# Chapter 14

## The "Atomic" Joan Hinton, a China Life, and Ann Tompkins of Sausalito and Beijing

To her family's surprise, Joan Hinton, the youngest of Carmelita's children, became famous. [1] Her reputation did not come because of her beauty or social graces. She was a tom-boy who refused to wear lip-stick or high heels and she found clever ways to avoided taking the charm lessons Carmelita paid for. Joan also fought dyslexia, a handicap that shaped her academic life. At the Shady Hill School and Putney schools she favored music, the sciences, and athletics over other subjects, demanding special science courses in place of the required Latin. She made the same type of demands at Bennington College where she majored in physics rather than in the school's famed humanities or arts offerings. She was so independent and stubborn she defied school rules and built a cloud-chamber to measure radiation. She supplemented her Bennington training with summer courses at Cornell University where she met many young male physicists and began building a reputation in the nuclear science field. After graduating from Bennington in 1942 Joan began advanced physics studies at the University of Wisconsin. In 1944, as she was about to be awarded her Master's Degree, she received a request to attend a confidential meeting with the school's dean. He asked the twenty-three-year-old if she would work on a secret government project. She immediately accepted and prepared to leave for the West. When she arrived at remote Los Alamos, New Mexico she was assigned to the famous Nobel Prize winner Enrico Fermi's group. She quickly became one of his most valued young assistants at the Manhattan Projects' center that, under the direction of Robert Oppenheimer, was racing the Germans and Japanese to develop an atomic bomb. Joan served on the team building reactors needed to test theories about how much material would be needed to create an

atomic reaction. The cover name for the devices was "water boilers." It was dangerous work. One of her team was killed by radiation exposure, another sickened.

Joan was not isolated at Los Alamos. Her physicist uncle, G.I. Taylor of England, a friend of Robert Oppenheimer, was there and Joan quickly became close to the center's younger scientists, as well as to its famous senior members such as Edward Teller and Otto Frisch. In addition, Carmelita visited Joan who arranged a place for them to stay together, a surprising one. Carmelita and Joan stayed at Oppenheimer's private Perro Caliente ranch in1945. [2] That happened because, along with other Hinton family members Joan had been close to Jean Tatlock, a Shady Hill student, and Robert Oppenheimer's secret lover. Joan also received a surprise visit from Sid Engst, her brother's friend who, she did not realize at first, was courting her. In addition, Joan and other assistants at Los Alamos found ways around security restrictions to find excitement. In the most important instance, they avoided the guards who sealed-off the area where the first atomic bomb test was to be conducted so Joan and her friends were among the first in the world to have a close-up view of an atomic explosion. She was awed--then dismayed.

Although Joan must have known she had been working on a military project, she was alienated when she learned the bomb was used against Japan. She claimed she believed her project would lead only to a demonstration. In reaction to the bombing, she became a founding member of a group of Los Alamos scientists protesting atomic warfare. The Los Alamos group sent vials of glass from inside the bomb crater to officials around the country to serve as warning of an impending cataclysm. Joan also quickly joined with other physicists in what became the Federation of Atomic Scientists that lobbied for civilian control of atomic research and for the internationalization of atomic knowledge. The federation became involved in many other liberal

causes, including ones over science information policy in general. Joan's mentors, Enrico Fermi, and Robert Oppenheimer, were central figures in the federation and in other liberal causes, including a demand to share atomic information with all scientists.[3] Their drive for such openness led some to believe they had been perhaps unknowing sources for Soviet intelligence before and during World War II. Joan Hinton would later be accused of being a source for China's atomic bomb project but while the Manhattan Project was riddled with spies, evidence that Joan was involved with any Soviet or Chinse operations never emerged.[4]

Joan was quite active in the effort to limit atomic science to peaceful uses. In 1945, she travelled to Washington, D. C. to stay with her sister Jean while lobbying for the passage of what became the McMahon Act. While with Jean she again encountered Sid Engst and began to think of him as more than a friend. Despite a budding romance and her horror over the atomic bomb Joan decided to continue her career. In 1946, she accepted a position as an assistant and a PhD student in nuclear science at Enrico Fermi's institute at the University of Chicago. She did well at Chicago while becoming interested in revolutionary China's "social experiment" and, more than before, in Sid Engst. He had left for China in early 1946 to work for a contractor for the United Nations Relief and Rehabilitation Administration (UNRRA) [5].

**The Idealistic Sid and William and China**

Sid ( Erwin) Engst was not a likely mate for Joan, nor likely to become an ideological Marxist. [6] He was not of her wealthy elite-intellectual set. His friend, Joan's brother William, found him somewhat of a country bumpkin. Sid was the second youngest child of a large northwest New York farm family. His oldest sibling was sixteen when he was born in 1918, the youngest arrived nine years after Sid's birth. Fred, his father, had been an Illinois coal miner who became politicized during the strikes of the early 1900s. Frustrated, Fred decided to try farming. After a

failed attempt at ownership, he began renting farms and raising dairy cattle. He gained a reputation as a radical and joined in at least one of the early New York milk strikes. Fred supported his wife and children but was never financially well-off. The family's situation became precarious when Fred died in 1926, two years after the birth of his last child.

Fortunately, Edna (Sid's mother) the older children, and the hired hands were resourceful, turning the farm into a truck-farm, a bakery, and caterer while enlarging its dairy The businesses did well enough to allow all the children, even Sid with his lisp, to graduate from high school and attend college. Sid had especially great educational ambitions. After high school he worked for two years at New York's nearby Solvay fertilizer plant to save for medical school. He enrolled at the University of Illinois beginning its pre-med course in 1939. Then, something went wrong. He left after less than a year—and with changed goals. He declared he would become a professional farmer, a scientific one. He followed his successful older brother and enrolled in Cornell University's tuition-free, two-year agricultural program.

Luck then changed Sid's life. His roommate at Cornell was William Hinton. They became friends and William introduced Sid to the Hinton family. Sid began visiting Joan and Carmelita at Putney and Jean in Washington. Sid would later say Jean was a critical influence in his life, a political one. When World War II began Sid left Cornell without graduating and returned home to take care of his mother and the farm. Mother Edna became his dependent so, along with exemptions granted to farmers, Sid avoided the military draft. He remained at the farm until the war was ending and when his mother retired, buying a small home in a nearby town. The rented farm was his to run but Sid auctioned the cattle and machinery. He did not rent or buy another farm, deciding to take time to consider his future. The twenty-seven-year-old bachelor began hitchhiking to visit friends, including the Hinton's in Putney, Los Alamos, and Washington D.C.

On his New Mexico stop in late 1945 he proposed to Joan who signaled she was not ready for marriage, but might be later. In Washington, D. C., Sid learned of an exciting opportunity. Jean spoke of a project of the United States' pacifist Brethren Church to send teams of experts in tractor use and maintenance, and cattle breeding, to impoverished China.[7] The effort would be supervised by the United Nation's Relief and Rehabilitation Administration (UNRRA), giving it and its employees legal protections. Jean may have of learned of the project from Laurance Duggan of Harold Ware's pre-war intelligence group. Duggan, under suspicion of espionage, had left the State Department for an executive position with the United Nation's relief agency. [8] For Sid Engst, the prospect of one or two years of world adventure with all expenses paid, and a salary he could use as a bankroll when he returned to America, was appealing. Although not wanting to leave Joan , Sid applied, was accepted, was vaccinated, and sent to a several weeks orientation and training program for cattle breeders.

Sailing from San Francisco, Sid arrived in Nationalist-controlled Shanghai in March 1946 to see poverty and corruption he never imagined. The 1930's war with Japan and the brutal occupation during the 1940s had nearly destroyed China, a country that had just begun to join the modern technological world. The nation's few ports and railways were dysfunctional, dams and irrigation systems had decayed, cities were filled with millions of desperate rural refugees, food was scarce everywhere, basics such as hospitals were near collapse, and there was little infrastructure in place to support relief efforts. Shanghai, the most modern mainland city had not escaped the devastation and had been unable to rebuild it civic organizations. Rotting bodies were in the streets, fathers were offering their children for sale, and relief supplies were being stolen by government officials. Sid's letters to Joan were filled with descriptions of famine and

exploitation, as were his reports to the UNRRA administrators in charge of providing both immediate relief and programs to bring China into the modern era. s.[9]

**Reforming Agriculture , Sid Hoped**

The Nationalist government and foreign advisors had been trying to implement modernization programs since the 1920s but the government's disarray and Japan's invasion led to an abandonment of most program. An example of later programs that made some progress were Edgar Snow's, Ida Pruitt's, and Rewi Alley's privately funded Chinese Industrial Cooperative Association (Indusco/Gung Ho) begun in the late 1930s, the operations by the foreign agricultural engineering experts hired by UNRRA, and the Nationalist government's large post-war initiatives, The Agricultural Industry Service (AIS) and Joint Rural Reconstruction Administration. Among the many UNRRA efforts were programs to create new animal breed stocks to raise milk productivity, to build small factories for local production of modern farm implements, and to provide basic education in the use of mechanized farm equipment. The American Brethren Church's charitable arm, which had a long history of successful agricultural programs around the world, accepted responsibility for one of the cattle breeding efforts and for a tractor-training program. The Church contracted to purchase the best American livestock and more than a thousand tractors. Then it recruited staff for the many teams it was to provide. Things went well in America, and the Church looked forward to beginning its breeding programs in early1946 and the tractor efforts as soon as its specially designed machines were ready. Like all UNRRA programs the Brethrens' were to be active in both Communist and Nationalist controlled areas. Frustrating, The Brethrens soon encountered what UNRRA officials later described as the worst aid delivery system in the world. China's disorder meant delayed, lost, and pilfered materials, as well as monumental spoilage.

Among the lost or stolen were the cows for Sid Engst's team. Sid was disappointed and angry. He was also worried because it seemed the civil war between the Nationalists and Communists might resume. Sid feared being out of work and stranded in a war zone. He did not know what to do until he met the American Gerald Tannenbaum who oversaw the large private China Welfare Fund established by Sun Yet Sen's widow. Madame Rosamond Soong was popular in the United States and had started the fund-raising organization before World War II as one to aide all Chinese. After the war, while supporting efforts in both Nationalist and Communist controlled areas she gradually moved to favor the Communists, at least politically. She had met Tannenbaum when he oversaw the American military's radio broadcast and propaganda service in the China area during the war. He seemed to have the talents and contacts in China and America her welfare fund needed.

Gerald was from a substantial Baltimore, Maryland family, graduated from Northwestern University in1935 then began a successful advertising career. He also did well in the military, quickly rising to be a captain and known to powerful Americans as well as Chinese. Gerald was at the historic December 1945 meeting led by General George C. Marshall that tried to bring the Chinese Nationalists and Communists together. While there, Tannenbaum befriended many newly arrived Americans, including William Hinton who was with the Office of War Information. Gerald soon made a great decision. He left the military, decided to stay in China, and accepted Madame Soong's offer to direct her Welfare fund.[10]

Tannenbaum, who already knew of Sid because of his friend William Hinton's letters, hired Sid Engst to help the welfare fund and CLARA, the Communist's organization that coordinated foreign relief efforts in the "liberated" regions. Sid was asked to survey the distribution of relief in rural areas and to search for a possible site for a breeding farm. After Sid

recovered from bouts of severe dysentery and malaria he spent several months traveling to many regions, always encountering corruption in those controlled by the Nationalists.

He saw something different when flown 1,000 miles northeast of Shanghai into mountainous Yan'an in October 1946. Yan'an was the Communist movement's headquarters. While its people were housed in caves without modern facilities, and food was scarce, Sid found no starvation, crime, or obvious inequality. He was deeply impressed by that and by the Communist's determination to improve the lives of all despite having few resources. After Sid met with Mao and other party leaders he made a life-changing decision. As other Americans were leaving Yan'an Sid, knowing only a few Chinese words, asked to stay and help the Communist movement. Gerald Tannenbaum supported his decision. After Sid resigned from UNRRA Gerald arranged for his support through the China Welfare Fund (CWF) he administered. [11]

Sid's offer was accepted by the Communists but was he not made an official, not even a recognized " expert." He became a devoted worker without special rank or privileges. He was first asked to hide Yan'an's cattle in a safe place in the hills when a Nationalist attack seemed imminent. When he returned, he was sent to a primitive ironworks two days walk from Yan' an where he labored as a blacksmith in the now CWF funded program teaching workers how to make basic farm implements using hand-made tools. Still speaking little Chinese, Sid lived, dressed, and ate like the village's poor inhabitants. There were no toilets. Food, and clothing were scarce. Shoes were a luxury. But Sid was so devoted to the cause he accepted the conditions. He stayed a faithful worker alone in little Wayaobao for two years except for a few months in 1948 when William Hinton was assigned to help him. Hinton grew to respect Sid's judgement during those three months, no longer regarding him as a bumpkin.

Although Sid was frustrated because Joan could not join him and discouraged because he was not making great contributions, or using his special skills, he was not defeated. He continued to see himself as a rugged pioneer building a new democratic society. He admired the Communists' efforts, interpreting them as energetic versions of policies any liberal would approve. Since he arrived in early 1946 he had conveyed that in his letters to Joan and William. He urged them to join him in creating a new and equal nation. William quickly accepted, but Joan hesitated.

**Joan's Great Decisions**

Joan Hinton gave all Sid's letters serious attention although she was beginning her demanding and exciting PhD program at the University of Chicago in 1946. Sid repeatedly proposed marriage as well as inviting her to at least see China's "great social experiment." Joan was tempted to visit. She began exploring how to finance a trip and how to obtain a passport. Passports to China were difficult to obtain because the United States was reluctant to allow travel to a country with the possibility of a civil war. It took time, but Joan was provided a solution to both problems. After prompting by Sid and William, Gerald Tannenbaum contacted her. In late 1947 he arranged a position with his China Welfare Fund. The job paid travel, living expenses and a salary. Joan's passport was granted because she would be working for an established non-political, non-profit organization. Joan had to make great decisions, in a hurry. Would she go at all, how long would she stay, would she marry Sid, when would she go? She was close to obtaining her degree, so she thought of waiting several months until she passed her final examination. That seemed less attractive when she learned the contract supporting her studies was from the United States Navy. She felt unethical about accepting military money for atomic research.

Joan decided to leave immediately and to marry Sid. She put her studies on hold – expecting to return within a year or two. Joan arrived in China in early 1948 as the civil war was raging. She faced great complications and disappointments. The war prevented Sid from joining her or her travelling to him because he was deep in Communist territory. Joan did not return home, however. She spent a frustrating year without seeing him. Although gradually getting to know the other American liberals in China, and writing articles for their pro-China, pro-Communist journals such as the *China Review,* she felt alone and rather useless. The fund did put her to work, using her as a teacher and a helper (learning to weld beds) in a local hospital close to the Communist's "liberated" territory while Bertha, William Hinton's wife, worked there as a nurse.

Suffering bouts of severe dysentery, malaria and malnutrition Joan became so ill Tannenbaum ordered her back to Beijing and wanted her returned to America. But Joan was stubborn and in love. She would not leave China. She became somewhat ashamed when she learned Bertha had been able to leave the hospital and walk for forty-five days to join William at a Welfare Fund-supported tractor station deep in "liberated" territory. Joan insisted on remaining in Beijing while urging Tannenbaum to arrange a way for her to see her brother William then join Sid. Tannenbaum contacted the Communist underground and began laying plans. It took months before Joan was secretly transported to Yan'an in early 1949. Communications were tangled so Sid was not there when she arrived. She had to wait several days before he walked many miles to join her. Once he arrived, they were married. They spent a few days in Yan' then made the trek to the party-controlled isolated iron-works village where Sid began teaching her blacksmithing and where Joan began a lifetime of living like a native.

She was quickly transformed into a faithful Communist, accepting the sacrifices she was making. She was proud of abandoning her "bourgeoisie" Putney and elite science backgrounds.

**To Mongolia, Then Beijing to Become Infamous**

Joan's sacrifices increased when Sid accepted a new assignment at the end of 1949, one finally utilizing his agricultural skills. He was asked to travel two hundred fifty miles though steep mountains to the plains of Inner Mongolia to be part of a cadre to aid local farmers move into the modern world. Sid was tasked to help establish a party-directed version of the Brethren's cattle, horse, and sheep breeding program that had done so much to help restock poor European countries. It was hoped he could cross-breed local and previously imported animals to create stock that would produce more milk and food while surviving on the local grasses. Traveling by foot for almost two weeks while leading uncooperative mules carrying their supplies Sid and Joan endured primitive and dangerous conditions. On the way they saw villagers living in pits cut into the ground and learned of the constant threat of bandits whose raids left villages destitute. Arriving in Chunchuan near where Sid was to help create the Three Borders Dairy Farm they found conditions little better. The town remained a primitive fort because of bandits and because of the region's poverty. The town's houses were plagued by rats, there was little heat to combat the bitterly cold winters, and the meagre food supply was confined to millet, even for the party cadre's members. Clothing was inadequate so Joan and Sid had to make their socks from yarn sent from Yan' an. Sanitary conditions were poor leading to more bouts of dysentery and, despite the area's isolation, there were influenza epidemics. Joan was seriously ill during the 1950s causing her hair to fall out. Sid constantly battled malnutrition and vitamin deficiencies. As, well, the bandit danger was real-- there was an attack.

Sid and Joan had some additional worries after China joined the Korean War because there were indications any American in China would be ill-treated. In addition to that fear, and more illnesses, there were frustrating conflicts with local supervisors and with the government's distant agricultural experts and veterinarians Most frustrating, local farmers were unwilling to cooperate in breeding cows, horses, and sheep. But Joan and Sid did not flee from the Three Borders Farm, even when they were forced to live apart for five days each week while Sid worked in another center.

During the three years in Mongolia, Joan devised a windmill and bred new types of corn for silage while Sid found ways to overcome the farmers' distrust. The cow, horse, and sheep herds seemed to improve. Important to Sid and Joan, they gradually became accepted members of the local community. They felt comfortable enough by early 1952 to create a baby. As well, their feeling of isolation from family because of the United States' embargo was eased when distant uncle G. F. Taylor in England arranged to receive and transmit letters. Joan's loneliness lessened when she met with her relative Howard Everett Hinton the entomologist- bacteriologist who went to China in 1960 to lecture and to investigate the old claims the United States had conducted germ warfare during the Korean conflict.

There was an exception to feeling comfortable: Joan feared birthing her first child in Three Borders. In August 1952, seven months pregnant, she obtained permission to leave the farm (travel was tightly controlled by the government). She began a walking, mule-cart, truck, and train trip of 1,200 miles to stay with William Hinton and his wife Bertha who now were helping run a dairy near Beijing (Peking) city where there was a semblance of modern medical care, partly the result of the billions of dollars the great capitalist Rockefeller family had donated to modernize China's medical care since the 1920s. [12]

Joan arrived penniless and without respectable clothing. William took her in and arranged for his organization to cover her medical expenses. Joan began birth training expecting an uneventful two months. Then, Gerald Tanenbaum learned where she was. He invited her to become part of the American delegation to October 1952's ten-day Asia Pacific Peace Conference that was designed to salute peaceful international Communism and decry American warmongering. Joan was given new clothes, a room at Beijing's best hotel, and a pass allowing her to eat in the special and lavish dining room for attendees. Joan liked that as she had been hungry since she began working at Three Borders. At the Beijing conference Joan met ex-patriate Americans such as the Powells of the *China Monthly Review*, David and Isabel Crook,, and Walter Illsley. She visited with American delegates including Martha Fletcher, and mingled with delegates from the dozens of China-friendly nations.[13]

**Joan's Attention-Grabbing Speech**

Joan and Tannenbaum did not expect she would play a significant role in 1952's proceedings, but she did, and as a result became world famous. After making a few comments in a private meeting with Japanese delegates she was asked to address the convention. She delivered a brief speech that condemned the atomic bomb attack on Japan, germ warfare, and all research that had led to atomic and bacteriological weapons.[14] It was not hard to tell her criticisms were aimed at the United States and that she believed the Americans had engaged in germ warfare in Korea. Her speech was published around the world. When it was realized she had worked at Los Alamos she became known as "Atomic Joan." In the United States reactions ranged from the beginning of FBI investigations to accusations that she was working on China's atomic bomb project.

Joan gave birth to baby Fred as the conference ended, planning to return to Three Borders as she had come. She got some pleasant surprises, however. The Crooks supplied her with all the

new baby's needs, the convention's gift-pack contained many amenities, and the government arranged a berth on a sleeper car on a fast train to Yan'an, as well as a comfortable ride to Three Borders. The government also granted her domestic help. After she joined Sid and learned of her new fame she felt safe enough to ignore the accusations of her working on China's a-bomb project.

There soon was some good/bad news for the Engsts from the Chinese government. The Three Borders project was terminated, but Joan and Sid were not abandoned. They were asked to help expand a much larger and more modern working dairy near the big city of Xian, some seven hundred miles to the west. They accepted although they were disappointed by hints that Three Borders had not been the success they worked so hard for. As they were leaving there were indications their cows and horses could not prosper on the local feed.

**Sid and Joan as Employees, Not Reformers**

Despite that Sid and Joan obeyed and left for Xian anxious to begin what became a thirteen-year tenure at the state-run Yanzhuang facility on the city's outskirts. Sid continued applying his breeding and managerial skills while Joan kept busy with innovations in farm machinery, including refrigeration and her later famous silage (fodder) chopper. The Engsts never expected or realized how different the Three Borders and Xian experiences were. The years in Inner Mongolia came before China's policies for agriculture began moving away from accepting private land ownership and local determination of land use to encouraging, then forcing, the creation of Soviet style communes and huge state farms controlled by distant bureaucrats. The drive for communes and expert-managed state farms was beginning as Sid and Joan arrived in Xian but the full push began several years later. [15] Yet, the Xian diary experience was already different. It was not a pioneering effort to help poor peasants but one to expand commercial operations while controlling employees. It was a huge farm factory; the kind Harold Wart had envisioned. Local meetings were more

lectures than debates over fundamental policies. There also were important social differences. While Sid and Joan continued to live as Chinese, including making their children read and speak Chinese, not English, their housing, pay, and rations were better than others in the community. Joan had a permanent nanny and the Engsts had bicycles and savings they could use to purchase goods in downtown Xian. However, the local standard of living was still so low their privileges meant they were living like the poorest of American farmers. There was no electricity, running water, good roads, or toilets. Although the Engsts ate all their meals in the farm's cafeteria the food was not appealing. There were few consumer goods, even in Xian. Yet, Joan was happy that she did not need to cook for the family and Sid was proud the milk he produced was used to feed infants allowing their mothers to work full-time.[16]

Sid was assigned to develop new areas for the farm. Joan was kept busy with many tasks at Yanzhuang while Sid's project dragged-on for two years of frustrating work, .including some costly mistakes such as establishing pastures that flooded leaving herds stranded and endangered. Yet, his superiors did not lose faith in him, and Sid was asked to create plans to continue enlarging the diary operation, something that meant acquiring more peasant land. Joan took-on additional responsibilities, including a larger family. Billy, a very sickly baby, was born in 1954 and "stubborn" Karen a year later. As well, Fred continued to be a challenge. He had been sent to Beijing to live with Bertha Hinton for a year when he was seven. He returned but not cured of his "bitterness." Despite such problems and three children to raise Sid and Joan did not consider returning to America, or to take less demanding and much better paying jobs as propaganda editors in rebuilt Beijing.

**Sid and Joan, the Great Leap Forward, Seeing No Evil**

The couple remained committed to the cause, still believing they were integral parts of a democratic-egalitarian operation. Their beliefs held as Mao's government shifted from a policy of a gradual change to one of an immediate move to a "socialist' economy and society. 1958's Great Leap Forward's new policies included a take-over of remaining private property, forcing millions of men and women to work on infrastructure projects such as canals with inadequate tools, the immediate formation of huge agricultural communes, demands for grandiose productivity increases in all economic sectors, and the production of basics such as iron and steel in every town and village. [17] There were some rewards for success but many punishments for those not supporting the Great Leap. Bureaucrats felt they had to hastily form communes without providing adequate guidance or resources. Local farm leaders followed orders and to appear faithful promised results, such as crop yields they knew could not achieve, as they ordered iron production they knew would be useless. Tens of thousands who complained were forced into an expanding system of forced-labor gulags. The Leap's problems were accompanied by the scare of a Soviet invasion. Tunnels and mass underground shelters were built by forced labor in major cities.

Nationwide, the Leap was a disaster. Agricultural production plummeted; consumer goods disappeared. Overreporting led to the central government taking a much greater percentage of actual crop yields than the usual thirty percent. Many of the hastily designed infrastructure projects wasted manpower and resources. By 1959, one of the world's greatest famines began. Rural, and to a lesser degree urban, areas shared in the tragedy. Estimates of forty-five millions deaths have been put-forward by credible historians. Millions more suffered from malnutrition and the birth rate plummeted.[18]

For Sid and Joan, the Leap meant having to follow orders to raise new types of stock on their dairy farm and to plant unusual crops on every inch of land they supervised. Joan had to oversee the hatching of thousands of ducks using commandeered local women. Sid looked after hundreds of pigs and dozens of esoteric crops while searching for scarce food for his cows and while directing a hasty and wasteful construction program. By 1959, rations at Xian had to be reduced, basics such as children's clothes and shoes were unobtainable. The farm's employees and the Engst family suffered from hunger and malnutrition. Sid, Joan, and the children lost weight, a friend lost her hair. Sid experienced extreme guilt one day when he felt compelled to supplement his family's rations with a glass of milk for each of its five members. The crises eased somewhat by 1961, but hunger remained a constant, even in urban Xian.

Despite that, Sid and Joan once again did not take their family home to America or condemn China's government. They were so devoted to the cause they denounced foreign accounts of starvation during the Leap, stating they only knew of some malnutrition. They also refused to put much blame for the famine on Mao's policies or administrative failures. They told friends the major causes were a drought, a flood, and, especially, the sudden withdrawal of Soviet Russia's support. Sid and Joan continued their work at the dairy, expecting a normal routine but any normality was short-lived. First, came an unexpected, time-demanding visit from Joan's mother Carmelita Hinton.[19] While on a 1962 Russian tour she contacted Joan and asked her to arrange a way to slip her into China. Reluctantly, the busy Joan contacted influential friends like Gerald Tannenbaum and his employer Madame Soong. They pulled many bureaucratic strings and had Carmelita flown to Beijing on an official plane. On arrival she was treated as a celebrity and declared a national hero. But Joan's friends could not alter the Xian farm to meet Carmelita's middle-class expectations. When she arrived, she was shocked to find the family bathroom was

a hole in the floor. She refused to use it. Sid had to find a western ceramic toilet. He placed it over the hole and ordered the children to haul buckets of water from the well so the fake toilet could be flushed. Carmelita was also repulsed by the family's crowded living conditions and the farm's food. Joan had to convince an increasingly disgruntled Sid to turn his office into her private room and to find special foods in Xian. Carmelita's determination to westernize the children and teach them English was a major source of friction. Easing the situation, although it consumed much of Joan's time, was the government's sponsoring of a first-class China-wide tour for Carmelita. That, and discussions with Sid and Joan, led Carmelita to become a Maoist. On her return home after a year with the Engsts, she became a public supporter of China and Mao's version of communism.[20]

**More Purges, the Engsts to the City**

Sid and Joan had only a year's peace after Carmelita left. In 1963, the government began a heightened version of the almost yearly crusades against capitalism, other corruptions, and foreigners. The Socialist Education Campaign became an inquisition with several hundred thousand being fired or sent to prisons or gulag-like labor camps. Xian was one of the campaigns first targets. A team of interrogators arrived unannounced at Sid's diary. Everyone was ordered to sit alone waiting to be questioned and, usually, accused of "deviations." Young Fred and Billy were interrogated being asked why they came to China—although they were born there. Sid and Joan were questioned; their answers were not satisfactory. They were not jailed but Sid was demoted, and Joan reprimanded. Both were prevented from participating in future farm meetings and told not to talk to others except about business matters. Signs appeared warning foreigners not to enter many areas. Worse, the Engst children were humiliated. Fred, Billy, and Karen were ostracized by their classmates and accused of being spies. They were not allowed to participate in

school activities and were blocked from joining the Young Pioneers and wearing its coveted red scarf. They also endured racist taunts. The children cried and Karen began to show signs of emotional damage.

Once again, Sid and Joan did not turn against communism or the government. They did not ask to leave Xian. They did move but it came after three years and because the government forced them to leave, partly because Mao wanted all foreigners closely watched and out of contact with China's commoners. The Engsts had been one the few American families living outside of Beijing's foreigners' district and one of the very few that had close, long-term contact with typical Chinese. In 1966 they were ordered to move into Beijing's Friendship Hotel's compound (the huge old Soviet center) to live with other foreign employees who were segregated from the Chinese population. They were not given jobs in agriculture or policy making, but ordered to work in agencies checking English translations although they had no training in propaganda or translation. The government forced the children into special schools, ones unlike those they were accustomed to. Like their parents. they felt they now were in a different and unfriendly world.

Joan accepted the move to Beijing but refused to continue to live in the closed and extravagant world of the Friendship Hotel and its foreigners. She and the children found all the amenities and western-style food at the hotel startling and offensive. The children were unaccustomed to electric lights, automatic toilets, soft beds, or fancy carpets. Joan felt deep guilt at the lavish surroundings. She wanted to return to living as a true communist and to have the freedom to live with common citizens. Ten-year-old Karen was especially disoriented. She fled the hotel hoping to reach Xian. Then, she threw tantrums severe enough that Joan sought professional mental advice.

Joan protested but the government refused her request to live within the Chinese community. The bureaucrats eventually accepted a compromise, really a win for the government. Joan grudgingly agreed to live in a hotel for foreign newsmen where Bertha Hinton was located but Joan had to agree to follow procedures such as she and Sid being chauffeured to and from work while the children were driven to school in special buses. However, Bertha's special relationship with Karen provided some calm for the family.

**The Great Cultural Revolution, Seeing No Evil Again**

That did not last long. The Proletarian Cultural Revolution swept Beijing and the nation. The revolution was deeper and broader and more violent that the typical cleansings of capitalists, foreign influences, and premodern thought and beliefs. It was not conducted by established and well controlled agencies but by highly emotional mobs of young students calling themselves Red Guards. Worse, the revolution was part of a complex, swirling contest at the highest levels of government between Mao's and other factions. [21]

City walls were covered in protest posters. There were constant demonstrations against employers who were not communist enough, and there were attacks on any literature, statute, or art that was considered unmodern and un-communist. Intellectuals were denounced. Schools and colleges were taken-over, then closed. Students were forced leave school and work in factories or communes. Joan and Bertha and Crook's children, although they supported the Red Guards, spent years in those work groups. Teachers and professors were brutally humiliated, forced to walk and bark like dogs. Government departments, factories, and farms were stripped of "capitalistic" leaders. The situation became more dangerous as factions within the Guards developed and began fighting each other. Some universities became miniature war zones.

Joan, Sid, their children, and their close friends did not see the Cultural Revolution as destructive, however. To them, it was a positive and necessary movement to fight-off a resurgence of selfish capitalism. They were frustrated because as foreigners living in segregated compounds they were not allowed to participate. Joan did not wait long before protesting. She joined with Sid, Bertha Hinton and Ann Tompkins, a recent arrival from the United States, to take a dangerous step. The government did not want any foreigners involved in the revolution, indicating those that did would be punished, but Joan and her friends disregarded those hints. With the help of Bertha's daughter who knew calligraphy they composed a large poster (dàzìbào**)** demanding they be allowed to fully participate in the Cultural Revolution. To their surprise their wish was granted, and more. Not just Joan's group, but all Beijing's government-employed foreigners, such as the son of David Milton, the American labor organizer who was teaching English and polishing propaganda, were allowed to form Red Guard units, although with a suggestion they confine their activities to reforming their departments. Several groups were quickly assembled then broke into contesting factions, ones that accomplished little and quickly faded away. Joan and Bertha were early Guard leaders but soon found their energies diverted when they were on opposite sides in disputes.

**Expatriates as Exiles, Then Critics**

One consequence of the foreigners' involvements was a decision to sideline them. Along with others Sid and Joan and Bertha were barred from their workplaces although allowed housing and small salaries. Sid and Joan spent five years avoiding conflict as they worked odd jobs until they were officially restored and sent to work at the large Red Star Commune near Beijing in 1972. As one of the tributes to them, they were later assigned to a special breeding and mechanization center where they could pursue their special interests. Joan and Sid remained devoted, idealistic Maoists

and courageous enough to bemoan China's shist toward capitalism after Mao's death. Joan was remembered for using quotations from Mao's Red Book for the remainder of her life. That was one of the reasons her portrait was put on Chinese currency after her death.

**The Strange Young Tompkins**

Ann Tompkins also never lost her faith in Maoist goals and the Cultural Revolution before she left China in 1970. Ann was a new type of American China expatriate. [22] Those of the 1940s, like the Hintons and Engsts, were not hardline communists or people fleeing legal threats but the 1950s and 1960's newcomers were one or both. David Milton, whose sister Isobel Cerney had attended the 1952 peace conference, was a devoted Party man and labor organizer who seemed unable to find a place in 1960s' America. Frank Coe (of the Ware organizations), , Solomon Adler, Norman Shulman, and Robert Williams were radicals avoiding possible arrest in the United States. Vicki Garvin, Max and Grace Granich, and Jack and Ruth Shulman were long-time Party members who had refused to follow the American Party's move from Stalinism. Ann Tompkins was younger, but also had left the old Party searching for a radical home.

Ann's upbringing meant she would be an adventurer, and probably a radical communist. Warwick, Ann's father, was, however, not destined to be became a real-world example of a 1930's Errol Flynn, an Indiana Jones of the 1980s, or a Communist. But he became all of them and passed his attitudes and beliefs onto Ann. Born into a well-to-do engineer's family in 1900 Warwick grew up in conservative Troy, New York. His father was a family man but told his sons of his youthful dreams of adventure on the seas. In his late teens Warwick moved with his parents to Southern California where his independently wealthy mother Alice remarried to a millionaire, just three years after Ernest, her first husband, passed away in 1923. Her new husband died a few months after the marriage leaving Alice with a handsome estate. She moved her family

from the lovely resort and retirement town of Pasadena, California to Berkeley, California and into a distinctive showplace home near the University of California's campus close to where the Havens lived. Alice quickly became part of the city's social set. She did not spoil her children, but her wealth financed their college educations and gave them a feeling they had someone to rescue them from disasters if they chose to be adventurous.

**The Great Adventurer**

Warwick, the youngest son, did take chances. At seventeen he left high school where he was a chess master and in 1917 voluntarily joined the United States Navy. He served as a signalman on the Battleship Arizona. He loved the experience and made many friends. He returned home and enrolled in college pursuing a journalism major. Although aspiring to be a reporter Warwick felt a need for more excitement. He decided to pause his schooling and began a one-man trip around the world, many times working as a sailor while learning seamanship and navigation. He headed for the Far East and the Pacific. He visited China, Manchuria, Mongolia, and Japan. Then he went to the Philippines where he met three other your adventurers. They sailed a small boat to still primitive New Guinea. While there, Warwick had his strangest adventure after he signed-on to a sailing schooner involved in river and coastal islands trade. That trade included carrying native indentured servants (Warwick described them as virtual slaves). After that, Warwick decided to return home. He found an Australian freighter bound for San Francisco and worked his way as a seaman although he already was close to becoming a qualified navigator. Once home with his mother Alice he wrote articles on his adventure and called himself a journalist. He did not say long in Berkeley, however.

He headed for Europe, again searching for excitement and a new type of life, perhaps as an artist. In Paris, he studied engraving, wrote articles for the *Paris Herald Tribune,* the American

newspaper serving expatriates, and met members of the famous avant-garde " lost generation" of writers and artists such as Ernest Hemingway. Warwick also mingled with young members of rich and powerful American and British families. One of those contacts led to his being hired to serve as the navigator of a British sailing yacht that was entered into a race to Bermuda. He did well, gaining a reputation and friends within the yacht-racing set. That led to a pivotal encounter with the American Frederick Lothrop Ames, the heir to the massive fortune based on the manufacture of farm tools and railway systems. Lothrop was one of the most important players in America's high society. In 1927, Warwick guided Frederick's yacht from England to Boston. Massachusetts. Warwick did more than navigate Ames' yacht , he became a family friend. He was invited to Ames' estate in nearby Northampton. While there Warwick met more of the "social set." He also met Gwen Bohning, a girl from an established Texas family who was about to graduate from Northampton's elite Smith College. They fell in love and quickly married although Warwick, at twenty-eight, did not and never had a steady job.

Gwen agreed to return to Europe with Warwick. They hobnobbed with the members of Paris' lost generation, soon deciding they could earn a living and continue a romantic life by combining Warwick's sea skills with their social connections. Although without much money (perhaps why Gwen had an abortion) they bought a fifty-year old 85-foot German sail-only pilot boat that was part of a bankruptcy sale. Warwick paid $45,000 for it out-of-pocket (perhaps Alice's pocket), then borrowed $450,000 from friends and family to refit it. In 1929, with a few paying passengers who wanted the thrill of an Atlantic crossing on the motorless sailing ship Wander Bird, Warwick and Gwen headed for Boston.

They anchored the high masted and romantic Wander Bird in Boston's harbor and decided to make the ship their home as they began implementing their business plan. They were going

to conduct long cruises for those who were willing to pay to act as crewmembers while they were taught seamanship and discipline. Boston was a good place to begin as its Harvard University had many students whose parents were able to pay $30,000 for a summer trip that taught self-reliance as well as seamanship.[23] Warwick contacted his society friends, placed ads in newspapers, and made sure the nation's yachting set knew of his beautiful and unique ship. Applicants from Harvard and other leading universities soon responded as Warwick gained financial backing from influential yachting men, such as the ultra-rich George Baker of what became the huge CitiBank. Baker also was the commodore of the elite New York Yacht Club. Like others, Baker was impressed with the yacht and with a man skilled enough to guide a sailing ship across the Atlantic. By 1929, Warwick and Gwen felt secure enough to begin a family. Ann was born in 1930, Warwick Jr. arrived two years later, and like Ann was immediately housed aboard ship.

Warwick's business strategy worked. For nine years the Wander Bird cruised the Atlantic. the Baltic, the Mediterranean, and the Caribbean with the sons of the nation's leading capitalist families such as the J. P Morgans and the Bakers. During those years, the Wander Bird hosted some four hundred passengers as Warwick and Gwen became part of the nation's social elite, invited to the homes of the best families.

Other parts of Warwick's plan succeeded. He made moving pictures while on the trips and wrote books for adults and youths that had wide sales.[24] Warwick was an effective speaker and a handsome social charmer and made income and friends on the lecture circuit, even receiving recognition from the Royal and National Geographic societies. In addition, his writing and adverting skills made the Wander Bird a romantic icon. The Tompkins family became famous, partly because Ann and Warwick Jr. lived on the ship yearlong, even during the cruises.

Warwick showed pictures of them climbing the masts and performing seamen's chores, sometimes during threatening gales. Young Warwick's youthful heroics earned him a "Commodore" nickname.

The family was doing well, but the threat of war in Europe made Warwick Sr. rethink his plans. He decided to conduct his tours on the Pacific Ocean and to move the Wander Bird there, and in a way that attracted publicity. He installed a new two-way radio and sailed the Wander Bird around Cape Horn, a dangerous five-month passage that seemed impossible for a small sailing ship. The *Boston Globe* described it as Millionaire's Cruise because of the family backgrounds of the young men on board. [25]When Warwick anchored his yacht in Berkeley's harbor in February 1937 the trip was already famous. Hundreds came to view the ship, Warwick received lecture invitations, and he began recruiting passengers from the West Coast's capitalist elite for cruises to Tahiti and Hawaii. He succeeded and conducted Pacific cruises for four years.

After his 1941 cruise Warwick decided to move the Wander Bird across San Francisco bay to Sausalito in Marin County where the newly-opened Gold Gate Bridge had its northern terminus. Because of the threat of war with Japan Warwick sensed he would have to lower the Wander Bird's expenses. If there was Pacific war he might not be able to offer long cruises. Sausalito provided a way to save money. It was an old fishing -ship repair village that had far lower mooring charges then Berkeley or San Francisco, and some of its famous houseboats were squatters paying little or nothing. Important to Gwen and Warwick, Sausalito was becoming an artists' colony with a culture and atmosphere much like Paris,' as was the nearby Mill Valley. With a significant number of people already on houseboats they and the children would not feel out-of-place if they lived on the Wander Bird. Also, with plans to have the children attend school

ashore for the first time, Sausalito seemed a better setting for them than conservative Berkeley or even San Francisco.

The family soon decided to make Sausalito and the Wander Bird their permanent home. That saved rent money. Soon, the ship became a beautiful Sausalito "landmark" and the Tompkins became part of Sausalito's artistic set. There was more to Marin County's culture that was attractive to Gwen and Warwick: There were many left-wingers, even Communists such as Jean Clark husband's close friend Herman Volz living there. As well, there were many more Party members in the now automobile accessible San Francisco. Warwick and Gwen met many of them and despite their capitalist connections and backgrounds, they became outspoken communists. By1941, both were Party members.

**From Ship to Party**

The Party helped Warwick and Gwen in 1942 as the Pacific war cut-off their livelihood. With no cruises possible the Wander Bird became just a floating home with an expanded cabin on its deck. Sitting idle, it was deteriorating. Worse, Warwick was jobless at age forty-two and his only skills were navigation and sailboat handling. Gwen had never worked. Warwick was a bit old for the military and the merchant marine service did not seem attractive. He had to build a new career, partly because his mother Alice would not come forward with substantial financial help.

Gwen had to take whatever work she could. The Smith College graduate became a jig fitter (not an administrator) in the new 20,000 employee Marinship shipyard in Sausalito that was hastily built for the war effort in an old train repair yard. Warwick found a better job. Fortunately , he had become friends with San Francisco's Pop Folkoff.[26] Folkoff founded

California's Party and continued to be one of its most important members. He also was a recruiter, a talent spotter, and, significantly, a go-between for agents, such as Steve Nelson, and Soviet intelligence. Warwick was offered and accepted a job with the Soviet government's AMTORG purchasing agency, which was later shown, like Pop Folkoff and Steve Nelson, to be involved in espionage. Although busy with AMTORG Warwick was active in the Party, including recruiting new members and helping Gwen with cell meetings on the Wander Bird .[27] In 1944, when his long-term admirer Sterling Hayden, who had become a famous movie star and a paramilitary operative for the Office of Strategic Services, visited Sausalito Warwick urged him to join the Party. Hayden soon did. [28]

When the war ended prospects were dim for Warwick, Gwen, and the two teenagers. The Wander Bird was unseaworthy, and Warwick did not have restoration funds. He had no job prospects and tensions had been building between he and Gwen. A divorce came in 1946. The Wander Bird became Gwen's property. Ann and Warwick Jr. stayed with her on the ship, now just a decaying houseboat. The divorce did not mean an end to the family's radicalism, however. Gwen and Warwick remained in the Party. Ann was active in its Marin youth groups leading protests of such things as racial discrimination. Ann's special target was the nearby Marin City that had been hastily built to house six thousand Marinship workers recruited from the South. It was fast becoming a negro Ghetto.

In 1945, Warwick decided on writing and filmmaking for his livelihood. His first attempt was at a biography of his friend Sterling Hayden. Warwick went to Hollywood to see Hayden, joined the local Party branch, and took copious notes for the biography. Disappointing, Hayden pulled out of the project. Warwick turned to making short documentary films, and to two new women.[29] He married the first in 1948, the other by 1950. The second's income as a

psychotherapist provided needed helped because Warwick's film career never did well. He claimed he was backlisted. Warwick had another disappointment: The Party expelled him in 1951 because he was spreading anti-Stalin statements in response to the Soviet's treatment of Anna Louise Strong. After that, Warwick kept low political and career profiles. He passed away unnoticed in Los Angeles in 1976.

**The Feisty Gwen and Radical Ann**

In contrast, Gwen did not retreat, and she deepened her Party involvements. She encouraged Ann to do the same. Gwen continued living on the decaying Wander Bird unable to afford its upkeep. The ship's masts had to be removed. Gwen had to take a job as a department manager in a small Sausalito artistic ceramic manufacturing firm. But she made time to become more involved with Marin's Party, its members, and its friends. Her connections to David Sarvis (Sali Lieberman's close friend) who acted in the left-wing classic 1954 film *Salt of the Earth* sponsored by the radical Mine, Mill & Smelter Union, led her to call on the union for help in a 1954 strike she was leading against the ceramics manufacturer. She was so radical her employer described her as a Madam Defarge. Gwen continued her devotion to the left as she and the Wander Bird aged. She lived on it until 1969 when she became ill and retired to the nearby Sebastopol, a still low-income town. She had to sell the Wander Bird as a derelict.

Before then, Ann became more radical than during of her years of leading the Marin Party's youth branches. Participating in more anti-discrimination protests led the FBI to begin a file on her. She completed undergraduate college while making two cross-country hitch-hiking trips with other young radicals, then she became a social worker in California. She continued her education and earned a Master's Degree in 1957 when she was twenty-seven. Her thesis was on Gwen's 1954 ceramic strike. Ann had stayed in the Party after the 1956 split but was

growing worried about its turn to moderation. She decided to explore political and life alternatives although she was in her mid-twenties. In 1957, she traveled with some discontented young adults, reaching New York City where she found a position as a social worker. She spent eight years in the city's versions of Hull Houses in poor neighborhoods. The suffering she observed multiplied her hatreds of America. While she attended the Party's 1960 New York City convention as a regular delegate she was ready to join a more activist organization after she learned the Party gave its full support to Russia in its break with China. She also heard and approved of China's eliminating all private property by 1957. Ann tried several spin-off parties and New Left organizations during the early 1960s but was unsatisfied with them.

A life's turning-point came when on a European vacation she agreed to act as an observer for a splinter party at Finland's 1965 ambitious thirty-five country anti-American peace convention. She met some students there who suggested she might find China's Maoism the ideological home she had been searching for. Ann was interested. She met with China's representatives who agreed to arrange a way for her to enter China, to pay for her travel, and to provide a job. She accepted their offer. She arrived in Beijing at the end of 1965, was assigned a room in the Friendship Hotel, and put to work teaching English. She quickly became a Maoist. Ann also became one of the more active members of the foreigners Red Guard brigades, attending more protests than Joan or Bertha Hinton. She was convinced the Cultural Revolution was a necessary and fully justified movement despite its violence and its disruption of China's economy. Perhaps because she and Joan and Bertha were not imprisoned, as were their friends the Crooks and Sidney Rittenberg, Ann would always deny the Revolution was violent.

One of the reasons Ann had demanded to participate in the Revolution was idleness. Along with many other foreign workers she was suspended from her job but received pay, ration cards, and housing when the Cultural Revolution began. As with Joan, Bertha, and Sid, the government wanted to isolate and protect her and ensure she did not disrupt her workplace. Ann had little to do for four years but protest which she kept on doing after her Guard unit was disbanded. Ann might have continued to make China her home after the Revolution, as Joan, Sid, and Bertha did, except for her mother's need for care and Ann's dislike of indications that Mao's pure social and economic policies were being undermined. There were also hints from the government that she was doing too much protesting. She left for Petaluma, California in 1970.

Ann did not abandon the cause nor cut her ties to the Hintons and Engsts. Their lives became intertwined after the first phase of the Cultural Revolution ended in 1971 and as Joan, Sid, and Bertha were allowed to resume work. Ann became a secular evangelical for Maoism and a close ally of William Hinton and his crusade for China and revolution. [30]

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[1] The more important sources for Joan: FBI FOIA, wm hinton, carmelita hinton; Lautz, Terry, *Americans in China: Encounters with the People's Republic* (NY : Oxford University Press, 2022) ;Chou, Dao-yuan, *Silage Choppers & Snake Spirits: The Lives and Struggles of Two Americans In China* (Queson City, Philippines: IBON, 2009); Howes, Trish C. and Caroline L. Herzenberg,. Howes, Ruth H. and Caroline C. Herzenberg *Their Day in the Sun: Women of the Manhattan Project* (Philadelphia" Temple University Press, 1999): Wong, Jan, *Red China Blues: My Long March from Mao to Now* (NY: Doubleday, 1996.); Stanley, Margaret *et al., Foreigners in areas of China under Communist jurisdiction before 1949 : biographical notes and a comprehensive bibliography of the Yenan hui* (Lawrence: Center for East Asian Studies, University of Kansas, 1987); Reed College obituary: http://www.reed.edu/reed_magazine/in-memoriam/obituaries/august2008/jean-hinton-rosner-1938.html ; Hooper, Beverly, F*oreigners Under Mao: Western Lives in China 1949-1976* (Hong Kong: Hong Kong University Press, 2016); Brady, Anne-Marie , *Making the Foreign Serve China* (Lanham, Roman and Littlefield, 2003); Interlocking subversion in Government Departments. Hearing before the Subcommittee to Investigate the Administration of the Internal Security Act and Other Internal Security Laws of the Committee on the Judiciary, United States Senate, Eighty-third Congress, second session, first session; *NYT, passim* , especially 12-26-2919 , 6 12 2010, 3 6 12 2010; *WP , passim,* especially 3 12 1978 and 10-16 52; *The Concord Journal , passim* ,especially 5 13 2002.

[2] "Interlocking subversion in Government Departments. Hearing before the Subcommittee to Investigate the Administration of the Internal Security Act and Other Internal Security Laws of the Committee on the Judiciary, United States Senate, Eighty-third Congress.

[3] Useful and engaging on the federation: Robert , *Brighter Than a Thousand Suns : a Personal History of the Atomic Scientists* (NY: Harcourt Brace, 1958).

[4] Useful on the origins on China's nuclear capabilities: Zhihua Shen, Yafeng Xia. **"**Between Aid and Restriction: The Soviet Union's Changing Policies on China's Nuclear Weapons Program, 1954-1960," *Asian Perspective,* 36 (2012):95-122.

[5] Useful on UNRRA in China: Woodbridge , George, *The History of the United Nations Relief and Rehabilitation Administration,* 3 vol. ( NY: Columbia University Press, 1950) and Green, Katherine R . C. "UJNRRA. Record in China," *Far Eastern Survey.* 5 16 (1951).

[6] Sources for Sid and his family include all those cited in note 1, *supra* and census, family history, local newspapers (for example *Cazanovia Republican,* 8 3 45, 5 2 46).

[7] Sollenberge, Howard and Wendell Flory , *History of the UNRRA Brethren Service Unit* (Elgin, Ill. : Church of the Brethren, General Brotherhood Board, 1948).

[8] NARA rg59 Duggan file.

[9] An overview of many attempts is : Zanasi, Margherita, "Exporting Development: The League of Nations and Republican China," *Comparative Studies in Society and History,* 49 1 (Jan,2007): 143-169

[10] For Gerald, family history. There were many rumors, some carried in American newspapers, that Gerand and Soon became lovers. They remain rumors. .

[11] The CWF was associated with more left wing Americans and was small compared to the larger nationalist aligned charity in the United States, the United China Relief ( UCR) . The CWF and does not have a comprehensive history. An insight into the UCF is in: Jespersen, T. Christopher "the Creation of American Conceptions of China before Pearl Harbor," *The Journal of American-East Asian Relations,* 1 3 (Fall 1992): 269-294." A glimpse of the postwar CWF is NYT 4 22 1952.

[12] Bullock, Mary Brown, T*he Oil Prince's Legacy: Rockefeller Philanthropy in China* ( Washington, D.C.: Woodrow Wilson Center Press 2011).

[13] For a retrospective view of the conference: Leow, Rachel, "A Missing Peace: The Asia-Pacific Peace Conference in Beijing, 1952 and the Emotional Making of Third World Internationalism ," *Journal of World History* , 30 1/2 (June 2019): 21-54.

[14] *WP* 10-16 1952 .

[15] For a personalized view of the change: Milton , David and Nancy Dall Milton, *The Wind Will Not Subside: Years in Revolutionary China 1964-1966 (NY:* Pantheon books, 1976*).*

[16] *Pacific Stars and Stripes* 11 23 79.

[17] Three perspectives on the "leap" are : Becker, Jasper, *Hungry Ghosts : Mao's Secret Famine* (NY: Henry Holt, 1996); Selden. Mark, *The Political Economy of Chinese Development* (Armonk, NY: M . E. Sharpe, 1993); Bernstein Thomas P. *,"Mao Zedong and the Famine of 1959-1960: A Study in Willfulness*," *The China Quarterly* ,186 (Jun 2006): 421-44.

[18] Yang, Jisheng, *Tombstone: The Great Chinese Famine, 1958-1962* (NY: Farrar, Straus, and Giroux 2008)

[19] FBI FOIA, carmelita hinton.

[20] For example: *Bennington Banner*, 11 27 1972, 11 9-1969.

[21] A brief but very informative look at the revolution is : Pye, Lucian W. :"Reassessing the Cultural Revolution," *The China Quarterly,* 108 (Dec. 1986): 597-61.

[22] In addition to FBI FOIA, warwick tompkins and ann tompkins, the major sources on Ann and her family are those in note 1 *supra,* and family history, national newspapers and Ann's and her family's web pages.

[23] See, for example, *Boston Globe*, 6-25-1932, 6-26-1936, *NYT,11-24-1935/*

[24] For example: *Fifty South to Fifty South; the story of a voyage west around cape Horn in the Schooner Wander Bird* (NY: W.W. Norton & Co. 1938; *Two Sailors and their Voyage Around Cape Horn (*NY: Viking Press, 1939 ); the film *Cape Horn passage to California* ,Planet Group Entertainment, 2014, 1936.

[25] *Boston Globe,* 6-26-1936.

[26] FBI FOIA, ann tompkins and FBI Whitaker Chambers files.
[27] FBI FOIA, hallinan.
[28] Hayden testimony FBI COMPIC.
[29] *Cinematography* listed several of his films *in 1949.*
[30] See for example, *Sonoma County Peace Press,* June/July 2019.