Notes

Introduction

1. "Maxieer diu jipu" 馬歇爾丟吉普 [Marshall lost the Jeep], *Da di* 大地 39 (1946): 10.
2. See Chunmei Du, "Jeep Girls and American GIs: Gendered Nationalism in Post–World War II China," *Journal of Asian Studies* 81, no. 2 (2022): 341–363.
3. For discussions on the loss of China or the lost chance in China, see e.g. Dorothy Borg and Waldo H. Heinrichs, *Uncertain Years: Chinese-American Relations, 1947–1950* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1980); "Symposium: Rethinking the Lost Chance in China," *Diplomatic History* 21, no. 1 (1997): 71–115, especially Warren I. Cohen, "Introduction: Was There a 'Lost Chance' in China?"
4. See Suzanne Pepper, *Civil War in China: The Political Struggle, 1945–1949* (Lanham, MD: Rowman and Littlefield, 1999); Odd Arne Westad, *Decisive Encounters: The Chinese Civil War, 1946–1950* (Stanford, CA: Stanford University Press, 2003); Hans van de Ven, *China at War: Triumph and Tragedy in the Emergence of the New China 1937–1952* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 2018).
5. Zuo Shuangwen 左雙文 and Liu Shan 劉杉, "Lengzhan chuqi Sulian de 'zhanlipin' zhengce ji Sujun zai zhanlingqu de junji wenti" 冷戰初期蘇聯的"戰利品"政策及蘇軍在佔領區的軍紀問題 [Soviet "spoils of war" policy and military discipline problems in occupied areas during the early Cold War], in Du Chunmei 杜春媚, ed., *Lengzhan shiqi de Meiguo yu dongya shehui* 冷戰時期的美國與東亞社會 [*The United States and East Asian societies during the Cold War*] (Taipei: Showwe, 2023), 213–233; Edwin W. Pauley, *Report on Japanese Assets in Manchuria to the President of the United States* (Washington, DC: United States Government Printing Office, 1946), 37.
6. Christian Hess, "Sino-Soviet City: Dalian between Socialist Worlds, 1945–1955," *Journal of Urban History* 44, no. 1 (2018): 9–25.
7. Although the size of the US military was declining because of demobilization in the immediate postwar era, the American empire's global reach and influence continued to expand. On America and postwar East Asia, see Ronald H. Spector, *In the Ruins of Empire: The Japanese Surrender and the Battle for Postwar Asia* (New York: Random House, 2008) and Marc Gallicchio, *The*

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Scramble for Asia: U.S. Military Power in the Aftermath of the Pacific War (New York: Rowman and Littlefield, 2008).

8. Existing accounts of the number of Japanese people in China vary due to several factors, including those who died before repatriation, women who chose to remain in China, and units that served in either the Nationalist or Communist armies. For the estimated total number, which ranges from 2 to 4 million, see *Zhongguo zhanqu Zhongguo lujun zongsilingbu shouxiang baogaoshu* 中國戰區中國陸軍總司令部受降報告書 [*Report on the acceptance of the Japanese surrender*] (Zhongguo lujun zongsilingbu 中國陸軍總司令部, 1946), 9–10; US Department of State, *The China White Paper, August 1949* (Stanford, CA: Stanford University Press, 1967), 690; Donald G. Gillin and Charles Etter, "Staying On: Japanese Soldiers and Civilians in China, 1945–1949," *Journal of Asian Studies* 42, no. 3 (1983): 497–518.
9. American troops in China, the majority from the army, reached sixty thousand before Japan's surrender. See US Department of State, *The China White Paper*, 694; Henry I. Shaw, *The United States Marines in North China, 1945–1949* (Washington, DC: US Marine Corps, 1968).
10. The 1905 anti-American boycott movement, which occurred as a reaction to the Chinese Exclusion Act and the discriminative treatments of Chinese laborers, was more limited in objectives and impacts. See Sin Kiong Wong, *China's Anti-American Boycott Movement in 1905: A Study in Urban Protest* (New York: Peter Lang, 2002); Guanhua Wang, *In Search of Justice: The 1905–1906 Chinese Anti-American Boycott* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 2001).
11. See Hong Zhang, *America Perceived: The Making of Chinese Images of the United States, 1945–1953* (Westport, CT: Greenwood Press, 2002). For Chinese elites' shift from enthusiasm to disillusionment with American ideals of global justice and equality after the Treaty of Versailles, see Erez Manela, *The Wilsonian Moment: Self-Determination and the International Origins of Anticolonial Nationalism* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2007), 177–196.
12. "Friendship Lost?" *Time* Magazine 49, no. 6 (October 2, 1947).
13. Graham Peck, *Two Kinds of Time* (Seattle: University of Washington Press, 2008), 684.
14. For an overview of the American empire, see Daniel Immerwahr, *How to Hide an Empire: A History of the Greater United States* (New York: Farrar, Straus and Giroux, 2019) and Charles S. Maier, *Among Empires: American Ascendancy and Its Predecessors* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 2007). For studies that focus on the global US military networks since the Cold War, see Maria Höhn and Seungsook Moon, eds., *Over There: Living with the U.S. Military Empire from World War Two to the Present* (Durham, NC: Duke University Press, 2010); David Vine, *Base Nation: How U.S. Military Bases Abroad Harm America and the World* (New York: Henry Holt and Company, 2015); Catherine Lutz, ed., *The Bases of Empire: The Global Struggle against U.S. Military Posts* (New York: New York University Press, 2009).
15. Zach Fredman, *The Tormented Alliance: American Servicemen and the Occupation of China, 1941–1949* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2022), 169.

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16. See Gallicchio, *The Scramble for Asia*, 138–140. A small number of colored troops were present as an advance group in North China, but their deployment was later discontinued. See Vincent Tubbs, "Chinese Welcome Marines," *The Baltimore Afro-American*, October 13, 1945; DeWitt Peck, oral history transcript, 158, Archives Branch, US Marine Corps History Division, Quantico, Virginia (MCHD).
17. See T. Christopher Jespersen, *American Images of China, 1931–1949* (Stanford, CA: Stanford University Press, 1996); Gordon H. Chang, *Fateful Ties: A History of America's Preoccupation with China* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 2015), 130–167.
18. See Höhn and Moon, "The Politics of Gender, Sexuality, Race, and Class in the U.S. Military Empire," in *Over There*, 12–20.
19. Christina Klein, *Cold War Orientalism: Asia in the Middlebrow Imagination, 1945–1961* (Oakland: University of California Press, 2003), 1–17.
20. See Rana Mitter, "State-Building after Disaster: Jiang Tingfu and the Reconstruction of Post–World War II China, 1943–1949," *Comparative Studies in Society and History* 61, no. 1 (2019): 176–206.
21. Chiang Kai-shek, *China's Destiny*, trans. Wang Chung-hui (New York: The MacMillan Company, 1947), VII–VIII.
22. Rear Admiral C. W. Styer, of the Office of Chief of Naval Operations, to the Director of the Office of Far Eastern Affairs (Butterworth), January 8, 1948, *Foreign Relations of the United States (FRUS), 1948, The Far East: China, Volume VIII* (Washington, DC: Government Printing Office, 1973), Document 257.
23. Following the British, the United States and the Qing Dynasty in 1844 signed the unequal Treaty of Wanghia that granted extraterritoriality to American citizens, who would be tried and punished only by American authorities for crimes committed on Chinese soil. A more comprehensive and definitive version of legal rights than the British had won in the Treaty of Nanking, this provision became the model for other foreign powers and had long-term impacts on China's diplomatic history. See Yanqiu Zheng, "A Specter of Extraterritoriality: The Legal Status of U.S. Troops in China, 1943–1947," *Journal of American-East Asian Relations* 22, no. 1 (2015): 17–44.
24. In international law, the concept of unequal treaties remains vaguely defined and practically ambiguous. In China, the issue of unequal treaties (*buping-deng tiaoyue*) has attracted considerable attention, mixing historical, academic, and diplomatic concern and political interest from various entities claiming legitimacy based on the abolishment of unequal treaties. See Matthew Craven, "What Happened to Unequal Treaties? The Continuities of Informal Empire," *Nordic Journal of International Law* 74 (2005): 335–382; Shahrad Nasrolahi Fard, *Reciprocity in International Law: Its Impact and Function* (London: Routledge, 2016); Dong Wang, "The Discourse of Unequal Treaties in Modern China," *Pacific Affairs* 76, no. 3 (2003): 399–425.
25. See Zhang Longlin 張龍林, "Kangzhan houqi zhuHua Meijun zhuanshu guanxiaquan yanjiu" 抗戰后期駐華美軍專屬管轄權研究 [Research on the

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exclusive jurisdiction of US forces in China during the late war period], *Xibei daxue xuebao* 西北大學學報 42, no. 1 (2012): 80–86.

26. The Ambassador in China (Gauss) to the Secretary of State, January 30, 1943, *FRUS, 1943*, Document 627.
27. "ZaiHua Meijun zhaoshi chuli banfa" 在華美軍肇事處理辦法 [Procedures for handling incidents involving US military personnel in China], 020-050204-0011, Academia Historica Archives (AHA) 國史館, Taipei, Taiwan.
28. The Chinese Ministry for Foreign Affairs to the American Embassy in China, October 13, 1943, *FRUS, 1943*, Document 632.
29. "Gaishan zaiHua Meijun renyuan xingshi anjian shenpan chuli chengxu banfa" 改善在華美軍人員刑事案件審判處理程序辦法 [The instruction for improving the judicial procedure of criminal cases involving US military personnel], M041-003-005524-0005, June 1948, Sichuan Provincial Archives (SPA) and J0002-3-007261-055, Tianjin Municipal Archive (TMA).
30. For an influential debate on the issue, see Zhang Zhenkun 張振鵾, "Zaishuo 'ershiyi tiao' bushi tiaoyue: Da Zheng Zemin xiansheng" 再說"二十一條"不是條約: 答鄭則民先生 [Again on "Twenty-one Demands" are not a treaty], *Jindaishi yanjiu* 近代史研究 1 (2000): 238–252; Zheng Zemin 鄭則民, "Guanyu bupingdeng tiaoyue de ruogan wenti: yu Zhang Zhenkun xiansheng shangque" 關于不平等條約的若干問題: 與張振鵾先生商榷 [Some questions on the unequal treaties: A discussion with Mr. Zhang Zhenkun], *Jindaishi yanjiu* 近代史研究 1 (2000): 215–237. For revisionist histories, see Wang Qi 王淇, "Yijiu sisan nian 'ZhongMei pingdeng xinyue' qianding de lishibeijing jiqi yiyi pingxi" 一九四三年《中美平等新約》簽訂的歷史背景及其意義評析 [The historical background and analysis of the 1943 Treaty between the United States and China for the Relinquishment of Extraterritorial Rights in China], *Zhonggong dangshi yanjiu* 中共黨史研究 4 (1989): 9–15; Wang Jianlang 王建朗, "Zhongguo feichu bupingdeng tiaoyue de lishi kaocha" 中國廢除不平等條約的歷史考察 [A historical investigation into China's abolition of unequal treaties], *Lishi yanjiu* 歷史研究 5 (1997): 4–18; Hou Zhongjun 侯中軍, "Jindai Zhongguo bupingdeng tiaoyue jiqi pingpan biaozhun de tantao" 近代中國不平等條約及其評判標準的探討 [An investigation of unequal treaties in modern China and their qualifying criteria], *Lishi yanjiu* 1 (2009): 64–84; Wu Lin-Chun 吳翎君, "1946 nian ZhongMei Shangyue de lishi yiyi" 1946年中美商約的歷史意義 [The historical significance of the 1946 Sino-American Treaty], *Guoli zhengzhi daxue lishi xuebao* 國立政治大學歷史學報 21 (May 2004): 41–66.
31. See Ministry of Foreign Affairs, *Treaties between the Republic of China and Foreign States (1927–1957)* (New York: AMS Press, 1974), 676–792; "320.3 Commercial Treaty (I) Sino-American Treaty, 1943–1946," The Chinese Civil War and US-China Relations: Records of the US State Department's Office of Chinese Affairs, 1945–1955, Archives Unbound, Gale Primary Sources, US National Archives and Record Administration, College Park, Maryland (NARA).
32. For a study of the Philippines' special relationship with the US, especially how Philippine leadership after independence used "nonconfrontational resistance" in its dealings with the Americans, see Nick Cullather, *Illusions*

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of Influence: The Political Economy of United States–Philippines Relations, 1942–1960 (Stanford, CA: Stanford University Press, 1994).

33. "Painful Surprise," *Time* magazine 49, no. 2 (January 13, 1947).
34. Philip West, *Yenching University and Sino-Western Relations* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1976), 181.
35. William Henry Chamberlain, "Post War Ironies," *Wall Street Journal*, January 14, 1947, 4.
36. See Jeffrey N. Wasserstrom, *Student Protests in Twentieth-Century China: The View from Shanghai* (Stanford, CA: Stanford University Press, 1991).
37. Mao Zedong, "The Chiang Kai-shek Government Is Besieged by the Whole People," in *Selected Works of Mao Tse-tung*, vol. IV (Beijing: Foreign Languages Press, 1961), 135–139.
38. Zhonggong zhongyang dangshi yanjiushi 中共中央黨史研究室, *Zhongguo gongchandang lishi (diyijuan)* 中國共產黨歷史(第一卷) [*History of the Chinese Communist Party*, vol. 1] (Beijing: Zhonggong dangshi chubanshe, 2010), 673–780.
39. Jon W. Huebner, "Chinese Anti-Americanism, 1946–48," *Australian Journal of Chinese Affairs* 17 (1987): 115–125.
40. Mao Zedong, "Manifesto of the Chinese People's Liberation Army," in *Selected Works of Mao Tse-tung*, vol. IV, 147–153.
41. Pepper, *Civil War in China*, 42–93.
42. Xixiao Guo, "The Anticlimax of an Ill-starred Sino-American Encounter," *Modern Asian Studies* 35, no. 1 (2011): 240; Zhonggong Beijing shiwei dangshi yanjiushi 中共北京市委黨史研究室, ed., *Kangyi Meijun zhuHua baoxing yundong ziliao huibian* 抗議美軍駐華暴行運動資料彙編 [*Collected materials on the Anti-American Brutality movement*] (Beijing: Beijing daxue chubanshe, 1989), 3–8.
43. Charles J. Canning, "Peiping Rape Case Has Deep Social, Political Background," *The China Weekly Review* (January 11, 1947): 166; Pepper, *Civil War in China*, 42–93.
44. "Anti-Americanism, Communist Attitude," December 5, 1946, RG 84: Records of Foreign Service Posts of the Department of State, Box 19, NARA.
45. See Chen Weimin 陳衛民, "Shilun 'erjiu' douzheng de jingyan jiaoxun" 試論"二九"斗爭的經驗教訓 [A tentative argument on the lessons from the "February ninth" struggles], *Shi lin* 史林 2 (1996): 68–74.
46. See e.g. Jinan Shudian 冀南书店, ed., *ZhuHua Meijun baoxinglu* 駐華美軍暴行錄 [*Record of brutalities by US Forces in China*] (Weixian: Jinan shudian, 1946); *Meiguobing gunchuqu* 美國兵, 滾出去 [*American soldiers, get out*] (Aiguo yundong chubanshe, 1947); Fang Ke 方克, ed., *Jiang Jieshi maiguo zhenxiang* 蔣介石賣國真相 [*The truth about Chiang Kai-shek selling out the country*] (Harbin: Dongbei shudian, 1947); Dongbei junzheng daxue zhengzhibu 東北軍政大學政治部, eds., *Meijun zaiHua baoxinglu* 美軍在華暴行錄 [*Record of American soldiers' brutalities in China*] (Heilongjiang, Beian: Dongbei junzheng daxue zhengzhibu, 1947); Huabei xuesheng yundong xiaoshi bianji weiyuanhui 華北學生運動小史編輯委員會, eds., *Huabei xuesheng yundong xiaoshi* 華北學生運動小史 [*A brief history of student movements in North China*] (Beijing: Huabei xuesheng yundong xiaoshi bianji weiyuanhui, 1948).

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47. See e.g. *Kangyi Meijun zhuHua baoxing yundong ziliao huibian*, 109–123; Communist anti-American propaganda materials collected by the Nationalist Government Ministry of Justice, "Guanyu fanMei gongzuo de zhishi" 關於反美工作的指示 [Instructions on anti-American work], 1946, 530-01-07-061, Archives of the Institute of Modern History (AIMH) 近代史研究所檔案館, Taipei, Taiwan; "Gongfei fanMei huabao" 共匪反美畫報 [Communist bandit anti-American pictorials], 1948, 530-01-12-085, AIMH; "Gongfei fanMei huakan" 共匪反美畫刊 [Communist bandit anti-American illustrated publications], 1948, 530-01-12-086, AIMH.
48. Maurice Blanchot, *The Infinite Conversation*, trans. Susan Hanson (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1993), 238.
49. For existing studies on grassroots interactions between American serviceman and Chinese civilians, see Fredman, *The Tormented Alliance*; Xixiao Guo, "Climax of Sino-American Relations, 1944–1947," PhD diss., University of Georgia, 1997; Zhiguo Yang, "United States Marines in Qingdao: Military-Civilian Interaction, Nationalism, and China's Civil War, 1945–1949," PhD diss., University of Maryland, 1998. For the military operational side, see Katherine K. Reist, "The American Military Advisory Missions to China, 1945–1949," *Journal of Military History* 77, no. 4 (2013): 1379–1398; George B. Clark, *Treading Softly: U.S. Marines in China, 1819–1949* (Westport, CT: Praeger, 2001); Shaw, *The United States Marines in North China*; Edward John Marolda, "The U.S. Navy and the Chinese Civil War, 1945–1952," PhD diss., George Washington University, 1990; Joseph G. D. Babb, "The Harmony of Yin and Yank: The American Military Advisory Effort in China, 1941–1951," PhD diss., University of Kansas, 2012; Jonathan Blackshear Chavanne, "The Battle for China: The U.S. Navy, Marine Corps and the Cold War in Asia, 1944–1949," PhD diss., Texas A&M University, 2016.
50. For the approach of everyday life in historical studies, including its relationship with German *Alltagsgeschichte* and Italian microhistory, see Alf Lüdtke, "Introduction: What Is the History of Everyday Life and Who Are Its Practitioners?" In Alf Lüdtke, ed., *The History of Everyday Life: Reconstructing Historical Experiences and Ways of Life* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1995), 3–40; Paul Steege, Andrew Stuart Bergerson, Maureen Healy, and Pamela E. Swett, "The History of Everyday Life: A Second Chapter," *Journal of Modern History* 80, no. 2 (2008): 358–378.
51. Cynthia Enloe, *Seriously! Investigating Crashes and Crises as If Women Mattered* (Oakland: University of California Press, 2013), 39–48.
52. Although the study of international relations is a field that by tradition focuses on macro-level patterns and high-level national and supranational agents, more recent scholarship has increasingly turned to micropolitics, attending to the ways in which locally grounded agents have engaged with and influenced world affairs. For the recent shifts toward the study of everyday and micro-politics in international relations, see special issue, *Cooperation and Conflict* 54, no. 2 (2019): 123–309, especially Annika Björkdahl, Martin Hall, and Ted Svensson, "Everyday International Relations: Editors' Introduction," *Cooperation and Conflict* 54, no. 2 (2019): 123–130; special issue "Everyday Diplomacy: Insights from Ethnography," *Cambridge Journal of Anthropology*

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34, no. 2 (2016): 2–139, especially Marsden Magnus, Diana Ibañez-Tirado, and David Henig, "Everyday Diplomacy: Introduction to Special Issue," *Cambridge Journal of Anthropology* 34, no. 2 (2016): 2–22.

53. Harry Harootunian, "Shadowing History: National Narratives and the Persistence of the Everyday," *Cultural Studies* 18, no. 2–3 (2004): 181–200.
54. For studies of everyday lives that challenge the traditional historiographies of Europe during and after WWII, see e.g. Paul Steege, *Black Market, Cold War: Everyday Life in Berlin, 1946–1949* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2007); Lindsey Dodd and David Lees, eds., *Vichy France and Everyday Life: Confronting the Challenges of Wartime, 1939–1945* (London: Bloomsbury Academic, 2018). For studies on everyday lives in modern Chinese history, see e.g. Madeleine Yue Dong and Joshua L. Goldstein, eds., *Everyday Modernity in China* (Seattle: University of Washington Press, 2006); Diana Larry, *The Chinese People at War: Human Suffering and Social Transformation, 1937–1945* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2010); Jeremy Brown and Matthew D. Johnson, eds., *Maoism at the Grassroots: Everyday Life in China's Era of High Socialism* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 2015).
55. In his influential study *Critique of Everyday Life*, Henri Lefebvre shows us the omnipresence of the everyday and its potential for resistance and subversion. See Henri Lefebvre, *Critique of Everyday Life*, vols. 1–3, trans. John Moore (London: Verso, 2008).
56. See Du, "Jeep Girls and American GIs."
57. See Zach Fredman and Judd Kinzley, eds., *Uneasy Allies: Sino-American Relations at the Grassroots, 1937–1949* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2024); J. Megan Greene, *Building a Nation at War: Transnational Knowledge Networks and the Development of China during and after World War II* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 2023); Charlotte Brooks, *American Exodus: Second-Generation Chinese Americans in China, 1901–1949* (Oakland: University of California Press, 2019); Jack Neubauer, *The Adoption Plan: China and the Remaking of Global Humanitarianism* (New York: Columbia University Press, 2025). For people-to-people diplomacy in the People's Republic of China, see Terry Lautz, *Americans in China: Encounters with the People's Republic* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2022); Pete Millwood, *Improbable Diplomats: How Ping-Pong Players, Musicians, and Scientists Remade US-China Relations* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2023); Kazushi Minami, *How Americans and Chinese Transformed US-China Relations during the Cold War* (Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, 2024).
58. Michel de Certeau points out the agencies of the ordinary man as he reappropriates the preexisting material of language, symbols, and material goods in everyday situations of "dwelling, walking, spelling, reading, shopping, cooking." These "tactics" in everyday practices are influenced by the law of external forces but never wholly determined by their rules and products. See Michel de Certeau, *The Practice of Everyday Life* (Oakland: University of California Press, 1984); Michel de Certeau, Fredric Jameson, and Carl Lovitt, "On the Oppositional Practices of Everyday Life," *Social Text* 3 (1980): 3–43.

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1 Occupying China

1. Minjian yingxiang 民間影像, ed., *Wo de 1945: Kangzhan shengli huiyilu* 我的1945: 抗戰勝利回憶錄 [*My 1945: Memoirs of victory against Japan*] (Shanghai: Tongji daxue chubanshe, 2017), 305.
2. "Paul Child to Charles Child, March–October 1945," Julia Child Papers, 1925–1993. MC 644, box 4, folder 57. Schlesinger Library, Radcliffe Institute, Harvard University.
3. Zhang Xianwen 張憲文 and Zhang Yufa 張玉法, eds., *Zhonghua minguo zhuantishi* 中華民國專題史 [*Special history of the Republic of China*], vol. 16 (Nanjing: Nanjing University Press, 2015), 21.
4. Gallicchio, *The Scramble for Asia*; Spector, *In the Ruins of Empire*.
5. Shen Yunlong 沈雲龍, ed., *Zhongguo zhanqu Zhongguo lujun zongsilingbu chuli Riben touxiang wenjian huibian* 中國戰區中國陸軍總司令部處理日本投降文件匯編 [*Compilation of Japanese surrender documents handled by the Chinese Army General Headquarters in the China Theater*] (Taipei: Wenhai chubanshe, 1945), 56.
6. Yu Huamin 于化民, "Dui Ri shouxiang quan zhengduan beijing xia de Zhonggong yu Mei guanxi" 對日受降權爭端背景下的中共與美關係 [CCP-American relations amid disputes over the right to accept Japan's surrender], *Shixue yuekan* 史學月刊 12 (2011): 64–78.
7. See Van de Ven, *China at War*, 209–215.
8. Ronald H. Spector, "After Hiroshima: Allied Military Occupations and the Fate of Japan's Empire, 1945–1947," *Journal of Military History* 69, no. 4 (2005): 1121–1136; Gillin and Etter, "Staying On," 497–518.
9. Communists claimed that they alone pursued justice and proper punishments of the Japanese war criminals in their liberated areas, rather than the Nationalists or the Americans. See "Zhen shouxiang yu jia shouxiang" 真受降與假受降 [Real and fake acceptance of surrender], *Xinhua ribao* 新華日報, December 25, 1945; Barak Kushner, *Men to Devils, Devils to Men: Japanese War Crimes and Chinese Justice* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 2015).
10. Shaw, *The United States Marines in North China*; Clark, *Treading Softly*, 131–165.
11. Lori Watt, *When Empire Comes Home: Repatriation and Reintegration in Postwar Japan* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 2009), 51–52.
12. Michael Parkyn, "Operation BELEAGUER: The Marine III Amphibious Corps in North China, 1945–49," *Marine Corps Gazette* 85, no. 7 (2001): 32–37; United States Joint Chiefs of Staff, *Joint Publication 3–0* (Washington, DC: US Government Printing Office, 1995), vii.
13. See Melvyn Leffler, *A Preponderance of Power: National Security, the Truman Administration, and the Cold War* (Stanford, CA: Stanford University Press, 1992), 128; The Secretary of State to the Secretary of Defense (Forrestal), August 4, 1948, *FRUS, 1948*, Document 205; Reist, "The American Military Advisory Missions to China, 1945–1949"; Babb, "The Harmony of Yin and Yank."
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17. Shaw, *The United States Marines in North China*, 25.
18. Shaw, *The United States Marines in North China*, 5.
19. John B. Simms Memoir, COLL/3308, 59–60, MCHD.
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21. Henry Aplington, "Sunset in the East: A Memoir of North China, 1945–1947," *Journal of American–East Asian Relations* 3, no. 2 (1994): 161.
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23. Simms Memoir, 4.
24. Curley Papers, 117.
25. E. B. Sledge, *China Marine: An Infantryman's Life after World War II* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2002), 40–41.
26. Robert H. Barrow, oral history transcript, session 2, MCHD.
27. For example, see Curley Papers, 117; Lemuel C. Shepherd Jr., oral history transcript, 96, MCHD.
28. Curley Papers, 124.
29. Curley Papers, 124.
30. Shepherd, oral history transcript, 96.
31. Gillin and Etter, "Staying On."
32. Barney Rosset, "12 September 1945 Letter to Parents: Page 2," *Columbia University Libraries Online Exhibitions*, https://exhibitions.library.columbia.edu/exhibits/show/rosset/item/7665.
33. Sledge, *China Marine*, 32–34.
34. Curley Papers, 131.
35. Curley Papers, 135.
36. Elmo R. Zumwalt, *On Watch: A Memoir* (New York: *The New York Times*, 1976), 10–14.
37. Uchida Ginnosuke was later tried by the Nationalist Government and eventually executed in Sugamo Prison by Allied authorities in 1951.

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38. Chen Zhanbiao 陳占彪, ed., *Sandao quanfu riyue chongguang: kangzhan shengli shouxiang xianchang* 三島蜷伏日月重光: 抗戰勝利受降現場 [*Islands coiling, sun and moon remerge: Scenes of accepting surrender after victory in the War of Resistance*] (Beijing: Sanlian shudian, 2015), 406–407; Oral history of Bill Hook, transcript, Old China Hands Oral History Project Collection, California State University, Northridge (OCHOH).
39. Curley Papers, 142. But seen from the site pictures, American representatives wore casual khakis with ties.
40. Chen Songqing 陳松卿, "Qingdao shouxiang jianwen" 青島受降見聞 [Impressions of the Qingdao surrender ceremony], in Zhongguo renmin zhengzhi xieshang huiyi Qingdaoshi weiyuanhui wenshi ziliao yanjiu weiyuanhui 中國人民政治協商會議青島市委員會文史資料研究委員會, eds., *Qingdao wenshi ziliao di 9 ji* 青島文史資料第9輯 [*Historical literature of Qingdao*, vol. 9] (1992), 196–198.
41. Shepherd, oral history transcript, 98–99.
42. Chen, *Sandao quanfu riyue chonguang*, 406–407.
43. Chen, "Qingdao shouxiang jianwen," 196–198.
44. See Shen, *Zhongguo zhanqu Zhongguo lujun zongsilingbu chuli Riben touxiang wenjian huibian*, 100–101. The Nationalist Government also sent a representative to Hong Kong, where Chiang initially insisted on Chinese accepting the surrender but later agreed to a British-held one. Although Chiang's initial instruction stated no formal ceremonies were to be held, except in Taiwan and northern Vietnam, in reality many took place, though varying in scale and complexity.
45. Shepherd, oral history transcript, 96.
46. Although the Nationalist Government rejected the Japanese officers' request to keep their swords, the Japanese forces were permitted to carry weapons for self-protection until they arrived at the repatriation ships. For Sino-Japanese negotiations over the sword arrangement and the ceremony program, see the accounts by two key figures involved: Gangcun Ningci 岡村寧次 (Okamura Yasuji), *Gangcun Ningci huiyilu* 岡村寧次回憶錄 [*Memoirs of Okamura Yasuji*] (Beijing: Zhonghua shuju, 1981), 47–55; and Leng Xin 冷欣, *Cong canjia kangzhan dao mudu Rijun touxiang* 從參加抗戰到目睹日軍投降 [*From joining the war of resistance to witnessing the Japanese surrender*] (Taipei: Zhuanji wenxue chubanshe, 1967), 190–213.
47. On these different maneuvers, see John W. Dower, *Embracing Defeat: Japan in the Wake of World War II* (New York: W. W. Norton & Company, 2000), 41; Werner Sollors, *The Temptation of Despair: Tales of the 1940s* (Cambridge, MA: Belknap Press, 2014), 187.
48. Marc Gallicchio, *Unconditional: The Japanese Surrender in World War II* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2023), 169.
49. Curley Paper, 142.
50. Shepherd, oral history transcript, 99.
51. Directive by President Truman to the Supreme Commander for the Allied Powers in Japan (MacArthur), August 15, 1945, *FRUS, 1945*, Document 390.

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52. See Lemuel C. Shepherd Jr., personal papers, COLL/1113, Box 2, MCHD; Bevan G. Cass, ed., *History of the Sixth Marine Division* (Washington, DC: Infantry Journal Press, 1948), 234–235.
53. Lü Wenzhen 呂文貞, "Zhongguo dishiyi zhanqu huabei dui Ri shouxiang gailüe" 中國第十一戰區華北對日受降概略 [Overview of the Japanese surrender to 11th Chinese War Area in North China], *Jornal San Wa Ou* 新華澳報, September 10, 2015. Original written in 1954.
54. See Lü, "Zhongguo dishiyi zhanqu huabei dui Ri shouxiang gailüe."
55. Robin Wagner-Pacifici, *The Art of Surrender: Decomposing Sovereignty at Conflict's End* (Chicago, IL: University of Chicago Press, 2005), ix–x, 59.
56. Curley Papers, 31.
57. Shepherd, oral history transcript, 99.
58. Shepherd, oral history transcript, 98.
59. Sledge, *China Marine*, 36; Shepherd, oral history transcript, 96–103.
60. Shaw, *The United States Marines in North China*, 8.
61. Shepherd, oral history transcript, 98–99.
62. Shaw, *The United States Marines in North China*, 8.
63. Clark, *Treading Softly*, 135. Another CCP official could have been mistaken as Zhou, as this meeting is not mentioned in the *Zhou Enlai nianpu* [Zhou Enlai Chronicle] or Zhou's major biographies.
64. Frederick W. Mote, *China and the Vocation of History in the Twentieth Century: A Personal Memoir* (Princeton, NJ: East Asian Library Journal in association with Princeton University Press, 2010), 36–39.
65. Peck, oral history transcript, 150–151; Shaw, *The United States Marines in North China*, 9–10.
66. Incidentally, the total number of navy and marine personnel casualties is same as in the Boxer Movement from June 1900 to May 1901. See "Casualties: U.S. Navy and Marine Corps Personnel Killed and Wounded in Wars, Conflicts, Terrorist Acts, and Other Hostile Incidents," U.S. Navy Naval History and Heritage Command, www.history.navy.mil/content/history/nhhc/research/library/online-reading-room/title-list-alphabetically/c/casualties1.html.
67. Yang Kuisong 楊奎松, "1946 nian Anping shijian zhenxiang yu Zhonggong duiMei jiaoshe" 1946年安平事件真相與中共對美交涉 [The truth about the 1946 Anping Incident and CCP-US negotiations], *Shixue yuekan* 史學月刊 4 (2011): 60–74; Zuo Chengying 左承穎 and Yang Yuqing 楊雨青, "Hequ hecong: Anping shijian hou guogongMei sanfang dui zhuHua Meijun de yinying" 何去何從: 安平事件后國共美三方對駐華美軍的因應 [What next: Communist, Nationalist, and American responses to US forces in China post-Anping Incident], *Junshi lishi yanjiu* 軍事歷史研究 34, no. 1 (2020): 76–86.
68. Final Report on the Anping Incident, October 8, 1946, *FRUS, 1946*, Document 168.
69. The two were assassinated, potentially with guns supplied by the US Navy to the Nationalist secret service. See Peck, *Two Kinds of Time*, 723.
70. "Wei dui Anping shijian yao weiwen xiang Meijun shoushang shibing dengshi gei shishehuiju de miling" 為對安平事件要慰問向美軍受傷士兵等

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72. Theodore H. White and Annalee Jacoby, *Thunder Out of China* (New York: William Sloane Associates, Inc., 1946), 296.
73. General Marshall to President Truman, August 16, 1946, *FRUS, 1946*, Document 20.
74. Frank and Shaw, *Victory and Occupation*, 625–627; Waijiaobu zhu PingJin tepaiyuan gongshu 外交部駐平津特派員公署 [Office of the Commissioner of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs in Beijing and Tianjin], "Xinhe Meijun beiji'an" 新河美軍被擊案 [The attack on the US Army at Xinhe], J0010-1–000616. April 1947, TMA; Wu Hong 武宏, "Yexi Meijun danyaoku" 夜襲美軍彈藥庫 [Night raid on US ammunition dump], in Zhengxie Tianjinshi Ninghexian weiyuanhui wenshi ziliao weiyuanhui 政協天津市寧河縣委員會文史資料委員會, eds., *Ninghe wenshi ziliao di 2 ji* 寧河文史資料第2輯 [*Historical literature of Ninghe*, vol. 2] (1991), 137–138; Yang Bingheng 楊秉亨, "Yexi Meijun danyaoku de qianqianhouhou" 夜襲美軍彈藥庫的前前後後 [The complete story of the night raid on the US ammunition dump], in Zhengxie Tianjinshi ninghexian weiyuanhui wenshi ziliao weiyuanhui, eds., *Ninghe wenshi ziliao di 3 ji* 寧河文史資料第3輯 [*Historical literature of Ninghe*, vol. 3] (1995), 87–93.
75. Frank and Shaw, *Victory and Occupation*, 618–619; "Attack by Dissident Forces on First Marine Division (Reinf) Ammunition Supply Point at *HSIN-HO*, Report of October 9, 1946," General George C. Marshall's Mission to China, 1945–1947, Archives Unbound, Gale Primary Sources, NARA.
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78. Sledge, *China Marine*, 35–38.
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88. Norman G. Albert, *Yohouse from a Boot to a China Marine* (Bloomington, IN: Trafford, 2011), 60–63.
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101. Letter to the US Embassy in Nanjing, December 18, 1946, RG 84, Box 19, NARA.
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103. Sledge, *China Marine*, 40.
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106. See Yang, "1946 nian Anping shijian zhenxiang yu Zhonggong duiMei jiaoshe."
107. Birch, who later became the figurehead for the famous right-wing John Birch Society during the heyday of the Cold War, was killed by Communist guerrillas in Shandong shortly after the end of WWII. See Terry Lautz, *John Birch: A Life* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2016).
108. Yu, "Dui Ri shouxiang quan zhengduan beijing xia de Zhonggong yu Mei guanxi," 77.

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109. Mao Zedong, "Talk with the American Correspondent Anna Louise Strong," in *Selected Works of Mao Tse-tung*, vol. IV (Beijing: Foreign Languages Press, 1961), 97–102.
110. Peck, *Two Kinds of Time*, 723–724.
111. The Nationalist Government formed ten military courts for adjudication of war crimes in December 1945 and held the earliest trials in April 1946. See Liu Tong 劉統, "Guomin zhengfu shenpan Riben zhanfan gaishu (1945–1949)" 國民政府審判日本戰犯概述 (1945–1949) [Overview of the National Government's trial of Japanese war criminals (1945–1949)], *Minguo dang an* 民國檔案 1 (2014): 72–84.
112. Philip R. Piccigallo, *The Japanese on Trial: Allied War Crimes Operations in the East, 1945–1951* (Austin: University of Texas Press, 2021), 68–74; Xu Jiajun 徐家俊, "Tilanqiao jianyu: Zhongguo jingnei diyige shenpan Riben zhanfan de changsuo" 提籃橋監獄: 中國境內第一個審判日本戰犯的場所 [Tilanqiao jail: China's first venue for the trials of Japanese war criminals], *KangRi zhanzheng yanjiu* 抗日戰爭研究 4 (1998): 215.
113. Waijiaobu 外交部, "Mengjun zongbu yaoqiu yindu zhanfan Gangcun Ningci Songjing Taijiulang dengren" 盟軍總部要求引渡戰犯岡村寧次松井太久郎等人 [Allied headquarters requests the extradition of war criminals Okamura Yasuji, Matsui Takurō, and Others], 052–073, 1945–1948, 020–010117–0023, AHA.
114. "Fliers Burned Alive by Japs, Court Is Told," *The Washington Post*, February 12, 1946; "Tells How Japs Stirred Chinese to Strike Yanks," *Chicago Daily Tribune*, February 13, 1946.
115. "Prosecution's Brief in Opposition to Defense 'Special Plea' on Lack of Jurisdiction," *United States of America v. Masataka et al.*, Shanghai, China, February 14, 1946. United Nations War Crimes Commission, www.legal-tools.org/doc/0b3a09; "Meijun xushen Rizhanfan" 美軍續審日戰犯 [US military continues the trial of Japanese war criminals], *Shen bao* 申報, February 12, 1946.
116. The major spy ring was led by Lieutenant Colonel Lothar Eisenträger (alias Ludwig Ehrhardt), chief of Nazi intelligence, including headquarters in Shanghai and branches in Beijing and Guangzhou. He was sentenced to life imprisonment for conducting espionage for the Japanese after Germany's surrender. The investigation was led by journalist-turned-marine captain and Office of Strategic Services field commander Frank Farrell, who was awarded a Legion of Merit for the service. See Henry R. Lieberman, "Ehrhardt, German Spy in Orient, and 20 Aides Sentenced in China; Leader Gets Life Term from United States Army Commission for Aiding Japanese – Two Receive Thirty Years," *The New York Times*, January 18, 1947.
117. Waijiaobu, "Mengjun zongbu yaoqiu yindu zhanfan Gangcun Ningci Songjing Taijiulang dengren," 0193.
118. Kushner, *Men to Devils, Devils to Men*, 69–107.
119. America's continuing insistence on extraterritoriality was also "justified" by the long-existing belief that China was under lawless corrupt governments, a discourse of "legal Orientalism" that continued well into the Cold War

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era. See Teemu Ruskola, *Legal Orientalism: China, the United States, and Modern Law* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 2013).

120. Waijiaobu, "Mengjun zongbu yaoqiu yindu zhanfan Gangcun Ningci Songjing Taijiulang dengren," 0192.
121. Waijiaobu, "Yindu zhanfan fagui" 引渡戰犯法規 [Extradition laws for war criminals], 020–010117–0002, 106–7, September 16, 1946, AHA.
122. Germany maintained extensive commercial investments in China for decades and enjoyed close relations with the Nationalist Government, which admired German advisors. This partnership continued until Hitler shifted support to Japan. Significant German communities were established in major cities, particularly in the former German colony of Qingdao.
123. "Ott, Eugen and Ott Files," General George C. Marshall's Mission to China, 1945–1947, Archives Unbound, Gale Primary Sources, RG 59: General Records of the Department of State, Lot Files 54 D 270, NARA.
124. The trial centered on the killing of three American flyers involved in the famed Doolittle Raid over Tokyo in 1942, who had bailed out or crash-landed in eastern China. In Shanghai, four Japanese army officers were found guilty and sentenced to five to nine years of hard labor. These sentences, justified on the ground that the officers were simply obeying orders from higher up, were deemed unexpectedly lenient. See "4 Get Jail Terms in Doolittle Case," *The New York Times*, April 16, 1946.
125. Waijiaobu, "Mengjun zongbu yaoqiu yindu zhanfan Gangcun Ningci Songjing Taijiulang dengren," 0134–140; Waijiaobu, "Yindu zhanfan fagui."
126. Waijiaobu, "Mengjun zongbu yaoqiu yindu zhanfan Gangcun Ningci Songjing Taijiulang dengren," 0175–0177, 1946.
127. For more details on the conflicted claims and confusing exchanges as well as Chiang's silence on this issue, see Liu Ping 劉萍, "Zhanhou Meijun zaiHua chuzhi zhanfan wenti chutan" 戰後美軍在華處置戰犯問題初探 [Preliminary study on postwar American military's handling of war criminals in China], *Minguo dang an* 民國檔案 3 (2016): 128–138.
128. For Chinese trials of Japanese war criminals, see Kushner, *Men to Devils, Devils to Men*, 137–184.
129. Waijiaobu, "Yindu zhanfan fagui."
130. Waijiaobu, "Mengjun zongbu yaoqiu yindu zhanfan Gangcun Ningci Songjing Taijiulang dengren," 0175–0177, 1946. The two sides also agreed to pursue the arrest and extradition of non-enemy war criminals through regular diplomatic channels.
131. Waijiaobu, "Meijun Zhongxiao William K. Evans (Ai Wensi) an (yi)" 美軍中校 William K. Evans(艾文思)案(一) [Case of US Lieutenant Colonel William K. Evans (1)], 020–050210–0032, 25, AHA.
132. See Zach Fredman, "Smuggling, Military Jurisdiction and the Remaking of US Empire in Postwar China," in Fredman and Kinzley, eds., *Uneasy Allies*, 254–270.
133. For the legacies of war crimes trials and postwar justice in East Asia, see Barak Kushner, *The Geography of Injustice: East Asia's Battle between Memory and History* (Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, 2024).

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134. "Statement by Admiral Charles M. Cooke, Jr.," September 13, 1946, RG 84, Box 19, NARA.

2 Sensory Contact

1. Sledge, *China Marine*, 17–20.
2. Simms Memoir, 2–3.
3. For the usage of sensory history in studying international relations, see Mark M. Smith, *Sensing the Past: Seeing, Hearing, Smelling, Tasting, and Touching in History* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2007); Andrew J. Rotter, *Empires of the Senses: Bodily Encounters in Imperial India and the Philippines* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2019); Susan L. Carruthers, "Latrines as the Measure of Men: American Soldiers and the Politics of Disgust in Occupied Europe and Asia," *Diplomatic History* 42, no. 1 (2018): 109–137.
4. Correspondences between Consul in Tianjin and Counselor of Embassy in Nanjing, August 1946, RG 84, Box 33, NARA.
5. Female personnel after the war were limited to a small number from the Women's Army Corps. See Mai Tian 邁天, "Meiguo nübing zai Shanghai" 美國女兵在上海 [American female soldiers in Shanghai], *Shen bao*, December 17, 1945.
6. See Louis Morton, "Army and Marines on the China Station: A Study in Military and Political Rivalry," *Pacific Historical Review* 29, no. 1 (1960): 51–73; Marolda, "The U.S. Navy and the Chinese Civil War, 1945–1952."
7. Michael H. Hunt, "The Forgotten Occupation: Peking, 1900–1901," *Pacific Historical Review* 48, no. 4 (1979): 501–529.
8. See Clark, *Treading Softly*.
9. Babb, "The Harmony of Yin and Yank," 228.
10. Clark, *Treading Softly*, 48.
11. Curley Papers, 113–137.
12. John Hersey, "Letter from Shanghai," *New Yorker* (February 9, 1946): 82–90.
13. Gerald Thomas manuscript, folder E17, 43, MCHD.
14. Samuel B. Griffith, II, oral history transcript, 168, MCHD.
15. Omar T. Pfeiffer, oral history transcript, 292–299, MCHD.
16. Griffith, oral history transcript, 169.
17. Oral history of Thomas Nallen, transcript, 14, OCHOH. For 1942–1946 US Military Base Pay Charts, see www.navycs.com/charts/1942-military-pay-chart.html.
18. Clark, *Treading Softly*, 156.
19. "North China Hunting," *China Weekly Review* (April 20, 1946): 161.
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21. Cass, *History of the Sixth Marine Division*, 214.
22. "China," *Outfit* 1 no. 52 (November 19, 1945): 14.
23. Aplington, "Sunset in the East: A Memoir of North China, 1945–1947," 155–175.
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41. Barrow, oral history transcript, session 2.

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50. Simms Memoir, 22.
51. Sledge, *China Marine*, 47–49.
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78. Tao, "'Hao Pu Hao?'"
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135. Because Liu was an underage orphan, a lawyer had to arrange a Chinese man named Liu to pose as his biological father and relinquish his paternal rights to finalize the adoption paperwork in China. See Suzanne Liu Taylor, "The Life of Liu," Old China Hands Unpublished Manuscripts, California State University, Northridge.
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3 Embodied Vehicles

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3. Zhu Junle 祝君樂, "Jeepcar yu Jeep girl" Jeep Car 與Jeep Girl [Jeep car and Jeep girl], *Xinwen tiandi* 新聞天地 3 (February 20, 1945): 16–17.
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11. Luo, "Meiguo de jipuche."
12. "Wanneng jipuka" 萬能吉普卡 [Omnipotent Jeep car], *Wen fan* 文飯 (1946): 3; Chun Hua 春華 trans., "Wanneng de jipuche" 萬能的吉普車

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[The omnipotent Jeep], *Shishi zazhi* 時事雜誌 1 (1946): 18–19; Meiguo xinwen chu 美國新聞處, "Jipuka ke fuzhu nongye" 吉普卡可輔助農業 [Jeep can assist in agriculture], *Guofang yuekan* 2, no. 3 (1947): 1.

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33. "Hengchong zhizhuang" 橫衝直撞 [Rampage], *Xinsheng Zhongguo* 新生中國 1, no. 5 (January 1946): 8.
34. "Meijunche zhuangshang xingren" 美軍車撞傷行人 [American military vehicle injuries pedestrians], *Shen bao*, December 17, 1945.
35. "Hongmao qiangdao de xuezhai" 紅毛強盜的血債 [Blood debts owed by red-haired foreign devils], *Renmin ribao* 人民日報, October 18, 1946.
36. "Jiangqu zawen" 蔣區雜文 [Miscellaneous essays on the Nationalist-controlled areas], *Renmin ribao*, November 14, 1946.
37. "Jin Meijun jipuche pengshang xingluren, Chen Yongzhen shangzhongzhisi" 津美軍吉普車碰傷行路人, 陳永珍傷重致死 [US military Jeep in Tianjin injures pedestrian Chen Yongzhen, who subsequently died], *Yishi bao* 益世報, November 8, 1946.
38. "Junyong jipuche kaishang xingrendao, yasi liangren shang yiren" 軍用吉普車開上行人道, 壓死兩人傷一人 [Military Jeep mounts curb, crushes two and injures one], *Dagong bao* (Ta Kung Pao) 大公報, October 16, 1947.
39. "Meijun cheliang zhaoshi ji sibai yu jian" 美軍車輛肇事計四百餘件 [American military vehicles had over four hundred accidents], *Shen bao*, January 12, 1946.
40. Hersey, "Letter from Shanghai," 82.
41. There are different explanations for the origin of the name Jeep. Another popular version is that GP, general purpose, sounds similar to the word Jeep. See Seelinger, "From the Jeep to the Humvee"; Patrick R. Foster, *The Story of Jeep* (Iola, WI: Krause, 2004), 34–91.
42. German, "Economic Convergence and the Celebration of Mass Production"; The Staff, "The 'Jeep' Post-War," 102–109.
43. Du Yun 渡雲, "Jipuche muzhongwuren, laobaixing xingming jiaoguan" 吉普車目中無人, 老百姓性命交關 [Jeep ignores everyone, people's lives at stake], *Shen bao*, July 23, 1946.
44. In modern warfare, armor and equipment extend soldiers' capacity for violence, provide protection, and allow physical invulnerability. For conceptualizations of a motorized body, see Despina Kakoudaki, *Anatomy of*

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a Robot: Literature, Cinema, and the Cultural Work of Artificial People (New Brunswick, NJ: Rutgers University Press, 2014), 69–113; Donna J. Haraway, "A Cyborg Manifesto: Science, Technology, and Socialist-Feminism in the Late 20th Century," in *Manifestly Haraway* (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 2016), 3–90.

45. Xu Zisun 徐紫蓀, "Dangxin jipuche" 當心吉普車 [Watch out for the Jeep], *Ertong banyue kan* 兒童半月刊 1 (1946): 3.
46. Xiao Jiang 曉江, "Xue! Zongli tongxiangqian jipu fanshen" 血!總理銅像前吉普翻身 [Blood! Jeep overturns in front of the Premier's statue], *Hai tao* 海濤 2 (March 3, 1946): 1.
47. Charles Tsao, "Kill for Fun?" *The China Weekly Review* (October 5, 1946): 125.
48. Lone-Portia, "Accident," *The China Weekly Review* (December 25, 1948): 79.
49. See Immerwahr, *How to Hide an Empire*; Maier, *Among Empires*.
50. In the late Qing period, both systems were adopted, depending on the locales and which Western country had a larger influence in that part of China. Left-hand driving was used during the New Life Movement in the 1930s, as well as in Manchuria and the Japanese-occupied areas.
51. "Benfu guanyu cheliang gaikao youshi de bugao" 本府關於車輛改靠右駛的佈告 [Notice of change to right-side driving], 1945, Q1-6–217, SMA; Hersey, "Letter from Shanghai," 82.
52. Wan Er 莞爾, "Wei le jipuche" 為了吉普車 [For the Jeep], *Hai jing* 海晶 11 (1946): 12.
53. "Who's Responsible?" *The China Weekly Review* (June 11, 1949): 30.
54. "Who's Responsible?"
55. "Traffic Snarls," *The China Weekly Review* (August 10, 1946): 243.
56. "Shanghai's Traffic Police," *The China Weekly Review* (September 14, 1946): 39.
57. "Shanghai's Traffic Police."
58. "Traffic Snarls."
59. Simms Memoir, 16.
60. Sledge, *China Marine*, 46.
61. "Xianbing diyituan Meijun jianyi" 憲兵第一團美軍建議 [Recommendations from the First Battalion of the American military police], October 20, 1946, 0019/001/00469/0086, QMA.
62. "Guanyu chuli cheliang chuanzhi zhaohuo wenti yu disan fangmian silingbu deng de laiwang wenshu" 關於處理車輛船隻肇禍問題與第三方面司令部等的來往文書 [Correspondence on handling vehicle and vessel accidents with the Third Theatre Command], 1946, Q1-6–638, SMA.
63. "Guanyu chuli Meijun ouru cheliang qichuan zhaohuo deng wenti yu Jingchaju Gongwuju deng de laiwang wenshu" 關於處理美軍毆辱、車輛汽船肇禍等問題與警察局、工務局等的來往文書 [Correspondence on handling US military assaults and vehicle and steamship accidents with the Police Bureau, Public Works Bureau, and others], 1945–1946, Q1-6–415, SMA; "Guanyu Meijun cheliang qishi de wenjian" 關於美軍車輛啟事的文件 [Documents about the notice on American military vehicles], 1946,

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J181-010–00289, J181-010–00290, Beijing Municipal Archives (BMA) 北京市檔案館.

64. "Shanghaishi Jingchaju Huangpuqu guanyu Meijun zhaohuo wenjian" 上海市警察局黃浦區關於美軍肇禍文件 [Documents from the Huangpu District Police Bureau of Shanghai on American military incidents], 1946, Q132-2–148, SMA.
65. "Who's Responsible?"
66. "ZhuHua Meijun zhaoshi (wu)" 駐華美軍肇事(五) [American military misconduct in China (5)], 020–050204–0043, 106, 1947, AHA.
67. Yang, "United States Marines in Qingdao," 149–155.
68. "Guanyu chuli cheliang chuanzhi zhaohuo wenti yu disan fangmian silingbu deng de laiwang wenshu."
69. Hersey, "Letter from Shanghai," 82–90.
70. Wei 衛, "Jipuche yu renliche" 吉普車與人力車 [Jeep and rickshaw], *Jingji zhoubao* 經濟周報 3, no. 1 (1946): 4.
71. Yao Han 耀漢, "Shoudu de renliche" 首都的人力車 [Rickshaws in the capital], *Gongshang xinwen* 工商新聞 20 (1947): 8.
72. While leftist literature portrayed rickshaw men as the most vulnerable victims of poverty and a symbol of the oppressive social system, newspapers included tragic and comic incidents involving pullers who were "paupers or beasts of burden" as well as those who stole from passengers and fought in street brawls. See David Strand, *Rickshaw Beijing: City People and Politics in the 1920s* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1989), 20–37.
73. Yan Changhong 嚴昌洪, "Jindai renli chefu qunti yishi tanxi" 近代人力車夫群體意識探析 [Analysis of the group consciousness of modern rickshaw pullers], *Huazhong shifan daxue xuebao* 華中師範大學學報, no. 6 (2007): 67–68.
74. Reports from the time also referred to him as Zang Daerzi and Zang Dayaozi.
75. Guo, "The Climax of Sino-American Relations," 279–280.
76. Yao, "Shoudu de renliche," 8.
77. "Shanghaishi cheliang dengji," 1947, 1948.
78. Wei, "Jipuche yu renliche."
79. Albert, *Yohouse from a Boot to a China Marine*, 76–81.
80. Sledge, *China Marine*, 46.
81. Simms Memoir, 7.
82. The minstrel show was the most popular entertainment form in nineteenth-century America and remained popular for more than a century beginning in the 1830s. See Eric J. Lott, *Love and Theft: Blackface Minstrelsy and the American Working Class* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1993).
83. Huang, *Guanyu Meiguo bing*, 85.
84. Hersey, "Letter from Shanghai," 86; "Shanghai 'huangbaoche huanghou' jingsai" 上海"黃包車皇后"競賽 [The Stars and Stripes rickshaw derby], *Shanghai tuhua xinwen* 上海圖畫新聞 [*The Illustrated Shanghai News*] 6 (1946): 19.
85. Glist, *China Mailbag Uncensored*, 209.

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86. Tang Bo 湯波, "Huangbaoche huanghou" 黃包車皇后 [Rickshaw queen], *Xinhua ribao*, December 2, 1945; "Niuyue juxing renliche bisai" 紐約舉行人力車比賽 [New York holds rickshaw race], *Shen bao*, April 3, 1946; "Jiang Ermao fuMei xinwen nai Hu Meijun ezuoju" 姜二毛赴美新聞乃滬美軍惡作劇 [News of Jiang Ermao going to America is a GI prank], *Dagong bao*, April 5, 1946.
87. "Himalayan He-men," *Victory: The Weekly for India Command* 10, no. 1 (January 29, 1944): 41–44.
88. "R. N. Official Photograph," *Pacific Post*, September 25, 1945. For British leisure activities in Hong Kong, see Mark Hampton, *Hong Kong and British Culture, 1945–97* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2016), 72–99.
89. J. Heming, "South Africa as I Saw It," *Union Jack*, April 8, 1946.
90. Untitled photograph, *Good Morning: The Daily Paper of the Submarine Branch*, 653 (1944): 4.
91. "Revelry and Rivalry in Shanghai," *Salt* 11, no. 10 (January 14, 1946): 23; Mark Wilkinson, "American Military Misconduct in Shanghai and the Chinese Civil War: The Case of Zang Dayaozi," *Journal of American–East Asian Relations* 17, no. 2 (2010): 146–173.
92. Sledge, *China Marine*, 27–28.
93. Lao She 老舍, *Luotuo Xiangzi* 駱駝祥子 [*Rickshaw boy*] (Beijing: Renmin wenxue chubanshe, 2019), 220.
94. Shi Jun 施君, "Renli chefu de gongchao" 人力車夫的工潮 [Rickshaw puller's strike], *Kaiming shaonian* 開明少年 10 (April 16, 1946): 56; "Business Foot-Notes," *The China Weekly Review* (June 29, 1946): 109.
95. See e.g. "Cha renli chefu bushou zhixu, bing shiyou ouru Meijun" 查人力車夫不守秩序, 並時有毆辱美軍 [Investigate rickshaw pullers not maintaining order and occasionally assaulting American troops], July 8, 1947, A0019/003/00253/0101, QMA; "Guanyu renli chefu ouji Meijun kache shibing de xunling" 關於人力車夫毆擊美軍卡車士兵的訓令 [Directive on rickshaw pullers assaulting American soldiers in military trucks], B0024/001/00498/0086, QMA; "Guanyu dui Meijun wuxu jiayibaohu de xunling" 關於對美軍務須加以保護的訓令 [Directive on the necessity to protect American troops], April 2, 1946, B0024/001/00676/0072, QMA.
96. See Yang, "United States Marines in Qingdao," 184.
97. Sledge, *China Marine*, 26–28.
98. "Shanghai canyihui guanyu shimin Zang Genbao ji qifu Zang Daerzi bei Meijun jibi qing jiaoshe de wenjian" 上海參議會關於市民臧根寶及其父臧大二子被美軍擊斃請交涉的文件 [Documents from the Shanghai Representative Council on citizen Zang Genbao's request regarding her father, Zang Daerzi, killed by American soldiers], 1947, Q109-1–1742, SMA. Due to the substantial difference between official and black-market exchange rates, the equivalent amount in US dollars is estimated to range from $3,600 to more than $10,000. This sum is considerably higher than the typical amounts requested for similar cases.
99. See "ZhuHua Meijun zhaoshi (er)" 駐華美軍肇事(二) [American military misconduct in China (2)], 020–050204–0040, 1–153, 1946, AHA.

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100. See "ZhuHua Meijun zhaoshi (er)"; Chang Tien Fu 張天福, "The Shanghai High Court's Reply," *The China Weekly Review* (June 7, 1947): 24–26.
101. See Wilkinson, "American Military Misconduct in Shanghai and the Chinese Civil War." Meanwhile, a Chinese court in Shanghai held a trial for Julian Larrinaga, convicting him of inciting Roderick to commit the crime and sentencing him to one year and nine months incarceration.
102. "Wei Meijun cisha renli chefu Su Mingcheng yi'an Qingdaoshi jingchaju cheng shizhengfu" 為美軍刺殺人力車夫蘇明誠一案青島市警察局呈市政府 [Qingdao Police Bureau report to the municipal government on the case of rickshaw puller Su Mingcheng, who was killed by an American soldier], April 5, 1947, in Zhonggong Qingdaoshiwei dangshiziliao zhengweihui bangongshi 中共青島市委黨史資料征委會辦公室, ed., *Qingdao dangshi ziliao di 4 ji* 青島黨史資料第四輯 [*Historical materials of the CCP in Qingdao*, vol. 4] (Qingdao: Qingdaoshi chubanshe, 1989), 269–270; "Guanyu zhizhi Shanda xuesheng yin Meijun cisha chefu yi'an faqi fanMeiyundong qingxing de daidian" 關於制止山大學生因美軍刺殺車夫一案發起反美運動情形的代電 [Cable on halting Shandong University students' anti-American movement over the case of a US solider stabbing a rickshaw puller], B0024/001/00502/0070, QMA.
103. "Shanghai difang fayuan youguan Meiguo duoshou dasi Zang Daerzi anjian" 上海地方法院有關美國舵手打死臧大二子案件 [Shanghai District Court case on the American sailor who killed Zang Daerzi], Q185-1–622, SMA; Yang, "United States Marines in Qingdao," 187.
104. See e.g. "Meijun you xingxiong" 美軍又行凶 [GIs commits another act of violence], *Wenhui bao* 文匯報, September 24, 1946; "Renli chefu dui Meijun de kongsu" 人力車夫對美軍的控訴 [Rickshaw puller's accusation against US military], *Wenhui bao*, September 29, 1946; "Shelun: Kangyi zhuHua Meijun de baoxing" 社論:抗議駐華美軍的暴行 [Editorial: Protesting the brutalities of the US military in China], *Xinhua ribao*, September 29, 1946; "Zang Daerzi canan" 臧大二子慘案 [Heinous murder of Zang Daerzi], *Xinhua ribao*, October 12, 1946.
105. Tang Hai 唐海, "Zang Dayaozi zhuan" 臧大咬子傳 [Biography of Zang Dayaozi], *Wen cui* 文萃 2, no. 18 (1947): 19–31.
106. See e.g. Xiao Feilübin 小菲律賓, "Wan Su Mingcheng" 挽蘇明誠 [Mourning Su Mingcheng], *Qing bao* 青報, April 10, 1947; "Qingdao Meijun cansha chefu, quanshi gejie fenqi kangyi" 青島美軍慘殺車夫, 全市各界紛起抗議 [Qingdao GI brutally murders rickshaw puller, citywide protests erupt], *Renmin ribao*, April 22, 1947; Chen Xueyi 陳學毅, "Meiyou chuntian de Qingdao" 沒有春天的青島 [Qingdao without spring], *Qun zhong* 群衆 1, no. 12 (1947): 19–20; "Xue zhang" 血賬 [Blood debts], *Xin wenhua* 新文化 3, no. 5 (1947): 2.
107. Wilkinson, "American Military Misconduct in Shanghai and the Chinese Civil War."
108. "Gei bei cisi de chefu" 給被刺死的車夫 [To the stabbed-to-death puller], in *Qingdao dangshi ziliao di 4 ji*, 410–412.
109. "Racial Tensions," *The China Weekly Review* (July 16, 1949): 138.

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110. For the Jeep as a new type of mobile modernity in postcolonial South Korea, see Han Sang Kim, "My Car Modernity: What the U.S. Army Brought to South Korean Cinematic Imagination about Modern Mobility," *Journal of Asian Studies* 75, no. 1 (2016): 63–85. For another example of an automobile's potency as a national cultural symbol and a postwar global commodity, see Bernhard Rieger, *The People's Car: A Global History of the Volkswagen Beetle* (Cambridge MA: Harvard University Press, 2013).
111. While the Jeep stood as an iconic symbol of victory, it was the "Red Flag" (*hongqi*) that later emerged as China's "national car" and became the standard parade vehicle for Communist leaders during National Day celebrations. See Wang, "Tiananmen guangchang de shiwuci yuebing."

4 Intimate Relations

1. Xian Ping 弦平, "Dushi shalong fengjing huipian" [Panels of an urban salon landscape] 都市沙龍風景繪片, *Gong dao* 公道 2 (1945): 8.
2. Xian, "Dushi shalong fengjing huipian."
3. American male soldiers also had sexual relations with Chinese men and visited male prostitutes in China. However, queer sexualities are not included in this chapter because of their lack of visibility in existing sources, which focus almost exclusively on Chinese women and American male soldiers. Such a contemporary framing reflects the long-standing sexual and gender biases within Chinese society. Meanwhile, American policies on soldiers' sexuality in this period were also based on heterosexual white males, while homosexual soldiers' sexuality was largely denied or suppressed. See Allan Bérubé, *Coming Out under Fire: The History of Gay Men and Women in World War II* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2010).
4. Haunted by defeat, Japanese male elites feared a sexual invasion by Americans and tried to build a "female blood wall" as a buffer zone. Meanwhile, the Korean government ghettoized small villages of camp towns to prevent American servicemen from entering Korean society, while financially benefiting from the sex trade. See Robert Kramm, *Sanitized Sex: Regulating Prostitution, Venereal Disease, and Intimacy in Occupied Japan, 1945–1952* (Oakland: University of California Press, 2017), 29–56; Na Young Lee, "The Construction of Military Prostitution in South Korea during the U.S. Military Rule, 1945–1948," *Feminist Studies* 33, no. 3 (2007): 453–481.
5. The Chinese term was also occasionally used to refer to Chinese women riding with Chinese soldiers, but this was rare. Though not exclusive, the English term "Jeep girls" in American military newspapers was mostly used to refer to Chinese women.
6. Modern Girl around the World Research Group, eds., *The Modern Girl around the World: Consumption, Modernity and Globalization* (Durham, NC: Duke University Press, 2008), 9.
7. See Fredman, *The Tormented Alliance*.

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8. Chen Minzhi 陳敏之, "Cong Yingguo taitai tandao jipu nülang" 從英國太太談到吉普女郎 [From English ladies to Jeep girls], *Nü sheng* 女聲 4, no. 1 (1946): 26.
9. Elizabeth J. Remick, *Regulating Prostitution in China: Gender and Local Statebuilding, 1900–1937* (Stanford, CA: Stanford University Press, 2014).
10. Peck, *Two Kinds of Time*, 518–550.
11. Robert Payne, *China Awake* (New York: Dodd, Mead and Company, 1947), 420.
12. Glist, *China Mailbag Uncensored*, 203.
13. Guo Gen 郭根, "Beiping sannian: Cong cansheng dao jiefang de yiduan lücheng" 北平三年: 從慘勝到解放的一段旅程 [Three years in Beijing: Journey from a pyrrhic victory to liberation], in San Mu 散木, ed., *Guo Gen wenlu* 郭根文錄 (Taiyuan: Sanjin, 2013), 94–97.
14. For example, see "Ye Baobao lunwei jipu nülang" 葉寶寶淪爲吉普女郎 [Ye Baobao turns into a Jeep girl], *Hai jing* 41 (1946): 8; Wei Tuo 韋陀, "Bai Guang: Zuo jipu nülang" 白光: 做吉普女郎 [Bai Guang: Becoming a Jeep girl], *Xin Shanghai* 新上海 12 (1946): 1; Feng Chun 逢春, "Chen Lu Qingdao zuo jipu nülang" 陳璐青島做吉普女郎 [Chen Lu becomes a Qingdao Jeep girl], *Hai yan* 海燕 2 (1946): 7; "Wang Wenlan yu Meijunguan tongju" 王文蘭與美軍官同居 [Wang Wenlan lives with an American officer], *Hai tao* 8 (1946): 3.
15. Yang Xiaohui 楊小慧, "Buneng wanquan zebei tamen" 不能完全責備她們 [Cannot entirely blame them], *Minzhu zhoukan* 民主週刊 1, no. 15 (1945): 14; Yun 雲, "Zhaodai mengjun de lianhuanhui shang" 招待盟軍的聯歡會上 [At the GI gala], *Fu nü* 婦女 3 (1946): 15.
16. Peck, *Two Kinds of Time*, 537–538; Huang, *Guanyu Meiguo bing*, 39.
17. See "Kunming ZhongMei nannü shejiao" 昆明中美男女社交 [Social intercourse between American men and Chinese women in Kunming], *Xinwen tiandi* 6 (June 20, 1945): 16–17.
18. Tao, "'Hao Pu Hao?'" 7.
19. Chen Er 陳耳, "Beiping Meijun de yihan?" 北平美軍的遺憾? [Regrets of the Beijing GIs?], *Qiri tan* 七日談 5 (1946): 11.
20. "Criticize GIs, Chinese Girls," *The Stars and Stripes* (London Edition), May 25, 1945.
21. "Chongqing shi jingchaju cheng shizhang dian" 重慶市警察局呈市長電 [Cable from Chongqing Municipal Police Bureau to the mayor], 1945, 0053-0010-00019-0000-099-000, Chongqing Municipal Archives (CMA) 重慶市檔案館.
22. "Guomin zhengfu junshi weiyuanhui xunling" 國民政府軍事委員會訓令 [National Military Council's orders], 1945, 0053-0010-00142-0200-293-000, CMA.
23. "Meihaijun shibing beiou an" 美海軍士兵被毆案 [Case of assault on an American Navy soldier], November 1946, microfilm Q131/-078, SMA.
24. "Tianjin Huanggong wuting jingchaju banshiyuan yu Meijun fasheng chongtu" 天津皇宮舞廳警察局辦事員與美軍發生衝突 [Police Bureau staff clashed with American soldiers at the Palace Dancehall in Tianjin], 1946. J181-024-03258, BMA; "Neierqu baogao Migaomei wuting you

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Zhongguoren yu Meibing wei nüwuke fasheng chongtu xingyou" 內二區報告米高梅舞廳有中國人與美兵為女舞客發生衝突形由 [District Two report on the fights between Chinese people and American soldiers over taxi dancers at the MGM Dancehall], 1946, J181-010-00299, BMA.

25. "Chongqing shi jingchaju xunling" 重慶市警察局訓令 [Order from the Chongqing Municipal Police Bureau], September 4, 1945, 0061-0011-00048-0000-019-000, CMA.
26. Lu 魯, "Nanjing jipu jinzai nülang" 南京吉普禁載女郎 [Nanjing bans Jeep riding for women], *Shen bao*, July 19, 1946.
27. A recent product since China opened higher education to women in the early twentieth century, "university student" was more than a credential or indicator of socioeconomic status. As one commentator put it, she will always be called a "female college student" no matter how long she is out of school. See Xi Lin 西林, "'Nüxuesheng' yu 'liuxuesheng'" "女學生"與"留學生" ["Female students" and "students returned from abroad"], *Xiandai pinglun* 現代評論 1, no. 20 (1925): 8–10. The more general group of "girl students" received considerable media attention and male scrutiny beginning in the late nineteenth century. See Pingyuan Chen, "Male Gaze/Female Students: Late Qing Education for Women as Portrayed in Beijing Pictorials, 1902–08," in Nanxiu Qian, Grace S. Fong, and Richard J. Smith, eds., *Different Worlds of Discourse* (Leiden: Brill, 2008), 315–347; Yun Zhang, "The Emerging Modern Woman: Representations of the 'Girl Student' in Early Twentieth Century Urban China," *Harvard Asia Quarterly* 16, no. 3 (2014): 50–59.
28. "Jipu nülang" 吉普女郎 [Jeep girls], *Heibai zhoubao* 黑白週報 2 (1946): 10.
29. Xiao Tian 笑天, "Kangyi Meijun baoxing yundong xiangqing poushi" 抗議美軍暴行運動詳情剖視 [Analysis of the protest movement against American military brutality], *Taipingyang yuekan* 太平洋月刊 2 (1947): 66–68.
30. Hui Feng 迴風, "Jipu nülang de mingyun" 吉普女郎的命運 [The fate of Jeep girls]! *Qiri tan* 11 (1946): 2.
31. Wuming Jizhe 無名記者, "Meijun zhengfu le quanshijie de nüxing" 美軍征服了全世界的女性 [The US military has conquered women worldwide], *Zhongguo wenzhai* 中國文摘 5 (1945): 7; Liao Yuyang 廖宇陽, *Wanqinglou shici wenshi heji* 晚晴樓詩詞文史合集 [*A collection of poetry, literature and history of the Wanqinglou*] (Nanchang, Jiangxi: Jiangxi renmin chubanshe, 2015), 235–237.
32. Zhu, "Jeep car yu Jeep girl."
33. Fang Cao 芳草, "Chongqing shi shang zhenggou jipu nülang dapi sishengzi" 重慶市上爭購吉普女郎大批私生子 [Illegitimate children of Jeep girls on high demand on the Chongqing market], *Hai guang* 海光 9 (1946): 8.
34. Chen Mingxun 陳明勳, "Wei 'Mei' lun" 唯"美"論 ["America" only theory], *Wen fan* 5 (1946): 3.
35. Since the American soldier had already been married to an American woman when he married the Chinese woman, and was now a civilian no longer under the jurisdiction of the Department of Statement or the

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Department of National Defense, the legal position of the Chinese woman and her baby remained uncertain. See Correspondences between the China Inland Mission and the American Embassy, 1947, RG 84, Box 83, NARA.
36. John Costello, *Virtue under Fire: How World War II Changed Our Social and Sexual Attitudes* (Boston, MA: Little, Brown and Company, 1985), 230.
37. Louise Edwards, "Policing the Modern Woman in Republican China," *Modern China* 26, no. 2 (2000): 115–147.
38. Chen, "Male Gaze/Female Students"; Zhang, "The Emerging Modern Woman."
39. See Gael Graham, "The Cumberland Incident of 1928: Gender, Nationalism, and Social Change in American Mission Schools in China," *Journal of Women's History* 6, no. 3 (1994): 35–61.
40. Madeleine Yue Dong, "Who Is Afraid of the Chinese Modern Girl?" in *The Modern Girl Around the World*, 214.
41. See Hsiao-Pei Yen, "Body Politics, Modernity and National Salvation: The Modern Girl and the New Life Movement," *Asian Studies Review* 29, no. 2 (2005): 165; Margherita Zanasi, "Frugal Modernity: Livelihood and Consumption in Republican China," *Journal of Asian Studies* 74, no. 2 (2015): 391–409.
42. Edwards, "Policing the Modern Woman in Republican China."
43. Wang Aming 王阿明, "Yifeng gei jipu nülang de juemingshu" 一封給吉普女郎的絕命書 [A farewell letter to a Jeep girl], *Xin tiandi* 新天地 4 (1946): 5.
44. Zhengxing guanzhu 正興館主, "Jipu nülang zhi mengjun shu" 吉普女郎致盟軍書 [A Jeep girl's letter to an Allied solider], *Wen fan* 2 (1946): 7.
45. Chen, "Male Gaze/Female Students"; Dong, "Who Is Afraid of the Chinese Modern Girl?"; Zhang, "The Emerging Modern Woman."
46. Cathcart, "Atrocities, Insults, and 'Jeep Girls.'"
47. Dong, "Who Is Afraid of the Chinese Modern Girl?"
48. Hong Shen 洪深, "Nannü jian" 男女間 [Between men and women], *Chongqing ribao* 重慶日報, May 17, 1945, 45–47.
49. Dong Shijin 董時進, "Guanyu jipu nülang" 關於吉普女郎 [About Jeep girls], *Dagong bao*, May 25, 1945.
50. Luo Jialun 羅家倫, "Jipu nülang" 吉普女郎 [Jeep girls], *Nüqingnian yuekan* 女青年月刊 2, no. 1 (1945): 5–6.
51. Yan Jun 燕君, "ZhongMei nannü shejiao" 中美男女社交 [Social intercourse between American men and Chinese women], *Xi feng* 79, no. 35 (August 1945): 35–37.
52. Chen, "Cong Yingguo taitai tandao jipu nülang."
53. Chao 超, "Tan 'jipu nülang'" 談 "吉普女郎" [On "Jeep girls"], *Xiandai funü* 現代婦女 6, no. 1–2 (1945): 2.
54. Guo, "Beiping sannian."
55. Liao, Wanqinglou shici wenshi heji, 235–237.
56. "Li Lihua fan youshangfenghua an" 李麗華犯有傷風化案 [The case of Li Lihua offending morality], *Minzhong ribao* 民眾日報, March 26, 1946.
57. Zhu Xia 朱霞, "Woxiang zuo jipu nülang ne" 我想做吉普女郎呢" [I want to become a Jeep girl], *Yue kan* 月刊 2, no. 2 (September 1946): 57–58.
58. Yang, "Buneng wanquan zebei tamen."

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59. Cai Huiming 蔡惠明, "Yige kechuan jipu nülang de zishu" 一個客串吉普女郎的自述 [In her own words by an occasional Jeep girl], *Wen fan* 17 (1946): 10.
60. For studies on women warriors and sex spying in 1930s and 1940s China, especially concerning the conflicting calls for female fidelity and national service, see Louise Edwards, *Women Warriors and Wartime Spies of China* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2016) and "Policing the Modern Women in Republican China."
61. Some of the so-called Jeep girl stories were in fact written by men looking for a good satire. But the two cited in this article do not appear to be so. The first piece includes meticulous details and is not written in the usual sensational style of Jeep girl satires. The intention of the pro-government's journal *Xinwen tiandi* in publishing the second story, a very provocative piece, remains suspicious, perhaps as a cautionary tale. Both authors used pseudonyms, likely transliterations from English names.
62. Lu, "Wo shi jipu nülang ma?"
63. Maura Elizabeth Cunningham, "The Modern Girl in Motion: Women and Sports in Liangyou," in Paul Pickowicz, Kuiyi Shen, and Yingjin Zhang, eds., *Liangyou: Kaleidoscopic Modernity and the Shanghai Global Metropolis, 1926–1945* (Leiden: Brill, 2013), 94–110; Yunxiang Gao, *Sporting Gender: Women Athletes and Celebrity-Making during China's National Crisis, 1931–45* (Vancouver: University of British Columbia Press, 2013), 58–80.
64. Louise Edwards, "The Shanghai Modern Woman's American Dreams: Imagining America's Depravity to Produce China's 'Moderate Modernity,'" *Pacific Historical Review* 81, no. 4 (2012): 568–570.
65. Shen, "Wo shi Jeep Girl."
66. Zhu, "Jeep car yu Jeep girl."
67. Zhu Zhechi 朱者赤, "Du woshi 'JEEP GIRL' zhihou" 讀我是 "JEEP GIRL" 之後 [After reading I am a "Jeep girl"], *Xinwen tiandi* 5 (May 20, 1945): 28–29.
68. Cai, "Yige kechuan jipu nülang de zishu."
69. Cheng Huina 程慧娜, "Jipu nülang yanzhong de Meiguobing" 吉普女郎眼中的美國兵 [American soldiers in the eyes of Jeep girls], *Du zhe* 讀者 2 (1945): 58.
70. Susan Zeiger, *Entangling Alliances: Foreign War Brides and American Soldiers in the Twentieth Century* (New York: New York University Press, 2010), 226.
71. For the attractions of American boys to British girls, see Costello, *Virtue under Fire*, 206.
72. Edwards, "Policing the Modern Woman in Republican China."
73. Affected by the war conditions, dating in America became less committed to long-term fidelity both at home and abroad. Meanwhile, the American courtship rituals were said to be less formal, for example, compared to British customs. See John D'Emilio and Estelle B. Freedman, *Intimate Matters: A History of Sexuality in America* (Chicago, IL: University of Chicago Press, 2012), 240–256; Costello, *Virtue under Fire*, 230–232.
74. Cheng, "Jipu nülang yanzhong de Meiguobing."
75. Shen, "Wo shi Jeep Girl."

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76. More than twelve thousand Chinese Americans had been drafted during WWII. See Meredith Oyen, *The Diplomacy of Migration: Transnational Lives and the Making of U.S.-Chinese Relations in the Cold War* (Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, 2015), 78–87; Xiaojian Zhao, *Remaking Chinese America: Immigration, Family, and Community, 1940–1965* (New Brunswick, NJ: Rutgers University Press, 2002), 78–83.
77. "Marriage Notices: Over Two Hundred Posted at Supreme Court," *South China Morning Post*, November 22, 1947, 2.
78. Catherine Forslund, *Anna Chennault: Informal Diplomacy and Asian Relations* (New York: Rowman & Littlefield, 2002), 40–41.
79. Crouch, *China Sketchbook*, 9.
80. United States Marine Corps, *A Marine's Guide to North China*, 13.
81. Zeiger, *Entangling Alliances*, 71.
82. For example, see Petra Goedde, *GIs and Germans: Culture, Gender, and Foreign Relations, 1945–1949* (New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 2003); Höhn and Moon, *Over There*; Sarah Kovner, *Occupying Power: Sex Workers and Servicemen in Postwar Japan* (Stanford, CA: Stanford University Press, 2012); Katharine H. S. Moon, *Sex among Allies: Military Prostitution in U.S.–Korea Relations* (New York: Columbia University Press,1997); Mary Louise Roberts, *What Soldiers Do: Sex and the American GI in World War II France* (Chicago, IL: University of Chicago Press, 2013).
83. The American military displayed a colonial mentality that women of occupied territories should be sexually available, just like women of color in colonial empires. See Kramm, *Sanitized Sex*; John W. Dower, *War without Mercy: Race and Power in the Pacific War* (New York: Pantheon Books, 1986); Yukiko Koshiro, *Trans-Pacific Racisms and the U.S. Occupation of Japan* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1999); Seungsook Moon, "Regulating Desire, Managing the Empire: U.S. Military Prostitution in South Korea, 1945–1970," in Höhn and Moon, *Over There*, 39–77.
84. Cynthia Enloe, *Maneuvers: The International Politics of Militarizing Women's Lives* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2000).
85. Lockwood, "The GI in Wartime China," 11.
86. Huang, *Guanyu Meiguo bing*, 42.
87. Zumwalt, *On Watch*, 10.
88. Sledge, *China Marine*, 9.
89. See Clark, *Treading Softly*; United States Marine Corps, *A Marine's Guide to North China*, 2–5.
90. Simms Memoir, 7; Guo, "Paradise or Hell Hole?" 159.
91. United States Marine Corps, *A Marine's Guide to North China*, 13.
92. "Guanyu gaishan ZhongMei renmin zhijian guanxi shang Jiang Zhongzheng cheng" 關於改善中美人民之間關係上蔣中正呈 [Memorandum to Chiang Kai-shek on enhancing Sino-U.S. relations], 1945, 0053-0010-00142-0100-235-000, CMA.
93. United States Army Service Forces, *A Pocket Guide to China*, 15.
94. See Huang, *Guanyu Meiguo bing*, 97–101; Robert Shaffer, "A Rape in Beijing, December 1946: GIs, Nationalist Protests, and U.S. Foreign Policy," *Pacific Historical Review* 69, no. 1 (2000): 43.

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95. See Costello, *Virtue under Fire*; Enloe, *Maneuvers*; Roberts, *What Soldiers Do*.
96. Gina Marchetti, *Romance and the "Yellow Peril": Race, Sex, and Discursive Strategies in Hollywood Fiction* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1993).
97. Yunte Huang, *Daughter of the Dragon: Anna May Wong's Rendezvous with American History* (New York: Liveright, 2023).
98. George Anthony Peffer, "Forbidden Families: Emigration Experiences of Chinese Women under the Page Law, 1875–1882," *Journal of American Ethnic History* 6, no. 1 (1986): 28–46.
99. For Asian/white miscegenation in the broader context of America's varied treatment of all interracial, sexual relationships, see Peggy Pascoe, *What Comes Naturally: Miscegenation Law and the Making of Race in America* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2009); Emma Jinhua Teng, *Eurasian: Mixed Identities in the United States, China, and Hong Kong, 1842–1943* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2013).
100. Madeline Y. Hsu, *The Good Immigrants: How the Yellow Peril Became the Model Minority* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 2015), 1–129.
101. United States Marine Corps, *A Marine's Guide to North China*, 13.
102. Crouch, *China Sketchbook*, 34–40.
103. Karen J. Leong, *The China Mystique: Pearl S. Buck, Anna May Wong, Mayling Soong, and the Transformation of American Orientalism* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2005), 106–154.
104. Sledge, *China Marine*, 25.
105. See "Events in Brief," *The China Weekly Review* (September 14, 1946): 54; American Armed Forces personnel and their dependents, September 22, 1947 and January 31, 1948, RG 84, Box 83 and Box 121, NARA.
106. For example, General Rockey's aide, Captain Frank Gorman, was involved with Ullie Ott, daughter of General Eugen Ott, the former German ambassador to Japan. Walter Curley dated Gisela Jannings, a German woman from an affluent family that had resided in China for decades. See Clark, *Treading Softly*, 143; Griffith, oral history transcript, 179.
107. Glist, *China Mailbag Uncensored*, 248.
108. Glist, *China Mailbag Uncensored*, 179.
109. Fredman, *The Tormented Alliance*, 135–162.
110. Guo, "Paradise or Hell Hole?" 159.
111. Sledge, *China Marine*, 30.
112. Barrow, oral history transcript, session 2.
113. Simms Memoir, 7–8.
114. Sledge, *China Marine*, 31.
115. "Meijun qiuwu" 美軍求舞 [Americans seeking dance], *Shen bao*, October 8, 1947; "Dangju guanzhi jinü wunü zhiding sixiang banfa" 當局管制妓女舞女制定四項辦法 [Government issued four regulations on prostitutes and dance girls], *Yishi bao*, August 9, 1946.
116. United States Army Service Forces, *A Pocket Guide to China*, 15.

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117. Yu Dafu 郁達夫, *Yu Dafu sanwen* 郁達夫散文 [*Essays by Yu Dafu*], ed. Yi Qi 亦祺 (Hangzhou: Zhejiang wenyi chubanshe, 1999), 91.
118. "Guanyu Meijun xujiu ouda cheliangzhaohuo deng wenti de baogao" 關於美軍酗酒毆打車輛肇禍等問題的報告 [Reports on American soldiers' misconduct including intoxication, battery, and traffic accidents], 1945, Q1-6-416, SC0025, SMA.
119. Wang Yu 望愉, "Shui neng rongren Meijun zhuHua" 誰能容忍美軍駐華 [Who can stand the American military in China], *Min chao* 民潮 (January 1, 1947): 1.
120. "Qingdao Meijun lunjian shaofu" 青島美軍輪奸少婦 [American soldiers in Qingdao gang raped a young wife], *Yishi bao*, August 12, 1947.
121. Female Chinese attendees included paid dance hostesses and singing girls, as well as middle-class women who were tricked into believing that it was a regular dance party. The so-called Jingming building affair received major media coverage at the time. For example, see "Hankoushi jiti qiangjian an" 漢口市集體強姦案 [Gang rape in Hankou], *Shen bao*, September 26, 1948.
122. Benjamin Welles, "Much China Crime Laid to Our Troops," *The New York Times*, October 13, 1946. In 1951, Zhang was accused of espionage to aid America during the Korean War and later tragically died in prison during the Cultural Revolution.
123. The Ambassador in China (Stuart) to the Secretary of State, October 17, 1946, *FRUS, 1946*, Document 201.
124. "GI Welcome Wears Out in China," *Amerasia* 10, no. 6 (1946): 173–174.
125. The estimated student numbers ranged from four thousand to ten thousand, depending on the political affiliations of the sources. See James A. Cook, "Penetration and Neocolonialism: The Shen Chong Rape Case and the Anti-American Student Movement of 1946–47," *Republican China* 22, no. 1 (1996): 65–97; Shaffer, "A Rape in Beijing, December 1946," 31–64; Zhang, *America Perceived*, 85–86.
126. It was not until the 1970s, in the wake of the women's and civil rights movements, that the archaic American rape law was finally revised. See Susan Estrich, "Rape," *Yale Law Journal* 95, no. 6 (1986): 1087–1184.
127. For an in-depth analysis of how injustice toward Shen Chong was executed in the US justice system, see Chunmei Du, "Rape in Peking: Injured Woman, Microhistory and Global Trial," *Gender & History* 36, no. 3 (2024): 620–638.
128. William G. Pierson case; Waijiaobu, "Shen Chong an (er)."
129. See "Guanyu Meijun xujiu ouda cheliangzhaohuo deng wenti de baogao."
130. United States Army Service Forces, *A Pocket Guide to China*, 15.
131. "Meijun qiuwu."
132. Shen's father, a high official in the Nationalist Government, was in charge of infrastructure to facilitate the American military operations during the war. Her great-grandfather was Shen Baozhen, a powerful viceroy in the late Qing government.
133. Zuo Shuangwen 左雙文, "1946 nian Shen Chong shijian: Nanjing zhengfu de duice" 1946 年沈崇事件: 南京政府的對策 [The 1946 Shen Chong

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incident: Nanjing government's policies], *Jindaishi yanjiu* 近代史研究 1 (2005): 65–103.

134. "Say China Traitors Told 'Jeep Girl' Lies," *The Stars and Stripes* (London Edition), May 31, 1945; Nan Ming 南溟, "Jipu nülang" 吉普女郎 [Jeep girls], *Xingqi zhoukan* 星期周刊 1 (June 3, 1945): 2.
135. In practice, local dealings varied. For example, while Chongqing police attacked and arrested student protesters using mobs or the police force, He Siyuan, the Beijing mayor was more sympathetic and tolerant, telling reporters that he would also participate in the protest if he were younger. In general, local police were sent to maintain order and control traffic but refrained from forceful intervention. See Waijiaobu, "Shen Chong an (yi)" 沈崇案(一) [Shen Chong case (1)], 020-050204-0001, AHA and and "Shen Chong an (er)."
136. Wasserstrom, *Student Protests in Twentieth-Century China*, 240–262; Zhang, *America Perceived*, 77–118.
137. He Yaozu 賀耀祖, "ZhongMei nannü shejiao guannian zhi chengqing" 中美男女社交觀念之澄清 [Clarification on Chinese and American conceptions of social intercourse between men and women], *Dagong bao*, May 27, 1945.
138. "Guanyu gaishan ZhongMei renmin zhijian guanxi shang Jiang Zhongzheng cheng"; Guomin zhengfu 國民政府, *Jiaqiang ZhongMei junmin ganqing xuanchuan gangyao* 加強中美軍民感情宣傳綱要 [*Guiding principles for enhancing US–China military–civilian relations*], 5, 1945, Chongqing Library.
139. Introduced into China in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, social dance had become a popular activity among the upper-middle classes and a well-developed business in major cities. Many Nationalist elites continued to dance in their private spaces even during the war, despite the government ban. See Andrew Field, *Shanghai's Dancing World: Cabaret Culture and Urban Politics, 1919–1954* (Hong Kong: Chinese University of Hong Kong Press, 2010), 233–261; Gail Hershatter, *Dangerous Pleasures: Prostitution and Modernity in Twentieth Century Shanghai* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1999), 271–303; Remick, *Regulating Prostitution in China*.
140. Tao, "'Hao Pu Hao?'"
141. Pang Xianzhi 逢先知, ed., *Mao Zedong nianpu: 1893–1949, xiajuan* 毛澤東年譜: 一八九三—一九四九, 下卷 [*Chronological biography of Mao Zedong, 1893–1949*], vol. 3 (Beijing: Zhongyangwenxian chubanshe, 2002), 159.
142. See Westad, *Decisive Encounters*, 57–61; Pepper, *Civil War in China*, 138–140.
143. Wu Shichang 吳世昌, "Lun Meijun shijian" 論美軍事件 [On the GI incident], *Guan cha* 觀察 1, no. 21 (1947): 3–4.
144. Beijing's geographical and symbolic position in China, together with the prestige of Peking University, also help explain why the Peking rape case received so much attention among students and in the media. Being the cultural center of China and less controlled than the capital, Beijing hosted tens of thousands of returning college students after eight years of Japanese occupation, a key demographic among whom patriotic sentiments and national aspirations reached a new height. See Wilkinson, "American

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Military Misconduct in Shanghai and the Chinese Civil War"; Wu Wenshi 武文士, "Hankou 'Jingming dalou shijian' zhenxiang" 漢口"景明大樓事件"真相 [Truth of the "Jingming building affair" in Hankou], *Wenshi chunqiu* 文史春秋 4 (1994): 43–46.

145. Shaffer, "A Rape in Beijing, December 1946," 40.
146. Xiao, "Kangyi Meijun baoxing yundong xiangqing poushi."
147. Zhonggong Beijing shiwei dangshi yanjiushi, *Kangyi Meijun zhuHua baoxing yundong ziliao huibian*, 421–423.
148. Zeng Luo 曾珞, "Shen Chong yu Pierxun: 'Heibai fenming'" 沈崇與皮爾遜: "黑白分明" [Shen Chong and Pierson: "Black and white"], *Libai liu* 禮拜六 82 (1947): 11.
149. Shi Lang 十郎, "Gongdao ji qita" 公道及其他 [Justice and others], *Shen bao*, August 20, 1947.
150. "Hongmao qiangdao de xuezhai"; Zhonggong Beijing shiwei dangshi yanjiushi, *Kangyi Meijun zhuHua baoxing yundong ziliao huibian*.
151. See Cook, "Penetration and Neocolonialism"; Zhang, *America Perceived*, 77–118.
152. Guomin zhengfu, *Jiaqiang ZhongMei junmin ganqing xuanchuan gangyao*, 7.
153. Shen Youdi 沈友棣, "Wo zenyang zai Meijun zhong dang fanyiguan" 我怎樣在美軍中當翻譯官 [How I worked as an interpreter in the US military], *Shidai xuesheng* 時代學生 1 (December 1945), 13–14.
154. Ge Liang 戈良, "He Meijun tongguo de rizi" 和美軍同過的日子 [Days that I lived with American soldiers], *Shanghai wenhua* 上海文化 9 (1946): 54–57.
155. Glist, *China Mailbag Uncensored*, 189.
156. Curley Papers, 121.
157. Min 閔, "Hong Shen yu youxing xuesheng fasheng chongtu" 洪深與遊行學生發生衝突 [Hong Shen clashed with student protesters], *Hai tao* 5 (1946): 11.
158. *Xi feng* (*West Wind Monthly*) was founded by Lin Yutang in 1936, and later run by the Huang brothers (Huang Jiade and Huang Jiayin) who also began to publish two new journals of *Guang* (*Light*) and *Jia* (*Family*) after the war.
159. Fei Qing 費青, "Pierxun qiangjian an fan'anshi dawen" 皮爾遜強奸案翻案事答問 [Q&A on the revoked Pierson case], *Guan cha* 3, no. 1 (1947): 13–14.
160. By the 1930s and 1940s, America had become increasingly familiar to literate and urban Chinese through a rising number of students abroad, popular periodicals, and cultural interpreters. Perceptions shifted from "model America" to "flawed America," reflecting a deeper understanding of its history, culture, and issues. See David Arkush and Leo O. Lee, eds., *Land without Ghosts: Chinese Impressions of America from the Mid-Nineteenth Century to the Present* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1989), 143–200.
161. Tani E. Barlow, "Theorizing Woman: Funü, Guojia, Jiating," in Angela Zito and Tani E. Barlow, eds., *Body, Subject and Power in China* (Chicago, IL: University of Chicago Press, 1994), 253–289; Gail Hershatter, *Women and China's Revolutions* (Lanham, MD: Rowman & Littlefield, 2018).

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162. Daniel Southerland, "U.S. Navy Returns to China," *The Washington Post*, November 6, 1986; Edward A. Gargan, "After a 37-Year Absence, U.S. Vessels Visit China," *The New York Times*, November 6, 1986.
163. Höhn and Moon, *Over There*; Nira Yuval-Davis, *Gender and Nation* (London: Sage, 1997).
164. Cynthia Enloe, *Bananas, Beaches and Bases: Making Feminist Sense of International Politics* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2014), 93.
165. Lao She 老舍, *Chaguan* 茶館 [*Teahouse*] (Beijing: Beijing gongye meishu chubanshe, 2018), 45.
166. "Pingnan xian 'wenhua dageming' dashijian" 平南縣"文化大革命"大事件 [Major events of "the Cultural Revolution" in Pingnan County], 1986. Chinese Cultural Revolution Database 中國當代政治運動史數據庫, The Chinese University of Hong Kong (CUHK).
167. While protesters cast her as a virtuous young woman who had been violated, rumors about Shen continued to spread, ranging from her being a Jeep girl who had willingly fraternized with American soldiers to being a Communist spy who was setting a trap to trigger a political storm. After the trial, Shen returned to Shanghai and graduated from Fudan University. She remained silent about the incident until shortly before her death, when she confirmed her identity as Shen Chong. See Ai Qun 艾群, *"Shen Chong shijian" zhenxiang* "沈崇事件"真相 [*Truth of the "Shen Chong affair"*] (Beijing: Zhonggong dangshi chubanshe, 2012), 1–4, 180–194; Chen Guohua 陳國華, "Ding Cong he Shen Jun: Fengyun chuanxing guo" 丁聰和沈峻:風雲穿行過 [Ding Cong and Shen Jun: A journey through history], *Beijing qingnian bao* 北京青年報, June 23, 2016, B5.
168. Jiang Qing 江青, "Guanyu dianying de wenti" 關於電影的問題 [Problems about films], May 1966. Chinese Cultural Revolution collection, Box 15, Folder 13, Hoover Institution Library & Archives.
169. "Jiang Qing zai Qinghua daxue gongchengwulixi de jianghua" 江青在清華大學工程物理系的講話 [Jiang Qing's speech in the Department of Engineering Physics at Tsinghua University], September 29, 1976. Chinese Cultural Revolution Database, CUHK.
170. For contemporary college campus racism against black students from Africa, especially regarding their relationships with female Chinese students, see Yinghong Cheng, "From Campus Racism to Cyber Racism: Discourse of Race and Chinese Nationalism," *The China Quarterly* 207 (2011): 561–579.
171. Zhang, *America Perceived*, 150.
172. Minjian yingxiang, ed., *Wo de 1945*.

5 Entangled Goods

1. See Yue Nan 岳南, *Nandu beigui 3: Libie* 南渡北歸3: 離別 [*Southward migration, northward return 3: Parting*] (Changsha: Hunan wenyi chubanshe, 2015), 9.
2. "Meiguo guantou gungunlai" 美國罐頭滾滾來 [American canned food pours in], *Xinmin wanbao* 新民晚報, February 21, 1947.
3. Minjian yingxiang, ed., *Wo de 1945*, 160–409.

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4. Tang Shaohua 唐紹華, "Zhongguo jingshen shiliang huang yanzhong" 中國精神食糧荒嚴重 [China is experiencing a severe shortage of spiritual nourishment], *Shen bao*, June 2, 1946.
5. Wang Chaoguang 汪朝光, "Haolaiwu de chenfu: Minguo nianjian Meiguo dianying zaiHua jingyu yanjiu" 好萊塢的沉浮: 民國年間美國電影在華境遇研究 [Rise and fall of Hollywood films in China], *Meiguo yanjiu* 美國研究 2 (1998): 113–139. American films continued to be shown until China entered the Korean War.
6. John King Fairbank, *Chinabound: A Fifty-Year Memoir* (New York: Harper & Row, 1982), 301.
7. Ji zhe 記者, "Shanghai shi Meiguohuo de tianxia" 上海是美國貨的天下 [Shanghai is the land of American goods], *Zhongguo gongshang xinwen* 中國工商新聞 3, no. 5 (1946): 15–16.
8. "Cong shiji shuodao ditan" 從市集說到地攤 [From market to street stalls], *Shen bao*, May 26, 1949.
9. Xu Jibo 徐季搏, "Tantan guohuo guantou" 談談國貨罐頭 [On Chinese canned food], *Shuichan yuekan* 水產月刊 1, no. 5 (1946): 58–59.
10. See Young, *China and the Helping Hand, 1937–1945*, 350; 440–441; US Department of State, *The China White Paper*, 1048–1051; Wu Jingping 吳景平, "Kangzhan shiqi ZhongMei zujie guanxi shuping" 抗戰時期中美租借關係述評 [A review of Sino-American lend-lease relations during the Sino-Japanese War], *Lishi yanjiu* 4 (1995): 48–62.
11. See Yang Yuqing 楊雨青, *Meiyuan weihe wuxiao? Zhanshi Zhongguo jingji-weiji yu ZhongMei yingdui zhi ce* 美援為何無效? 戰時中國經濟危機與中美應對之策 [*Why is American aid ineffective? Wartime Chinese economic crisis and Sino-American responses*] (Beijing: Renmin chubanshe, 2011).
12. For Europeans' experiences and perspectives on American goods, see Victoria de Grazia, *Irresistible Empire: America's Advance through Twentieth-Century Europe* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 2006).
13. Zhou Nan 周南, "Kafeitan de qingdiao" 咖啡攤的情調 [Coffee stands' sentiments], *Guoji xinwen huabao* 國際新聞畫報, 1946.
14. Er Yi 而已, "Shanghai xishi teji" 上海西施特輯 [Shanghai Xishi specials], *Hai tao* 15 (1946): 6.
15. Minjian yingxiang, ed., *Wo de 1945*, 167, 227–228.
16. J. G. Ballard, *Miracles of Life: Shanghai to Shepperton*, *An Autobiography* (New York: Liveright, 2013), 93–94.
17. UNRRA 聯合國善後救濟總署, ed., "Meijun zuozhan shiliang shuoming" 美軍作戰食糧說明 [Explanation of American combat food], *LuQing shanjiu xunkan* 魯青善救旬刊, no. 17 (1946): 6–8; Collingham, *The Taste of War*, 437–443.
18. "Ziyoutan: Jiujing jianwen" 自由談: 舊京見聞 [Freedom talks: Experience in the old capital], *Shen bao*, December 23, 1947.
19. Xu, "Tantan guohuo guantou."
20. Minjian yingxiang, ed., *Wo de 1945*, 416–417.
21. Zhang Ke 張克, "Kafei zatan" 咖啡雜談 [Coffee miscellany], *Jilian huikan* 機聯會刊 220 (1948): 20–21.

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22. For cafe culture in relation to colonialism and modernity, see Lee, *Shanghai Modern*; Laikwan Pang, "The Collective Subjectivity of Chinese Intellectuals and Their Café Culture in Republican Shanghai," *Inter-Asia Cultural Studies* 7, no. 1 (2006): 24–42.
23. Shanghaishi zhengfu tongjichu 上海市政府統計處, ed., *Shanghaishi tongji zongbaogao* 上海市統計總報告 [*Shanghai municipal general statistical report*] (Shanghai: Longchang Printing House, 1946), 31; Xue Liyong 薛理勇, *JiuShanghai zujie shihua* 舊上海租界史話 [*Accounts of old Shanghai's foreign concessions*] (Shanghai: Shanghai shehui kexueyuan chubanshe, 2004), 108.
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26. H. C. Mei, "Masses here 'Discover' Coffee, but Sip It in the Streets," *The China Weekly Review* (October 19, 1946): 203.
27. Mei, "Masses here 'Discover' Coffee."
28. Li Qing 李清, "Wo cong Tangshan lai" 我從唐山來 [I am from Tangshan], *Feng xia* 風下59 (1947): 129, 190.
29. Wu Guifang 吳貴芳, "Chongmanzhe yiguo qingdiao de kafeitan sumiao" 充滿著異國情調的咖啡攤素描 [Sketch of exotic coffee stands], *Yishi bao*, October 9, 1946.
30. Zhou, "Kafeitan de qingdiao."
31. Sima Xu 司馬訏, "Shanghai wuyan xia de kafei qingdiao" 上海屋簷下的咖啡情調 [Coffee sentiments under the eaves of Shanghai], *Shijie chenbao* 世界晨報, August 13, 1946.
32. Lu Xun 魯迅, *Sanxianji* 三閒集 [*Triple leisure*] (Beijing: The People's Literature Publishing House, 1958), 91. In reality, Lu Xun also went to cafes to meet and talk with friends.
33. Wu, "Chongmanzhe yiguo qingdiao de kafeitan sumiao."
34. Simms Memoir, 31.
35. "Display ad," *The China Weekly Review* (August 10, 1946).
36. Collingham, *The Taste of War*, 438.
37. Collingham, *The Taste of War*, 474.
38. "Guanyu yinliaopin qita shixiang" 關於飲料品其他事項 [Regarding other matters on drinks], 1946–1948, B0049/001/00618, QMA. The company was owned by a German firm that opened a Coca-Cola bottling plant in 1932.
39. "Shanghai gongyongju guanyu zhuHua Meijun zongbu qingqiu gongdian ji meiqi dengan shixiang an" 上海公用局關於駐華美軍總部請求供電及煤氣等案事項案 [Shanghai Public Utilities Bureau on the US Army Headquarters in China's request for electricity and gas supply and other related matters], 1946, Q5-3-5321, SMA.
40. Liang Yao, "Nationalism on Their Own Terms: The National Products Movement and the Coca-Cola Protest in Shanghai 1945–1949," *Modern Asian Studies* 51, no. 5 (2017): 1439–1468.
41. Coca-Cola advertising, *Spartanburg Herald*, November 4, 1943.

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43. Hai Ren 海人, "Kekoukele de mimi" 可口可樂的秘密 [Coca-Cola's secrets], *Libai liu* 禮拜六 88 (1947): 8.
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45. Minjian yingxiang, ed., *Wo de 1945*, 327–420.
46. F. Barrows Colton, "Your New World of Tomorrow," *National Geographic* (October 1945): 385–410.
47. David Kinkela, *DDT and the American Century: Global Health, Environmental Politics, and the Pesticide That Changed the World* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2011).
48. "Feiji pensa DDT" 飛機噴灑DDT [Airplane sprays DDT], *Dagong bao*, June 19, 1946.
49. "Zhuxi guandi chenshe jianjie" 主席官邸陳設簡潔 [Chairman's official residence furnished simply], *Shen bao*, April 20, 1946.
50. He Qi 何琦, "Mantan feiji pensa DDT" 漫談飛機噴灑DDT [Ramble about airplanes spraying DDT], *Yi chao* 醫潮 1, no. 4 (1947): 30–32.
51. Lü Letian 呂樂天, "Feiji penshe DDT de huiyi" 飛機噴射DDT的回憶 [Memories of airplanes spraying DDT], *Zhongguo yangfeng zazhi* 中國養蜂雜志 5, no. 3 (1946): 4–5; Huang Zigu 黃子固, "DDT yu fengye zhi guanxi" DDT 與蜂業之關係 [Relations between DDT and the beekeeping industry], *Zhongguo yangfeng zazhi* 5, no. 1 (1946): 16–18.
52. "Guanyu banli Meijun guwentuan zhuzhai fujin fenkeng ji shuitang qingxing yishi gei shiweishengju de chengwen" 關於辦理美軍顧問團住宅附近糞坑及水塘情形一事給市衛生局的呈文 [Report to the Municipal Health Bureau concerning the handling of soil pits and ponds near US MAG residences], 1947, 10030060631(00)0010, NMA; "Guanyu banli Meijun yisheng deng zhuzhai fujin fengang weizhi de diaochaqingkuang yishi gei shiweishengju de chengwen" 關於辦理美軍醫生等住宅附近糞缸位置的調查情況一事給市衛生局的呈文 [Report to the Municipal Health Bureau on the investigation of soil pit locations near US MAG residences], 1947, 10030060631(00)0011, NMA; "Shiyong chuchongji DDT quanjuan" 施用除蟲劑DDT全卷 [Complete volume on the application of insecticide DDT], 1946, 20-16-002-09, 19, AIMH.
53. He Ji 何基, "DDT yidao Shanghai, biancheng le zisha de yongtu" DDT一到上海, 變成了自殺的用途 [DDT arrives in Shanghai, immediately turning into a suicide tool], *Jin bao* (Shanghai) 今報 (上海), August 16, 1946.
54. See Kinkela, *DDT and the American Century*, 41.
55. Robert Bud, *Penicillin: Triumph and Tragedy* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2007), 75–96.

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56. "Hualaishi xieyou shajun liangyao pannixilin jiang song Jiang zhuxi zhuanzeng woguomin" 華萊士携有殺菌良藥盤尼西林將送蔣主席轉贈我國民 [Wallace brings the antibiotic penicillin to Generalissimo Chiang as a gift to our citizens], *Dagong bao*, May 24, 1944.
57. Mary Augusta Brazelton, "The Production of Penicillin in Wartime China and Sino-American Definitions of 'Normal' Microbiology," *Journal of Modern Chinese History* 13, no. 1 (2019): 102–123.
58. Xi Yangsheng 夕陽生, "'Peinixiling' jiu Dongtiao" "配尼西靈" 救東條 ["Penicillin" saves Tojo], *Xin Shanghai* 新上海 17 (1946): 12. Tojo supposedly recovered after a month, after being nourished by hospital food especially his favorite American juice, cereals, and soup, said to be better than traditional Japanese miso soup.
59. Wang Gaopeng 王高朋, "Qingmeisu zai jindai Zhongguo de chuanbo yu jieshou" 青霉素在近代中國的傳播與接受 [The dissemination and acceptance of penicillin in modern China], Master's thesis, Hebei University, 2018; Xu Dingding 徐丁丁, "Penicilin (Qingmeisu) Zhongyiming de bianqian" Penicillin (青霉素)中譯名的變遷 [The evolution of penicillin's Chinese translations], *Zhongguo kejishi zazhi* 中國科技史雜志 36, no. 3 (2015): 325–335.
60. Tao Xingzhi 陶行知, *Xingzhi shigeji* 行知詩歌集 [*Collection of Tao Xingzhi's poems*] (Shanghai: Dafu chuban gongsi, 1947), 384.
61. Tao, *Xinzhi shigeji*, 387–388.
62. "Minzhu shi pannixilin, ke zhiliao Zhongguo zhengzhi: Zhang Lan da jizhe wen" 民主是盤尼西林, 可治療中國政治: 張瀾答記者問 [Democracy is penicillin, and can cure Chinese politics: Zhang Lan answered reporters' questions], in Yuan Donglin 袁冬林 and Yuan Shijie 袁士杰, eds., *Pu Xixiu jizhe shengya xunzong* [*Sketches of Pu Xixiu's journalist career*] 浦熙修記者生涯尋蹤 (Shanghai: Wenhui chubanshe, 2000), 380–381.
63. Li Yaoyu 李耀宇, *Yige Zhongguo geming qinlizhe de siren jilu* 一個中國革命親歷者的私人記錄 [*A private record by a participant of the Chinese Revolution*] (Beijing: Dangdai Zhongguo chubanshe, 2009), 172.
64. Payne, *China Awake*, 347.
65. See Li, *Yige Zhongguo geming qinlizhe de siren jilu*, 162–184. The author recalls receiving a Gillette razor marked with "U.S.A. military" and using it until the 1950s. Unable to find a replacement, he eventually threw it away during the Cultural Revolution to conceal his past interaction with American soldiers.
66. Wang, "Qingmeisu zai jindai Zhongguo de chuanbo yu jieshou," 75–79.
67. Ma Fantuo 馬凡陀, "Meiguo mi" 美國迷 [American obsessions], in *Hainei qitan* 海內奇談 [*Strange tales of the country*] (Harbin: Dongbei shudian, 1947), 6.
68. These American associates' observations resembled those made by Chinese intellectuals who visited America in the 1940s. Among their first impressions was that America was a huge country with abundant land and resources. In their regular travelogues and articles sent home, these writers and scholars also noted the American lifestyle of consuming a large quantity of goods that were often wasted; the obsession over "pleasure of the flesh";

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individualism, loneliness, and family relation problems; and the racial segregation in the South and the oppression of the poor. See Arkush and Lee, *Land without Ghosts*, 143–200.

69. Ge, "He Meijun tongguo de rizi."
70. Huang, *Guanyu Meiguo bing*, 48–50, 73–74.
71. "Ruhe zhidao guanbing yu mengjun xiangchu" 如何指導官兵與盟軍相處 [How to guide Chinese soldiers in interacting with Allied forces], 0053-0010-00142-0200-312-000, CMA.
72. Huang, *Guanyu Meiguo bing*, 73–74.
73. Albert Fields, "Medical Officer in China," *The Military Surgeon* 103, no. 4 (October 1948): 292–304; Michael Shiyung Liu, "Eating Well for Survival: Chinese Nutrition Experiments during World War II," in Angela Ki Che Leung, Melissa L. Caldwell, Robert Ji-Song Ku, and Christine R. Yano, eds., *Moral Foods: The Construction of Nutrition and Health in Modern Asia* (Honolulu: University of Hawaii Press, 2020), 89–108.
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75. Xiao Fu 蕭夫, "Cong yinshi qiju kan Meiguo" 從飲食起居看美國 [America from the view of everyday living], *Shen bao*, December 5, 1946.
76. Chen Yixian 陳詒先, "Wo yi tan chi" 我亦談吃 [My view on eating], *Shen bao*, March 25, 1948.
77. Zou Zhenhuan 鄒振環, "Xican yinru yu jindai Shanghai chengshi wenhua kongjian de kaituo" 西餐引入與近代上海城市文化空間的開拓 [Introduction of Western food and the expansion of modern Shanghai's urban cultural space], *Shi lin* 史林 4 (2007): 137–149.
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79. Qian Jiaju 千家駒, "Jingji wencui: yinianlai Zhongguo jingji de zongjie" 經濟文萃: 一年來中國經濟的總結 [Collection of economic articles: Summary of the Chinese economy in the past year], *Jingji zhoubao* 4, no. 2 (1947): 23.
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81. "Meihuo kuang" 美貨狂 [American goods craze], *Beifang wenhua* 北方文化 2, no. 6 (1946): 21, 23.
82. "Guoneiwai jingji yizhou: Shanghai gongshang daibiao jinjing qingyuan" 國內外經濟一周: 上海工商代表进京請願 [Domestic and international economic weekly: Shanghai business representatives petition in the capital], *Jingji zhoubao* 3, no. 7 (1946): 5.
83. Xu, "Tantan guohuo guantou."
84. "Aihu nide guojia aihu nide pifu, qingni fangqi nilong siwa" 愛護你的國家愛護你的皮膚, 請你放棄尼隆絲襪 [Cherish your country and your Skin, please give up nylon stockings], *Shen bao*, May 31, 1948.
85. "Shizhang xiang nüjie huyu hebi chuan boli siwa" 市長向女界呼籲何必穿玻璃絲襪 [Mayor appeals to women not to wear American stockings], *Shen bao*, December 12, 1947.
86. Wang, "Haolaiwu de chenfu."
87. Ren Huizhi 任晦之, "Meiguo yingpian yu kekou kele" 美國影片與可口可樂 [American movies and Coca-Cola], *Qun zhong* 2, no. 26 (1948): 18.

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89. Minjian yingxiang, ed., *Wo de 1945*, 214.
90. Yao, "Nationalism on Their Own Terms," 1453–1467.
91. See Yeh, *Shanghai Splendor*, 70–78.
92. For studies on Chinese nationalism and consumerism, see Karl Gerth, *China Made: Consumer Culture and the Creation of the Nation* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Asia Center, 2003); Sherman Cochran, *Big Business in China: Sino-Foreign Rivalry in the Cigarette Industry, 1890–1930* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1980).
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94. Zhang, *America Perceived*, 63–69.
95. "Kao Meijun chifan" 靠美軍吃飯 [Make a living through the American military], *Zhou bo* 周播, no. 3 (1946): 4.
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100. Thomas manuscript, 56–57.
101. Simms Memoir, 4–5.
102. "Meijun shiqie cheliang" 美軍失竊車輛 [Stolen American military vehicles], May 1946, 10030082535(00)0007, NMA.
103. "Guanyu zai Zhongguo jiuba xuangua jinzhi huo xuke Meijun runei paishi de tongzhi" 關於在中國酒吧懸掛禁止或許可美軍入內牌示的通知 [Notice about displaying "in-bounds" or "out-of-bounds" signs in Chinese bars], 1947, B0060/001/00003/0001, QMA.
104. Oral history of William Stokley, transcript, 8, OCHOH.
105. "Guanyu junren shushi ming you Meijun huowu touchu de chengwen" 關於軍人數十名由美軍貨物偷出的呈文 [Report on dozens of soldiers stealing from US military supplies], March 4, 1948, B0033/001/000496/0025, QMA; "Guanyu yiyiwu Meijun cangku beiqie de chengwen" 關於一一五美軍倉庫被竊的呈文 [Report on the theft of US military warehouse 115], April 27, 1948, B0033/001/000496/0031, QMA; "Guanyu gangjing Zang Xianzheng tong gongren Yang Quanrong toudao Meijun wupin juxun gongci de chengwen" 關於港警臧賢証同工人楊全榮偷盜美軍物品據訓供詞的呈文 [Report on the interrogation statements of port policeman Zang Xianzheng and worker Yang Quanrong for stealing US military supplies], August 21, 1947, B0033/001/00043/0027, QMA.
106. "Guanyu zhizhi wojun weibing dui Meijun shibing buyouyi xingdong de daidian" 關於制止我軍衛兵對美軍士兵不友誼行動的代電 [Cable on preventing our soldiers' unfriendly actions toward American soldiers], January 26, 1946, B0024/001/00675/0027, QMA.
107. "Gangjing bei Meijun gangbing kaiqiang jishang" 港警被美軍崗兵開槍擊傷 [Port police shot and wounded by American guards], May 9, 1946, B0033/001/00299/0112, QMA.

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108. “Guanyu junren shushi ming you Meijun huowu touchu de chengwen.”
109. “Guanyu yiyiwu Meijun cangku beiqie de chengwen.”
110. Fredman, *The Tormented Alliance*, 122–124.
111. After the CCP’s victory, retired Admiral Cooke led a group of informal actors who coordinated unofficial US foreign and military policy, helping sustain the alliance with the Republic of China after officially Washington withdrew its support for Chiang. See Thomas, oral history transcript, 251; Hsiao-ting Lin, “Taiwan’s Secret Ally,” *Hoover Digest* 2 (2012): 192–203.
112. Pfeiffer, oral history transcript, 319–322.
113. Thomas, oral history transcript, 252.
114. “Wei fangzhi Meijun qiangji qiefan banfa zhi pingyu zhi Du shizhang de cheng” 為防止美軍槍擊竊犯辦法之評語致杜市長的呈 [Letter to Mayor Du on measures to prevent American military personnel from shooting thieves], 1947, J0002-3-007260-047, TMA.
115. Wilma Fairbank, *America’s Cultural Experiment in China, 1942–1949* (Washington, DC: US Government Printing Office), 147–148.
116. “Meijun qiangsha ji qiche zhuangshang an.”
117. The word used in the Chinese report to describe the American order was 停步 (*tingbu*). See “Wei fangzhi Meijun qiangji qiefan banfa zhi pingyu zhi Du shizhang de cheng.”
118. Curley Papers, 142–143.
119. “Shanghai de wuye youmin siren qiangjie Meibing jinbiao” 上海的無業游民四人搶劫美兵金錶 [Four Shanghai vagabonds robbed an American soldier’s gold watch], 1947, Q131-5-1962, SMA.
120. “Xinhe Meijun beiji an.”
121. Ben Y. Lee, “Race inequality,” *The China Weekly Review* (September 6, 1947): 7. The exact sign did not exist, but the messages conveyed were similar. See Robert Bickers and Jeffrey Wasserstrom, “Shanghai’s ‘Dogs and Chinese Not Admitted’ Sign: Legend, History and Contemporary Symbol,” *China Quarterly* 142 (1995): 444–466.
122. Huang, *Guanyu Meiguo bing*, 50.
123. Sledge, *China Marine*, 63–64.
124. Peck, *Two Kinds of Time*, 636.
125. “Meibing mai dayi” 美兵賣大衣 [GI selling coats], *Dagong bao*, December 31, 1946; “Qingdao Meijun liang daoan” 青島美軍兩盜案 [Two theft cases involving American troops in Qingdao], *Dagong bao*, June 17, 1947.
126. “Guanyu jinzhi zai malu liangpang fanmai Meijun yanjiu dengwu de tonggao” 關於禁止在馬路兩旁販賣美軍煙酒等物的通告 [Notice on prohibiting street sales of American military cigarettes, alcohol, and similar items], November 5, 1945, B0038/001/01292/0016, QMA.
127. Thomas, oral history transcript, 252–253.
128. “Guanyu Meijunxuguan xiezhu Tianjin Xinshichang yanghang zhiyuan zousi an” 關於美軍需官協助天津新時昌洋行職員走私案 [On the smuggling case involving a US military procurement officer assisting employees of the Tianjin Xinshichang firm], November 26, 1947, B0024/001/00826/0030, QMA.

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129. "Guanyu Meixianbing qiangshang Zhongguo xuesheng Cao Guiming zuotui he Meijun jiaoshe qingxing de chengwen" 關於美憲兵槍傷中國學生曹桂明左腿和美軍交涉情形的呈文 [Report on the negotiations following the incident involving an American MP shooting the left leg of Chinese student Cao Guiming], 1946, J001-001-00541, BMA.
130. "Zhongguo xinwen zhuanke xuexiao xuesheng Gao Ruofan bei Meixianbing boqu Mei junyong dayi shi" 中國新聞專科學校學生高若凡被美憲兵剝去美軍用大衣事 [Incident involving Gao Ruofan, a student from China Journalism College, being stripped of a US military coat by an American MP], 1946, Q109-1-1810-9, SMA.
131. Dong Yang 動羊, "Meiguo jiu yifu" 美國舊衣服 [American used clothes], *Yishi bao*, May 20, 1946.
132. "Zhongguo xinwen zhuanke xuexiao xuesheng Gao Ruofan bei Meixianbing boqu Mei junyong dayi shi."
133. Shang Haiming 尚海明, "Shanzhong, xiongsi yu sharen changming: Zhongguoren sixing guannian de wenhua chanshi" 善終、凶死與殺人償命: 中國人死刑觀念的文化闡釋 [Good death, violent death and a life for a life: A cultural interpretation of Chinese views on the death penalty], *Faxue yanjiu* 法學研究 4 (2016): 61–78.
134. See Yang, "United States Marines in Qingdao," 158.
135. See "Meijun qiangsha ji qiche zhuangshang an."
136. Because of the high administrative costs, General Wedemeyer corresponded with Chiang Kai-shek in 1946, asking the Chinese government to handle and pay for the compensations on America's behalf, with the cost being counted toward China's surplus sales payments. See "Shanghai gaodeng fayuan guanyu yu zhuHua Meijun zongbu shangyi sunhai peichang xieding juan" 上海高等法院關於與駐華美軍總部商議損害賠償協定卷 [Shanghai High Court files on negotiations with the US military headquarters in China on harm compensation agreements], 1946, Q187-1-5, SMA.
137. "Zhongguo xinwen zhuanke xuexiao xuesheng Gao Ruofan wei bei Meixianbing boqu Mei junyong dayi shi yu Shanghaishi canyihui de wanglai hanjian."
138. "Zhongguo xinwen zhuanke xuexiao xuesheng Gao Ruofan wei bei Meixianbing boqu Mei junyong dayi shi yu Shanghaishi canyihui de wanglai hanjian."
139. "Faqi 'bumai Meiguohuo yundong' xuanyan" 發起"不買美國貨運動"宣言 [Manifesto on launching the "boycotting American goods movement"], *Wen cui* 2, no. 3 (1946): 35.
140. Li, "Wo cong Tangshan lai," 129, 190.
141. Simms Memoir, 4–5.
142. Simms Memoir, 56.
143. Admiral Charles Cooke's Letter to Mayor Li Xianliang, May 23, 1947, collection no. 24, catalogue no. 1, folder no. 499, QMA. Also see Yang, "United States Marines in Qingdao," 159–160.
144. Oral history of William Pinkston, transcript, 4-5, OCHOH.
145. United States Army Service Forces, *A Pocket Guide to China*, 4–8.

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146. Rhoda J. Yen, "Racial Stereotyping of Asians and Asian Americans and Its Effect on Criminal Justice: A Reflection on the Wayne Lo Case," *Asian Law Journal* 7, no. 1 (2000): 1–28.
147. "Guanyu Zhongguo xiaohai dao Meijun junjian daoqie bei Meibing jibi shiyi de qiancheng" 關於中國小孩到美軍軍艦盜竊被美兵擊斃事宜的簽呈 [Memo on the incident of Chinese children being shot dead by GIs for stealing from American warships], 1946, B0033/001/00300/0175, QMA.
148. The Foreign Claims Commission awarded fabi 2,223,000 to Sun's mother. See "Meijun qiangsha ji qiche zhuangshang an."
149. Pfeiffer, oral history transcript, 319–322.
150. Pfeiffer, oral history transcript, 319–322.
151. "Shanghaishi jingchaju xiezhu Meijun jidi silingbu xingzhenchu soucha suowei Meijun yongpin zhi jingguo qingkuang" 上海市警察局協助美軍基地司令部刑偵處搜查所謂美軍用品之經過情況 [Details of Shanghai Municipal Police Bureau assisting the criminal investigation department of the US Military Base Command in searching for so-called US military supplies], 1945, Q131-5-294, SC0037, SMA.
152. "Shanghaishi jingchaju guanyu Meijun han" 上海市警察局關於美軍函 [Correspondence from the Shanghai Police Bureau on the US military], 1947, Q131-5-7143, SMA.
153. "Wei qudi Zhongwai ren chuan renhe Mei junyong fuzhuang" 為取締中外人穿任何美軍用服裝 [To ban Chinese and foreigners from wearing any American military clothes], August 1946, J0002-3-007229-041, TMA; "Meijun zhifu fei junren budechuanzhuo" 美軍制服非軍人不得穿著 [Civilians prohibited from wearing US military uniforms], *Dagong bao*, August 14, 1946.
154. "Guanyu qudi ge jiuhuoshang liudong jiuhuotan chushou Meijun riyongpin de xunling" 關於取締各舊貨商流動舊貨攤出售美軍日用品的訓令 [Order banning used-goods vendors and mobile stalls from selling US military daily supplies], May 7, 1947, A0019/003/00174/0090, QMA.
155. "Guanyu yanjia fangfan Meijun cangku fujin jumin xingqie de xunling" 關於嚴加防範美軍倉庫附近居民行竊的訓令 [Order strictly preventing theft by residents near US military warehouses], January 20, 1947, A0019/003/00391/0017, QMA.
156. "Wei fangzhi Meijun qiangji qiefan banfa zhi pingyu zhi Du shizhang de cheng."
157. Admiral Charles Cooke's Letter to Mayor Li Xianliang, May 23, 1947.
158. "ZaiHua Meijun zhaoshi chuli banfa" 在華美軍肇事處理辦法 [Procedures for handling incidents involving US military personnel in China], 020-050204-0011, AHA.
159. "ZaiHua Meijun zhaoshi chuli banfa"; Xingzhengyuan 行政院, "Guanyu fangzhi Meijun renyuan xingshi anjian fasheng ji quebao shouhairen huozhi gongyun caipan zhuyishixiang" 關於防止美軍人員刑事案件發生及確保受害人獲致公允裁判注意事項 [Precautions for preventing criminal cases involving American military personnel and ensuring fair trials for victims], 1948, J0002-3-007261-060, TMA.

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160. Xingzhengyuan, "Guanyu fangzhi Meijun renyuan xingshi anjian fasheng ji quebao shouhairen huozhi gongyun caipan zhuyishixiang."
161. Similarly, the US government also paid more attention to this case, perhaps at the request of the Nationalist officials. In his reply, Colonel B. W. Gally of the First Marine Division stated that "the Marine Military Policeman was not authorized to fire in this instance and disciplinary action will be taken as adjudged by a military court, and expenses should be paid by the headquarters." See "Guanyu Meixianbing qiangshang Zhongguo xuesheng Cao Guiming zuotui he Meijun jiaoshe qignxing de chengwen."
162. "Meijun qiangsha ji qiche zhuangshang an."
163. "Student Agitation Causes Concern; US Said Ready to Negotiate," *The China Weekly Review* (June 5, 1948): 27.
164. Pepper, *Civil War in China*, 72–78; Huang Jingshan 黃景山, "1948 nian Beiping diqu fanMeifuRi yundong" [1948 "Opposing the US Support of Japan" movement in the Beijing area] 一九四八年北平地區反美扶日運動, *Beijing dangshi* 北京黨史 5 (1988): 11–19.
165. In June 1948, Zhu signed on the public statement refusing to purchase discounted American flour, shortly before his death from severe stomach ulcers in August. Following his typical satirical style, Mao warned that those who bowed to American alms or relief flour should be wary of stomach-aches. See Mao Zedong, "Farewell, Leighton Stuart!" in *Selected Works of Mao Tse-tung*, vol. IV, 433–440.
166. Mao Zedong, "The Situation and Our Policy after the Victory in the War of Resistance against Japan," and "Talk with the American Correspondent Anna Louise Strong," in *Selected Works of Mao Tse-tung*, vol. IV, 11–26, 97–102. In reality, though to a lesser degree, the Communists also received American military supplies during WWII and were an incidental beneficiary of the postwar American supplies to the Nationalist Army when the latter were captured or surrendered. Chiang was even teased as director of the CCP army supplies. Also see Yang Kuisong 楊奎松, *"Zhongjian didai" de geming: Guoji dabeijing xia kan Zhonggong chenggong zhi dao* "中間地帶"的革命: 國際大背景下看中共成功之道 [*Revolution in the "middle area": The CCP's road toward success in the international context*] (Guilin: Guangxi shifan daxue chubanshe, 2012), 541–573.
167. Mao Zedong, "Report to the Second Plenary Session of the Seventh Central Committee of the Communist Party of China," in *Selected Works of Mao Tse-tung*, vol. IV, 361–376.

Epilogue

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3. See Gordon H. Chang, *Fateful Ties: A History of America's Preoccupation with China* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 2015); Guoqi Xu, *Chinese and Americans: A Shared History* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 2014); Pomfret, *The Beautiful Country and the Middle Kingdom*; David A. Hollinger, *Protestants Abroad: How Missionaries Tried to Change the World but Changed America* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 2017).
4. Peters, "Carter Recalls His Lifelong Fascination with China."
5. United States Army Service Forces, *A Pocket Guide to China*, 44.
6. See e.g. Rana Mitter, *China's Good War: How World War II Is Shaping a New Nationalism* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 2020); Arthur Waldron, "China's New Remembering of World War II: The Case of Zhang Zizhong," *Modern Asian Studies* 30, no. 4 (October 1996): 945–978; Rana Mitter and Aaron William Moore, eds., "China in World War II, 1937–1945: Experience, Memory, and Legacy," special issue, *Modern Asian Studies* 45, no. 2 (March 2011): 379–490.
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8. See Zhang, *America Perceived*, 149–150; Fredman, *The Tormented Alliance*, 196–202.
9. See e.g. Mei Yu 梅雨, "Canbao de Meiguo qinlüezhe" 殘暴的美國侵略者 [Brutal American invaders], *Renmin ribao*, November 13, 1950; Liu Danian 劉大年, *Meidi qinHua shi* 美帝侵華史 [*The history of American imperialist aggression in China*] (Shanghai: Jiaoyu chubanshe, 1950); Xinhua shishi congkanshe 新華時事叢刊社, ed., *Meijun zhuHua shiqi de xuezhai* 美軍駐華時期的血債 [*The blood debts incurred by US troops stationed in China*] (Beijing: Renmin chubanshe, 1950); Rong Qun 榮群, ed., *Meijun zaiHua de baoxing* 美軍在華的暴行 [*Brutalities committed by US troops in China*] (Shenyang: Dongbei renmin chubanshe, 1951); Zhuang Lang 莊浪, drawings by Ding Hao 丁浩, *Meijun zai Zhongguo de baoxing* 美軍在中國的暴行 [*Brutalities of American troops in China*] (Shanghai: Dadong shuju, 1951).
10. Sei Jeong Chin, "The Korean War, Anti-US Propaganda, and the Marginalization of Dissent in China, 1950–1953," *Twentieth-Century China* 48, no. 1 (2023): 23–47.
11. Laura Pozzi, "The Revolution of a Little Hero: The Sanmao Comic Strips and the Politics of Childhood in China, 1935–1962," PhD diss., European University Institute, 2014.
12. Zhang Leping 張樂平, *Sanmao jiefang ji* 三毛解放記 [*Sanmao's liberation*] (Shanghai: Shaonian ertong chubanshe, 2020), 108, 122–124.
13. Sanmao's experience stood in sharp contrast to that of Liu, an orphan street boy discussed earlier. Liu shined marines' shoes in Qingdao, grew close to them, and was eventually legally "adopted" by a marine who brought him to America and helped him find a permanent family. See Taylor, "The Life of Liu."

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14. *Gaoji zhongxue keben: Zhongguo lishi* 高級中學課本: 中國歷史 [*Senior high school textbook: Chinese history*, vol. 4] (Beijing: Renmin jiaoyu chubanshe, 1957); *Chuji zhongxue keben: Zhongguo lishi* 初級中學課本: 中國歷史 [*Junior high school textbook: Chinese history*, vol. 4] (Beijing: Renmin jiaoyu chubanshe, 1982, 1986).
15. Wilkinson, "American Military Misconduct in Shanghai and the Chinese Civil War," 172.
16. Zhonggong Beijing shiwei dangshi yanjiushi, ed., *Kangyi Meijun zhuHua baoxing yundong ziliao huibian*.
17. Jet Li 李連杰 directed, *Zhonghua yingxiong* 中華英雄 [*Born to defend*] (Hong Kong: Sil-Metropole Organisation, 1986).
18. In fact, Jet Li is famous for portraying folk-hero characters, including Wong Fei-hung, a martial arts master who fought foreigners during the chaotic years of the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. Under unequal treaties, American traders sold, bullied, and abducted Chinese coolies and women, transporting them to "Gold Mountain."
19. Peter Hays Gries, "Tears of Rage: Chinese Nationalist Reactions to the Belgrade Embassy Bombing," *China Journal*, no. 46 (2001): 25–43.
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22. "Painful Surprise."
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24. Richard Bernstein, *China 1945: Mao's Revolution and America's Fateful Choice* (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 2014), 320–321.
25. Britschgi, "Military Operations Other Than War."
26. Zheng, "A Specter of Extraterritoriality."
27. See Hungdah Chiu, "The United States Status of Forces Agreement with the Republic of China: Some Criminal Case Studies," *Boston College International and Comparative Law Review* 3, no. 1 (December 1979): 67–88.
28. Fredman, *The Tormented Alliance*, 10, 203–206.
29. "Korean Students Attack US Troops," *BBC News*, July 20, 2002. The two American soldiers were tried in a court-martial in South Korea and later acquitted, which sparked further furious reaction among protestors.

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31. Kent E. Calder, *Embattled Garrisons: Comparative Base Politics and American Globalism* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 2007), 2.
32. Andrew Yeo, *Activists, Alliances, and Anti-U.S. Base Protests* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2011).
33. Klein, *Cold War Orientalism*.
34. Huang, "China's Number One Meeter and Greeter," chapter 11, 4–12.
35. Astrid Myers, "Kunming Airport with Barney Rosset," November 1996, *Columbia University Libraries Online Exhibitions*, https://exhibitions.library.columbia.edu/exhibits/show/rosset/item/7578.
36. Parkyn, "Operation BELEAGUER," 35–36.
37. Liu, *From Canton Restaurant to Panda Express*, 63–65.
38. This joint venture was quickly caught in tortuous negotiations but managed to continue into the next decade. Meanwhile the Jeep has persisted in China, evolving into various forms and products, with the Beijing Automotive Group Co., Ltd. continuing to produce Jeep-style models. See Jim Mann, *Beijing Jeep: A Case Study of Western Business in China* (Boulder, CO: Westview Press, 1997).
39. Niall Ferguson and Moritz Schularick, "'Chimerica' and the Global Asset Market Boom," *International Finance* 10, no. 3 (2007): 215–239; and Fan Yang, *Disorienting Politics: Chimerican Media and Transpacific Entanglements* (Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 2024).
40. Jonathan Cheng, "In Rare Rebuke, U.S. Ambassador Accuses China of Undermining Diplomacy," *Wall Street Journal*, June 24, 2024. For American universities' opportunities and challenges in admitting students from China, as well as Chinese universities' efforts toward internationalization, see William Kirby, *Empires of Ideas: Creating the Modern University from Germany to America to China* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 2022), 112–395.
41. United States ambassador Nicholas Burns claimed that Beijing has been stirring up anti-American sentiment and expressed concerns over the recent incident. See Cheng, "Rare Rebuke."

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