

The Communication of Traditional Chinese Medicine in the United States during the Mid-19th Century to the Early 20th Century from Perspectives of Translation

Yulian Ke^{1,a,*}, Xin Cheng^{2,b}

¹School of Foreign Languages, Hubei University of Chinese Medicine, Wuhan, Hubei, 430065, China

²School of Foreign Languages, Hubei University of Chinese Medicine, Wuhan, Hubei, 430065, China
^a1808293787@qq.com, ^b1482445496@qq.com

*Corresponding author

Abstract: Against the backdrop of global epidemic, promoting the international communication of traditional Chinese medicine (TCM) is not only a matter of sustaining the development of TCM, but also a practical need to assist the worldwide fight against the epidemic. The communication of TCM in the United States must be taken seriously. As the only superpower in the world today, the United States has political, economic, and cultural edge unmatched by other countries, thus the dissemination of TCM in the U.S exerts, to some degree, a demonstrating and leading effect. The spread of TCM, from the mid-19th century to the early 20th century in the United States, created a new chapter in the development of TCM's international communication. However, the obstacles facing with TCM communication in the United States at that shouldn't be ignored. Through a systematic review of the development of TCM in the United States from the mid-19th century to the early 20th century, this paper summarizes the practical difficulties, the advantages and disadvantages, and analyzes the effective ways of TCM communication in the U.S at that time from the perspective of translation, which is an important part of international communication of TCM. Finally, which is of great importance for the foreign exchanges and international communication of TCM nowadays can be acquired.

Keywords: Traditional Chinese Medicine, The United States, Communication Strategies, Translation Strategies, Domestication

1. Introduction

Traditional Chinese medicine (TCM), as a unique medical science, is not only loaded with rich scientific, technological and ecological resources, but also with enormous health, economic and cultural values^[1]. The Communist Party of China (CPC) and Chinese government have been paying due attention to TCM, especially since the 18th CPC National Congress, the CPC Central Committee has put TCM in a more prominent place. They consider the inheritance, innovation and development of TCM as an important element for advancing socialism with Chinese characteristics in the new era, while promoting the international communication of TCM is a major concern for TCM development. The newly promulgated *A Five-Year Plan for the Development of TCM* points out that it is necessary to promote the high-quality integration of TCM into the construction of the “Belt and Road” initiative, deepen international exchanges and cooperation in TCM, and upgrade the localization of TCM overseas^[2].

TCM is not only an important vehicle for Chinese culture to “go global”, but plays an irreplaceable role in building human community of a shared future. The Chinese government is committed to both promoting the popularization of TCM and contributing China's wisdom to maintain the health of people around the world. Since the outbreak of COVID-19, global health governance has experienced unprecedented pressure and challenges. Due to the wide use of TCM by the Chinese government to intervene and prevent COVID-19, combining Chinese and Western medicine, China has scored remarkable achievements in fighting the epidemic, which have aroused wide attention from the international community. In this context, TCM gains the best historical opportunity to “go global”. So far, the Chinese TCM community has issued multilingual versions of the TCM treatment protocols, shared TCM clinical experience with more than 150 countries and regions, sent TCM experts to 28

countries to assist the fight against the epidemic, and effective anti-epidemic TCM formulas such as the “Three Medicines and Three Prescriptions” have been used by many countries^[3]. The United States, as the hardest hit country by the global epidemic, has also actively consult experience from China and put it into practice. According to CGTN (China Global Television Network), since the outbreak of the epidemic, a Chinese pharmacy in New York has been out of stock with a rapid rise of orders and demand^[4]. Apparently, this pandemic has turned into a catalyst for the spread of TCM in the United States and other countries.

In fact, TCM communication in the United States has a pretty long history. Beginning from the mid-19th century, TCM became increasingly deeply integrated into Americans’ life with mass immigration of Chinese to America. In order to meet their own health needs, many Chinese had to bring with them herbs and the art of healing from their hometowns, and later gradually spread them in the white community through opening Chinese medical clinics, Chinese pharmacies or in other forms. At the very beginning of their arrival in the United States, Chinese people and their culture were quite popular due to the initial curiosity spurred by cultural and racial differences^[5]. However, a few years later, exclusion of Chinese people appeared and became increasingly intense for many reasons. In 1882, the U.S. government even promulgated *The Chinese Exclusion Act*, which deprived Chinese people, at the legal level, of their rights to American citizenship. Since then, Chinese access to the United States had become more severely restricted, for which the soil for Chinese people and TCM to localize had been increasingly infertile. Fortunately, TCM, with a strong vitality, ultimately survived and was gradually integrated into the American society.

TCM has a history of nearly two hundred years in the United States, and the spread of TCM in the United States, to some extent, exerts an important demonstration effect for TCM communication internationally. As the localization of TCM in the United States still faces many challenges today, a retrospective study on TCM communication in the United States may be a meaningful reference.

2. Overview of TCM Communication in the United States from the Mid-19th Century to the Early 20th Century

In the mid-19th century, TCM entered the United States on a relatively large scale with mass immigration of Chinese people. After experiencing ups and downs in the United States, TCM fortunately survived and developed there with great hardship. Chinese perseverance and dedication have laid a solid foundation for TCM’s development and integration into mainstream American society, making the internationalization of TCM a promising future.

2.1. Historical Background of TCM Communication in the U.S.

TCM communication at the early stage in the United States stemmed primarily from the American colonists’ interest in the Oriental culture and clinical needs of Chinese immigrants^[6]. The influence of TCM upon Americans was expanded with the arrival of Chinese immigrants^[7].

In general, there were several reasons for Chinese to move to America in the early history. On the one hand, the “gold rush” in the United States and the construction of the railroad to link the east and west of the United States provided many employment opportunities for Chinese then. The discovery of gold in a mill in California in 1848 quickly ignited a worldwide “gold rush”, which attracted a huge number of Chinese to the United States. According to the incomplete statistics, by 1852, there were 25,000 Chinese in California alone, and by 1880, there were 105,465, most of whom lived in the western area of the U.S. At the end of the 18th century, the American Westward Movement triggered the construction of many infrastructures such as railroads, highways, and waterways. At that time, on account of inadequate transportation, sparse population, severe labor shortage, and tough working conditions in the western U.S., white workers went on strikes and many projects were suspended. In this case, the hardworking and low-priced Chinese workers naturally became the perfect choice for American companies.

On the other hand, the large number of Chinese who came to the United States was inextricably linked to China’s internal troubles and external invasions at the time. In fact, as early as 1571-1748, Chinese workers (they were not immigrants probably) were already engaged in shipbuilding activities on the southern and northwestern coasts of California. Before the Opium War, Guangdong was not only the economic hub of the Pearl River Delta region, but also the only trade port between China and Western countries. However, the Opium War severely caused constant social and economic unrest of

the Pearl River Delta^[8]. Thus, many Chinese, especially those living on the southern coast, had to go abroad to find better employment opportunities to support themselves and their families. In other words, the closer relationship between the Guangdong region and the United States before 1850 paved the way for the ensuing wave of Chinese immigrants in the mid-19th century^[9].

TCM always follows the heels of Chinese people. As the main way for Chinese people to heal themselves, TCM came to America along with the Chinese people. In the United States, the places where Chinese people gathered were often named “Chinatown”. In Chinatown located in San Francisco, California and Oregon, there were TCM clinics or Chinese pharmacies mainly for providing medical assistance to local Chinese and gathering Chinese people. It is worth mentioning that these clinics also tried hard to expand their social influence by attracting white customers through English signboards or hiring English translators. Among them, “Kam Wah Chung” in John Day, Oregon, epitomizes an era of TCM communication in the United States. It was originally an herb company founded by Ing Hay Wah (Wu Yunian, often called Doc Hay by the locals) and his like-minded Chinese businessman friend Lung On in 1891. With Doc Hay’s exquisite medical skills, noble ethics and Mr. Lung’s shrewd business acumen, the company became well-known in the region. Many years after their death, the dusty Kam Wah Chung was officially open to the public as a museum in 1980 and designated as a national historical landmark by the local government in 2005^[10]. The items collected in the museum take us back to those hard days when Doc Hay survived and worked overseas at that time and unfold at a slow pace the historical picture of how Doc Hay communicated TCM in a foreign country. Undeniably, Doc Hay and his colleagues have lit a spark of hope for the development of TCM in America.

Similarly, in San Francisco, there once lived a well-renowned Chinese doctor, Li Putai. With excellent medical skills, reliable use of herbal medicine and considerate service, he eventually became one of the richest people in San Francisco. Li’s excellent medical skills attracted numerous patients of non-Chinese and aroused the interest of foreigners in TCM. Chinese physicians like Li often served multiple roles in the American community at the time. They were businessmen, educators, and medical practitioners. For example, the Li’s Pharmacy in San Francisco not only provided groceries and medicines to the community, but also provided medical services and trained the next generation of TCM practitioners to meet the health care needs of the whole community^[11]. Thus, the establishment of TCM clinics or herbal stores was the most important way for TCM to communicate in the United States at that time.

For the Chinese people who had just entered the United States, several reasons can explain why TCM became the main way to maintain their health: Firstly, in the mid-19th century, Chinese had a deep understanding of the healing philosophy of TCM, while the Western medical treatment system was unfamiliar to them, which led to their inability to develop trust in American medical care. Secondly, the ostracism and discrimination against Chinese by Americans made TCM often the only option for Chinese. Finally, most of Chinese who went to the United States at that time were workers with limited literacy, facing with linguistic and cultural barriers in the United States, they were unable to have normal doctor-patient communication with Westerners, which makes TCM their first choice for tackling health problems.

Good days are often short. After *The Chinese Exclusion Act*, both Chinese and TCM practitioners were seriously ostracized and discriminated against. Fortunately, due to their own special functions, TCM practitioners and TCM eventually survived tenaciously. Some scholars believe that TCM practitioners, as a special group at that time, often played some role in uniting the community of Chinese. It is also true that most of the TCM clinics were important footholds for the local Chinese to gather together and initiate discussions^[12]. In addition, as part of the merchant class, some Chinese physicians were familiar with both Chinese and English, and could act as labor brokers and part-time interpreters, thus enabling to help immigrant communities water down Americans’ prejudice and oppression, especially after the exclusion act had taken effect^[11].

Although TCM had attracted many non-Chinese patients with its unique therapeutic effect at that time, the inherent prejudice of Americans against TCM, the exclusion policy of the U.S. government and especially the deliberate suppression of TCM by Western medical organizations reduced TCM to be “irregular” or “unorthodox” medicine in the U.S., thus TCM was once unable to gain a foothold in the local society as a “legitimate” healing choice. For example, some local doctors had publicly offended TCM practitioner Tom Foo Yuen (Tan Fuyuan) through the media. They questioned Tom’s qualifications and medical skills, accusing him of making an illegal use of the unclean objects like lizards and toads in his clinical practice^[13]. There were many other slanders like this, which hindered, in some degree, the development of TCM in the United States at that time.

2.2. Favorable Conditions of TCM Communication in the U.S.

As stated above, the communication and development of TCM in the U.S. during this period has a lot to do with Chinese immigration to the U.S., while the profound cultural heritage and unique treatment advantages of TCM behind it are also of great importance.

As an epitome of the practical experience of the Chinese people in fighting diseases, TCM is the accumulation of experience and wisdom of the Chinese people since the ancient times. In the process of its establishment and development, TCM has been deeply influenced by traditional Chinese culture, for which its theoretical system reflects the unique light of Chinese history and culture. The *Compendium of Ancient and Modern Medicine* (Gu Jin Yi Tong) compiled by Xu Chunfu in the Ming dynasty firmly believed that an excellent TCM practitioner must have a good mastery of traditional Chinese culture^[14], which means that traditional Chinese culture is the fertile soil for inheriting and developing TCM, while TCM is the natural fruition of the development of traditional Chinese culture. It's natural for Chinese people to have an affinity and recognition of TCM due to the cultural blood. For Chinese people working and living in the United States, TCM is for sure both a medical means to maintain their health and an invisible bridge linking their hometowns and themselves.

TCM has taken root in the United States for its own profound cultural foundation and characteristics. Compared with other medical systems, TCM has the natural advantages of being "simple, convenient, effective and inexpensive". Chinese herbal medical resources refer to the total amount of plant, animal and mineral resources that can be used as traditional Chinese medicine, ethnic medicine and folk medicine within a certain area. Nature has provided a rich material basis for the development and continuation of TCM. With the support of the national policies, production of Chinese herbal medicine in China has made great progress in recent years, and the cultivated area and export volume of Chinese herbal medicine have grown significantly^[15]. When developing and utilizing domestic herbal resources, Chinese people also strive to explore herbal resources available abroad, develop the potential of herbal resources for multiple uses and improve the quality and utilization value of Chinese herbal medicine. In 1897, a Chinese doctor named Li Wing Fawn explained to *Los Angeles Times*^[16], "We shall not confine ourselves exclusively to the importations from the Orient, but shall seek out also the very many valuable medicinal herbs growing in our country (the United States)."

For TCM, the key to communication is efficacy^[17]. In the United States, although racism and other factors made Chinese and TCM practitioners suppressed, the unique efficacy of TCM led many Americans, including whites, to seek the help of TCM.

In the late 19th and early 20th centuries, when medical technology and equipment in the United States was still relatively underdeveloped, TCM was able to demonstrate exceptional clinical efficacy and was a humanitarian philosophy in the treatment of some diseases. Both "Kam Wah Chung" and other TCM institutions attracted a large number of foreign patients because of their commendable efficacy. For example, the most influential TCM practitioner in California in the early days, Li Putai, was famous for his treatment of difficult and miscellaneous diseases, for which he was considered "the only professional man who has invaded our shore from the Flowery Kingdom"^[18]. Known as the "King of Herbs", Fong Wan was also well known in the San Francisco, for having cured thousands of patients, especially women, which won him widespread praise from local female patients^[6]. Since their arrival in the United States, Chinese doctors had provided satisfactory medical care to residents from other countries such as Wales, Ireland, France and Italy. It is through the provision of high-quality care to patients from other cultures that TCM has been able to gain a firm foothold in the American society as a transnational cultural practice^[19].

Although TCM has not been formally incorporated into the U.S. health care system today, the importance that U.S. officials have attached to TCM can be clearly seen. Since the rise of acupuncture in the United States in the 1970s, a number of overseas Chinese have been engaged in acupuncture clinics in the United States, and have achieved some promising results, which have prompted the National Institute of Health (NIH) to increase fund for clinical research on acupuncture. Of all the projects funded, more than half have been conducted in the United States^[20]. The NIH has also funded research on some herbal products, such as Banlangen Granule by Bai Yunshan Pharmaceutical Co. TCM in the United States falls into the category of complementary and alternative medicine (CAM), and under the impetus of congressional legislation, the NIH established a special National Center for Complementary and Alternative Medicine Research in 1998 and invested a large amount of funds on TCM. According to another study, by 2019, TCM, including acupuncture, has completed legislation in 47 states in America and one special district, therefore, the legislation of acupuncture in the United States will in the not-so-far future cover all the states of the country^[21].

The unique value of TCM in treating diseases and maintaining health not only highlights the need for TCM to “go global”, but also drives it to “fit in”, i.e., to integrate into the local health care system and gradually develop into part of the local mainstream medicine in the country.

2.3. Challenges of TCM Communication in the U.S.

All things should be viewed in a dichotomous manner. The communication of TCM in the United States enjoys its own favorable conditions, but also faces multiple challenges such as discrimination, cross-cultural communication barriers, and translation difficulties.

Firstly, *The Chinese Exclusion Act* resulted in unprecedented tensions for the exclusion of Chinese people and TCM on the American soil. *The Chinese Exclusion Act*, based on an amendment to *Burlingame Treaty* in 1880, was an act signed by the United States Congress in 1882. The act, filled with noticeable discrimination against Chinese people, was the first ethnically specific immigration law passed in the country and was a response to the movement of a large number of Chinese people into the western United States.

At that time, the American media had “created” a tense social atmosphere for excluding Chinese people: newspapers in the United States, especially in California, tried hard to smear and blame Chinese for social problems such as the unemployment of whites. Chinese immigrants were even considered “freaks” with parasites and other dangerous infectious diseases. After the 1920s, a hierarchy of exclusion against immigration was written into law, which placed stricter restrictions on Chinese immigration to the United States^[22]. Attacks on the Chinese doctors in English-language media frequently ridiculed their therapies as anti-modern or unscientific^[23]. Moreover, American academic groups had joined together to reject and denigrate TCM for their own interests. The American Medical Association (AMA) cooperated with the government to fight against the so-called “irregular” doctors (i.e., unlicensed doctors)^[24], especially after *The Chinese Exclusion Act* of 1882. They vigorously agitated that TCM was outdated, unorthodox, unscientific, which would be likely to mislead Americans in the health field.

Secondly, due to the lack of legal recognition, American herbalists have been deprived the opportunity to obtain a medical license^[6], but doctors practicing medicine without a license was subject to lawsuits and even deportation to their home countries. Despite the continuous protests and complaints of Chinese herbalists, the situation had been significantly changed. In order to avoid deportation by the U.S. government, most TCM practitioners had to disguise themselves as businessmen so that they could continue to provide medical services for others to make a living. In short, the extreme social circumstances make it tricky for TCM to survive in the United States at that time.

Thirdly, the cross-cultural communication barriers caused by the inherent differences between Chinese and Western cultures was another great challenge. The most immediate cause of cross-cultural communication barriers was the difference in language. Linguistic communication allows communicators to convey information and ideas through speaking. Language difference not only affects the communication between Chinese people and local Americans, but also hinders them from understanding each other. Most Chinese who went to the United States to make a living then could speak neither English nor Spanish there, which makes it impossible for them to interpret effectively the philosophical foundations of TCM and its curative effect to local Americans, and many TCM clinics in the United States therefore had to hire locals as their English translators. The problems were that the local English translators often did not understand TCM and that the language barrier to cross-cultural communication of TCM remained difficult.

Moreover, the barrier of cross-cultural communication exists in the difference of medical concepts between Chinese medicine and Western medicine. TCM focuses on “qi”, “yin and yang”, “five elements”, “pulse”, “meridians” and “monarch, minister, assistant and courier”, which are based more on clinical experience and difficult to quantify. Western medicine, focusing on anatomy, experimental verification, testing results and data analysis, was moving further and further towards the modern science. Therefore, in the view of Americans, especially that of the Western medical community, TCM was “non-scientific” and “unconventional”. This perception was so far-reaching that till now, TCM is still seen as a complementary and alternative medicine in the United States.

Finally, English translation of TCM exerted certain constraints on the TCM dissemination at that time. For one thing, from the mid-19th century to the early 20th century, as mentioned previously, most immigrants to the United States at that time could not speak English, so it was naturally more difficult

to accurately express the concept of TCM in a foreign language. For another thing, although TCM translation has a long history, Americans knew little about overseas TCM translation at that time due to geographical transportation and information technology then, and the fact that TCM translation was not a mainstream academic practice. Due to the brief history of local dissemination in the United States, English translation of TCM was ungrounded, and it was difficult to seek appropriate equivalents for some terms, such as “qi”, “yin and yang” and “five elements” in TCM, which is still one of the difficulties in translating TCM texts. According to Prof. Li Zhaoguo’s *Three Hundred Years of TCM Translation*, Chinese scholars had begun to actively participate in the translation of TCM since the early 20th century, and it was only at this time that English dominated TCM translation. Before that, acupuncture and moxibustion had long been the focus of TCM text translation into other languages and academic research^[25]. In other words, the overall deficiency of TCM translation at the time of its early introduction to the United States inevitably affected the communication and development of TCM in the country.

3. TCM Communication in the United States from View of Translation

Translation is an essential process in the dissemination of TCM. Whether it is spread via speaking or mass communication (such as newspapers, books, etc.), the related knowledge of TCM must first be translated into English, and then exported to local people in the United States. At this stage, especially when local TCM pharmacy and clinics in the United States began to attract foreign customers, language communication is extremely important. Therefore, recruiting translators or learning English on their own became a “new fashion” in those TCM clinics at that time. In addition, in the face of local people’s doubts about TCM, publishing English advertisements or English versions of TCM-related books became a good choice at that time in order to prove its scientific nature and better disseminate TCM.

3.1. TCM Translation Strategies in the U.S.

As mentioned previously, translation has built a bridge for TCM communication in the United States then. English translation of TCM is not only a simple interchange between Chinese and English, but a process of deconstruction and reproduction between cultures that breed the different languages. Therefore, an application of appropriate translation strategies is of pivotal importance for the effective translation and dissemination of TCM.

According to scholar Liang Qian, in order to promote the communication of TCM more effectively, TCM translation adopts primarily the foreignizing strategy and secondarily the domesticating strategy^[26]. Nevertheless, at the initial stage of communication, in order to reduce the cognitive load of the locals on TCM at that time and thus achieve a more effective transmission of information, domestication was mainly employed for TCM translation. Domestication (or domesticating) means that the translator should localize the source language, take the target language or the readers as the aim, and adopt the expressions accustomed to the target readers in translating the original^[27]. When TCM was first introduced to the United States, local people’s understanding of TCM was almost a blank sheet of paper. In order to familiarize the locals with the rules and methods of TCM, not to speak of the profound historical and cultural traditions behind them, the American herbalists usually used the most simple and easy-to-understand language. For example, in *The Science of Oriental Medicine: Diet and Hygiene*, the authors often chose universal topics, short sentences, Western-oriented terms and popular Western units of measurement to introduce TCM concepts (see *Table 1*).

Table 1: Domesticating examples used in The Science of Oriental Medicine: Diet and Hygiene.

Topics	General suggestions on diet (P23)	Diet in health (P56)	Easy but useful exercises (P83)
Sentences	Eat at regular hours. (P38)	This makes a very nutritious food. (P48)	Retire regularly at an early hour. (P76)
Terms	Bright’s Disease (P37)	Gastric juice (P59)	Keratine (P63)
Units	Ounce (P28)	Pint (P50)	Gram (P59)

In addition, as for relatively unfamiliar and complex terms, the book tends to use textual interpretation, i.e., many TCM terms were explained in a more detailed way, such as the interpretation of taking pulse: taking pulse is done by placing three fingers on the wrist to check the functioning of vital organs of the body^[28]. Or the connotation of taking pulse was conveyed more visually by means of a special textual language such as illustrations. The reason for using a domestication-based translation

strategy was for sure, to better meet the cognitive needs of American readers at the time and to trigger their cognitive resonance with TCM.

Compared with domestication, the communicative translation strategy is used moderately in TCM translation at that time. Communicative translation strategy refers to communicating information on the basis of the linguistic, cultural and pragmatic levels of the target language in order to achieve communicative purposes. The focus of communicative translation is to remove reading or communicative difficulties and barriers for readers. In a locals-dominated readership environment, TCM translation has to work hard to achieve fluency, clarity and directness. Doctor Tom once made a point of the characteristics of TCM diagnosis and treatment to his patients^[28]: “TCM treatment is to identify which organ is diseased and the extent of damage, and then apply remedies to rid it of body or recover from the disorder.”

The ultimate goal of TCM translation is to make TCM better comprehended and accepted by the Americans, which was well realized by primary use of domestication and secondary use of foreignization.

3.2. Functions of TCM Translation in the U.S.

The process of translation is essentially a process of information communication. Translation and intercultural communication, as two sides of the same coin, are complementary to each other: the purpose of translation is to communicate, while the way of communication lies in how to translate^[29]. TCM Translation and TCM communication in the United States at that time also interacted and complemented each other. On the one hand, the communication of TCM increased the influence of TCM in American society, thus prompting more domestic and foreign scholars to pay attention to TCM translation. On the other hand, the improvement of TCM translation was conducive to the Americans' understanding and recognition of TCM, thus greatly facilitating the social communication of TCM in the United States.

First, TCM translation serves as an important communicative medium. Whether in daily life or in economic transactions, Chinese people in America at that time had to communicate with white people, especially when Chinese doctors were providing service for the white patients. Translation was then an inevitable bridge in connecting doctors and patients, Chinese and Western doctors as well as the two cultures. For example, doctors needed to understand the patients' complaints and the patients needed to know the follow-up treatment plan. Without an interpreter, sometimes clinical practice was not effective or even impossible. Lung On, who worked at Kam Wah Chung in Oregon, was socially fluent in English, with which he attracted many white customers to Kam Wah Chung and encouraged them to communicate TCM in the white community. Many herbalists who couldn't speak English then had no choice but to hire native English speakers as interpreters.

Second, TCM translation serves as an essential propagation and communication tool. In a country where English is the native language, mastering English is the very survival skill. Translation can help build up new relationships, place English-language advertisements, and even publish TCM books in English to increase their social visibility. For example, another important purpose of the Foo & Wing Herb Company in publishing the book of *The Science of Oriental Medicine: Diet and Hygiene* was to refute the denigration of TCM from the locals. In the book, the author documented the principles of TCM treatment and diet-related advice, demonstrated the scientific nature of TCM and deepened local people's recognition of TCM, thus effectively promoting the communication of TCM.

4. Conclusions

Nowadays, with the advancement of the initiative of “Belt and Road” and the development concept of the “human community with a shared future”, TCM internationalization is no longer limited to “me”, but rather “our” TCM and the world's TCM^[30]. The communication of TCM in the United States is a very important step of TCM “going global”, and has an important demonstration effect on the communication of TCM internationally. In recent years, TCM has received unprecedented attention from the U.S. government and Americans. However, there are still many challenges faced with the development of TCM in the US. Among which, prejudice against TCM still exists in the country, TCM practitioners still find extremely difficult to obtain medical licenses there, and many obstacles to TCM legislation are still left unconquered^[31]. TCM translation is one of the greatest problems. Although the research on TCM translation at home and abroad has achieved a great breakthrough, TCM translation

on the whole, still suffers from the lack of uniform standardization of terminology and serious deficiency of theoretical foundation.

Looking back to this particular historical period when TCM struggled hard in the United States from the mid-19th century to the early 20th century, we can gain the following insights in TCM translation today:

Firstly, education is the first step to strengthen the foundation of international communication of TCM and translation is a connective bridge to improve the social recognition of TCM. In the international communication of TCM, education in TCM and TCM translation share equally important role, therefore, it is necessary to train talents with knowledge of both TCM and English, that is, to improve the English skills of people who majors in TCM and improve the mastery of TCM knowledge of people TCM translators.

Secondly, cooperation is an important way for domestic and international TCM communities. Linguistic differences and cultural diversity have seriously impeded the international exchanges and communication of TCM. For this reason, we should build an international information exchange platform to strengthen the cultural exchanges of TCM at home and abroad and accelerate the standardization of TCM translation, get advice from a wide range of people, and make more efforts to improve the readability and popularizing rate of the English versions of TCM classics and enhance the authority of terminology standard of TCM.

Finally, efficacy is the gold standard in building a high-quality clinical team of TCM. Although TCM translation is an indispensable part of the international communication of TCM, the efficacy of TCM is the fundamental core of its communication. If TCM wants to gain a foothold in the international market, efficacy should come first. With clinical practice as the guide, building a high-level foreigners-targeted TCM clinical team is the key to accelerating the international communication of TCM.

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