Art," *JNCBRAS* 40 (1908); Nick Pearce, "Shanghai 1908: A. W. Bahr and China's First Art Exhibition," *West 86th* 18, no. 1 (2011), 6. Pearce explained that Bahr had begun to collect Chinese porcelain in 1905, and in 1906, after an unsatisfying visit to the NCBRAS museum, he made plans for what would be Shanghai's first art exhibition.
69. A. W. Bahr, *Old Chinese Porcelain and Works of Art in China: Being Description and Illustration of Articles Selected from an Exhibition Held in Shanghai, November 1908* (London: Cassell and Company, Ltd., 1911).
70. Typed preface by Ferguson, dated March 4, 1910, pasted inside Ferguson's private copy of *Old Chinese Porcelain and Works of Art*. A letter from A. W. Bahr to Ferguson—dated to what appears to be February 10, 1910, and pasted into the same book—requested that Ferguson write a preface, suggesting that although Ferguson complied, the preface was not included in the published catalog.
71. Bahr, *Old Chinese Porcelain and Works of Art*. Typed preface by Ferguson.
72. Ibid., 2; "Notes and Queries," *JNCBRAS* 40 (1909).
73. Shen Dunhe, *Recollections of a Chinese Official* (Shanghai, 1903).
74. Ibid., 5. Shen is described as "Co-Director of the Imperial Bureau of Mines and Railways."
75. Susan Fernsebner, "Material Modernities: China's Participation in World's Fairs and Expositions, 1876–1955" (PhD diss., University of California, San Diego, 2002), 31. Cheng-hua Wang,

"Chengxian 'Zhongguo': wan Qing canyu 1904 nian Meiguo Shengluyi wanguo bolanhui zhi yanjiu," in *Hua zhong you hua: jindai Zhongguo de shijue biaoshu yu wenhua goutu* 畫中有話：近代中國的視覺表述與文化構圖, ed. Kewu Huang (Taipei: Zhongyang yanjiuyuan jindaishi yanjiusuo, 2003), 452.

76. Fernsebner, "Material Modernities," 69–72.
77. Katharine P. Burnett, "Inventing a New "Old Tradition": Chinese Painting at the Panama-Pacific International Exposition," *Meishu shi yu guannian shi/History of Art and History of Ideas* (2010), 15; Shen Dunhe, *A Selection from Modern Chinese Arts for the Panama-Pacific International Exhibition* (Shanghai: Commercial Press, 1915). No. 9, in this catalog, is described as "a facsimile after the original" of a painting formerly in the collection of Duanfang. Dr. Stafford M. Cox, an additional member of the 1908 exhibition committee contributed a preface to Shen's 1915 catalog, suggesting lasting connections and engagement in Chinese art by the committee members. Additionally, in 1913, Shen and Cox were vice president and chief medical officer respectively of the Chinese Red Cross Society; Ferguson had been vice president of this organization in 1911. Stephen Piero Sergius Rodyenko, *Second Revolution in China, 1913: My Adventures of the Fighting Around Shanghai, the Arsenal, Woosung Forts* (Shanghai: Shanghai Mercury, 1914), 141, 173.
78. Review of *Old Chinese Porcelain and Works of Art in China* by A. W. Bahr, *JNCBRAS* 42 (1911).
79. Bahr, *Old Chinese Porcelain and Works of Art*, 2.
80. Berthold Laufer, *Chinese Pottery of the Han Dynasty* (Leiden: E. J. Brill Ltd., 1909).
81. Bahr, Old Chinese *Porcelain and Works of Art*, 2.
82. "Notes and Queries" (1909).
83. "Proceedings," *JNCBRAS* 43 (1912).
84. "Proceedings," *JNCBRAS* 51 (1920), ix.
85. Some examples include: two volumes of photographs taken at the Buddhist cave temples of Longmen on Charles Freer's 1910 expedition to the site, presented to the NCBRAS library by Freer; a subscription to the Japanese fine art periodical *Kokka*; Edgar Gorer and J. F. Blacker, *Chinese Porcelain and Hard Stones: Illustrated by Two Hundred and Fifty-Four Pages of Gems of Chinese Ceramic and Glyptic Art*, 2 vols. (London: B. Quaritch, 1911). All were mentioned in Vol. 13 (1912) of the Journal. In 1913, Ayscough reviewed: Berthold Laufer, *Jade: A Study in Chinese Archaeology and Religion*, vol. X, Anthropological Series (Chicago: Field Museum of Natural History, 1912). In 1915 she reviewed: Japan Society et al., *Chinese, Corean and Japanese Potteries: Descriptive Catalogue of Loan Exhibition of Selected Examples* (New York: Japan Society, 1914). Arthur Stanley and other members contributed further reviews in the 1910s.
86. "Proceedings," *JNCBRAS* 50 (1919), xiv.
87. This exhibition would travel to the Panama Exposition and was published in: Liu Sung-fu and Florence Ayscough, *Catalogue of Chinese Paintings, Ancient & Modern* (Shanghai: The Oriental Press, 1915). Liu Songpu was a compradore for the firm of Ayscough's husband and a minor bird-and-flower painter from Ganquan, Jiangsu Province. Burnett, "Inventing a New 'Old Tradition'," 34. Ayscough later made an effort to sell the paintings collected by Liu Songpu, to make back money that had been embezzled by the compradore. Catherine Mackenzie, "Florence Wheelock Ayscough's Niger Reef Tea House," *Journal of Canadian Art History/Annales d'histoire de l'art Canadien* 23 (2002), 38.
88. Charles Freer, "Diaries, September 13, 1910," Freer Papers. Ingrid Larsen, "Don't Send Ming or Later Pictures—Charles Freer and the First Major Collection of Chinese Painting in an American Museum," *Ars Orientalis* 40 (2010), 18.
89. Charles Freer, "Diaries, January 19, 1911," Freer Papers. Several days later, Freer called on the leading collector of Chinese paintings, Pang Yuanji. Thomas Lawton wrote that John Ferguson introduced Freer to Pang Yuanji. However, given that Ferguson did not record any contact with Pang in Shanghai, nor did he buy from Pang in the ensuing years, it seems unlikely that the two men had

a significant relationship. Thomas Lawton and Linda Merrill, *Freer: A Legacy of Art* (Washington, DC: Freer Gallery of Art Smithsonian Institution in association with H. N. Abrams, 1993), 93; Charles Freer, "Diaries, January 24, 1911," Freer Papers. I am grateful to Ingrid Larsen for suggesting that Ferguson may not have acted as Freer's guide.

90. Arthur Stanley, "The Method of Making Ink Rubbings," *JNCBRAS* 48 (1917); Ferguson, "Arthur Stanley."
91. Dedication to John C. Ferguson dated November 1937, written by Ayscough inside Ferguson's private copy of: Florence Ayscough, *Chinese Women, Yesterday & To-day* (Boston: Houghton Mifflin Company, 1937).
92. Florence Ayscough, née Wheelock, had a privileged background. Her father, Thomas Wheelock, of a wealthy Nova Scotia loyalist family, had prospered in a cargo loading business in Shanghai. Her mother, Edith Clarke of Boston, had family connections with Harvard and the New England transcendentalists.
93. Florence's husband, Francis Ayscough, worked in Shanghai for the firm Scott, Harding & Co.
94. Florence Ayscough and Amy Lowell, *Fir-Flower Tablets; Poems Translated from the Chinese* (Boston, New York: Houghton Mifflin Company, 1921).
95. In recognition of this work and her publications, Florence Ayscough was awarded an honorary Doctor of Literature from the University of Acadia in 1927. Mackenzie, "Florence Wheelock Ayscough's Niger Reef Tea House." The biographical details regarding Ayscough are also taken from this article.
96. "JCF to Charles, November 21, 1911," JCF Family Papers.
97. "JCF to Charles, February 1, 1912," JCF Family Papers.
98. "JCF to Charles, February 25, 1912."
99. "JCF to Charles, May 3, 1936," JCF Family Papers.
100. Gerry Wald, "Sculptor on the Left: Duncan Ferguson's Search for Wholeness," *Pembroke Magazine*, no. 19 (1987), 35. Ferguson's letters to his son Charles, dating from 1908, are addressed to the Newton home.
101. "JCF to Charles, February 25, 1912."

Chapter 3 Joining the Fray of the Peking Art Market

1. John C. Ferguson, *IX International Red Cross Conference Held at Washington, May 7–17, 1912; "Report of the Special Delegate of the Red Cross Society of China"* (Tientsin: Tientsin Press, 1912). That responsibility also came to Ferguson through Sheng Xuanhuai, who had founded China's Red Cross Society in 1909. In 1910–1911, as chairman of the Central China Famine Relief Commission coordinated by the Red Cross, Ferguson raised nearly a million dollars to help Chinese famine victims. Perhaps because of his success in that endeavor, Ferguson became vice president of the Chinese branch in 1911, and then served as counselor from 1912 to 1922. Shirley Stone Garrett, "Ferguson, John Calvin," in *Dictionary of American Biography, Supplement Three*, ed. Edward T. James, et al. (New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1941–45), 268; "Ferguson, John Calvin," in *The National Cyclopedia of American Biography* (New York: James T. White & Company, 1948), 209.
2. Based on Charles Freer's subsequent statement that John Ferguson "awakened" the Metropolitan to Chinese art, it seems that Ferguson approached the museum, rather than the reverse. "Freer to Langdon Warner, January 14, 1914," Freer Papers. I am grateful to Ingrid Larsen for bringing my attention to this quotation.
3. DeForest had received approval from Morgan regarding the arrangement with Ferguson. "deForest to JCF, October 25, 1912," Ferguson, John C., OSR MMAA; "deForest to JCF, June 17, 1912," Ferguson, John C., OSR MMAA.

4. Warren I. Cohen, *East Asian Art and American Culture: A Study in International Relations* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1992), 19, 67. The count of paintings is based on the MMA object records, and includes *Forts Zeelandia and Provintia and the City of Tainan*, on deerskin.
5. Steven Conn, *Museums and American Intellectual Life, 1876–1926* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1998), 195; Carol Duncan, *Civilizing Rituals: Inside Public Art Museums* (London: Routledge, 1995), 48–49.
6. Jeffrey Trask, *Things American: Art Museums and Civic Culture in the Progressive Era* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2012), 22; Neil Harris, "The Gilded Age Revisited: Boston and the Museum Movement," *American Quarterly* 14, no. 4 (1962), 553–554.
7. Trask, *Things American*, 39–40. Wilhelm Bode (1845–1929) earned a doctorate in the history of art at Leipzig University, and went on to become general director of the Berlin Museums in 1905. Under his direction, and during a time of German prosperity prior to World War I, Berlin's museums of fine art came to rival those in London and Paris. Edward P. Alexander, *Museum Masters: Their Museums and Their Influence* (Nashville: The American Association for State and Local History, 1983), 207, 215.
8. Calvin Tomkins, *Merchants and Masterpieces: The Story of the Metropolitan Museum of Art*, Rev. and updated edn. (New York: H. Holt, 1989), 99; Trask, *Things American*, 91; Conn, *Museums and American Intellectual Life*, 197.
9. Tomkins, *Merchants and Masterpieces*, 101, 103.
10. Trask, *Things American*, 37, 69–75. Kent's career is good evidence that the new expectation that American museums would rely on experts to select and display original art works did not mean that the educational mission of the museum and the accompanying attention to decorative and industrial arts were left by the wayside. Trask stated that the twentieth-century professionalization of museums went hand in hand with a progressive-era agenda of educational programs with practical results. While Trask argued that present-day discussion about the commitment of museums to public education indicates that progressive-era efforts have been forgotten, Carol Duncan argued that there is a perpetual push and pull between an art museum's identity as public institution and the need to preserve an aura of exclusivity, if the museum is to serve the social function of "civilizing ritual" and be supported by elite donors (54–55).
11. Ibid., 92–93.
12. Anne Nishimura Morse, "Promoting Authenticity: Okakura Kakuzo and the Japanese Collection of the Museum of Fine Arts, Boston," in *Okakura Tenshin to Bosuton Bijutsukan = Okakura Tenshin and the Museum of Fine Arts, Boston* (Nagoya: Nagoya Bosuton Bijutsukan, 1999), 145.
13. Ibid. This description of Okakura's goals comes from Edward Robinson's notes of a conversation with Okakura. Robinson was the director of the MFA at the time of Okakura's arrival.
14. "JCF to deForest, July 4, 1912," Ferguson, John C., OSR MMAA.
15. "JCF to deForest, July 23, 1912," Ferguson, John C., OSR MMAA; "JCF to deForest, July 18, 1913," Ferguson, John C., OSR MMAA.
16. "JCF to deForest, October 5, 1912," Ferguson, John C., OSR MMAA. In this letter, Ferguson wrote that he would try to obtain works by Mi Fu and Li Cheng.
17. "JCF to deForest, July 23, 1912."
18. "JCF to deForest, October 5, 1912."
19. "JCF to deForest, December 20, 1912," Ferguson, John C., OSR MMAA.
20. "JCF to deForest, July 4, 1912."
21. "JCF to deForest, February 11, 1913," Ferguson, John C., OSR MMAA.
22. "JCF to deForest, April 25, 1913," Ferguson, John C., OSR MMAA.
23. "JCF to deForest, July 23, 1912."
24. Qian Shifu 錢實甫, ed. *Qingdai zhiguan nianbiao* 清代職官年表, 4 vols. (Beijing: Zhonghua shuju: Xinhua shudian Beijing faxingsuo faxing, 1980), 3265. In 1915, Cai was appointed the

opium suppression commissioner for Guangdong, Jiangxi and Jiangsu—presumably for Yuan Shikai's administration—and was executed soon after by opponents of Yuan. "JCF to deForest, July 23, 1912"; Alan Baumler, "Money and Policy: Feng Guozhang and the Opium Combine Case" (paper presented at the AAS Annual Meeting, New York, NY, March 27–30, 2003).

25. "JCF to deForest, July 23, 1912."
26. "JCF to deForest, July 18, 1913."
27. John C. Ferguson, *Special Exhibition of Chinese Paintings from the Collection of the Museum Catalogue* (New York: Metropolitan Museum of Art, 1914). Handwritten notes in Ferguson's private copy, facing cat. nos. 9, 12, 20, 25, 40, 66, 78. Xu Fu's alternate names were Songge (頌閣) and Zhuyingzhai (竹影齋). In his notes, Ferguson referred to Hsu Pu, but in *Chinese Painting*, he described the former owner of *Mountain Wayfarers* at the Metropolitan as "Hsü Fu (Hsü Song-ko)" (98). An eighth painting, *A Beautiful Grove* (Qian Xuan; unidentified artist, fifteenth to sixteenth century), no. 41 in the 1914 catalog, has an inscription by Cai Naihuang and Xu Fu's seal, but Ferguson did not note that it was obtained from these collectors. It is possible that Ferguson confused *A Beautiful Grove* with *Returning Home*, no. 40, in his private notes, with the implication that the provenance of *Returning Home* would then be unknown.
28. Zhou Junfu 周駿富, ed. *Qingdai zhuanji congkan* 清代傳記叢刊; 074 (Taipei: Mingwen shuju, 1986), 189; Zhou Junfu 周駿富, ed. *Qingdai zhuanji congkan* 清代傳記叢刊; 016 (Taipei: Mingwen shuju, 1986), 413; Zhou Junfu 周駿富, ed. *Qingdai zhuanji congkan* 清代傳記叢刊; 029 (Taipei: Mingwen shuju, 1986), 434; Yang Tingfu 楊廷福 and Yang Tongfu 楊同甫, eds., *Qingren shiming biecheng zihao suoyin* 清人室名別稱字號索引 (Shanghai: Shanghai guji chubanshe: Xinhua shudian Shanghai faxingsuo faxing, 2001), 451.
29. Note facing "#170 Huang Kung-wang," JCF Scrapbooks, Painting and Writing 160–185, NJU Museum; Ferguson, *Special Exhibition of Chinese Paintings*. Handwritten note in Ferguson's private copy, facing cat. no. 9. The note also includes this more colorful detail: "He [Xu Fu] had the appearance of a Mongol and was web-fingered 片指." The characters for the Xingu shop remain unknown.
30. Yang and Yang, *Qingren shiming biecheng zihao suoyin* 清人室名別稱字號索引, 902; Zhou, *Qingdai zhuanji congkan* 清代傳記叢刊; 016, 509. Wu Quancui (alternate names Yingjian [榮建], Shubao [叔葆], Wansongshanfang [萬松山房]), was a native of Xinhui (新會), Guangdong. He earned his *jinshi* degree in Guangxu 18 (1892), and was appointed compiler (編修) in the Hanlin Academy.
31. "JCF to deForest, July 23, 1912."
32. Liu Xun, "Visualizing Perfection: Daoist Paintings of Our Lady, Court Patronage, and Elite Female Piety in the Late Qing," *Harvard Journal of Asiatic Studies* 64, no. 1 (2004), 76; Chao-ying Fang, "Lin-ch'ing," in *ECCP*; Kakuzo Okakura, "Exhibition of Recent Acquisitions in Chinese and Japanese Art," *Boston Museum of Fine Arts Bulletin* 10, no. 60 (1912), 51. According to Su Zongren, Jingxian's father had a position in the Board of Revenue. Wanyan Jingxian 完顏景賢, *Sanyutang shuhua mu* 三虞堂書畫目 (Beiping, 1933).
33. J. L. van Hecken and W. A. Grootaers, "The Half Acre Garden *Pan-Mou Yuan* 半畝園," *Monumenta Serica* 18 (1959). Linqing's illustrated autobiography includes a genealogy of the Wanyan family and a description of the Half Acre Garden. Linqing 麟慶, *Hongxue yinyuan tuji* 鴻雪因緣圖記 (Shanghai: Tongwen shuju, 1886).
34. Ryohei Shimoda, "Wanyan Jingxian no korekushiyon ni tsuite [About Wanyan Jingxian's collection]" (paper presented at the Kansai Chinese Painting Collections' Past and Future symposium, Kyoto, Japan, October 22–23, 2011), 35. Shimoda proposed 1875–1931 as Jingxian's dates. Ingrid Larsen, however, published Jingxian's birth and death dates as (ca. 1848–1850 to ca. 1927–1929). Ingrid Larsen, "Don't Send Ming or Later Pictures—Charles Freer and the First Major Collection of Chinese Painting in an American Museum," *Ars Orientalis* 40 (2010), 24. Ferguson's notes

suggest that Jingxian passed away in 1928 or before. "#181 King Pu-sun's collection of paintings," JCF Scrapbooks, Painting and Writing 160–185, NJU Museum. "#134 Ching Pu-sun," JCF Scrapbooks, Painting and Writing 101–159, NJU Museum. This entry includes Jingxian's name card printed with an address—Gongxian Hutong (弓弦胡同)—matching that of the Half Acre Garden.

35. John C. Ferguson, *Outlines of Chinese Art: The Scammon Lectures at the Art Institute of Chicago, 1918* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1919), 233; "JCF to deForest, March 18, 1913," Ferguson, John C., OSR MMAA.
36. Shimoda, "Wanyan Jingxian," 38. Shimoda wrote that Jingxian traveled to Nanking in the hope that Duanfang might appoint him to a Manchu Banner military position (副都統). The *Sanyutang shuhua mu* 三虞堂書畫目, a catalog of calligraphy and paintings of uncertain date, the authorship of which is attributed to Jingxian, lists numerous pieces belonging to Duanfang, in addition to those in the author's collection. According to the preface, Su Zongren (蘇宗仁) was offered this catalog in the form of an anonymous manuscript by a seller of antiques in 1928, and Su determined that it was by Wanyan Jingxian.
37. Shimoda, "Wanyan Jingxian," 39.
38. "#232 Shen Po-Hsi's son sells pictures and writings to Ching Hsien," JCF Scrapbooks, Paintings and Writings 186–233, NJU Museum.
39. Ferguson, *Special Exhibition of Chinese Paintings*, 54. Handwritten note in Ferguson's private copy. "#181 King Pu-sun's collection of paintings." Ferguson believed this to be a work by the Tang painter Zhang Xuan (張萱), as recorded on a 1928 list compiled by Jingxian's son of paintings in his father's collection. Ferguson noted next to this item on the list: "taken from my album."
40. "#41 Ku Kai-ch'i's scroll," JCF Scrapbooks, Painting and Writing 1–100, NJU Museum.
41. "#144 April 28th, 1913," JCF Scrapbooks, Painting and Writing 101–159, NJU Museum; "#145 Aug. 8, 1913," JCF Scrapbooks, Painting and Writing 101–159, NJU Museum.
42. "Unumbered, before #147 King Pu-sun told me . . .," JCF Scrapbooks, Painting and Writing 101–159, NJU Museum.
43. John C. Ferguson, *Chinese Painting* (Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 1928), 47, 76, 89–90, 141, 159; Ferguson, *Outlines*, 233. Ferguson's records of visiting Jingxian in his home agree with Hecken and Grootaers statement: "The great-grandson of Lin-ch'ing, Ching-hsien 景賢 was an acknowledged connoisseur of paintings and met with John C. Ferguson, who came often to the Half Acre Garden and bought several paintings." van Hecken and Grootaers, "Half Acre Garden," 384.
44. Ferguson, *Outlines*, 234. This painting is similar to, but does not match, *Man and Horse* by Zhao Mengfu, Zhao Yong, and Zhao Lin in the collection of the Metropolitan.
45. "JCF to deForest, February 11, 1913."
46. Ferguson, *Outlines*, 235; Ferguson, *Chinese Painting*, 93. The painting of peonies had been owned by Shengyu; the whereabouts of this work is now unknown. Shimoda, "Wanyan Jingxian," 45.
47. "#134 Ching Pu-sun."
48. "#135 Ching Pu-sun," JCF Scrapbooks, Painting and Writing 101–159, NJU Museum. Given that this letter mentions *Collating a Book*, which Ferguson acquired in 1914, this is a probable date for the letter.
49. Okakura, "Exhibition of Recent Acquisitions in Chinese and Japanese Art."
50. "#67 Ko Yao," JCF Scrapbooks, Bronzes, Porcelains, etc. 1–88, NJU Museum.
51. Aida Yuen Wong, *Parting the Mists: Discovering Japan and the Rise of National-Style Painting in Modern China*, Asian Interactions and Comparisons (Honolulu: Association for Asian Studies: University of Hawai'i Press, 2006), 103; "Jin Gongbei xiansheng shilue 金拱北先生事略," *Hushe yuekan* 1–11.
52. Cheng-hua Wang, "The Qing Imperial Collection, Circa 1905–25: National Humiliation, Heritage Preservation, and Exhibition Culture," in *Reinventing the Past: Archaism and Antiquarianism in*

Chinese Art and Visual Culture, ed. Wu Hung (Chicago: Center for the Art of East Asia, Department of Art History, University of Chicago, 2010), 326–327; Chengxi Dong, "The Antiquities Display Hall (Guwu Chenliesuo 古物陳列所): The First National Musuem Established in China," *Transactions of the Oriental Ceramic Society* 70 (2005–2006). Notable in regard to the Metropolitan history discussed above, Jin Cheng modeled the Guwu chenliesuo after the Louvre, which was familiar to him through his travels in Europe. Wong, *Parting the Mists*, 103n105.

53. "Jin Gongbei xiansheng"; Ferguson, *Outlines*, 178.
54. "JCF to Bosch-Reitz, January 24, 1924," Purchases Ferguson, Altar Table & 12 Vessels (File 2 of 2), OSR MMAA. By this date, the shop was managed by Yang Boheng (楊伯衡). From 1920 until his death in 1926, Jin Cheng also headed the Zhongguo huaxue yanjiuhui (中國畫學研究會), intended to promote traditional Chinese painting.
55. There are, however, important paintings in American collections with Jin Cheng provenance. The Freer Gallery of Art, for example, has four paintings with Jin Cheng's seals that are dated to the Song or Yuan periods, including *Removing the Saddle and Inspecting the Arrows*, dated to the twelfth century.
56. Baoxi (b. 1871, alternate names Duanchen [端臣], Shenan [沈盦]). Referred to in *ECCP*, vol. 1, p. 228. Ferguson, *Special Exhibition of Chinese Paintings*, 30, 33. Handwritten notes in Ferguson's private copy state: "From the collection of Pao Hsi through Kungpa King."
57. "#121 Wu Li," JCF Scrapbooks, Painting and Writing 101–159, NJU Museum; Ferguson, *Chinese Painting*, 175.
58. "#170 Huang Kung-wang." Ferguson discussed the scroll, and how it had been damaged by fire in *Chinese Painting* (143). One section of this painting is now preserved at the National Palace Museum in Taipei and a second section in the Zhejiang Provincial Museum.
59. Ferguson, *Special Exhibition of Chinese Paintings*, 30, 33. Handwritten notes in Ferguson's private copy, facing cat. no. 93. "JCF to deForest, October 5, 1912."
60. "JCF to deForest, July 18, 1913."
61. "#116 Writers and Painters," JCF Scrapbooks, Painting and Writing 101–159, NJU Museum.
62. Feng was the editor of an illustrated volume of biographies of men described as Qing loyalists martyred in the 1911 Revolution, with an attached inscription by Baoxi. Feng Gongdu 馮公度, *Gengzi xinhai zhonglie xiang zan* 庚子辛亥忠烈像贊 (n.p., 1934). An online article gives the following biography of Feng Gongdu: Birth and death dates: 1867–1948, ancestral native place Cixi (慈溪) in Zhejiang. Feng served as an official in the Qing navy, and after the revolution retired to his residence in Peking, occupying himself with art-related pursuits. He was famous for his calligraphy as well as for his art collection. Zhou Bin 周彬, "Aiguo zhishi Feng Gongdu 愛國志士馮公度," Zhongguo xinwen wang 中國新聞網, http://61.135.142.194:89/gate/big5/w5.cns.com.cn/2000-12-20/26/62438.html.
63. Ferguson, *Outlines*, 72–74; Ferguson, *Chinese Painting*, 97.
64. "#164 Feng Kung-tu," JCF Scrapbooks, Painting and Writing 160–185, NJU Museum.
65. Zhou, *Qingdai zhuanji congkan* 清代傳記叢刊; 016, 518. Ferguson wrote that he was a calligrapher in the style of Zhao Mengfu in *Chinese Painting* (119).
66. Ferguson, *Special Exhibition of Chinese Paintings*, 14; Ferguson, *Chinese Painting*, 119. Feng Enkun also inscribed: *Mountain Wayfarers* (Guo Xi, ca. 1000–1090; unidentified artist, Qing dynasty) and *Returning from a Banquet* (Gu Hongzhong, ca. 910–980; unidentified artist, Ming or Qing dynasty).
67. "#120 Western Garden," JCF Scrapbooks, Painting and Writing 101–159, NJU Museum.
68. John C. Ferguson, "Last of the Immortals," *T'ien Hsia Monthly* 5 (1937), 347.
69. Kim Karlsson, Alfreda Murck, and Michele Matteini, eds., *Eccentric Visions: The Worlds of Luo Ping* (Zurich: Museum Rietburg, 2009), cat. no. 27; Ferguson, *Special Exhibition of Chinese Paintings*. Handwritten notes in Ferguson's private copy, facing cat. nos. 81, 93.

70. Ferguson, *Special Exhibition of Chinese Paintings*. Handwritten notes in Ferguson's private copy. The first three of these shops are referred to in Shen Nianle 沈念乐, ed. *Liulichang shi hua* 琉璃厂史画 (Beijing: Wenhua yishu chubanshe, 2001), 47.
71. "#210 Lun Ku Chai's Paintings and Shun Ku Chai's Paintings," JCF Scrapbooks, Paintings and Writings 186–233, NJU Museum; "#89 Tracing of a seal," JCF Scrapbooks, Painting and Writing 1–100, NJU Museum.
72. "#325 Liu Li Ch'ang Shops," JCF Scrapbooks, Painting and Writing 319–, NJU Museum.
73. Ferguson, *Special Exhibition of Chinese Paintings*. Handwritten notes in Ferguson's private copy, facing cat. no. 24. This is one of two paintings in the Metropolitan collection formerly owned by Liu Tieyun, according to Ferguson's notes. The other is *Returning from a Banquet*, cat. no. 8.
74. "#98 Scroll by Chao Meng-chien," JCF Scrapbooks, Painting and Writing 1–100, NJU Museum.
75. Wong, *Parting the Mists*, 103.
76. Ferguson, *Special Exhibition of Chinese Paintings*. Possibly on this trip, Ferguson bought one painting from Shanghai's Weigu Zhai, which he noted to be on Hankow and Shandong roads. The painting was: *River Landscape after Xia Gui* (Xia Gui; unidentified artist, fifteenth century). "JCF to deForest, November 11, 1912," Ferguson, John C., OSR MMAA; Ferguson, *Special Exhibition of Chinese Paintings*. Handwritten notes in Ferguson's private copy, facing cat. no. 31.
77. Katharine P. Burnett, "Inventing a New "Old Tradition": Chinese Painting at the Panama-Pacific International Exposition," *Meishu shi yu guannian shi / History of Art and History of Ideas* (2010), 37.
78. In *Chinese Painting* (156, 160), Ferguson referred to paintings he had seen in Pang's collection, indicating that the two men became closer in the 1920s.
79. "JCF to deForest, July 23, 1912."
80. Cohen, *East Asian Art*, 46. Hayasaki Kōkichi (1874–1956) was a trained painter, a photographer, and a longtime resident of China. Jan Fontein, "Berthold Laufer and the Case of the Inscribed Sarcophagus," *Journal of the Museum of Fine Arts, Boston* 5 (1993). I am grateful to Thomas Lawton for alerting me to this article.
81. "#143 List of Mr. Hayasaki's Pictures purchased for Boston Museum of Fine Arts," JCF Scrapbooks, Painting and Writing 101–159, NJU Museum. Jan Fontein described an episode when Hayasaki (probably) burst in on Berthold Laufer in Xi'an in 1910 while Laufer was gathering Chinese objects for the Field Museum of Natural History. Laufer's experience suggests that keeping tabs on what others were acquiring was a feature of the international art and antiquities market in Peking in the early twentieth century. Fontein suggests that Chinese dealers encouraged competition between foreign buyers. The inside knowledge of prices that Ferguson recorded, true or false, must also have been told to him by a Chinese or Manchu dealer. Fontein, "Berthold Laufer and the Case of the Inscribed Sarcophagus," 7–8.
82. "JCF to deForest, June 20, 1913," Ferguson, John C., OSR MMAA.
83. Okakura, "Exhibition of Recent Acquisitions in Chinese and Japanese Art," 53. Okakura describes the album and four scrolls as coming from the collection of Jingxian. He discusses *Court Ladies Preparing Newly Woven Silk* and a snowscape by Li Cheng in the same section of his article, but does not say that these came from the collection of Jingxian (54).
84. MFA online records list forty-five paintings with the following provenance information: "October 5, 1913, sold by Mr. Re to [Kōkichi] Hayasaki (b. 1874–d. 1956) and taken to Japan . . .; December, 1913, shipped to Boston and purchased by the MFA." See for example the record for *Winter Landscape with Temples and Travelers*. This work may have come from Jingxian, for Shimoda lists a scroll attributed to Fan Kuan and titled "重山福嶺圖" in the MFA. Shimoda, "Wanyan Jingxian," 44.
85. "JCF to deForest, December 6, 1912," Ferguson, John C., OSR MMAA.
86. "JCF to deForest, October 5, 1912"; "JCF to deForest, December 6, 1912."

87. For a description of Sino-Japanese exchange with a particular focus on artists, see: Wong, *Parting the Mists*, 3–24.
88. Nagoya Bosuton Bijutsukan and Museum of Fine Arts, Boston, *Okakura Tenshin to Bosuton Bijutsukan = Okakura Tenshin and the Museum of Fine Arts, Boston* (Nagoya: Nagoya Bosuton Bijutsukan, 1999), 233; Tokyo National Museum's exhibition "Scenes from Late Qing Dynasty China: Photographs by Ogawa Kazumasa, Hayasaki Kokichi and Sekino Tadashi," Tokyo, 2010. Hayasaki's photographs, taken on this trip and during his many years of residence in Xi'an, were some of the earliest taken of China's Buddhist sites, and were instrumental in stimulating demand for Chinese objects abroad. Fontein, "Berthold Laufer and the Case of the Inscribed Sarcophagus," 7.
89. In 1917, an exhibition of traditional paintings was held in Peking, with the proceeds to benefit the victims of that year's disastrous Yellow River floods. Jingxian was one of the primary lenders to the exhibition, and Naito Konan, in Peking at the time, gained pivotal exposure to his collection. Guo Hui, "Writing Chinese Art History in Early Twentieth-Century China" (PhD diss., Leiden University, 2010); Takayuki Yumino, "Su Dongpo & Yen Wengui, Zai Daban! [Su Dongpo & Yen Wengui, in Osaka!]," *Art and Collection*, no. 10 (2011), 258; Shimoda, "Wanyan Jingxian," 42.
90. Yumino, "Su Dongpo & Yen Wengui," 258. Yumino quotes from: Fusajirō Abe, *Sōraikan Kinshō: Abe Fusajirō, Abe Kōjirō chosaku* 6 vols. (Osaka: Hakubundō, 1930).
91. Yumino, "Su Dongpo & Yen Wengui," 258–259.
92. Shimoda, "Wanyan Jingxian," 42, 45.
93. See, for example, Aida Wong's description of the interaction between Naito Konan, Nagao Uzan (1864–1942) (a scholar and aficionado of Chinese art who worked as editor for the Commercial Press in Shanghai), and the Shanghai artist and epigrapher, Wu Changshuo. Wong, *Parting the Mists*, 85–87.
94. Okakura, "Exhibition of Recent Acquisitions in Chinese and Japanese Art," 50.
95. Wen Fong, "The Problem of Forgeries in Chinese Painting," *Artibus Asiae* 25 (1962), 99.
96. "JCF to deForest, October 5, 1912."

Chapter 4 "A Number of the Paintings Are Not of the High Order Desirable for This Museum"

1. "deForest to JCF, October 25, 1912," Ferguson, John C., OSR MMAA.
2. "JCF to deForest, November 29, 1912," Ferguson, John C., OSR MMAA.
3. John C. Ferguson, "Manuscript catalogue," Purchases Ferguson, Mss. Catalogue 1913, OSR MMAA. "JCF to deForest, July 23, 1912," Ferguson, John C., OSR MMAA.
4. "JCF to deForest, March 18, 1913," Ferguson, John C., OSR MMAA.
5. Ibid.; "JCF to Florence, January 13, 1914," JCF Family Papers.
6. John C. Ferguson, *Special Exhibition of Chinese Paintings from the Collection of the Museum Catalogue* (New York: Metropolitan Museum of Art, 1914), 69.
7. Sun Yueban 孫岳頒, ed. *Peiwenzhai shuhua pu: yibai juan* 佩文齋書畫譜：一百卷, 64 vols. (Peking: Nei fu, 1708); Zhang Chou 張丑, *Qinghe shuhuafang* 清河書畫舫 (1763; repr., Chibei caotang, 1888).
8. Ferguson mistakenly recorded *Gengzi xiaoxia ji*, *Xinchou xiaoxia ji*, and *Jiangcun shuhua xiaoxia lu* as being written by Gengzi, Xinchou, and Jiangcun. The correct citations are: Wu Rongguang 吳榮光, *Xinchou xiaoxia ji* 辛丑銷夏記 (n.p., 1841); Sun Chengze 孫承澤, *Gengzi xiaoxia ji* 庚子銷夏記 (n.p., 1660); Gao Shiqi 高士奇, *Jiangcun shuhua xiaoxia lu* 江村書畫銷夏錄 (n.p., 1693).
9. Ferguson, *Special Exhibition of Chinese Paintings*, 14. According to the translation given in the Metropolitan's object records, Feng Enkun added: "The original of the above colophon was in deplorably bad condition, therefore I copied it myself."

10. "JCF to deForest, March 18, 1913."
11. Ferguson, *Special Exhibition of Chinese Paintings*, 3.
12. Ibid. An account from Rugu Zhai, giving a price of 2,300 "大洋銀元" is pasted inside Ferguson's private copy. In *Chinese Painting*, Ferguson quoted the US dollar price (57). Ferguson wrote to deForest that this was considered by Chinese dealers to be a low price. "JCF to deForest, December 20, 1912," Ferguson, John C., OSR MMAA.
13. Ferguson, *Special Exhibition of Chinese Paintings*; "#41 Ku Kai-ch'i's scroll," JCF Scrapbooks, Painting and Writing 1–100, NJU Museum.
14. John C. Ferguson, *Chinese Painting* (Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 1928), 57.
15. Ibid., 49–57.
16. Shane McCausland, *First Masterpiece of Chinese Painting: The Admonitions Scroll* (New York: G. Braziller, 2003). As the conference volume on which *First Masterpiece* was based makes clear, controversy remains over the dating of the British Museum *Admonitions* scroll and how closely this work should be associated with Gu Kaizhi. McCausland wrote in his preface to the conference volume: "Although some . . . maintain it is a ninth- to eleventh-century copy or pastiche of an early painting, the consensus of opinion in these pages appears to be that both the paintings and the inscriptions were made in the Six Dynasties period. Shane McCausland, ed. *Gu Kaizhi and the Admonitions Scroll*, Colloquies on Art & Archaeology in Asia (London: British Museum Press in association with the Percival David Foundation of Chinese Art, 2003), 9.
17. *The Artist as Collector: Masterpieces of Chinese Painting from the C. C. Wang Family Collection* (New York: Metropolitan Museum of Art, 1999), 39–42, 59.
18. Ferguson, *Special Exhibition of Chinese Paintings*, 12–13. Ferguson placed Dong Yuan in the Northern Song, dating his life and work to about 1050. In mentioning the Yuan painter Zhao Mengfu's seal as a guarantee of authenticity, Ferguson echoed Wu Quancui's colophon on the painting.
19. Wu Tung, *Tales from the Land of Dragons: 1,000 Years of Chinese Painting* (Boston: Museum of Fine Arts, Boston, 1997), 193–194.
20. Ferguson, *Special Exhibition of Chinese Paintings*, 16. In his private copy, Ferguson reversed the titles of no. 19 and no. 20, changing *Mountain Scenery* to *Mountain Wayfarers*. This switch is important to tracing the painting in Ferguson's references to the same works in *Chinese Painting* (98).
21. Ibid. Ferguson noted in regard to this work: "From the collection of Hsu Pü through Ts'ai Po-hao $10 000," and listed this same amount in Mexican dollars in a price list for the Metropolitan. In *Chinese Painting*, he gives a conversion rate of about two Mexican dollars to one American dollar (57). "Purchases Made by Mr. John C. Ferguson, 1912 Detailed List of Prices," Purchases Ferguson, John C., Chinese Art 1912–14, OSR MMAA.
22. A summary of the colophon in English is recorded in the Metropolitan object records.
23. For a discussion of Guo Xi's style, see Ping Foong, "Guo Xi's Intimate Landscapes and the Case of *Old Trees, Level Distance*," *Metropolitan Museum Journal* 35 (2000), 87–94.
24. "JCF to deForest, February 11, 1913," Ferguson, John C., OSR MMAA; Ferguson, *Special Exhibition of Chinese Paintings*, 49, 51. Handwritten notes in Ferguson's private copy indicate that catalog number 85, with sixteen leaves, was purchased from Dezhen Zhai on Liulichang. Ferguson did not specify which of two albums he had paid "full price" for, but it was probably this Dezhen Zhai album, rather than cat. no. 86 with just twelve leaves.
25. Ferguson, *Special Exhibition of Chinese Paintings*. Handwritten notes facing cat. no. 86.
26. Ibid., 27.
27. Ibid., 27–28; Richard M. Barnhart, *Peach Blossom Spring: Gardens and Flowers in Chinese Painting* (New York: Metropolitan Museum of Art, 1983).
28. Ferguson, *Special Exhibition of Chinese Paintings*, 34.

29. Many of the album leaves were published in: Zeng Youhe, Honolulu Academy of Arts, and St. Louis Art Museum, *Poetry on the Wind: The Art of Chinese Folding Fans from the Ming and Ch'ing Dynasties* (Honolulu: Honolulu Academy of Arts, 1981). See cat. nos. 9, 15, 16, 17, 23, 28, 38, 41, 46, 47, 48, 51, 54, 55, 56, 57.
30. "JCF to deForest, February 11, 1913"; "Purchases Made by Mr. John C. Ferguson, 1912."
31. James Cahill, *Compelling Image: Nature and Style in Seventeenth-Century Chinese Painting*, Charles Eliot Norton Lectures (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1982), 60.
32. Ferguson, *Special Exhibition of Chinese Paintings*, 38.
33. William Watson, *Arts of China 900–1620* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2000), 269n289.
34. Ferguson's opinion may also have been formed by seeing Qing dynasty works in the style of Dong Qichang. Kohara Hironobu argued that by the nineteenth century, artists who purported to follow Dong Qichang in fact produced works that were largely devoid of the characteristics of Dong Qichang's style— namely "boldness, dynamism, expressiveness, deformation, and self-confidence." Instead, later Qing artists moderated Dong Qichang's compositions, adjusting his style to something closer to that of the Four Wangs. Hironobu Kohara, "Tung Ch'i-ch'ang: Evaluation of the Artist in Later Times," in *Proceedings of the Tung Ch'i-ch'ang International Symposium*, eds. Wai-ching Ho, Wai-kam Ho, and Hin-cheung Lovell (Kansas City: Nelson-Atkins Museum of Art, 1991), 8–8.
35. "Purchases Made by Mr. John C. Ferguson, 1912."
36. Kim Karlsson, Alfreda Murck, and Michele Matteini, eds., *Eccentric Visions: the Worlds of Luo Ping* (Zurich: Museum Rietburg, 2009), 222.
37. The MFA album also contains leaves by Wang Luo (王犖) and the relatively more experimental Hua Yan (華喦).
38. "deForest to JCF, January 16, 1913," Ferguson, John C., OSR MMAA; Ferguson, *Special Exhibition of Chinese Paintings*, xv.
39. Ferguson, *Special Exhibition of Chinese Paintings*, xv.
40. Ibid., 66.
41. "JCF to deForest, July 18, 1913," Ferguson, John C., OSR MMAA.
42. Ferguson, *Special Exhibition of Chinese Paintings*, 38, 41.
43. Ibid., 12, 16.
44. The number of items in each genre is approximate because of the difficulty in determining whether sets and multipart objects should be counted together or separately.
45. Ferguson discussed the set and his Zhou dynasty attribution in John C. Ferguson, "The Four Bronze Vessels of the Marquis of Ch'i," *Eastern Art* I, no. July (1928).
46. Thomas Lawton, *A Time of Transition: Two Collectors of Chinese Art* (Lawrence: University of Kansas Spencer Museum of Art, 1991), 89. Lawton described the differing opinions of Chinese scholars of the late nineteenth and twentieth centuries on the authenticity of the inscriptions on these vessels.
47. "JCF to deForest, December 20, 1912."
48. "JCF to deForest, March 20, 1913," Ferguson, John C., OSR MMAA. This speaks to the state of pottery collecting in the United States and in China in those years, for a model of this kind would be considered far from rare today.
49. "JCF to deForest, February 11, 1913"; "Manuscript catalogue."
50. "JCF to deForest, February 11, 1913."
51. Ferguson, *Special Exhibition of Chinese Paintings*, 61–62.
52. "deForest to JCF, June 21, 1913," Ferguson, John C., OSR MMAA.
53. "JCF to deForest, July 18, 1913."
54. "JCF to deForest, February 11, 1913."
55. "JCF to deForest, December 6, 1912," Ferguson, John C., OSR MMAA.
56. John C. Ferguson, review of *Epochs of Chinese and Japanese Art*, by Ernest Fenollosa, *JNCBRAS* 44 (1913).

57. Ibid., 162.
58. Ibid., 166.
59. Ernest Fenollosa, *Epochs of Chinese and Japanese Art*, vol. 2 (New York: Frederick A. Stokes Company, 1912), 44. Handwritten notes in Ferguson's private copy.
60. Ibid., 47. Handwritten notes in Ferguson's private copy.
61. Wilhelm Valentiner, "Landscape and Still Life Paintings of the Sung Period," *Metropolitan Museum of Art Bulletin* 8, no. 7 (1913).
62. Friedrich Hirth was a professor of Chinese at Columbia University in 1913. Daniel Chester French (1850–1931) was a successful sculptor who created many well-known public monuments, including the Lincoln Memorial in Washington, DC.
63. Ferguson, *Special Exhibition of Chinese Paintings*. Handwritten notes in Ferguson's private copy.
64. John C. Ferguson, "Bronze Vessels," *China Journal* 11 (1929), 285.
65. "Freer to Edward Robinson, November 29, 1913," Ferguson, John C., OSR MMAA. Freer referred to the paintings simply by artist, but it is possible to determine which works he was referring to.
66. "JCF to deForest, July 18, 1913."
67. "Freer to Edward Robinson, November 29, 1913."
68. Ibid.
69. "JCF to deForest, December 16, 1913," Ferguson, John C., OSR MMAA.
70. Kakuzo Okakura, "Exhibition of Recent Acquisitions in Chinese and Japanese Art," *Boston Museum of Fine Arts Bulletin* 10, no. 60 (1912), 53. Today, these album leaves continue to be dated to the Song and Yuan periods, although some of them are no longer attributed to the particular artist whom they once were. See for example: *Temple among Snowy Hills*, early thirteenth century, formerly attributed to Fan Kuan (active late tenth to early eleventh century).
71. Laurence Binyon, *Painting in the Far East*, 1st edn. (London: Edward Arnold, 1908), 39.
72. Valentiner, "Landscape and Still Life Paintings of the Sung Period," 148. Valentiner wrote that works by the "great Oriental artists" of the Song and Yuan period were represented in the West only in the collections of Charles Freer, the British Museum, and the MFA.
73. Ferguson, *Special Exhibition of Chinese Paintings*, xi.
74. John C. Ferguson, *Outlines of Chinese Art: The Scammon Lectures at the Art Institute of Chicago, 1918* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1919), 175.
75. "Chinese Paintings in Art Museum," *New York Times*, January 27, 1914.
76. "JCF to Florence, January 24, 1914," JCF Family Papers.
77. "Chinese Paintings in Art Museum."
78. "News of the Art World," *The World*, Sunday, February 1, 1914.
79. "Wilhelm Valentiner to Edward Robinson, April 8, 1914."
80. Ibid.
81. Okakura, "Exhibition of Recent Acquisitions in Chinese and Japanese Art," 56.
82. Ibid.
83. In *Chinese Pottery of the Han Dynasty*, Laufer referred to Stephen Bushell's description of Han pieces in *Oriental Ceramic Art* (1897) and to other examples included in a sale organized by the dealer of Japanese and Chinese art, Yamanaka & Co., in New York in 1905. Berthold Laufer, *Chinese Pottery of the Han Dynasty* (Leiden: E. J. Brill Ltd., 1909), 1–3.
84. Thomas Lawton and Linda Merrill, *Freer: A Legacy of Art* (Washington, DC: Freer Gallery of Art Smithsonian Institution in association with H.N. Abrams, 1993), 71.
85. Ibid., 86.
86. Ferguson, *Special Exhibition of Chinese Paintings*, ix.

Chapter 5 Contributing to "the Development of Art in America"

1. Roger B. Stein, "Artifact as Ideology: The Aesthetic Movement in Its American Cultural Context," in *In Pursuit of Beauty: Americans and the Aesthetic Movement*, ed. Metropolitan Museum of Art (New York: Metropolitan Museum of Art, 1986). The ideology of the late nineteenth-century Aesthetic movement proposed that simply exposing people to art could provide moral uplift, but early twentieth-century reformers believed that more active and practical education programs were necessary, such as those developed by Henry Kent at the Metropolitan.
2. *Bulletin of the Cleveland Museum of Art* 1, no. 1 (1914).
3. "JCF to Freer, May 26, 1914," Freer Papers.
4. Lawton, *Time of Transition*, 31. Lawton also described this purchase based on his research into Freer's correspondence.
5. "JCF to Freer, May 26, 1914." Both telegrams are quoted in Ferguson's letter.
6. "JCF to deForest, March 31, 1914," Ferguson, John C., OSR MMAA; "deForest to JCF May 6, 1914," Ferguson, John, C., OSR MMAA.
7. "JCF to Freer, May 26, 1914."
8. Hong Yinxing 洪银兴 and Jiang Zanchu 蒋赞初, eds., *Nanjing daxue wenwu zhenpin tulu* 南京大学文物珍品图录 (Beijing: Kexue chubanshe, 2002), 98–99. Ferguson chose not to record the provenance of the scroll directly, writing on one occasion that the Wang Qihan had previously belonged to Duanfang, and on another stating that he had bought it in 1914. Ferguson, *Chinese Painting*, 82–84; "Fukaisen guwu mingri kaiguan zhanlan 福開森古物明日開館展覽," *Da Gong Bao*, June 30, 1935.
9. Hong and Jiang, *Nanjing daxue wenwu zhenpin*, 13. While evidence strongly suggests that this vessel was obtained from Duanfang, some confusion remains. In *An Examination of Chinese Bronzes*, published in 1915, Ferguson included an illustration of one Ke *ding* of a diameter of approximately nine inches, and noted that this was in his own collection. In a note probably dating from the 1910s, he recorded that there were three of these and that one had been purchased by Duanfang; another was owned by Pan Zuyin; and a third was in his own collection. "#1 K'o Ting," JCF Scrapbooks, Bronzes, Porcelains, etc. 1–88, NJU Museum. Newspaper reports describing Ferguson's donation to Nanjing University stated that his Ke *ding*, measuring approximately eleven inches in diameter, had previously belonged to Duanfang. Xu Zhongshu 徐中舒, "Fu shi suocang Zhongguo gu tongqi 福氏所藏中國古銅器," *Da Gong Bao*, July 6, 1935; Pingfan 平凡, "Wenhuadian Fu shi guwu canguan jilue 文華殿福氏古物參觀記略," *Da Gong Bao*, July 6, 1935.
10. Ferguson, *Survey*, 76.
11. Several other pieces in Ferguson's private collection may have been among the bronzes and paintings Ferguson referred to in his correspondence with Freer, although at no point did Ferguson describe just when and how these objects formerly belonging to Duanfang passed into his hands. The additional pieces include *The Riverside Temple*, attributed to Xu Daoning (許道寧) of the Northern Song, and two bronzes, the Fuyi *ding* (父乙鼎), and a Qin dynasty weight inscribed with a mandate of the Qin emperor. This is one of the weights in the photograph of Duanfang and other connoisseurs described in Chapter 2. Ferguson, *List of Articles Given to Nanking*, 1, 8, 15. The Fuyi *ding* and *Riverside Temple* are described as having belonged to Duanfang in: Ferguson, *Survey*, 13, 53.
12. "JCF to H. W. Kent, February 6, 1914," Ferguson, John C., OSR MMAA.
13. "H. W. Kent to Ferguson, December 23, 1913," Ferguson, John C., OSR MMAA; "H. W. Kent to JCF, March 18, 1914," Ferguson, John C., OSR MMAA; "H. W. Kent to JCF, May 26, 1914," Ferguson, John C., OSR MMAA.
14. "Freer to JCF, July 7, 1914," Freer Papers.
15. "JCF to Florence, November 16, 1914," JCF Family Papers.

16. "JCF to H. W. Kent, May 16, 1914," Ferguson, John C., OSR MMAA; John C. Ferguson and Feng Enkun 馮恩崐, *Chinese Paintings in the Cleveland Museum* (Cleveland: Cleveland Museum of Art, 1916). The account was administered through the Metropolitan secretary, Kent. In May 1914, Ferguson wrote to Kent from Peking to request that he be sent the full amount of "the Cleveland account."
17. Ferguson and Feng, *Chinese Paintings in the Cleveland Museum*. The current attribution of *Viewing the Streams and Mountains* to Liu Du (劉度) (active 1632–1675) seems inappropriate.
18. The album leaves are recorded as a "permanent loan" in the Cleveland Museum object records.
19. "Maclean, J. Arthur [?] to JCF, June 15, 1915," Whiting Collection; "JCF to F. Allen Whiting, November 18, 1916," Whiting Collection; "JCF to Howard, November 8, 1929," Whiting Collection." *Bronzes in the Cleveland Museum* (美國崖山博物院藏器一冊), JCF Collection, NJU Museum. Ferguson probably compiled this album of photographs in 1934. His handwritten notes dated to this year indicate that he acquired at least some of these pieces for the Cleveland Museum of Art. Ferguson did not yet have the Midwest museum in mind when he bought at least three of these pieces—a *ding*, a *lei*, and a small *zhou*—for they were reproduced in his 1914 *Examination of Chinese Bronzes* and labeled as belonging to the "Ferguson collection." See Pl. 2, no. 1; Pl. 5, no. 2; Pl. 3, no. 2. The Cleveland *you* is also illustrated in the 1914 report, but labeled as belonging to the Cleveland Museum of Art (Pl. 5, no. 1).
20. "Accessions," *Bulletin of the Cleveland Museum of Art* 1, no. 4 (1915). "F. Allen Whiting to JCF, December 21, 1914," Whiting Collection. Ferguson's name is not published in relation to the acquisition, but the Huntington Trust, listed as the funding source, matches the source of the Cleveland museum's payment to Ferguson. It is probable that some of the pottery objects sent to Cleveland were those left with Kent in New York in early 1914, rather than newly purchased in Peking, for some of these were shipped to the new museum via the Metropolitan. "JCF to F. Allen Whiting, March 27, 1915," Whiting Collection.
21. John C. Ferguson, *Catalogue of Early Chinese Paintings of the T'ang, Sung, and Yüan Dynasties, A.D. 600–1400* (New York: M. Knoedler & Company, 1914). The M. Knoedler & Company galleries were established in 1846 and operational until 2011. In 1914, they were located on Fifth Avenue between Forty-fifth and Forty-sixth Streets.
22. "JCF to Florence, November 28, 1914," JCF Family Papers.
23. Ferguson, *Catalogue of Early Chinese Paintings of the T'ang, Sung, and Yüan Dynasties, A.D. 600–1400*. The bronzes are not mentioned in the catalog, but were included by Ferguson in a description of the show taped inside his private copy. As noted by Ferguson, this description was "written for one of my art critic friends at his request" and published, but it is not clear where.
24. *The University Museum Exhibition of Oriental Art* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania, University Museum, 1916).
25. "JCF to G. B. Gordon, February 20, 1915," Penn Museum Archives; "JCF to G. B. Gordon, September 28, 1915," Penn Museum Archives; "Freer to JCF, October 2, 1915," Freer Papers; "JCF to G. B. Gordon, March 24, 1916," Penn Museum Archives.
26. In a letter to George Gordon, Ferguson requests that lantern slides be made of the Xiaoke *ding* in advance of a lecture, confirming that the *ding* was part of the loan to the University Museum. For six years, Ferguson communicated with George Gordon about the imminent possibility of the museum buying the bronzes, but the museum was evidently unable to commit money to the purchase. "JCF to G. B. Gordon, December 8, 1915," Penn Museum Archives; *The University Museum Exhibition of Oriental Art*, 212–214; "JCF to G. B. Gordon, October 12, 1916," Penn Museum Archives; "JCF to Jane McHugh, December 22, 1921," Penn Museum Archives; "JCF to G. B. Gordon, April 5, 1922," Penn Museum Archives.
27. Elizabeth Lyons, "Ming Huang's Journey to Shu," *Expedition* 28, no. 3 (1986). A very similar composition, with the same title, is preserved in the National Palace Museum in Taipei. Michael

Sullivan, *Chinese Landscape Painting, the Sui and T'ang Dynasties* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1980), 48–49.

28. Cahill, "Five Rediscovered Ming and Qing Paintings," 68. The Yuan Jiang attribution reflects the understanding that this work was painted at Yuan Jiang's productive studio.
29. Barnhart, *Peach Blossom Spring*, 104–118; Cahill, "Five Rediscovered Ming and Qing Paintings," 68.
30. Lawton and Merrill, *Freer*, 83–84.
31. Richard M. Barnhart et al., *Painters of the Great Ming: The Imperial Court and the Zhe School* (Dallas, TX: Dallas Museum of Art, 1993); Cahill, "Five Rediscovered Ming and Qing Paintings." Cahill's article features three paintings bought by the University Museum from John Ferguson.
32. "JCF to Freer, November 9, 1915," Freer Papers.
33. Ibid.
34. The auction included seven bronzes published and described as belonging to the Ferguson collection in Ferguson and Liang, *An Examination of Chinese Bronzes*.
35. *Collection of Dr. John C. Ferguson: Antique Chinese Bronzes, Porcelains, Pottery, Tomb Jades and Rare Old Chinese Paintings* (New York: American Art Association, 1916).
36. Ferguson, *Survey*, 82. In 1939, Ferguson described the site of the kilns, named Yuxian (禹縣), as being less than one hundred miles from the Northern Song capital of Kaifeng.
37. *Collection of Dr. John C. Ferguson*. Cat. nos. 173, 132, 215. The buyer and the price of each object are noted in the copy of this catalog in the Thomas J. Watson Library at the Metropolitan Museum of Art. Ferguson's title "Po" may have referred to a type of wine vessel called *bu*; the shape of the vessel, however, suggests instead the top of a steamer *yan*—called a *zeng*. I am grateful to Jason Sun for his comments on the 1916 catalog image of this vessel.
38. "Vladimir Gregorievitch Simkhovitch," *Political Science Quarterly* 75, no. 1 (1960); March, *China and Japan*, 82; John C. Ferguson, "The Vagrant People: A Picture of Woe," *China Journal* 9, no. January (1929). Ferguson supplied Simkhovitch with at least two additional paintings: 1) a copy—which Ferguson believed to be by Qian Xuan—of a Song painting called *Vagrant People*, the copy having been in the collection of Duanfang, and 2) a painting believed by Ferguson to be by Guan Tong (關仝) of the Five Dynasties, described in *Outlines* (227–228) and now in the collection of the Rhode Island School of Design Museum of Art. I am grateful to Deborah Del Gais for alerting me to the whereabouts of this painting. Numerous Chinese paintings were acquired by the Philadelphia Museum of Art from Simkhovitch in 1928; further research might reveal the "Qian Xuan" in the PMA collection. *Illustrated Catalogue of the Kano Oshima Collection of Oriental Art* (New York: American Art Association, 1924). In the foreword to the catalog, Kano Oshima wrote that the expiration of his lease led him to sell the "Japanese and Chinese art objects" acquired through "continual buying and careful selection in the Far East and from the well-known collections of J. P. Morgan, Heber R. Bishop . . . Prince Kung, Prince Ching . . . Yamanaka & Co, and many others." *Chinese Objects of Art, Part I* (New York: Parke-Bernet Galleries, 1952). In the 1952 catalog, the owner of "Roland Moore, Chinese Antiquities, Lamps and Shades," described his decision to retire after forty-two years in business. "Heinz Antiques in Dispute," *New York Times*, February 10, 1921. R. H. Lorenz was described as secretary of the American Art Association Galleries.
39. With the same intent, Walters also bought paintings at the Panama-Pacific International Exposition. William R. Johnston, "William and Henry Walters: Pioneer Collectors and Promoters of the Arts of Asia," *Arts of Asia* 39, no. 1 (2009).
40. Ibid.
41. *Collection of Dr. John C. Ferguson*, nos. 235, 249.
42. Prices and current attributions were obtained from the Walters Art Museum object records. I am grateful to William Johnston and Robert Mintz for sharing this information.

43. *Collection of Dr. John C. Ferguson*, nos. 57, 58; Johnston, "William and Henry Walters," 59.
44. "JCF to Freer, March 17, 1916," Freer Papers.
45. "JCF to Freer, May 18, 1916," Freer Papers.
46. John C. Ferguson, "Four Examples of Bronze Statuary," *JNCBRAS* 48 (1917).
47. "JCF to Freer, June 12, 1916," Freer Papers; "JCF to Freer, August 8, 1916," Freer Papers; "JCF to G. B. Gordon, September 18, 1916," Penn Museum Archives.
48. "JCF to G. B. Gordon, October 27, 1916," Penn Museum Archives. Ferguson wrote to Gordon that an unnamed friend had bought nearly all of the paintings he had on hand; all evidence suggests that he was referring to Deering. A catalog describing the paintings is included in the JCF Collection, NJU Library. Ferguson's name does not appear, but the similarity between the material in this manuscript and Ferguson's 1914 catalog for the Metropolitan, and his handwritten notes about the provenance of several of the paintings, indicate that he was the author. Ferguson, "Four Examples of Bronze Statuary." Ferguson attached a typewritten page to his private copy describing the provenance of the figures, adding: "They are in the collection of the late Charles Deering of Evanston, Illinois." Ferguson also described *The Lion and Barbarians* as belonging to Deering in *Chinese Painting* (57–58).
49. "JCF to Freer, August 5, 1917," Freer Papers; "JCF to Freer, November 19, 1917," Freer Papers; Lawton and Merrill, *Freer*, 225–228. Bosch-Reitz had come to the Metropolitan in 1914 to be curator of the new Far Eastern Art Department. March, *China and Japan*, 80. Bishop was in China to conduct archeological exploration for the University of Pennsylvania. "Obituary: Carl Whiting Bishop," *Geographical Review* 32, no. 4 (1942).
50. "JCF to Freer, July 21, 1914," Freer Papers.
51. "JCF to Freer, October 7, 1914," Freer Papers; "Freer to JCF, October 10, 1914," Freer Papers; "Freer to Langdon Warner, January 14, 1914"; "JCF to Freer, December 14, 1914," Freer Papers.
52. "JCF to Freer, September 25, 1915," Freer Papers; "Freer to JCF, October 2, 1915." The Minneapolis museum opened to the public in a new building in 1915.
53. Lawton and Merrill, *Freer*.
54. For more on Charles Freer's collection in the context of the Aesthetic movement, see Steven Conn, "Where is the East?: Asian Objects in American Museums, from Nathan Dunn to Charles Freer," *Winterthur Portfolio* 35, no. 2/3 (2000), 169–171; Lawton and Merrill, *Freer*, 15–16.
55. "Freer to Samuel P. Langley, December 27, 1904," Freer Gallery of Art and Arthur M. Sackler Gallery Archives Smithsonian Institution. Quoted in Lawton and Merrill, *Freer*.
56. "Freer to JCF, July 7, 1914."
57. Freer had suffered a stroke in 1911 and was unable to travel to Asia after that time.
58. Ingrid Larsen, "Chinese Painting for America: Charles Lang Freer's Unusual Partnership with Eugene and Agnes E. Meyer and the Shanghai Dealers" (paper presented at the AAS Annual Meeting, Honolulu, HI, March 31–April 3, 2011), 9,12.
59. I have relied on the detailed scholarship of Ingrid Larsen for my description of this network and of Freer's purchases.
60. Burnett, "Inventing a New 'Old Tradition'," 34–35.
61. Cahill, "Five Rediscovered Ming and Qing Paintings," 62, 64–65.
62. "JCF to Freer, March 3, 1915," Freer Papers.
63. "Ferguson to H. W. Kent, December 24, 1912," Ferguson, John C., OSR MMAA.
64. Pang Laichen 龐萊臣, *Biographies of Famous Chinese Paintings from the Private Collections of Mr. L. C. Pang* (Shanghai: Mercantile Printing Co., 1915).
65. "JCF to Freer, March 3, 1915."
66. "Freer to JCF, March 10, 1915," Freer Papers.
67. "George W. Eggers to JCF, May 29, 1917," JCF Collection, NJU Library. Pasted inside Ferguson's private copy of *Outlines*.

68. "JCF to Florence, June 30, 1917," JCF Family Papers.
69. "Art and Artists," *Chicago Ill. Journal*, March 29, 1918; Thomas Lawton, "John C. Ferguson: A Fellow Feeling of Fallibility," *Orientations* 27, no. 3 (1996).
70. Ferguson, *Outlines*, 1.

Chapter 6 Putting Down Roots in Republican-Era Peking

1. "Ferguson, John Calvin," in *The National Cyclopedia of American Biography* (New York: James T. White & Company, 1948), 209; Hu Guangpao 胡光麃, "Bainian lai yingxiang woguo de liushi yangke (si) 百年來影響我國的六十洋客（四）," *Zhuanji wenxue* 36, no. 1 (1980), 120. These biographies describe Ferguson as working in this capacity until 1928, but it seems that he did little from the time when Duan Qirui lost power in 1926 through to 1928, when the Nationalists took power. There is no evidence of Ferguson serving Zhang Zuolin, who was president in 1928.
2. "JCF to Florence, February 13, 1916," JCF Family Papers.
3. "JCF to Florence Ferguson and Bertha Freeman, May 24, 1919," JCF Family Papers.
4. "Hsu Shih-ch'ang 徐世昌," in *BDRC*. Ferguson and Xu had potentially had contact when Xu, along with Duanfang, was a prospective member of the Qing imperial commission abroad in 1905, and when Xu served as president of the Board of Posts and Communications in 1909, one year prior to when Sheng Xuanhuai did.
5. "JCF to Freer, November 9, 1915," Freer Papers.
6. "Hsu Shih-ch'ang 徐世昌," 138.
7. "JCF to Florence Ferguson and Bertha Freeman, May 24, 1919"; "JCF to Florence, June 11, 1919," JCF Family Papers; "JCF to Charles, September 6, 1936," JCF Family Papers.
8. "JCF to Florence, May 24, 1917," JCF Family Papers.
9. "JCF to Florence, June 30, 1917," JCF Family Papers.
10. "JCF to Freer, February 6, 1919," Freer Papers. Much of Ferguson's time in the fall of 1918 was spent organizing medical units that would be sent by the Red Cross to Manchuria, probably to respond to influenza cases there. "JCF to Florence, November 12, 1918," JCF Family Papers.
11. John C. Ferguson, "Constitutional Government for China," *The Annals* [*of The American Academy of Political and Social Science*] CI (1922); John C. Ferguson, "The Shantung Question" (talk presented at the League for the Preservation of American Independence, Inc., Boston, MA, [1919?]). In the United States in July and August of 1919, Ferguson also toured with various US senators, speaking against the proposed Senate ratification of the Treaty of Versailles. He spoke in the capacity of "Adviser to the President of China," but his trip to the United States was not made solely on the behalf of the Chinese government. He had planned the trip since early April 1919, before the signing of the treaty. "JCF to Florence, April 8, 1919," JCF Family Papers; "JCF to Florence, July 14, 1919," JCF Family Papers.
12. In response to one senator's question, Ferguson gave a revealing description of his interaction with the then Chinese leader, Xu Shichang: "Yes; when I meet the President of China, no one else is present, and I talk directly with him [in Chinese] as I would with the President of our own country, and without intermediaries." "Treaty of Peace with Germany Hearing before the Committee on Foreign Relations United States Senate 66th Congress, 1st session, Part 11" (Washington: Government Printing Office, 1919), 566.
13. "Ferguson, John Calvin," 209; Mary Ferguson, "Missionary Data Questionnaire," GCAH-UMC.
14. "JCF to Florence, May 17, 1917," JCF Family Papers.
15. "JCF to Florence, November 12, 1918"; "JCF to Florence, November 18, 1918," JCF Family Papers.
16. "JCF to Florence, November 16, 1918," JCF Family Papers.
17. "Army Officer Ends Life," *New York Times*, May 23, 1916.

18. "JCF to Sarah, Susan, Alzina (JCF sisters), March 12, 1916," JCF Family Papers.
19. Ferguson preserved a record of all the previous owners of the home in: "#178 Hsi Chiao Hutung House," JCF Scrapbooks, Miscellanea 5 178–212, NJU Museum. The first is described as Bailing (百齡), "Viceroy of Canton," and the last was Lü Haihuan (吕海寰). The property was very near the site of the current Beijing railway station; the hutongs in this area have now been completely demolished. For Xiqiao Hutong, see Ling Hongxun 凌鴻勛, "Fukaisen shilue 福開森事略," *Zhuanji wenxue* 13, no. 3 (1968), 20. Although *que* is the most common reading of 雀, Ferguson's address is romanized as Hsi Chiao or Hsi Ch'iao throughout his papers.
20. "JCF to John Ferguson (father), July 3, 1911," JCF Family Papers.
21. "JCF to Florence, November 24, 1918," JCF Family Papers.
22. Gerry Wald, "Sculptor on the Left: Duncan Ferguson's Search for Wholeness," *Pembroke Magazine*, no. 19 (1987).
23. "JCF to Charles, November 7, 1911," JCF Family Papers.
24. Ferguson's letters to Florence and Charles have been preserved in by far the greatest number.
25. "JCF to Florence, February 13, 1916."
26. "JCF to Florence, August 8, 1929," JCF Family Papers.
27. John C. Ferguson, "Ferguson's private report on the sale of the Xin wen bao," JCF Family Papers. Shanghai dollars were issued in Shanghai from 1909 to 1946 by the Netherlands Trading Society (NTS). The exchange rate for these dollars in 1929 remains unclear.
28. "JCF to Charles, June 27, 1936," JCF Family Papers.
29. "JCF to Charles, January 10, 1937," JCF Family Papers.
30. "JCF to Charles, June 9, 1935," JCF Family Papers.
31. J. L. van Hecken and W. A. Grootaers, "The Half Acre Garden *Pan-Mou Yuan* 半畝園," *Monumenta Serica* 18 (1959), 369.
32. "#181 King Pu-sun's collection of paintings," JCF Scrapbooks, Painting and Writing 160–185, NJU Museum.
33. Chang Kuang-yuan, "The Mao Kung Ting: A Major Bronze Vessel of the Western Chou Period. A Rebuttal of Dr. Noel Barnard's Theories," *Monumenta Serica* XXXI (1974–75), 467–468. Ye Gongchuo (1881–1968), a native of Panyu (番禺), Guangdong, held positions as finance minister under the Beiyang government and railway minister under the Nationalist government. He was a well-respected collector and scholar of calligraphy and painting.
34. "JCF to Florence, June 13, 1935," JCF Family Papers. In 1935, Ferguson judged US$27,000 to have been almost the whole amount of his investment.
35. Yu Ying 俞莹, "Huashuo 'Hongxian ci' 话说洪宪瓷," *Minguo chunqiu*, no. 4 (1994); "#95 Kuo Shi-wu," JCF Scrapbooks, Miscellaneous 91–140, NJU Museum. Guo's alternate names include Shiwu (世五) and Zhizhai (觶齋), his studio name.
36. Hongxian wares, modeled after Qianlong and Yongzheng porcelain, are seen today as very fine. Guo is credited with a great technical and artistic achievement.
37. John C. Ferguson, *Chinese Painting* (Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 1928), 158, 164, 182. The illustration is of a landscape attributed by Ferguson to the Qing artist Tang Dai (唐岱).
38. "#253 Bronze Vessels, Manufacture of," JCF Scrapbooks, Bronzes and Porcelains 232–265, NJU Museum. In January of 1929, Guo sent Ferguson more research notes in Chinese. "#3 Eight Diagrams," JCF Scrapbooks, Miscellaneous 1–50, NJU Museum.
39. "JCF to Florence, June 13, 1935"; "JCF to Charles, June 11, 1935," JCF Family Papers. The letter to Charles is attached to the letter to Florence.
40. "Summary of Expenditures," Warner Collection; "Invoice of five boxes," Warner Collection; "Mrs. Warner's A/C," Warner Collection.
41. "Mrs. Warner's A/C." These accounts include sums for the mounting, framing, and shipping of objects, and even a payment to Ferguson's secretary, Mr. Chang.

42. "JCF to G. J. Laing, January 10, 1927," Warner Collection; "Gertrude Warner to the University of Chicago Press, January 10, 1927," Warner Collection; "G. J. Laing to JCF, April 28, 1926," Warner Collection.
43. See for example: "Ferguson to Gertrude Bass Warner, September 15, 1925," Special Collections & University Archives, University of Oregon Libraries, http://libweb.uoregon.edu/speccoll/photo/warner/ferguson.html; "JCF to Gertrude Warner, January 12, 1925," Warner Collection; "Gertrude Warner to JCF, October 9, 1925," Warner Collection; "JCF to Gertrude Warner, June 26, 1944," Warner Collection; "JCF to Gertrude Warner, September 8, 1944," Warner Collection.

Chapter 7 Making a Private Collection

1. Li Ji, *Anyang* (Seattle: University of Washington Press, 1977); Shana Brown, "Pastimes: Scholars, Art Dealers, and the Making of Modern Chinese Historiography, 1870–1928" (PhD diss., University of California, 2003), 16.
2. John C. Ferguson, "Review of Inscribed Bones of Shang," *JNCBRAS* 68 (1937); John C. Ferguson, "The Oracle Bones," *Peking Natural History Bulletin* 13, pt. 1 (1938–1939). In the first article, Ferguson described buying the bones in 1913; in the second, where he referred to Wang Chonglie as his friend, he wrote of doing so in 1912.
3. Shang Chengzuo 商承祚 and John C. Ferguson, *Fu shi suocang jiagu wenzi* 福氏所藏甲骨文字 (Nanking: Jinling daxue Zhongguo wenhua yanjiusuo, 1933). Ferguson, "The Oracle Bones," 5–6. "Shang Chengzuo 商承祚," in *Minguo renwu xiaozhuan* 民國人物小傳, ed. Liu Shaotang (Taipei: Zhuanji wenxue chubanshe, 1975). The oracle bones were sent to Nanking in advance of Ferguson's other objects, shortly before 1933, and then mailed back to Peking for Ferguson and Shang to work on together. They were then displayed along with Ferguson's other objects in the Government Museum in 1935. Shang Chengzuo, a scholar of epigraphy and archeology, was a graduate student of Ma Heng at Peking University from late 1923 or 1924 through 1925. He subsequently taught at Nanking's Dongnan University (東南大學) and was a lecturer at Qinghua University and Peking University. Shang Chengzuo is described as taking up a position at the University of Nanking's Chinese Culture Institute in the fall of 1933, suggesting that he was in the midst of a transition to this institution when he worked with John Ferguson in late 1932 and early 1933 to publish the oracle bones.
4. "JCF to Bosch-Reitz, March 29, 1916," Ferguson, John C., OSR MMAA.
5. John C. Ferguson, "Peking's Art Treasures," *North China Christmas Supplement*, December 12, 1925.
6. John C. Ferguson, *Chinese Painting* (Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 1928), 131.
7. John C. Ferguson, *Survey of Chinese Art* (Shanghai: The Commercial Press Limited, 1939), 3. The bronze scholar Rong Geng was also a member of this committee, called in Chinese "Beiping guwu chenliesuo jiandingyuan" (北平古物陳列所鑑定員), but a list of the other members has not yet been found. Probably they overlapped significantly with the men who examined the Palace Museum collection just a few years later. "Rong Geng 容庚," in *Minguo renwu xiaozhuan* 民國人物小傳, ed. Liu Shaotang (Taipei: Zhuanji wenxue chubanshe, 1975), 150.
8. Ferguson, *Survey*, 3. Ferguson described taking part in the survey of bronzes in the Palace Museum beginning in 1930. Na Zhiliang and Chu-tsing Li described the authentication work as taking place in the 1928–1931 period. Na Zhiliang 那志良, *Gugong bowuyuan sanshi nian zhi jingguo* 故宮博物院三十年之經過 (Taipei: Zhonghua congshu weiyuanhui, 1957), 95–96; Chu-tsing Li, "Recent History of the Palace Collection," *Archives of the Chinese Art Society of America* 12 (1958), 66.

9. Zhuang Yan 莊嚴, "Preface 莊序," in *Lidai zhulu huamu* 歷代著錄畫目 (Taipei: Taiwan Zhonghua shuju yinxing, 1968); John C. Ferguson, *Lidai zhulu huamu* 歷代著錄畫目 [Catalog of recorded paintings of successive dynasties] (Nanking: Jinling daxue Zhongguo wenhua yanjiusuo, 1934); Thomas Lawton, *A Time of Transition: Two Collectors of Chinese Art* (Lawrence: University of Kansas Spencer Museum of Art, 1991), 94.
10. Na, *Gugong sanshi nian*, 95–96; Na Zhiliang 那志良, *Fu jin yi wang hua guobao: gugong wushi nian* 撫今憶往話國寶：故宮五十年 (Hong Kong: Xianggang liren shuju, 1984), 79–80; "#234 Judging Pictures," JCF Scrapbooks, Painting and Writing 234–268, NJU Museum. This entry recorded Ferguson's viewing of a painting with Guo Baochang as members of the "Committee of Reference of the Old Palace Museum," on February 15, 1930.
11. In 1931, Lian and Ferguson collaborated to reprint the third supplement to Qianlong's catalog of bronzes in the imperial collection, a project that also seems to have been prompted by their work together in the Palace Museum. John C. Ferguson and Lian Nanhu 廉南湖, *Xiqing xujian, yibian* 西清續鑑乙編 (Peking: Government Museum, 1931). See also Ferguson's references to the project in Survey (5–6).
12. Na Zhiliang 那志良, *Dianshou gugong guobao qishi nian* 典守故宮國寶七十年 (Taipei: Na Zhiliang, 1993), 9; "The Transition from Palace to Museum: The Palace Museum's Prehistory and Republican Years," *China Heritage Newsletter*, no. 4 (2005). Na would go on to become head of the Department of Calligraphy and Painting at the National Palace Museum in Taiwan.
13. Na, *Fu jin yi wang hua guobao*, 81.
14. John C. Ferguson, "Porcelain Imitations," *China Journal* 9 (1928). Although Na Zhiliang published informative descriptions of the authentication process, the records of the Palace Museum Committee of Reference of 1930–1931—if they still exist—have not yet been researched or made public.
15. Category headings, in English and Chinese, are quoted directly from: John C. Ferguson, *List of Articles Given to Nanking University* (1934); John C. Ferguson, "Fu shi suocang wupin qingce 福氏所藏物品清冊, " 安卷號 117, 全宗號 649, No. 2 Historical Archives.
16. Hong Yinxing 洪银兴 and Jiang Zanchu 蒋赞初, eds., *Nanjing daxue wenwu zhenpin tulu* 南京大学文物珍品图录 (Beijing: Kexue chubanshe, 2002), 68. Ferguson did not date the cup.
17. Qian Tong 錢桐, "Lueshu Fukaisen boshi sheli guwuguan zhi yiyi 略述福開森博士設立古物館之意義," *Da Gong Bao*, July 6, 1935.
18. Ferguson, *List of Articles Given to Nanking*, 33–34. A group of seven of the Tang pieces were excavated at Yuxian (禹縣) in Henan. This is where Song dynasty Jun ware was produced—perhaps he was interested in these as prototypes.
19. Guo's collection was privately published in: Guo Baochang 郭葆昌, *Zhizhai ci cheng* 觶齋瓷乘 (Peking: Zhizhai shushe, 1935). There may have been an element of monetary calculation in Ferguson's choices, in that he preferred to make a profit from a group of Jun ware pieces than to keep them.
20. Whereas John Ferguson judged this work to be "in the style of Guo Xi," it is currently described as "by Guo Xi" in: Hong and Jiang, *Nanjing daxue wenwu zhenpin*, 101. *Portrait of Arhat*, dated 1345, is another early painting in the Nanjing University Ferguson collection. This is one of a set of eighteen luohan paintings, six of which are in the collection of the Freer Gallery of Art. Another, *Bhadra, The Sixth Luohan*, from the collection of A. W. Bahr, is in the Metropolitan. Ibid., 113, cat. no. 115. Ingrid Larsen, "Don't Send Ming or Later Pictures—Charles Freer and the First Major Collection of Chinese Painting in an American Museum," *Ars Orientalis* 40 (2010), 28. I am grateful to Ingrid Larsen for alerting me to the connection between these paintings.
21. Hong and Jiang, *Nanjing daxue wenwu zhenpin*, 159–163, cat. nos. 132–136. Ferguson, *List of Articles Given to Nanking*, 15, 18. Ferguson lists paintings by Zou Zhe (鄒喆), Fan Qi, Gao

Cen (高岑), Wu Hong (吳宏), Ye Xin (葉欣), and Gong Xian (龔賢). The painting by Gong Xian is likely no longer attributed to that artist, as it is not featured in *Nanjing daxue wenwu zhenpin*.

22. Maxwell Hearn, "The Qing Dynasty (1644–1911): Loyalists and Individualists," *Heilbrunn Timeline of Art History* (New York: The Metropolitan Museum of Art, 2000–), http://www.metmuseum.org/toah/hd/qing_3/hd_qing_3.htm (October 2003).
23. "Fan Qi: Landscapes Painted for Yuweng (1989.363.131)," *Heilbrunn Timeline of Art History* (New York: The Metropolitan Museum of Art, 2000–), http://www.metmuseum.org/toah/works-of-art/1989.363.131 (October 2006).
24. Ferguson, *Survey*, 55.
25. Ferguson, *Chinese Painting*, 64.
26. Ibid., 65.
27. Ferguson did not leave a record of prices paid for paintings in the Nanking donation, but judging from the much lower prices of Ming and Qing works in 1912–1913, cheaper prices probably persisted into the 1920s and early 1930s.
28. Stanley Abe, "From Stone to Sculpture: The Alchemy of the Modern," in *Treasures Rediscovered* (New York: Columbia University, 2008).
29. Ibid., 8–9.
30. Ibid., 11–12. Traveling in China in 1906–1907, Okakura acquired thirty-five pieces of Buddhist and Daoist sculpture for the MFA. Freer acquired his first piece of Chinese Buddhist sculpture in 1909, and would continue to collect objects in this genre in the 1910s.
31. John C. Ferguson, *Outlines of Chinese Art: The Scammon Lectures at the Art Institute of Chicago, 1918* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1919), 100.
32. Ibid., 104, 108.
33. Hartmut Walravens, "Berthold Laufer and His Rubbings Collection," *Journal of the American Oriental Society* 100, no. 4 (1980).
34. Laufer's collection of rubbings has now been published. Ho-hsien Ch'en et al., *Catalogue of Chinese Rubbings from Field Museum*, Fieldiana. Anthropology (Chicago: Field Museum of Natural History, 1981); see also M. Kenneth Starr, *Black Tigers: A Grammar of Chinese Rubbings* (Seattle: University of Washington Press, 2008).
35. "JCF to Florence, July 14, 1940," JCF Family Papers.
36. Zhou Junfu 周駿富, ed. *Qingdai zhuanji congkan* 清代傳記叢刊; 017 (Taipei: Mingwen shuju, 1986), 657. Lian's poetry is published in: Lian Quan 廉泉, *Nanhu ji* 南湖集 (Shanghai: Zhonghua shuju, 1924).
37. Wang Ke 王珂, "Lian Quan he 'Nanhu dong you cao' 廉泉和《南湖东游草》," 无锡新传媒吴文化工作室, http://www.wxrb.com/wwh/rwcq/rwcq_05_0610.htm.
38. Benjamin March, "Diaries 1931, June 18," March Papers.
39. "#237 Comments," JCF Scrapbooks, Painting and Writing 234–268, NJU Museum; "#195 Lü Ting," JCF Scrapbooks, Bronzes, Porcelains, etc. 195–232, NJU Museum. This entry includes a photograph of an annotated rubbing of the vessel's inscription. The Lu *ding* is not included in Ferguson's list of articles donated to Nanjing, but it does appear in: Hong and Jiang, *Nanjing daxue wenwu zhenpin*, 15.
40. "Unnumbered, visit to Yang Yinbo, June 9, 1930 [author's title]," JCF Scrapbooks, Painting and Writing 234–268, NJU Museum.
41. "#154 Lien Nan-hu; Handwriting of," JCF Scrapbooks, Miscellaneous 141–177, NJU Museum.
42. Stated by Ferguson in an annotation dated 1933 and attached to his photograph album of the Song dynasty Huadusi rubbings: 宋拓化度寺碑一冊. Ferguson, *List of Articles Given to Nanking*, 48.
43. Ibid., 41–43. The rubbing maker's name might also be read as Gong Zihang, but Ferguson recorded it as Gong Zixing.

44. Yang's name is also sometimes written as Yang Yinbei 楊蔭北. Shanghai tushuguan lishi wenxian yanjiusuo 上海图书馆历史文献研究所, ed. *Sheng Xuanhuai dang'an mingren shouzha xuan* 盛宣怀档案名人手札选 (Shanghai: Fudan daxue chubanshe, 1999), 209. In this undated letter from Yang to Sheng, Yang referred to the meeting between the two men the previous year, and inquired whether Sheng could find a place for an acquaintance of Yang in his offices. The Daguan *tie* was sold to Yang through Sheng Xuanhuai's son-in-law, Yao Songyu (姚頌虞). John C. Ferguson, "Ta kuan t'ieh 大觀帖, T'ai-ching lou t'ieh 太清樓帖," *T'ien Hsia Monthly* 10 (1940), 431.
45. Ferguson, *Chinese Painting*, 154, 160.
46. "#257 Fresco of Large Figure," JCF Scrapbooks, Painting and Writing 234–268, NJU Museum.
47. Ferguson, "Ta kuan t'ieh," 431. Yang was still living in 1940, judging from Ferguson's reference to him in this article.
48. Ibid.; Lien-che Tu, "Ch'i Chun-tsao," in *ECCP*.
49. "#154 Lien Nan-hu; Handwriting of"; "Fukaisen boshi zhuanlue 福開森博士傳略," *Da Gong Bao*, July 6, 1935.
50. Mao Xingyun 毛杏云, ed. *Chunfeng taoli—cong jiaotong daxue zouchu de wenhua mingren* 春风桃李—从交通大学走出的文化名人 (Shanghai: Shanghai jiaotong daxue chubanshe, 2006).
51. "Ma Heng 馬衡," in *Minguo renwu xiaozhuan* 民國人物小傳, ed. Liu Shaotang (Taipei: Zhuanji wenxue chubanshe, 1975).
52. In February of 1925, Ferguson recorded a verbal exchange with Ma Heng about a particular bronze vessel. "#124 T'an Bronze Vessel," JCF Scrapbooks, Bronzes, Porcelains, etc. 122–165, NJU Museum.
53. "Ma Heng to JCF, November 25, 1944 [in Chinese]," JCF Family Papers.
54. Ferguson, *List of Articles Given to Nanking*, 23; Ferguson, *Survey*, 77. Ferguson also refers to the objects as vases.
55. By 1934, White had been appointed associate professor of archeology (Chinese) at the University of Toronto, and keeper of the East Asiatic collection of the Royal Ontario Museum. William C. White, *Tombs of Old Lo-yang* (Shanghai: Kelly & Walsh, Ltd., 1934). White simply recorded that the tombs were excavated beginning in 1928, and that "experts" were called in to do the work (16). He wrote, however, that he was not able to record the original place of the objects with precision (22). Pingfan wrote that the tombs were found and raided by locals in 1929 and 1930. Pingfan 平凡, "Wenhuadian Fu shi guwu canguan jilue 文華殿福氏古物參觀記略," *Da Gong Bao*, July 6, 1935.
56. White, *Tombs of Old Lo-yang*, ix. John Ferguson wrote the foreword for White's book, but no evidence remains of what other kinds of logistical or research assistance he might have offered Bishop White.
57. Ferguson, *List of Articles Given to Nanking*, 31.
58. Ibid., 8, 40.
59. John C. Ferguson, *Chou Dynasty Foot Measure* 得周尺記 (Peping, 1933); Ma Heng 馬衡, "Ji Fu shi guwu zhong zhi zhibao 記福氏古物中之至寶," *Da Gong Bao*, July 13, 1935.
60. Ma Heng 馬衡 and John C. Ferguson, *The Fifteen Different Classes of Measures as Given in the Lu Li-chih of the Sui Dynasty History* (Peking, 1932).
61. Ferguson, *Chou Dynasty Foot Measure*, 3.
62. John C. Ferguson, "Gift to Nanking University: General description of the Ferguson Collection, 1936," JCF Family Papers.
63. Ferguson, *Chinese Painting*, 83–84. Hong and Jiang, *Nanjing daxue wenwu zhenpin*, 216. The 2002 publication records that the painting was inscribed by Song Huizong and Su Shi, among others, but does not mention a Dong Qichang inscription.
64. Ferguson, "Fu shi suocang wupin qingce." He only sometimes included this information in his English list, perhaps estimating the different interest of his Chinese and Western audiences.

65. John C. Ferguson, "Gleanings from Cathay," *Boston University Bulletin* X, no. 18 (1921), 13–14.
66. Ferguson, *List of Articles Given to Nanking*, 13. Ferguson recorded the inscriptions as Maosheng kuan in: Ferguson, "Fu shi suocang wupin qingce."
67. Sheng Yun (升允), governor of Shaanxi Province in 1901 and of Mongol descent, was described by Ferguson as a relative of Duanfang. Ferguson wrote that Sheng Yun arranged to have the pieces bought from the locals who had unearthed them and to have them sent to Duanfang, who was at that time governor of Hubei and residing in Wuchang. Qian Shifu 錢實甫, ed. *Qingdai zhiguan nianbiao* 清代職宮年表, vol. 2, 1740; John C. Ferguson, *A Bronze Table with Accompanying Vessels* (Peking, 1924).
68. Ferguson, *Bronze Table*, 1–3.
69. "JCF to Freer, November 9, 1915," Freer Papers.
70. "JCF to Bosch-Reitz, July 28, 1923," Purchases Ferguson, Altar Table and 12 Vessels (File 1 of 2), OSR MMAA.
71. Ibid.; "JCF to Bosch-Reitz, January 10, 1924," Purchases Ferguson, Altar Table & 12 Vessels (File 2 of 2), OSR MMAA.
72. Brown, "Pastimes: Scholars, Art Dealers," 74.
73. "JCF to Bosch-Reitz, February 4, 1924," Purchases Ferguson, Altar Table & 12 Vessels (File 2 of 2), OSR MMAA.
74. "The bronze table and accompanying vessels formerly in the collection of Tuan Fang, from wooden block 陶齋舊藏古禁全器木板拓本軸," JCF Collection, NJU Museum.
75. Ferguson, *Bronze Table*, 3. Ferguson wrote here that he had a full month to study the bronzes with care, but in fact, he had them only from January 5 to just before January 24, when he wrote that all the vessels were packed for shipment.
76. "JCF to Bosch-Reitz, January 10, 1924."
77. Ibid.
78. "#234 Judging Pictures."
79. Ferguson, *List of Articles Given to Nanking*, 42.
80. "JCF to Florence, June 3, 1940," JCF Family Papers.
81. Ferguson, *List of Articles Given to Nanking*, 44.
82. The Ruibo *hu* itself is 39.4 cm high, with a diameter of 11.7 cm. The scroll was—to the best of the author's recollection—several feet wide and longer still.
83. Lawton, *Time of Transition*, 41. The Li Baoxun inscription is not dated; Chu's was written in Guangxu 28 (1902).
84. "Ch'in dynasty weight, formerly in the collection of Tuan Fang 端陶齋藏秦權拓本軸," JCF Collection, NJU Museum.
85. "The Hua Tu Ssŭ tablet 化度寺邕禪師塔銘影本一冊," JCF Collection, NJU Museum. Regarding Yang Shoujing, see: Aida Yuen Wong, *Parting the Mists: Discovering Japan and the Rise of National-Style Painting in Modern China*, Asian Interactions and Comparisons (Honolulu: Association for Asian Studies: University of Hawai'i Press, 2006); "Yang Shoujing 楊守敬," in *Minguo renwu xiaozhuan* 民國人物小傳, ed. Liu Shaotang (Taipei: Zhuanji wenxue chubanshe, 1975), 84.
86. "Bronzes in the collection of Fêng Kung-tu 馮氏所藏吉金一冊," JCF Collection, NJU Museum.
87. "Rubbings of bronzes in the T'ao Chai collection 陶齋吉金拓本一冊," JCF Collection, NJU Museum. The title slip on the album cover reads: 癸丑[1913]年集.
88. Ibid.
89. Ferguson had a chance to view the original *Admonitions* scroll in London in 1914, and later wrote about the painting at length in *Chinese Painting* (49–53).
90. Thomas Lawton, "Rubbings of Chinese Bronzes," *The Bulletin of the Museum of Far Eastern Antiquities* 67 (1995), 17; Brown, "Pastimes: Scholars, Art Dealers," 119–121; Qianshen Bai, "Composite Rubbings in Nineteenth-Century China: The Case of Wu Dacheng (1835–1902) and His

Friends," in *Reinventing the Past: Archaism and Antiquarianism in Chinese Art and Visual Culture*, ed. Wu Hung (Chicago: Center for the Art of East Asia, Department of Art History, University of Chicago 2010).

91. Bai, "Composite Rubbings in Nineteenth-Century China," 307–308.

Chapter 8 A Donation and Exhibition of National Importance

1. Since 1913, the school had been renamed Jinling Daxue (金陵大學), but in English continued to be called the University of Nanking or Nanking University, interchangeably.
2. "JCF to Florence, June 3, 1929," JCF Family Papers.
3. "JCF to Florence, June 27, 1929," JCF Family Papers.
4. "Jinda liushi zhounian jiniance 金大六十周年紀念冊, " 安卷號 74, 全宗號 649, No. 2 Historical Archives.
5. "JCF to Florence, July 14, 1940," JCF Family Papers. Ferguson would continue to work on this until 1940, six years after the formal date of his donation.
6. Na Zhiliang 那志良, *Gugong bowuyuan sanshi nian zhi jingguo* 故宮博物院三十年之經過 (Taipei: Zhonghua congshu weiyuanhui, 1957), 299.
7. "Zengyu jituo qiyue 贈與寄託契約," 安卷號 117, 全宗號 649, No. 2 Historical Archives.
8. Ibid., 1.
9. "Fukaisen boshi guwu zai ping zhanlan 福開森博士古物在平展覽," *Da Gong Bao*, June 30, 1935; "Guomin zhengfu mingling baojiang zai'an 國民政府命令褒獎在案," 安卷號 117, 全宗號 649, No. 2 Historical Archives.
10. Ferguson's birthday was also cited as a motivation for the donation. Ma Heng 馬衡, "Ji Fu shi guwu zhong zhi zhibao 記福氏古物中之至寶," *Da Gong Bao*, July 13, 1935.
11. "JCF to Florence, February 20, 1935," JCF Family Papers; "JCF to Florence, January 20, 1935," JCF Family Papers.
12. "#341 Wen Hua Tien Exhibition Room," JCF Scrapbooks, Painting and Writing 319–, NJU Museum.
13. "JCF to Florence, March 10, 1935," JCF Family Papers.
14. "Fukaisen guwu mingri kaiguan zhanlan 福開森古物明日開館展覽," *Da Gong Bao*, June 30, 1935. The *Da Gong Bao* description of the exhibition states that most of the calligraphy and paintings were hanging on the wall (字畫多於四壁懸挂), and goes on to give as examples *Collating a Book*, a handscroll, and *Portrait of Minority Cavalier*, a hanging scroll.
15. "JCF to Gertrude Warner, December 21, 1928," Warner Collection.
16. Qin Xuanfu 秦宣夫, "Fu shi zeng hua guohua xuanshu ji ganxiang 福氏贈華國畫選述及感想," *Da Gong Bao*, July 13, 1935.
17. John C. Ferguson, *Two Bronze Drums* 周銅鼓考 (Peking, 1932); John C. Ferguson, *Chou Dynasty Foot Measure* 得周尺記 (Peping, 1933).
18. The author "Zhongshu" was probably Xu Zhongshu, a scholar of epigraphy and archeology who in 1934, along with Rong Geng and Shang Chengzuo, inaugurated and led the Jinshi xuehui (金石學會), later called the Kaogu xuehui (考古學會). "Rong Geng 容庚," in *Minguo renwu xiaozhuan* 民國人物小傳, ed. Liu Shaotang (Taipei: Zhuanji wenxue chubanshe, 1975), 192.
19. Michael Sullivan, *Art and Artists of Twentieth-Century China* (Berkeley, CA: University of California Press, 1996), 312. Pingfan was probably a given name, since Xu Zhongshu's name was published as "Zhongshu" in the reports.
20. Warren I. Cohen, *East Asian Art and American Culture: A Study in International Relations* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1992), 85; Jocelyne Fresnais, *La protection du patrimonie en Republique Populaire de Chine (1949–1999)* (Paris: Editions du C. T. H. S., 2001), 48, 61.

21. Rong Geng 容庚, *Haiwai jijin tulu* 海外吉金圖錄 (Peiping: Kaogu xueshe, 1935), 1.
22. Qin, "Fu shi zeng hua guohua."
23. Pingfan 平凡, "Wenhuadian Fu shi guwu canguan jilue 文華殿福氏古物參觀記略," *Da Gong Bao*, July 6, 1935.
24. Berthold Laufer, *The Beginnings of Porcelain in China*, vol. XV, no. 2, Anthropological Series (Chicago: Field Museum of Natural History, 1917).
25. Xu Zhongshu 徐中舒, "Fu shi suocang Zhongguo gu tongqi 福氏所藏中國古銅器," *Da Gong Bao*, July 6, 1935.
26. Qishan County falls within what is now Baoji Prefecture in Shaanxi Province.
27. Ferguson, *Two Bronze Drums*.
28. Qin, "Fu shi zeng hua guohua."
29. Qin Xuanfu may have traveled to Shanghai to see the exhibition or perhaps he simply viewed the published catalog. *Illustrated Catalogue of Chinese Government Exhibits for the International Exhibition of Chinese Art in London*, IV vols. (Shanghai, 1936).
30. Hong Yinxing 洪银兴 and Jiang Zanchu 蒋赞初, eds., *Nanjing daxue wenwu zhenpin tulu* 南京大学文物珍品图录 (Beijing: Kexue chubanshe, 2002), 145.
31. Qian Tong 錢桐, "Lueshu Fukaisen boshi sheli guwuguan zhi yiyi 略述福開森博士設立古物館之意義," *Da Gong Bao*, July 6, 1935; Qin, "Fu shi zeng hua guohua."
32. Qian, "Lueshu Fukaisen."
33. "Fukaisen guwu zai ping zhanlan"; "Zengyu ji jituo caogao 贈與及寄托草稿," *Da Gong Bao*, July 6, 1935.
34. "Zengyu ji jituo caogao."
35. "Fukaisen guwu zai ping zhanlan." Liang Qichao's donation of his collected books to the public was mentioned as the only recent exception. The article uses the phrase "*juanzeng shehui* 捐贈社會."
36. Qian, "Lueshu Fukaisen."
37. Qin, "Fu shi zeng hua guohua."
38. Jason Steuber, "The Exhibition of Chinese Art at the Burlington House, London, 1935–1936," *The Burlington Magazine* CXLVIII (2006).
39. Some archeological artifacts were contributed by Nanking's Academia Sinica (中央研究院). A small number of bronzes were contributed by the Henan Museum (河南博物館) and the Anhui Provincial Library (安徽圖書館). The Peking Library (北平圖書館) also contributed fifty books, and a single Chinese private collector, Zhang Naiji (張乃驥), lent sixty-five jade objects. Na, *Gugong sanshi nian*, 146–148; *Illustrated Catalogue of Chinese Government Exhibits for the International Exhibition of Chinese Art in London*, IV vols., vol. I (Shanghai, 1936).
40. Na, *Gugong sanshi nian*, 146; James Cahill, "Two Palace Museums: An Informal Account of Their Formation and History (Ching Yuan Chai so-shih IV)," *Kaikodo Journal* XIX (2001), 32.
41. Steuber, "The Exhibition of Chinese Art," 528. The Burlington House was and still is the location of London's Royal Academy of Arts.
42. Ibid.; John C. Ferguson, "Reflections on the London Exhibition of Chinese Art," *T'ien Hsia Monthly* 2, no. 5 (1936), 433.
43. Ferguson, "Reflections on the London Exhibition," 433.
44. "JCF to Florence, February 16, 1936," JCF Family Papers. Ferguson wrote that he would have liked to be in the United States for his fiftieth anniversary (August 4, 1936), but that his wife was too ill to travel.
45. Esson M. Gale, editor of the *JNCBRAS*, wrote in 1935: "It is to be regretted that to this galaxy of supreme authorities [the London Executive Committee] there was not added Dr. John C. Ferguson who combines not only profound erudition in the literary records of Chinese pictorial art but an exceptional personal acquaintance with the contents of the former Imperial collection of paintings

(as well as its bronzes, etc.)." Esson M. Gale, "The Preliminary Exhibition at Shanghai," *JNCBRAS* 66 (1935).

46. The Oriental Ceramic Society was founded as a private club in 1921 for the study and appreciation of ceramics. The majority of the British members of the London Executive Committee were members.
47. After the London show had opened, in February 1936, John Ferguson was invited to become "Advisor to the Executive Yuan [Xingzhengyuan 行政院]," which he considered to be "the highest honor that could be paid." This was his first formal involvement with Chiang Kai-shek's government, and appears to have been an honorary rather than substantive appointment, as there is no evidence of any duties he carried out in connection with this appointment. "Weng Wenhao to JCF, February 17, 1936." Quoted in "JCF to Florence, February 23, 1936," JCF Family Papers.
48. *Illustrated Catalogue of Chinese Government Exhibits, vol. I*, iv. Quoted in Steuber, "The Exhibition of Chinese Art," 533. James Cahill wrote that "few of what are now considered the great pieces" were among the paintings loaned by China to the 1935–1936 exhibition. The experts in Shanghai may have chosen to send "the 'wrong' Fan Kuan" rather than the one they judged to be authentic, Cahill suspected, estimating that foreign observers would not be able to tell the difference. This could be another reason why the Chinese committee of experts wanted to do their work without a foreigner present. Cahill, "Two Palace Museums," 32.
49. Ferguson, "Reflections on the London Exhibition," 436.
50. Ibid., 435, 441.
51. Ibid., 435–436.
52. Ibid., 440.
53. "JCF to Florence, October 3, 1929," JCF Family Papers.
54. Benjamin March, "Diaries 1931," March Papers.
55. Ibid., June 4.
56. Thomas Lawton, "Laurence Sickman 1906–1988," *Orientations* 19, no. 8 (1988); Thomas Lawton, *A Time of Transition: Two Collectors of Chinese Art* (Lawrence: University of Kansas Spencer Museum of Art, 1991), 1.
57. "#217 Ferguson to Langdon Warner [approximate date January 1933]," JCF Scrapbooks, Bronzes, Porcelains, etc. 195–232, NJU Museum.
58. Györgyi Fajcsák, *Collecting Chinese Art in Hungary from the Early 19th Century to 1945*, Budapest Monographs in East Asian Studies (Budapest: Department of East Asian Studies, Eotvos Lorand University, 2007), 107, 160–161. I am grateful to Valerie Hansen and Susan Naquin for lending me this hard-to-find book.
59. Zoltan Takacs, *A Preliminary Report on a Far Eastern Journey* (Budapest: Royal Hungarian University Printing Office, 1937).
60. "JCF to Florence, December 21, 1913," JCF Family Papers.
61. "JCF to Charles, September 19, 1937," JCF Family Papers.
62. "JCF to Charles, July 4, 1937," JCF Family Papers.
63. "JCF to Charles, August 8, 1937," JCF Family Papers.
64. "Florence to Robert, Margery, and Dolly, August 29, 1937," JCF Family Papers. The meaning of Florence's word "tenysch" remains unclear.
65. "JCF to Charles, June 15, 1941," JCF Family Papers.
66. "JCF to Florence, October 3, 1935," JCF Family Papers.
67. "JCF to Florence, December 29, 1935," JCF Family Papers.
68. R. H. van Gulik, "Dr. John C. Ferguson's 75th Anniversary," *Monumenta Serica* 6 (1941), 340.
69. Shirley Stone Garrett, "Ferguson, John Calvin," in *Dictionary of American Biography, Supplement Three*, eds. Edward T. James, et al. (New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1941–45), 268. This biography, composed with the help of Ferguson's children, states that Ferguson permitted the artist Li

Yuling to portray him as a Chinese scholar on the occasion of his seventieth birthday. The ink on paper portrait is now preserved in the JCF Family Papers. One Chinese account of Ferguson's life stated that he dressed in Chinese robes. Whether or not this was true on occasion, this was not the way in which he typically chose to present himself. Jiang Weiguo 蒋伟国, "Meiguoren Fukaisen yu Zhongguo wenwu 美国人福开森与中国文物," *Minguo chunqiu*, no. 5 (1997), 48.

70. "JCF to Charles, January 16, 1938," JCF Family Papers.
71. "Fukaisen shi juanzeng guwu reng zan jicun wenhuadian 福開森氏捐贈古物仍暫寄存文華殿, " 安卷號 255, 全宗號 649, No. 2 Historical Archives.
72. J. L. van Hecken and W. A. Grootaers, "The Half Acre Garden *Pan-Mou Yuan* 半畝園," *Monumenta Serica* 18 (1959), 384.
73. "Gugong bowuyuan to Jinling daxue, November 29, 1947," 安卷號 117, 全宗號 649, No. 2 Historical Archives.
74. Cheng Lixian (程立憲), conversation with the author, December 2007.

Chapter 9 Publishing a Purposeful Definition of "Chinese Art"

1. Thomas Lawton, *A Time of Transition: Two Collectors of Chinese Art* (Lawrence: University of Kansas Spencer Museum of Art, 1991), 66.
2. John C. Ferguson, "A Chinese Street," *The Beacon* (1888); John C. Ferguson, "How Shall We Teach the Chinese Language and Literature in Our Christian Schools and Colleges?," *Chinese Recorder* (February 1900); John C. Ferguson, "Abolition of the Competitive Examinations in China," *Journal of the American Oriental Society* 27 (1906).
3. Part IV focuses solely on Ferguson's writing on Chinese art and related topics, leaving out other articles on international affairs, politics, and education in China.
4. "Kathryn McGovern to JCF, October 7, 1919," JCF Collection, NJU Library. Pasted inside Ferguson's private copy of *Outlines*. McGovern wrote of "changes" made by Laufer, but it is not clear whether the publisher or Ferguson requested the Chicago scholar to do the proofreading. Most likely, Ferguson and Laufer had had contact when Ferguson delivered the Scammon lectures in 1918, if not before. In 1922, Ferguson wrote of not having seen Laufer for a "very long time." "JCF to Berthold Laufer, December 7, 1922," JCF Collection, NJU Library. Pasted inside Ferguson's private copy of John C. Ferguson, *Chinese [Mythology]*, The Mythology of All Races (Boston: Marshall Jones Co., 1928).
5. "Kathryn McGovern to JCF, October 7, 1919."
6. K. B., "Chinese Art: Its Expression of the Culture of the Country," JCF Family Papers. A second review was: William Howe Downes, "A Notable Work on Chinese Art," JCF Family Papers. William H. Downes (1854–1941) was a scholar of the American painters John Singer Sargent and Winslow Homer. The names of the newspapers were unfortunately not preserved.
7. Benjamin March, "The Memoirs of Ma (1925–1926), December 30, 1925," March Papers.
8. *A Catalogue of Fifty Books of the Year* (American Institute of Graphic Arts, 1928).
9. Horace Jayne, review of *Chinese Painting* by John. C. Ferguson, *Eastern Art* 1, no. 3 (1929), 193. Ferguson wrote to his daughter: "They [the critics] have been very kind to me about my 'Chinese Painting.'" "JCF to Florence, August 6, 1928," JCF Family Papers.
10. "JCF to Florence, August 6, 1928."
11. "JCF to Florence, January 9, 1929," JCF Family Papers.
12. "JCF to Florence, October 3, 1932," JCF Family Papers.
13. "JCF to Florence, August 29, 1933," JCF Family Papers.
14. "JCF to Charles, April 19, 1936," JCF Family Papers.
15. Quan Zenggu 全增嘏, review of *Survey of Chinese Art* by John C. Ferguson, *T'ien Hsia Monthly*

10, no. 1 (1940); Esson M. Gale, review of *Survey of Chinese Art* by John C. Ferguson, *JNCBRAS* 70 (1939). Gale was editor of *JNCBRAS* from 1933 through 1937. He and Ferguson corresponded after both men had returned to the United States in the 1940s. See for example: "Esson Gale to JCF, January 6, 1944," JCF Family Papers.

16. "JCF to H. W. Kent, September 5, 1924," Ferguson, John C., OSR MMAA; "H. W. Kent to Ferguson, October 29, 1924," Ferguson, John C., OSR MMAA.
17. "JCF to H. W. Kent, September 5, 1924."
18. John C. Ferguson, "The Four Bronze Vessels of the Marquis of Ch'i," *Eastern Art* 1, no. 1 (1928); John C. Ferguson, *The Four Bronze Vessels of the Marquis of Ch'i* 齊侯四器考釋 (Peking, 1928); John C. Ferguson, "Porcelains of Successive Dynasties," *JNCBRAS* 63 (1932); John C. Ferguson, *Porcelains of Successive Dynasties* 歷代名瓷 (Shanghai: Kelly & Walsh Ltd., 1932).
19. John C. Ferguson, review of *Epochs of Chinese and Japanese Art*, by Ernest Fenollosa, *JNCBRAS* 44 (1913), 161.
20. Friedrich Hirth, *Scraps from a Collector's Note Book; Being Notes on Some Chinese Painters of the Present Dynasty, with Appendices on Some Old Masters and Art Historians* (Leiden, New York: Formerly E. J. Brill, G. E. Stechert & Co., 1905); Herbert Allen Giles, *An Introduction to the History of Chinese Pictorial Art*, 1st edn. (Shanghai: Kelly and Walsh, Ltd., 1905); John C. Ferguson, review of *An Introduction to the History of Chinese Pictorial Art* by Herbert Giles and *Some Chinese Painters of the Present Dynasty* by Friedrich Hirth, *JNCBRAS* 37 (1906).
21. Ferguson, "Review of Giles and Hirth," 206.
22. Ibid., 206–207.
23. Ibid., 207.
24. Edouard Chavannes, "La peinture chinoise au Musée du Louvre," *T'oung Pao* (1904).
25. Stephen Bushell, *Chinese Art*, 1st edn., 2 vols. (London: Printed for H. M. Stationery Off. by Wyman and Sons, 1905–1906). Ferguson's private copy of this first edition is full of margin notes, suggesting that he was learning from the more experienced author.
26. R. L. Hobson, rev. M. Tregear, *Bushell, Stephen Wootton (1844–1908)*, (Oxford University Press, 2004), http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/32203.
27. John Hatcher, *Laurence Binyon: Poet, Scholar of East and West* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1995). Beginning in 1895, Binyon worked as an assistant in the Department of Prints and Drawings, where he was responsible for the Japanese prints and the few Chinese paintings that formed part of the collection. In 1913 Binyon became the keeper of a new subdepartment of Oriental prints and drawings at the British Museum.
28. Laurence Binyon, *Painting in the Far East*, 1st edn. (London: Edward Arnold, 1908).
29. Ernest Fenollosa, *Epochs of Chinese and Japanese Art*, 2 vols. (New York: Frederick A. Stokes Company, 1912). Raphaël Petrucci (1872–1917), a Belgian sociologist and collector of Chinese and Japanese art, was another European scholar whom Ferguson learned from and admired in the 1910s. Petrucci based his research on paintings owned by French private collectors such as Victor Goloubew and on reproductions published in the Japanese fine arts magazine *Kokka*. Petrucci's publications include: Raphaël Petrucci, *La philosophie de la nature dans l'art d'Extrême-Orient* (Paris: H. Laurens, 1910); Edouard Chavannes, Raphaël Petrucci, and Musée Cernuschi, *La peinture chinoise au Musée Cernuschi avril–juin 1912* (Bruxelles, Paris: G. Van Oest & Cie, 1914).
30. John C. Ferguson, *Chinese Painting* (Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 1928), 1–2.
31. Judith Green, "'A New Orientation of Ideas': Collecting and the Taste for Early Chinese Ceramics in England 1921–36," in *Collecting Chinese Art: Interpretation and Display*, ed. Stacey Pierson, *Colloquies on Art & Archaeology in Asia* (London: University of London, Percival David Foundation of Chinese Art, School of Oriental and African Studies, 2000), 50.
32. George Eumorfopoulos and Walter Perceval Yetts, *The George Eumorfopoulos Collection; Catalogue of the Chinese & Corean Bronzes, Sculpture, Jades, Jewellery and Miscellaneous Objects*, 3 vols.

(London: E. Benn, 1929–1930); George Eumorfopoulos and Laurence Binyon, *The George Eumorfopoulos Collection; Catalogue of the Chinese Frescoes* (London: E. Benn, 1927).

33. Osvald Sirén, *A History of Early Chinese Painting* (London: The Medici Society, 1933). Perhaps Benjamin March would have been the scholar to write on Chinese paintings based on a thorough use of Chinese sources and examples in Chinese collections, had he not died suddenly at the age of thirty-five. March had begun to view and research paintings at least since his time in Peking in 1925. In 1931 when he returned to China as curator of Asiatic art at the Detroit Institute of Arts, he met with Ma Heng and others at the Palace Museum.
34. Ferguson, "Review of Giles and Hirth."
35. Paléologue wrote: "Il n'en est pas un qui presente sur les manifestations esthetiques du genie chinois des idees generales ni des vues particulieres." (There is not one who has presented general ideas or particular views on the aesthetic manifestations of the Chinese genius.) Maurice Paléologue, *L'art chinois*, Bibliothèque de l'enseignement des beaux-arts (Paris: Maison Quantin, 1887), 7.
36. Binyon, *Painting in the Far East*, 27; Fenollosa, *Epochs*.
37. John C. Ferguson, *Catalogue of an Exhibition of Early Chinese Paintings of the T'ang, Sung and Yuan Dynasties A.D. 600–1400* (Buffalo, NY: The Buffalo Fine Arts Academy Albright Art Gallery, 1915).
38. Examples include: Roger Eliot Fry, *Chinese Art: An Introductory Review of Painting, Ceramics, Textiles, Bronzes, Sculpture, Jade, etc.*, Burlington Magazine Monographs (New York: Published for the Burlington Magazine by E. Weyhe, 1925); R. L. Hobson, *Chinese Art: One Hundred Plates in Colour Reproducing Pottery & Porcelain of All Periods, Jade, Lacquer, Paintings, Bronzes, Furniture, etc., etc.* (London: Benn, 1927). Alternatively, revised editions of Laurence Binyon's *Painting in the Far East* (1908) were published in 1913 and 1923, and the periodical *Eastern Art* began to be published in Philadelphia in 1928.
39. John C. Ferguson, "Asiatic Art," *China Journal* IV, no. 4 (1926), 164. Ferguson wrote that he was commenting on Binyon's translation of an *Ars Asiatica* volume published in French in 1925. Binyon's publication must have been: Laurence Binyon, *Asiatic Art in the British Museum* (Paris, Brussels: G. van Oest, 1925).
40. Percival David, "The Chinese Art Exhibition," *Journal of the Royal Society of Arts* LXXXIV, no. 4333 (1935); Leigh Ashton et al., *Chinese Art: Introduction* (London: K. Paul, Trench, Trubner & Co., Ltd., 1935).
41. John C. Ferguson, review of *Painting in the Far East*, by Laurence Binyon, *JNCBRAS* 44 (1913), 157–160.
42. Ibid., 158.
43. Binyon, *Painting in the Far East*, viii.
44. Ibid., 120, 130.
45. Hatcher, *Laurence Binyon: Poet, Scholar of East and West*, 180, 184–187.
46. Binyon, *Painting in the Far East*, 145.
47. Ferguson, "Review of *Painting in the Far East,*" 159.
48. Ibid. "Soul-life" does not seem to have been Ferguson's translation of a particular Chinese term. He would later translate Xie He's first law of painting, *qiyun shengdong* (氣韻生動), as "the conception should possess harmony and vitality," for example. John C. Ferguson, *Special Exhibition of Chinese Paintings from the Collection of the Museum Catalogue* (New York: Metropolitan Museum of Art, 1914), 67.
49. Binyon, *Painting in the Far East*, 70. Handwritten note in Ferguson's private copy.
50. John C. Ferguson, *Outlines of Chinese Art: The Scammon Lectures at the Art Institute of Chicago, 1918* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1919), 2.
51. Ferguson, *Chinese Painting*, 1–2.
52. John C. Ferguson, "Culture, the Basis of Chinese Art," *JNCBRAS* 59 (1923), 64.

53. Ibid., 56.
54. Ibid., 57, 60.
55. Ferguson, *Outlines*, 12–13; Ferguson, "Culture, the Basis of Chinese Art," 59.
56. Ferguson, *Outlines*, 4.
57. Ferguson, "Culture, the Basis of Chinese Art."
58. Ibid., 58.
59. *Antique Chinese Bronzes, Porcelains, Pottery, Tomb Jades and Rare Old Chinese Paintings* (New York: American Art Association, 1916).
60. Ferguson, "Culture, the Basis of Chinese Art," 61.
61. Ibid., 62.
62. In 1887–1888, John Ferguson had read and studied Chinese from Legge's translations of the classics, including for example: James Legge, *The Chinese Classics*, vol. I Containing Confucian Analects, the Great Learning, and the Doctrine of the Mean (Hong Kong: London Missionary Society Printing Office, 1861).
63. Ferguson, *Outlines*, 5, 8.
64. Ibid., 5.
65. Ferguson, "Culture, the Basis of Chinese Art," 57.
66. Ferguson, *Outlines*, 171.
67. Ibid., 172.
68. Ibid., 33, 123.
69. Ibid., 31–32.
70. Ibid., 122.
71. John C. Ferguson, *Survey of Chinese Art* (Shanghai: The Commercial Press Limited, 1939), 125.
72. Ibid., 110–111.
73. *Collection of Dr. John C. Ferguson*.
74. Ferguson, "Culture, the Basis of Chinese Art," 60.
75. Ferguson, *Outlines*, 31.
76. Ibid., 27.
77. Ibid., 30.
78. Ibid., 172.
79. Ivan Hannaford, *Race: The History of an Idea in the West* (Washington, DC: Woodrow Wilson Center Press, 1996), 233.
80. Ferguson, *Outlines*, 170.
81. Ferguson, *Survey*, 1.
82. Christopher Bush, "The Ethnicity of Things in America's Lacquered Age," *Representations* 99 (Summer 2007), 81–82.
83. Noriko Murai, "Authoring the East: Okakura Kakuzo and the Representations of East Asian Art in the Early Twentieth Century" (PhD diss., Harvard University, 2003), 30–31; Stefan Tanaka, "Imaging History," *Journal of Asian Studies* 53, no. 1 (1994).
84. Kakuzo Okakura, *Ideals of the East with Special Reference to the Art of Japan* (New York: Dutton, 1903), 9.
85. Ferguson, *Outlines*, 224.
86. Okakura, *Ideals of the East*, 14. Handwritten note in Ferguson's private copy.
87. Michael Sullivan, *Art and Artists of Twentieth-Century China* (Berkeley, CA: University of California Press, 1996), 40.
88. "Ts'ai Yuan-p'ei 蔡元培," in *BDRC*.
89. Mayching Kao, "Reforms in Education and the Beginning of the Western-Style Painting Movement of China," in *A Century in Crisis*, eds. Julia F. Andrews and Kuiyi Shen (New York: Guggenheim Museum, 1998).

90. Ferguson, *Outlines*, 176.
91. "Treaty of Peace with Germany Hearing before the Committee on Foreign Relations, United States Senate 66th Congress, 1st session, Part 12" (Washington: Government Printing Office, 1919)."
92. Dong Shouxin 董守信, "Wo yuan guancang xin faxian—yi ben ceng gei zongtong de shu 我院館藏新發現——一本曾給總統的書," Tianjin waiguoyu xueyuan tushuguan, http://www.lib.tjfsu.edu.cn/tsgjb4/p4.htm. Dong described a copy of *Outlines* preserved in the library of the Tianjin Foreign Studies University (天津外國語大學).
93. Ferguson, *Outlines*, 31.
94. Ibid., 176–178.
95. Ferguson's papers contain no evidence of book borrowing comparable to the exchange of paintings that he and his associates engaged in.
96. Zhang Chou 張丑, *Qinghe shuhuafang* 清河書畫舫 (1763; repr., Chibei caotang, 1888). This book is now understood to have been written by Zhang Chou (1577–1643), but edited and published in 1763.
97. Ferguson, *Chinese Painting*, 1.
98. Zhang, *Qinghe shuhua fang*, 2.
99. Ferguson, *Chinese Painting*, 23.
100. Ibid., 139. As translated by Thomas Lawton, the Qing author wrote: "[Zhao Mengfu] completely swept away the practices of the [Song] Academy. Consequently, when he painted Buddhist or Taoist figures, he imitated Tang artists; when he painted horses, he studied Han Gan 韓幹; and in landscape he took Tung Yüan as his teacher . . . Therefore he is said to be the artist who synthesized calligraphy and painting." Thomas Lawton, "An Eighteenth Century Chinese Catalogue of Calligraphy and Painting: An Annotated Translation of Sections Three and Four of Mo-Yuan Hui-Kuan by An Ch'i" (PhD diss., Harvard University, 1970), 40.
101. Sun Yueban 孫岳頒, ed. *Peiwenzhai shuhua pu: yibai juan* 佩文齋書畫譜：一百卷, 64 vols. (Peking: Nei fu, 1708).
102. Ferguson, *Chinese Painting*, 22.
103. Giles, *An Introduction to the History of Chinese Pictorial Art*, 115–116, 125, 131–134; Binyon, *Painting in the Far East*, 128.
104. Ferguson, *Outlines*, 204.
105. Ferguson, *Chinese Painting*, 55–57.
106. Ferguson, *Outlines*, 222.
107. Ferguson, *Chinese Painting*, 144, 158, 175.
108. Ferguson, *Outlines*, 181, 217. The *Outlines* image matches *Gathering of Philosophers* in the University Museum. However, Ferguson titled the image *Searching for Truth* and described the painting as belonging to the Cleveland Museum. The Chinese-language catalog Ferguson and Feng Enkun had prepared for his 1914 painting purchases for Cleveland includes a painting agreeing with the *Outlines* description: "宋人畫蘇東坡孤山訪僧圖." Ferguson seems to have mistakenly matched an image of *Gathering of Philosophers* with the Cleveland painting he described.
109. "JCF to Florence, December 21, 1913," JCF Family Papers.
110. Ferguson, *Chinese Painting*, 84.
111. Ibid., 89–90. Ferguson wrote of seeing this Li Cheng scroll in Jingxian's home on April 28, 1913.

Chapter 10 Paintings That Did Not "Thrill the Soul" and Other Complications

1. John C. Ferguson, *Outlines of Chinese Art: The Scammon Lectures at the Art Institute of Chicago, 1918* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1919), 2.

2. John C. Ferguson, *Chinese Painting* (Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 1928), 147.
3. Ferguson, *Outlines*, 156.
4. Ibid., 170.
5. John C. Ferguson, *Special Exhibition of Chinese Paintings from the Collection of the Museum Catalogue* (New York: Metropolitan Museum of Art, 1914), xi.
6. Ferguson, *Chinese Painting*, 78.
7. Ibid., 64, 68.
8. Ibid., 88.
9. Ibid., 90, 91.
10. Ibid., 136.
11. Ibid., 122.
12. Ibid., 133.
13. John C. Ferguson, "The Confucian Renaissance in the Sung Dynasty" (PhD diss., Boston University, 1902), 22, 24–25.
14. John C. Ferguson, "Wang An-Shih," *JNCBRAS* 35 (1903–1904); John C. Ferguson, "Southern Migration of the Sung Dynasty," *JNCBRAS* 55 (1924); John C. Ferguson, "The Emperor Hui Tsung, A.D. 1082–1135," *China Journal* 2, no. 3 (1924); John C. Ferguson, "Political Parties of the Northern Sung Dynasty," *JNCBRAS* 58 (1927).
15. Susan Bush, *The Chinese Literati on Painting; Su Shih (1037–1101) to Tung Ch'i-ch'ang (1555–1636)*, vol. 27, Harvard-Yenching Institute Studies (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1971), 125, 167, 169.
16. Ferguson, *Chinese Painting*, 128. Ferguson quoted from Binyon's "Monograph on a Masterpiece of Chinese Painting in the Smithsonian Institution." This publication has yet to be found.
17. Ibid., 136.
18. Ibid., 150.
19. Ferguson, *Outlines*, 230.
20. Hong Yinxing 洪银兴 and Jiang Zanchu 蒋赞初, eds., *Nanjing daxue wenwu zhenpin tulu* 南京大学文物珍品图录 (Beijing: Kexue chubanshe, 2002), 124–125.
21. Ferguson, *Chinese Painting*, 143.
22. Ibid., 144.
23. Ferguson, *Outlines*, 230.
24. Ferguson, *Chinese Painting*, 157.
25. Ibid., 158.
26. Ibid., 173.
27. Ibid., 170–172.
28. Ibid., 147.
29. Zhang Chou 張丑, *Qinghe shuhuafang* 清河書畫舫 (1763; repr., Chibei caotang, 1888), 7–8.
30. Thomas Lawton, "An Eighteenth Century Chinese Catalogue of Calligraphy and Painting: An Annotated Translation of Sections Three and Four of Mo-Yuan Hui-Kuan by An Ch'i" (PhD diss., Harvard University, 1970), 40.
31. Ibid., 41–42; Ferguson, *Chinese Painting*, 160–161.
32. Xiang Yuanbian 項元汴, Guo Baochang 郭葆昌, and John C. Ferguson, *Jiaozhu Xiang shi lidai mingci tupu* 校註項氏歷代名瓷圖譜 *Noted Porcelains of Successive Dynasties with Comments and Illustrations* (Peking: Zhizhai shushe, 1931); John C. Ferguson, "Porcelains of Successive Dynasties," *JNCBRAS* 63 (1932), 8.
33. Ferguson claimed that Xiang Yuanbian's multiple collector's seals were among the most widely forged in the history of Chinese art: "When genuine they are precious evidence of the authenticity and artistic merits of writings and paintings, and even when forged they still bear their silent testimony to the high esteem in which all later generations have held the artistic judgment of Hsiang."

Ferguson, "Porcelains of Successive Dynasties," 9. In 1908, Stephen Bushell had quoted the Qianlong era *Siku quanshu* (四庫全書) to introduce Xiang Yuanbian to his Western readers: "Even in the present day, art critics rely on his [Xiang Yuanbian's] favorite seal of Mo-lin to distinguish between the false and the true." Quoted in Percival David, "Hsiang and His Album," *Transactions of the Oriental Ceramic Society* (1933–34), 25.

34. Preface to Xiang, Guo, and Ferguson, *Noted Porcelains*. The Prince Yi referred to was almost certainly the thirteenth son of Kangxi, Yinxiang (胤祥) (1686–1730), who was given the title "Yi qin wang" (怡親王). His fifth-generation descendant, Zaiyuan (載垣), was a regent for Emperor Xianfeng, who opposed Empress Dowager Cixi and was forced to commit suicide in 1861. Chaoying Fang, "Yin-hsiang," in ECCP.
35. Stephen Bushell, *Chinese Porcelain before the Present Dynasty*, Extract from the Journal of the Peking Oriental Society (Peking: Pei-t'ang Press, 1886).
36. Xiang Yuanbian 項元汴, *Chinese Porcelain: Sixteenth-Century Coloured Illustrations with Chinese Manuscript Text*, trans. Stephen Bushell (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1908).
37. Two copies of the 1931 book are now preserved in the East Asian Library at Princeton University. I am grateful to Nancy Tomasko and Martin Heijdra of the East Asian Library for their comments on the materials and techniques used to make *Noted Porcelains*.
38. "Publisher's circular for *Noted Porcelains of Successive Dynasties*, enclosed in 'JCF to H. W. Kent, November 27, 1931'," Ferguson, John C., OSR MMAA.
39. Shirley Stone Garrett, "Ferguson, John Calvin," in *Dictionary of American Biography, Supplement Three*, ed. Edward T. James, et al. (New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1941–1945), 269; John C. Ferguson, "Review of a Review," *JNCBRAS* 67 (1936), 204.
40. Guo Baochang 郭葆昌, ed. *Qing Gaozong yuzhi yongci shilu* 清高宗御製詠瓷詩錄 (Peking: Zhizhai shushe, 1917); Guo Baochang 郭葆昌, *Zhizhai ci cheng* 觶齋瓷乘 (Peking: Zhizhai shushe, 1935).
41. The *Noted Porcelains* illustrations are very well executed, but not particularly complex photolithographic prints, compared to images of the same type that had appeared in earlier Western publications. For an alternative example, see W. T. Walters, *Oriental Ceramic Art* (New York: D. Appleton & Co., 1897–1899).
42. Ferguson, "Porcelains of Successive Dynasties." Ferguson prefaced the paper with the statement: "In this paper I have tried to explain the point of view of this Album in its approach to Porcelains of the Sung, Yüan and Ming dynasties."
43. Ibid., 3.
44. Ibid., 4.
45. Xiang, Guo, and Ferguson, *Noted Porcelains*. See figures 21, 44.
46. Ibid. See figure 19.
47. Ferguson, "Porcelains of Successive Dynasties," 7, 8.
48. In English, Ferguson and Guo described the portrait as "sketched" by Jia Ruiling (賈瑞齡), while in Chinese they used the word "摹," implying that the image was copied from an existing painting.
49. Ferguson, "Porcelains of Successive Dynasties," 8.
50. Ibid., 5.
51. Ibid.
52. Ibid., 7.
53. Ibid., 9.
54. Ibid., 8.
55. David, "Hsiang and His Album." Perceval Yetts also published an article in which he expressed doubts about the scholarly value of this repeatedly copied album. W. Perceval Yetts, "Hsiang's Album," *Burlington Magazine* 61, no. 357 (1932).

56. Song Huizong 宋徽宗, *Xuanhe bo gu tu* 宣和博古圖 (n.p., 1122). David stated that he used a 1588 edition of this work in his article. Lü Dalin 呂大臨, *Kao gu tu* 考古圖, 4 vols. ([China]: Chaling Chen Yizi, 1299). This work is believed to have been compiled by Lü in the eleventh century.
57. David, "Hsiang and His Album," 36.
58. Ibid.
59. Guo in particular developed a relationship with Sir Percival David in the late 1920s and 1930s. All three of the Zhizhai publications can be found in David's former private library, and *Qing Gaozong yuzhi yongci shilu* was supplemented by explanatory notes (typewritten in English) written by Guo to David at some date after 1929. (These books were previously preserved in the library of London's Percival David Foundation, closed as of 2008.) Guo may have become closer to David after being appointed the porcelain specialist on the Chinese committee to the International Exhibition of Chinese Art of 1935–1936, but he, Ferguson, and David had already visited the Palace Museum together in 1929. John C. Ferguson, "A Ceramic Lute of the Sung Dynasty by Guo Shiwu," *China Journal* 11 (1929).
60. Paul Pelliot, "Le prétendu album de porcelaines de Hiang Yuan-pien," *T'oung Pao* 32, no. 1 (1936). John Ferguson was likely acquainted with Pelliot, for the French scholar had been elected a member of the North China Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society in 1899, when Pelliot made his first trip to China and French Indochina. In 1936, when Pelliot criticized *Noted Porcelains*, he was chair of Chinese at the Collège de France and coeditor of *T'oung Pao*, where the review was published. For more on Pelliot, see David B. Honey, *Incense at the Altar: Pioneering Sinologists and the Development of Classical Chinese Philology*, American Oriental Series; v. 86 (New Haven, CT: American Oriental Society, 2001), 58–85.
61. Pelliot, "Le prétendu album," 25.
62. Weng Tung-wen 翁同文, "Xiang Yuanbian mingxia 'Jiao chuang jiu lu' bianwei tanyuan 項元汴名下 '蕉窗九錄' 辯偽探源," *National Palace Museum Quarterly* XVII, no. 4 (1983).
63. Ferguson, "Review of a Review."
64. Ibid., 200.
65. Ibid., 202.
66. Ibid., 204.
67. Ibid.
68. Paul Pelliot, "Le Dr. Ferguson et l'album dit Hiang Yuan-pien," *T'oung Pao* 33 (1937), 91.
69. Ibid., 94.
70. John C. Ferguson, "And Again a Review," *JNCBRAS* 68 (1937), 74–75. Ferguson's controversy with Pelliot is also discussed in: Thomas Lawton, *A Time of Transition: Two Collectors of Chinese Art* (Lawrence: University of Kansas Spencer Museum of Art, 1991), 78–81. The story of Xiang's album did not end in the early twentieth century. Two recent online articles described the sale of two copies of the 1931 *Noted Porcelains* at separate auctions in China, for nearly 40,000 and 70,000 yuan respectively. These prices seem high, given the abundant material arguing that the original manuscript was forged. Perhaps contemporary buyers are attracted to the book as a thing of beauty, just as Ferguson defended it to Pelliot. "Guo Baochang 'Zhizhai' cangpin shenjia gao 郭葆昌'觶斋'藏品身价高," 山西移动通信有限责任公司数据分公司运营, http://www.cn-life365.com/collection/2005/03/28/2608,5304.htm; "Paimai cankaoshu zhong you zhenjin 拍卖参考书中有真金," 上海数位世纪网路有限公司, http://finance.ewen.cc/licai/bkview.asp?bkid=72950&cid=163465.
71. "JCF to Florence, September 18, 1927," JCF Family Papers. While no evidence suggests that Ferguson was preaching regularly at this time, in earlier years he had given occasional sermons in his home to visitors, and perhaps continued to do so.
72. Overlapping with the *Noted Porcelains* altercation, Ferguson was involved in a second extended controversy, this time with Helen Fernald (1891–1964), a curator of Far Eastern art at the

University Museum. Their argument never became vitriolic, but it is generally acknowledged that Fernald, who had access to the objects and to relevant texts, made an "unassailable" argument for their authenticity, while Ferguson's insistence on a Song date was unsupportable. John C. Ferguson, "The Six Horses at the Tomb of the Emperor T'ai Tsung of the T'ang Dynasty," *Eastern Art* 3 (1931); Helen Fernald, "The Horses of T'ang T'ai Tsung and the Stele of Yu," *Journal of the American Oriental Society* LV (1935); John C. Ferguson, "The Six Horses of T'ang T'ai-Tsung," *JNCBRAS* 67 (1936); Helen Fernald, "In Defense of the Horses of T'ang T'ai Tsung," *Pennsylvania University Museum Bulletin* IX (June 1942); Lawton, *Time of Transition*, 78.

73. Ferguson, *Outlines*, 38.
74. Ibid., 40.
75. Ibid., 58–62.
76. John C. Ferguson, *Survey of Chinese Art* (Shanghai: The Commercial Press Limited, 1939), 3; "Ma Heng 馬衡," in *Minguo renwu xiaozhuan* 民國人物小傳, ed. Liu Shaotang (Taipei: Zhuanji wenxue chubanshe, 1975), 183.
77. Ferguson, *Survey*, 13.
78. Ibid., 8; Ma Heng 馬衡, "Ancient Spears," *Yenching Journal of Chinese Studies*, no. 5 (1929); John C. Ferguson, "Recent Scholarship in China," *China Journal* 11 (1929), 278.
79. Ferguson, *Survey*, 11; Rong Geng 容庚, *Baoyunlou yiqi tulu* 寶蘊樓彝器圖錄, 2 vols. (Peking: Guwu chenliesuo: Yanjing daxue guoxue yanjiusuo, 1929).
80. Ferguson, *Survey*, 4. Guo Moruo 郭沫若, *Liang Zhou jinwen ci daxi* 兩周金文辭大系, 3 vols. (Tung-ching: Wen ch'iu t'ang, 1935). Ferguson described this book as published in 1931, with additional explanations published in 1935; elsewhere, the publication date is given as 1935.
81. Ferguson, *Survey*, 8; George Eumorfopoulos and Walter Perceval Yetts, *The George Eumorfopoulos Collection; Catalogue of the Chinese & Corean Bronzes, Sculpture, Jades, Jewellery and Miscellaneous Objects*, 3 vols. (London: E. Benn, 1929–1930).
82. Ferguson, *Outlines*, 64.
83. Ibid., 42.
84. Ferguson, *Survey*, 2.
85. Ferguson, *Outlines*, 1.
86. Ferguson, *Survey*, 1.
87. John C. Ferguson, "Recent Books by a Chinese Scholar," *JNCBRAS* 50 (1919).
88. Ferguson, "Recent Scholarship in China"; Rong Geng 容庚, "A Classified List of Authentic and Forged, Lost and Extant Bronzes (with Inscriptions) as recorded in the Imperial Catalogues of Antiques in the Palace," *Yenching Journal of Chinese Studies*, no. 5 (1929).
89. John C. Ferguson, "Recent Books on Archeology," *Quarterly Bulletin of Chinese Bibliography* 2 (1935).
90. John C. Ferguson, "Inscriptions on Bronzes," *JNCBRAS* 66 (1935).
91. *T'ien Hsia Monthly* was published beginning in 1935 by the Sun Yat-sen Institute for Advancement of Culture and Education in Nanking, and had a wholly Chinese editorial board. The *Quarterly Bulletin of Chinese Bibliography* was published by the Chinese National Committee on Intellectual Cooperation in Shanghai and edited by the National Library in Peking, beginning in 1934.
92. Rong Geng 容庚, review of *The Eumorfopoulos Collection*, Vol. 1, by Perceval Yetts, *Yenching Journal of Chinese Studies*, no. 5 (1929).
93. John C. Ferguson, "The Oracle Bones," *Peking Natural History Bulletin* 13, pt. 1 (1938–1939).
94. The correspondence is folded inside Ferguson's private copy of "The Oracle Bones."
95. Bishop referred specifically to the work of Wolfram Eberhard (1909–1989), the German Sinologist and ethnologist who had just concluded a 1937 research trip to the United States, and probably also had in mind Herrlee Glessner Creel (1905–1994), instructor of Chinese history and language at the University of Chicago. The Freer Gallery curator had just contributed an introduction to

Creel's 1937 *The Birth of China*, based on Creel's intensive research into the oracle bones and bronze vessels excavated at Anyang, visits to this and other archeological sites, and communication with Chinese scholars.

96. "C. W. Bishop to JCF, August 1, 1938," JCF collection, NJU Library.
97. "JCF to C. W. Bishop, September 10, 1938," JCF Collection, NJU Library.

Chapter 11 An "Indexer" and His Helpers

1. Zhuang Yan summed up the painting catalog with the sentence: "是書蓋我國繪畫書錄之總目也。" Zhuang Yan 莊嚴, "Preface 莊序," in *Lidai zhulu huamu* 歷代著錄畫目 (Taipei: Taiwan zhonghua shuju yinxing, 1968). Zhuang Yan joined the Palace Museum staff in 1925 and came to know Ferguson when the older man worked on the Palace Museum Committee of Reference. Thomas Lawton, *A Time of Transition: Two Collectors of Chinese Art* (Lawrence: University of Kansas Spencer Museum of Art, 1991), 90–93; "Zhuang Yan 莊嚴," in *Minguo renwu xiaozhuan* 民國人物小傳, ed. Liu Shaotang (Taipei: Zhuanji wenxue chubanshe, 1975).
2. "JCF to Charles, September 5, 1937," JCF Family Papers.
3. "JCF to Florence, February 18, 1941," JCF Family Papers.
4. John C. Ferguson, *Lidai zhulu huamu* 歷代著錄畫目 [Catalog of recorded paintings of successive dynasties] (Nanking: Jinling daxue Zhongguo wenhua yanjiusuo, 1934), 1.
5. John C. Ferguson, "Bronze Vessels," *China Journal* 11 (1929), 284. Ferguson referred to the *Xuanhe huapu* in his margin notes (p. 80) in his private copy of *An Introduction to the History of Chinese Pictorial Art* by Herbert Giles. Presumably, he made these notes sometime prior to writing his review of Giles' book in 1906.
6. Ferguson, *Lidai zhulu huamu*, 1; "JCF to Florence, August 29, 1933," JCF Family Papers. Qi Shuping had a high-level position under Ma Heng at the Peking Palace Museum in 1931, and then apparently was a colleague of Zhuang Yan at the Taipei Palace Museum. Benjamin March, "Diaries 1931, June 9," March Papers.
7. Zhuang, "Preface," 1.
8. "#190 Ke ware bowl in Detroit Museum," JCF Scrapbooks, Bronzes and Porcelains 166–194, NJU Museum.
9. John C. Ferguson, *Lidai zhulu jijinmu* 歷代著錄吉金目[Catalog of recorded bronzes of successive dynasties] (Shanghai: The Commercial Press Limited, 1939), 序. Ferguson was aware that one bronze piece was frequently named and described in various ways in his source texts, but as he described in his preface, he chose not to correct or collate the information he and his team found. As a result, locating a particular vessel in the *Catalog of Recorded Bronzes* can be a confusing and time-consuming process, as Thomas Lawton described in *Time of Transition* (91–93).
10. Ferguson, *Lidai zhulu jijinmu*, 序. Ferguson wrote that he had used "*yingwen* 英文," and by this he probably meant romanized Chinese words rather than English words.
11. Tang Lan, a native of Xiushui (秀水) in Zhejiang, studied epigraphy with Wang Guowei, and was hired to lecture on bronze inscriptions at Peking University in 1932. Along with Ma Heng and Rong Geng, he was a member of the bronze section of the Palace Museum Committee of Reference, and also belonged to the Chinese committee of the 1935–1936 International Exhibition of Chinese Art. "Tang Lan 唐蘭," in *Minguo renwu xiaozhuan* 民國人物小傳, ed. Liu Shaotang (Taipei: Zhuanji wenxue chubanshe, 1975); Na Zhiliang 那志良, *Fu jin yi wang hua guobao: gugong wushi nian* 撫今憶往話國寶：故宮五十年 (Hong Kong: Xianggang liren shuju, 1984), 80.
12. Ferguson, *Lidai zhulu jijinmu*, 序. Ferguson also mentioned Qi Shuping and Liu Zizhi (劉子植), the latter of whom has not yet been identified.
13. For example, Ferguson published his exchange with Rong Geng over the meaning of one phrase used in Rong's review of *The Eumorfopoulos Collection*. Rong had written: "著者言凡古書與彝器

銘文相同過甚者，概屬贋品。" Ferguson wrote that the translation of this phrase seemed to be: "The author states that all ancient writings (or early books) which agree too closely with inscriptions on vessels belong entirely to the class of forgeries." Rong Geng, Ferguson wrote, stated that the correct translation was: "The author says, if close parallelism be found between ancient books and inscriptions on vessels, the latter are forgeries." John C. Ferguson, "A Correction," *China Journal* 13, no. 6 (1930), 304.

14. In just one example, Ferguson included characters in his margin notes in his private copy of Fenollosa's *Epochs of Chinese and Japanese Art*. These were almost surely written before Ferguson published his review of Fenollosa's book in 1913. The characters were very neatly and correctly written.
15. His assistants did not furnish him with written translations; the English version of Pan Zuyin's introduction to *Pangulou yiqi kuan shi*, mentioned in Chapter 2, was the exception to the rule.
16. Herbert Allen Giles, *An Introduction to the History of Chinese Pictorial Art*, 1st edn. (Shanghai: Kelly and Walsh, Ltd., 1905), vi. Pasted inside Ferguson's private copy.
17. "Unnumbered, the Fu-ch'un scroll of Huang Kung-wang," JCF Scrapbooks, Painting and Writing 160–185, NJU Museum; Ye Tingguan 葉廷琯, *Ou bei yu hua* 鷗陂漁話, 6 vols. (n.p., 1869); John C. Ferguson, "The Fu-ch'un Scroll of Huang Kung-wang," *Monumenta Serica* 7 (1942).
18. "JCF to Charles, October 17, 1937," JCF Family Papers.
19. Mr. Chang was referred to as Ferguson's secretary in: Benjamin March, "The Memoirs of Ma (1925–1926), January 30, 1926," March Papers. Thomas Lawton described Chang Yü-feng as Ferguson's assistant in *Time of Transition* (91).
20. "Unnumbered, S. K. Chang to Berthold Laufer [author's title]," Miscellaneous 7 238–276, JCF Scrapbooks, NJU Museum. The romanization "S. K. Chang" does not perfectly match "Zhang Yufeng," but judging from the simultaneous references to Mr. Chang and Zhang Yufeng as Ferguson's assistant, they are presumably one and the same.
21. "Mary Ferguson to Dr. Chen Yuguang," 安卷號 117, 全宗號 649, No. 2 Historical Archives.
22. "JCF to Florence, August 6, 1928," JCF Family Papers.
23. "JCF to Florence, August 29, 1933."
24. John C. Ferguson, "The Four Bronze Vessels of the Marquis of Ch'i," Eastern Art 1, no. 1 (1928).
25. Lawton, *Time of Transition*, 89. Lawton referred to Rong Geng's mention of Ma's assistance in the preface to: Rong Geng 容庚 and Zhang Weichi 張維持, *Yin Zhou qingtongqi tonglun* 殷周青銅器通論, Kaoguxue zhuankan, bing zhong (Beijing: Wenwu chubanshe: Xinhua shudian Beijing faxingsuo faxing, 1984).
26. "#195 Lü Ting," JCF Scrapbooks, Bronzes, Porcelains, etc. 195–232, NJU Museum. In this scrapbook note, two pages of Rong Geng's handwritten explanation are attached to a photograph of a rubbing of the Lu *ding*.
27. John C. Ferguson, *Survey of Chinese Art* (Shanghai: The Commercial Press Limited, 1939), 14.
28. "Rubbings of Pottery Vessels 陶器拓本一冊," JCF Collection, NJU Museum.
29. Quoting the director of Nanking University's Institute of Chinese Culture, Shang wrote: "先生之於我校，篳路藍縷。" (In regard to our school, Mr. [Ferguson] was a hardworking pioneer.) Shang Chengzuo 商承祚 and John C. Ferguson, *Fu shi suocang jiagu wenzi* 福氏所藏甲骨文字 (Nanking: Jinling daxue Zhongguo wenhua yanjiusuo, 1933), 1.
30. John C. Ferguson, "Another Ten Years," *Peking Chronicle*, October 24, 1937.
31. "JCF to Florence, February 15, 1919," JCF Family Papers.
32. "JCF to Florence, August 6, 1928."
33. "JCF to Florence, October 3, 1932," JCF Family Papers.
34. "JCF to Florence, June 5, 1928," JCF Family Papers.
35. "JCF to Florence, September 26, 1937," JCF Family Papers.
36. "JCF to Florence, June 3, 1940," JCF Family Papers.
37. "JCF to Robert Ferguson, February 21, 1919," JCF Family Papers.

Chapter 12 "We Must Aim to Get Just as High as We Can"

1. "JCF to Charles, July 15, 1937," JCF Family Papers. The nature of Mary's illness is not specified in the Ferguson family letters. She is described as suffering from "attacks."
2. Ibid.
3. Ferguson expected that his letters to the United States after the summer of 1937 would be censored, presumably by the Japanese given that he wrote from Japanese-controlled Peking. In a December 1937 letter to Florence, he concluded: "I have written frankly as I have a chance to send this letter through a friend directly to America." Even those letters that would bypass scrutiny by being carried by friends reveal that Ferguson acquiesced in the Japanese occupation. "JCF to Florence, December 31, 1937," JCF Family Papers.
4. "JCF to Charles, January 16, 1938," JCF Family Papers.
5. "JCF to Florence, December 31, 1937."
6. Ibid.
7. Ibid.
8. "JCF to Florence, November 25, 1931," JCF Family Papers. "The Brown Man's Burden" was a poem written by Henry Labouchère in 1899, satirizing the British colonial enterprise and Rudyard Kipling's poem, also of 1899, "The White Man's Burden."
9. "JCF to Charles, October 10, 1937," JCF Family Papers.
10. "JCF to Florence, October 27, 1939," JCF Family Papers.
11. "JCF to Florence, October 16, 1937," JCF Family Papers.
12. "JCF to Florence, November 8, 1938," JCF Family Papers.
13. "JCF to Charles, August 29, 1937," JCF Family Papers.
14. "JCF to Charles, September 5, 1937," JCF Family Papers.
15. "JCF to Charles, September 19, 1937," JCF Family Papers.
16. "JCF to Charles, August 15, 1937," JCF Family Papers. The Dies Irae is a Latin hymn describing the Day of Judgment.
17. "JCF to Charles, December 20, 1937," JCF Family Papers.
18. Mary Ferguson, *China Medical Board and Peking Union Medical College; A Chronicle of Fruitful Collaboration 1914–1951* (New York: China Medical Board of New York, 1970), 178.
19. Ibid.
20. "Red Cross message from JCF to Florence, October 17, 1942," JCF Family Papers.
21. John C. Ferguson, "Reflections of a Repatriate," JCF Family Papers. Ferguson wrote on this set of six notecards: "Written on the Gripsholm," but they appear to have been his notes for a speech at Boston University in January 1944. Perhaps this is a copied or shortened version of notes made en route.
22. Thomas Lawton, *A Time of Transition: Two Collectors of Chinese Art* (Lawrence: University of Kansas Spencer Museum of Art, 1991), 96. Possibly John Ferguson chose New York because his son Charles had settled there temporarily during the war.
23. "Telegram from JCF to William C. White, February 1, 1945," JCF Family Papers; "William C. White to JCF, January 30, 1945," JCF Family Papers; "Helen Fernald to JCF, May 2, 1945," JCF Family Papers; "Helen Fernald to JCF, January 17, 1945," JCF Family Papers.
24. "Reflections of a Repatriate"; John C. Ferguson, "Speech at the University College, Toronto, February 23, 1944," JCF Family Papers; John C. Ferguson, "Speech at the Royal Ontario Museum, February 19, 1944," JCF Family Papers.
25. John C. Ferguson, "Speech before the Rotary Club, Eugene, OR, August 22, 1944," JCF Family Papers.
26. The speech was presented at a forum at Christ's Church in New York. In the same month, Ferguson also spoke to Boston's Rotary Club; and on December 18, 1944, he spoke again in New York,

probably to the China Society of America. John C. Ferguson, "'China's Place in a Better World,' December 21, 1944," JCF Family Papers; "China is Declared United in Opposition to Japanese," *Christian Science Monitor*, September 13, 1944; John C. Ferguson, "'Early Days in China,' December 18, 1944," JCF Family Papers.

27. Mary Ferguson, "Fu 福 [Nanking years]," JCF Family Papers; "JCF to Florence, June 12, 1904," JCF Family Papers.
28. The International Institute of China (formerly called the "Mission among the Higher Classes in China") was founded in China by the Presbyterian missionary Gilbert Reid in 1897, with the goals of promoting better understanding between Westerners and the Chinese. Ferguson was elected president of this Shanghai-based institute in 1939. Wang [?] Ly, "Memorial service address by Dr. Ly, March 1, 1948," JCF Family Papers. The lack of any other mention of Ferguson's work for this organization suggests that his appointment was largely honorary.
29. Charles Ferguson, "Memorial service address by Charles Ferguson, March 1, 1948," JCF Family Papers. Ferguson's daughter Helen also attended. "Memorial Service for Dr. Ferguson," *North China Daily News*, March 2, 1948.
30. Bernard Read, "Memorial service address by Bernard Read, March 1, 1948," JCF Family Papers.
31. "Memorial service address by Charles."
32. "JCF to Florence, February 13, 1916," JCF Family Papers.
33. John C. Ferguson, "Sunday Morning Talks, June 23, 1901," JCF Family Papers. In 1915, he advised his daughter Florence, who was struggling with a short-term job as a teacher, to neither overwork herself nor give up too early: "Home is always open but so also are the opportunities for possible service." "JCF to Florence, September 13, 1915," JCF Family Papers.
34. "JCF to Florence, February 13, 1916."
35. Ibid.
36. John C. Ferguson, "Untitled article dated May 18, 1922," JCF Collection, NJU Library. Ferguson's note states that he wrote this article draft for the *Atlantic Monthly* per special request; it was never published.
37. John C. Ferguson, "Sunday Morning Talks, June 16, 1901," JCF Family Papers.
38. John C. Ferguson, "Reflections on the London Exhibition of Chinese Art," *T'ien Hsia Monthly* 2, no. 5 (1936), 442; John C. Ferguson, "Porcelains of Successive Dynasties," *JNCBRAS* 63 (1932), 8; John C. Ferguson, *Outlines of Chinese Art: The Scammon Lectures at the Art Institute of Chicago, 1918* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1919), 1, 2.
39. Warren I. Cohen, *East Asian Art and American Culture: A Study in International Relations* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1992), 82–85, 92–96.
40. John C. Ferguson, *Chinese Painting* (Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 1928), 144.
41. Ibid., 160.
42. Ferguson, *Outlines*, 170; Ferguson, *Chinese Painting*, 147.
43. The following account of Sickman's career is drawn from: Thomas Lawton, "Laurence Sickman 1906–1988," *Orientations* 19, no. 8 (1988); Cohen, *East Asian Art*.
44. Cohen, East Asian Art, 112–114. Sickman did not recall Ferguson to have been a mentor in this regard.
45. "JCF to Charles, May 9, 1937," JCF Family Papers.
46. "Dr. John C. Ferguson," *Peiping Chronicle*, March 1, 1935.
47. "JCF to Florence, June 21, 1944," JCF Family Papers.

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